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Are civil society organisations effective agents of mobilisation for development in 21st century South Africa? case study of the people's budget campaign.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

National budgets have been an important part of parliamentary democracy since at least the 17th or 18th century, and it has been as part of the effort to guarantee parliamentary rule over the government, which had been managed by kings. Without the endorsement of the parliament, the kings could not get involved in spending money. In countries, which were authoritarian like Tsarist Russia, budgets were launched only as late as the early 20th Century.[1]Thus the introduction of a budget process has implied greater public oversight and control over the expenditure of rulers. Formally speaking, the presentation of budgets to parliaments does permit public scrutiny. However, critics of this process point to the absence of popular participation and to the increasingly technocratic nature of the process.

Conventionally, governments in Africa [e.g. Malawi, Nigeria, South Africa, Zambia, Ghana, and Kenya etc] have been opposing the idea of public participation in budgetary processes.[2] Most often, popular participation in the budget planning process means the supposed once off yearly event where finance ministers present their budget proposals to parliament and these are then debated and approved until the next financial year.[3]

Globally and in South Africa, the formulation of national budgets (which is shaped by state ideology) is largely difficult to understand by ordinary citizens due to its technocratic design. Much fanfare surrounds budget speeches but ordinary people have very little or no say in its development. In that context, the budget takes a more exclusive design, which is contrary for a country that encourages a people-centred development policy.[4]

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[1] COSATU, SANGOCO, SACC (2005) (The People's Budget Campaign). Budgeting For People's Needs, p.10

[2] Alta Folscher (2002) Budget Transparency and Participation 2: Five African Case Studies. Published by IDASA (Institute for Democracy in South Africa)

[3] COSATU, SANGOCO, SACC. Project Proposal on Participatory Monitoring and Budget Programme in Southern Africa submitted to OXFAM / NOVIB. This proposal was drafted by Kimani Ndungu (a senior researcher at NALEDI) under the umbrella of the PBC, and submitted by National Labour for Economic and Development Institute (NALEDI) on August 2007 p.5

[4] Ibid

According to the views of PBC, it appears that recent developments such as the increasing role of civil society in public budgeting and in providing independent inputs on budgets, with regards to the drafting and monitoring of the impact of budgets on the poor,[5] signify that budget making and implementation cannot be the determination of government alone. Certainly in the developing world, the achievement of fundamental developmental objectives such as economic growth and poverty alleviation under the Millennium Development Goals (MGDs) remain strongly tied to the ability of the public to participate in and monitor public expenditure.[6]

With reference to Chikoanda et al, budget processes across the world share four common purposes: To review past performance; mobilise and allocate resources; provide for financial management and accountability; and to act as a platform for introducing new policies. The budget process should determine the distribution of-and who benefits from –limited resources. The budget is, therefore, inherently a political process determined by political power, both formal and informal with winners and losers. The first step in any study of budget institutions is the formal and legal frame works for budgets. All budgets operate according to a fiscal cycle, usually one year (or several years if included in a planning cycle), and all include a series of stages including design, authorisation, implementation and evaluation.[7]

As posited by the PBC, the process of national budgetary drafting in South Africa is the exclusive know-how of the central government with largely insignificant involvement by the general public. Section 77 of the constitution makes specification for the implementation and passage of money bills including the national budget. The PBC however argues that parliament is still powerless to modify the budget because the appropriate legislation surrounding the procedure for such amendment as stipulated by section 77(3) of the government gazette has never been enacted. In the event, government exclusively

[5] COSATU, SANGOCO, SACC. Project Proposal on Participatory Monitoring and Budget Programme in Southern Africa submitted to OXFAM / NOVIB. This proposal was drafted by Kimani Ndungu (a senior researcher at NALEDI) under the umbrella of the PBC, and submitted by National Labour of Economic and Development Institute (NALEDI) on August 2007 p.5

[6] COSATU, SANGOCO, SACC (2005) (The People's Budget Campaign). Budgeting For People's Needs, p.5

[7] Chikaonda et al (2004). The Budget as Theatre- the formal and informal institutional makings of the budget process in Malawi, Final Report July-2004 p.1

plans the national budget and makes recommendations for the division of revenue and expenditure. Parliament's role is to recognize or reject such recommendations but not amend them.[8]

Without ample parliamentary direction over budgetary planning, and in the absence of public involvement in the national and provincial budgeting processes, government has had an exclusive decision of spending priorities. Noticeably since 2002, the state has adopted an expansionary budgeting exercise that has led to essential increases in all the core areas of expenditure including health, education, social welfare and infrastructural development. Nonetheless, South Africa's key human development indicators have continued to slow down with unemployment increasing by more than 10 percent between 1994 and 2006 to stand at 25.5 percent, inequality as measured by the Gini coefficient is on the rise, and poverty only reducing marginally between 2000 and 2004.[9]

In theory, and according to the views of PBC[10] "organised civil society and the general public should be able to keep an eye on government spending priorities through the mechanism of national and provincial legislatures, in practice however; this has proved to be complex." It is on this premise that the PBC as an organised civil society strives to enhance public participation and monitoring of the national budgetary processes by broadening the parameters of debate on economic and social policy in South Africa. According to the views of Kimani 'the PBC is one of several organisations in South Africa generally arguing for a more transparent budget process.'

The PBC has carved out several objectives that revolves around the initiative of fostering the development of an essentially different budget process, that it argues, would create a budget that is people-centred. In order to attain these platforms, the PBC acknowledges the importance of changing the macro-economic policy framework that directs the current budget. One such objective is that it aims in the medium-term to produce what it calls a progressive budget agenda on a yearly basis within an

[8] COSATU, SANGOCO, SACC. Project Proposal on Participatory Monitoring and Budget Programme in Southern Africa submitted to OXFAM / NOVIB. This proposal was drafted by Kimani Ndungu (a senior researcher at NALEDI) under the umbrella of the PBC, and submitted by National Labour for Economic and Development Institute (NALEDI) on August 2007 p.10

[9] COSATU, SANGOCO, SACC. Project Proposal on Participatory Monitoring and Budget Programme in Southern Africa submitted to OXFAM / NOVIB. This proposal was drafted by Kimani Ndungu (a senior researcher at NALEDI) under the umbrella of the PBC, and submitted by National Labour of Economic and Development Institute (NALEDI) on August 2007 p.5

[10] Ibid, p.6

appropriate macro-economic framework. 'It also aims to demonstrate the feasibility of the People's Budget in terms of affordability by integrating it into a medium-term framework and a sustainable macro-economic policy.'[11]

This therefore renders the budget as an important aspect since it is the fundamental platform through which major developmental strategies are engendered. It is equally important because it is basically compounded by broad discussions and hearings from the civil society that works to develop proposals to foster government spending programmes. Therefore, one aspect to elucidate the importance of this study is that the People's Budget Campaign was launched in response to budget cuts that began with the initiation of the government policy called GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme) in 1996; the PBC was in support of an alternative formulation of the budget compounded in pro-poor developmental strategies. GEAR was a neo-liberal economic policy that argued that high taxes and borrowing will hurt the economy and that when government taxes the rich and companies, they will have less money to invest thus leading to higher interest rates and a decrease in investment.[12]

AIMS OF THE STUDY

The principal focus of this research has been to critically analyse the People's Budget objective of mobilisation and participation of the civil society in the Budget Process. The study has also aimed to explain the nature of the People's Budget Campaign. In explaining the nature of the campaign, it had the objective to explore how it is implemented, as well as to be ascertained of the mechanisms through which it operates.

MAIN RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following questions have been deemed necessary in guiding the research.

-Has the People's Budget Campaign succeeded in mobilising popular participation in the budget process?

-The research has also sought to address the following subsidiary questions:

-Has the PBC succeeded in creating awareness among the poor about the budget process?

[11] http://www.sangoco.org.za/site/index.php? Option=content&task=view&id=48&Itemid=48

[12] COSATU, SANGOCO, SACC (2005) (The People's Budget Campaign). Budgeting For People's Needs p.34

-What are the mechanisms created by the PBC to facilitate public participation of the poor to the budget process?

-What is the nature of the People's Budget Campaign, do poor communities participate in the People's Budget Campaign?

RATIONALE

This section focuses on the significance of the study, and in doing this; it places emphasis on why the PBC thinks that the budget is important. It equally examines why there is the need for mobilisation and participation of civil society in the budget process.

National budgets are important indicators of the development trajectory of states, as they provide critical insight into the state's macro-economic policies and expenditure priorities.

Studying the People's Budget Campaign is important because it focuses on the budget that is very instrumental in guiding the government's social and economic policies.[13] The government's social and economic policies are the major determinants driving its developmental objectives and strategies. Hence, embarking on this study will provide the opportunity to expand our scope regarding the budget.

This study is also important because it focuses on participation and mobilisation of civil society in the budget process. Participation and mobilisation is important in development because it is used to ensure that debates around the budget should be democratically pursued and it should take into account the voice of the people. If people are not involved in decisions around the budget, it therefore implies that the budgetary process is undemocratic and this is contrary to the constitution, which spells out clearly that decisions around the budget should permit an oversight by parliament and the public. It also spells out that the budget should be designed in a way that will meet the needs of the people as well as being realistic and practical.[14] In this light therefore, the significance of budgets become all the more critical because the legal framework surrounded by it allows for public participation and monitoring which has not been practical due to the technical nature of its design.

[13]COSATU, SANGOCO, SACC (2005) (The People's Budget Campaign). Budgeting for People's Needs. P.1
[14] Ibid p.47

The researcher has chosen the PBC as a case study because of its uniqueness as a coalition in South Africa that is concerned with mobilisation, monitoring and evaluation, and awareness creation of the budget process to the civil society. The People's Budget Campaign is also important because of the fact that issues around the budget was previously an exclusive determination of the executive and its cabinet, even though they still have an overall authority to decide on budgetary policies, it is grace to the intervention and awareness creation of the PBC that the public has been increasingly informed about the budget process.[15]

Thus its uniqueness in pursuing debates around the budget has created an impact on budgetary policies as it is evidenced that the budget is consistently been designed along the lines of pro-poor developmental strategies. This aspect of policy shift over the years has led to a more expansionary budget as government spending has increased, and there has been a marked improvement in comprehensive social security system. The outcome of this policy shift initiated by the PBC has no doubt contributed in alleviating poverty in the society hence rendering it an important area to be studied.[16]

Participation and mobilisation of people to the budget process is equally relevant in the sense that it enables them to know how the government will use its resources and present priorities during the year. For instance, if the government is not responding to the people's expectations, one reason may be that it is not utilising its resources judiciously to offer the goods and services they have been anticipating. From this perspective therefore, mobilising people to participate in the budget process is to ensure that they should be conscious on how the budget works so as to influence the government to do more for them.[17]

During the apartheid era, government expenditure was very unbalanced. Government spent much more on schools and health care for white communities to the neglect of the majority black population. The logic here is that, mobilising people to participate in state budgeting gives them a public space to deliberate and analyse the budget. In their deliberations, they will be able to evaluate whether all South

[15] COSATU, SANGOCO, SACC (2005) (The People's Budget Campaign). Budgeting For People's Needs,pp.5-7
[16] People's Budget (2005). Proposals from COSATU, SANGOCO and SACC (2006-2007). Since the budget cycle is 18 months, budget proposals made by the PBC are designed to obviously cover the current and coming year. This is because the Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement is announced every November and February in the coming year. The reference 2006-2007 is one of such publications of the PBC that dwells on the current and forthcoming year.
[17] The PBC: (2007) South Africa: Civil Society Speaks: Spend More, Spend better, and on the right programmes. Issued by the People's Budget Campaign (SANGOCO, COSATU, and SACC). Pp. 4 – 6.

Africans now have more equal access to government services, and whether the apartheid backlog is being overcome.[18]

Studying the budget is important because it is a major development tool that sets the scene for civic participation that was formerly denied during the apartheid era. Being attentive of the budget process is relevant because it creates space for organised civil society to monitor and improve implementation of national development strategies. This is obviously important in South Africa, where apartheid policies and thinking have historically been shaping government spending. Another importance of studying the Budget is that, after being informed of its proceedings it would further guarantee and expand opportunities for individuals and organisations to take part meaningfully in debates about economic policy and spending priorities.

What follows is to briefly comment on civil society-state relationship in post-apartheid South Africa. The purpose for this comment is to be aware of civil society's role to democracy and how it has impacted on mobilisation and development.

Civil society organisations have contributed a great deal to the political transition in Africa. Thus making them to be seen as the main pillars through which the process of democratisation was achieved. In South Africa, the struggle against apartheid was greatly influenced by the blacks who were excluded from exercising all forms of public life. Studying civil society state relationship is important as it gives us the opportunity to evaluate and be convinced whether the previously disadvantaged and marginalised black majority are now enjoying equal economic and social rights and opportunities as spelled out in the new democratic constitution. With regards to the researcher's focus on the People's Budget Campaign, this study will provide the opportunity to be aware if national budget development and implementation is still largely influenced by the central government or it other wise allows for participation of civil society in its development and implementation.

Embarking on this study is also important because it is about civil society mobilisation and participation in the budget process. Perceived from PBC's mode of enforcing the agenda of participation, it is absolutely important to embark on this study because it gives us the opportunity to evaluate whether the

[18] The People's Budget Campaign (2003) p.29

PBC considers the inputs of ordinary citizens in communities regarding budget development and implementation. It equally gives us the opportunity to assess if the PBC's objectives of civil society participation in national budget implementation are attained or not. In this case, the objectives can be noticeable if budget implementation decisions reflect the views and inputs of the majority in society.

RESEARCH METHODS

The method that has been employed in this study is qualitative and the research design is that of a case study. In studying the PBC, special attention has been given to completeness in observation, participation, and analysis of existing literature.[19] This research has been pursued in a way that incorporates the views of the 'key actors' and subsidiary stakeholders of the PBC. In studying the PBC, it has enabled the investigator to develop and provisionally verify PBC's main budget propositions, through a systematic data collection and analysis of existing literature, semi-structured interviews, and agendas from direct participation and observation of PBC meetings[20]. The precise application of this method has guaranteed the investigator to emerge to the final conclusion of his findings on the PBC.[21]Three important features of case study make it an appropriate method for this research. These include:

1.Case study methodology specifically includes analysis of process. Process, here refers to the chain of sequential interactions pertaining to the management of the phenomenon under study.[22] An important aspect of this research has been to critically observe and analyse the ways in which advocates of the PBC have been involved in facilitating public participation in the budget process. It has also permitted the researcher to undergo a careful observation of PBC board room meetings and deliberations through his internship at SANGOCO. While the researcher was undergoing his internship at SANGOCO, he was exposed to key personalities of the PBC, as well as personalities and individual community members from grass root organisations that are aware of the PBC's proceedings.

2.Case study methodology directly links general issues to the particular phenomenon under investigation. It entails that macro, contextual issues, that are portrayed to influence the case under

[19] Zonabend, F. (1992) "The Monography in European Ethnology." Current Sociology 40 (1) Pp.49-54.
[20] Corbin and Strauss (1990) "Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques." Sage Publication London.
[21] Ibid
[22] Ibid

study, be appropriately recognised in the course of developing the theory. Generally, this study is on civil society organisations and mobilisation in South Africa and the particular case under survey is the PBC as a unique and organised body of the civil society sector that deals with sensitisation on budget development, monitoring and implementation. Its uniqueness in pursuing budget implementation and development in South Africa makes it relevant to be considered as a case that deserves to be studied.

3.Case study methodology makes its greatest contribution in areas where little or no research has been done. As earlier mentioned, very little research has been conducted on the PBC and its objective of mobilising civil society in post Apartheid South Africa. Recognizably, the fundamental reason to select the PBC for this research is that, it is a representative entity of a new set of civil society organisations that have appeared from the late 1990s in response to the government's agenda of fiscal policy that seemed to have adverse effects on the poor.

DATA COLLECTION

This study has combined several sources in gathering its data. Stake[23] and Yin[24] identified at least six sources of evidence in case studies. These are as follows: documents; archival records; interviews; direct observation; participant observation and physical artefacts.

The first type of data gathering method this research has put into effect, has been the identification, collection, and reviewing of various primary documents that are related to the PBC. The researcher has identified and analysed policy documents, budget speeches by premiers and local government officials, administrative documents, memoranda, letters and agendas. Data has also been gathered from archival documents which are either service or organisational records of the coalition. The intention was to ascertain the extent to which the campaign was reaching people and how it is a factor of mobilisation and participation in the budget process. On a minor scale, it was also intended to determine whether the campaign has been instrumental in the budget policy discourse, macroeconomic policy, debates around politics and development in general.

Interviews are one of the most important sources of case information. In this study, the researcher has used semi-structured interviews as a further primary means of data collection. The researcher had

[23] Stake, R (1995) "The Arts of Case Research: Thousand Oaks." CA: Sage Publications
[24] Yin, R (1994) "Case Study Research: Design and Methods." 2nd Edition Beverly Hills CA: SAGE Publication.

gathered information from two major stakeholders. They are; individuals and organisations within the formal PBC and individuals and community based organisations out of the formal PBC. Interviews were also carried out with individual community members for the fulfilment of specificity which is pertinent for a case study methodology. The choice of interviewing a specific set of individuals from Soweto is only to highlight the fact that they constituted a base of those who were aware of the PBC's budget deliberations. The researcher's exposure while at his internship with SANGOCO gave this opportunity to map out, as well as to come in contact with those whose contribution to the study was deemed vital even though it did not constitute a representative sample for consideration.

Some of the key personalities of the PBC in Johannesburg that were interviewed are: Ebrahim Hassen, Zanele Waal, Hassen Lorgat, Desmond Lesejane, Oupa Bodibe, Rudi Dicks, Kimani Ndungu, and Sibusiso Gumede etc. Interviews were also conducted with leaders in community based organisations. Some of them are Mthembu Simon who was the current chairperson at the 'Home of Concerned Residence' at Orlando East (Soweto) and Ma Lerato[25] (National Association for Child Minders) based at Orlando East (Soweto). Interviews were also scheduled with individuals out of the formal PBC structure in Johannesburg. One of such interviews was conducted with Virginia Makwaza who at the time was heading the communication department at Freedom of Expression Institute. Another one was conducted with Patrick Vega who is a resident at Soweto. A consultative meeting was held with members of the "Home of Concerned Residence" at Soweto in early October 2007. The aim of this meeting was to investigate whether they were aware of the fact that they have a voice on the budget or not. It was also intended to know if they were aware of the PBC and its advocacy work on the national budget process.

Another major objective of this myriad session of interviews and discussions was to assess the PBC's aim of civil society mobilisation and participation in the budget process and to get comments from this variety of people in order to strengthen the campaign. These groups of selected individuals that were chosen for semi-structured interviews were to a reasonable extent those who the researcher was formally exposed to in the course of his internship at SANGOCO. The researcher also came to realise that these groups of individuals within and out of the formal PBC structure, constituted a group of individuals that were aware of the PBC and its deliberations on the national budget. Even though the researcher could

[25] Ma Lerato and Sis Thembi were some of the residents of Soweto that were interviewed. They insisted that their names should remain in this report as mentioned, and for the sake of respecting ethical norms that drives research within the social sciences tradition, the researcher was poised to respect their objection.

not out rightly declare that these groups of individuals could really serve as a representative sample for the research, their views nevertheless contributed enormously to answer some of the pertinent questions that the study was designed to. The initial arrangements made to interview all the key players from each of the organisations that form the coalition in Johannesburg was not fully realised due to time constraints and the difficulties in getting people to commit to interviews. That not withstanding, a reasonable number of them were interviewed and various interview schedules were conducted with ordinary stakeholders within and out of the formal People's Budget Coalition.

These interviews were very pertinent because they primarily constituted a base from where crude data on the PBC and how it engaged its budget deliberations, advocacy and campaign works were tapped. These semi-structured interview responses were recorded and developed as notes into various thematic groupings that later served as focus for detail analysis of the underlying concepts and questions that the research intended to answer. The various interviews were planned to gather information about the widest possible range of issues connected to the People's Budget Coalition in Johannesburg. Both the research and data collection questions have guided the interrogating process.

The researcher has used semi-structured interviews because they have enabled respondents to comment from their personal points of view, most particularly to certain events of civil society mobilisation. Responses from semi-structured interviews have further proposed solutions and provided insights into various questions. Semi-structured interviews were equally relevant for the purpose of authenticity and variability as they corroborated evidence from other sources.[26] In this research, evidences have been drawn from both existing and primary literature to fortify the arguments and insights captured from semi-structured interviews.

This study has further employed direct participatory and observational method. This has been relevant as the researcher conducted field visits to the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Field trips were also made to some communities. These visits have helped in data collection activities and for the schedule of formal interviews on the selected category of personalities involved in the PBC in Johannesburg. Direct participation also helped the researcher in understanding the working mechanism of the PBC in Johannesburg and South Africa. The

[26] Tellis, W (1997) Introduction to Case Study. Http://www.nova.edu/s4/qr/qr3-2/tellis.

researcher took part in board meetings whereby views on budget implementation and development were discussed. The researcher was charged with the responsibility of distributing electronic letters and tracks to out reach people in the widest means possible for updates on campaigns and future board meetings. This gave him the opportunity to have a grasp of the profundity and objectives of the campaign, and how the coalition is stratified.

Participant observation was also pertinent for the realisation of the study objectives. This was due to the fact that it enabled the researcher to be attentive and participatory in the board meetings. In the course of the researcher's internship at South African non-governmental Coalition (SANGOCO), he participated in various meetings that were basically engaging issues on the budget and how the PBC plans to set up their views on these issues. One of such meetings was the National Consultative Conference that was held in the month of November. This meeting brought together ten delegates (including the researcher) each from the different organisations that form the coalition in order to publicly engage on drafting proposals and responses to the medium-term budget policy statement pronounced by the minister of finance.

The researcher undertook this internship program with the South African non-governmental Coalition from the first week of September 2007 to the end of January 2008.This gave the researcher an opportunity to observe and develop insights of a whole range of issues critical to the success of mobilisation and participation by civil society organisations, and more particularly to the People's Budget Coalition in Johannesburg. In addition, it gave the researcher another opportunity to witness the event of the medium-term budget proposal of the coalition that was held in November 2007, as well as taking part in a series of meetings whereby major debates on issues around the budget are being pursued.

Besides, physical artefacts were another means of data collection in this research. These have been tools, instruments of some other physical evidence (like CD's, video and audio tapes) that were collected during the study as part of a field visit. Physical artefacts were relevant for this research because they acted as repositories to the researcher. The researcher gained some insights by watching and listening to both video and audio recordings of previous national consultative and steering committee meetings of the coalition with regards to their various up-coming budget proposals and reviewing of the previous budget programs and designs.

Yin[27] made it clear that the researcher should keep in mind that not all sources are relevant for case studies, but that the investigator should be capable of dealing with all of them if only needed. He continues that each will present different opportunities for data collection and analysis.

DATA ANALYSIS

Analysing data on the PBC was a complex process of modifying data categories constantly, and reducing distortion of variables into concept. It also involved careful definition of the case under survey, its length as well as its generality. The various categories and variables were developed and analysed to reach their various conclusions.[28]

This process was achieved by taking down field notes and arranging them in sequential order of preference. In this study, data on key concepts, research and data collection questions have been grouped using the initial gathering method adapted from Baxter[29] which is that of a "meaning unit". That is, the assemblage of words (such as participation, civil society, mobilisation, advocacy and development) or statements that relate to the same central meaning referred to as a content unit, an idea unit, a textual unit, a unit of analysis and a theme. The facts taken down during the semi-structured interviews, the primary and secondary literature of civil society concept, documents of the PBC and discussions from meetings were the major sources of the grouping and analysis of theories and concepts pertaining to the study.

ETHICS STATEMENT

Initially, the study began after the submission of the proposal to the faculty and was intended to effectively take off after the approval of the research proposal by the post graduate committee in charge of studies at the school of social sciences in the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. The researcher has ensured that the following ethical considerations were observed:

- The rights and welfare of all those who have constituted part of the research exercise have been protected.

[27] Yin, R (1994) "Case Study Research: Design and Methods." 2nd Edition Beverly Hills CA: SAGE Publication
[28] Corbin and Strauss (1990) "Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques." SAGE Publication London.
[29] Baxter, L.A (1991) "Content analysis: in Montgomery B, M and Duck, S (Eds) Studying Interpersonal Interaction." The Guilford Press, New York, London (1991) Pp. 239-254.

- Their identities as well as their interests were save- guarded except with approval or disapproval.
- The study has been carried out in conformity with ethical and professional limits specified in the area of discipline.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

There is a substantial literature on the role of civil society in the apartheid era in South Africa. Fundamentally, this has been due to the fact that civil society activities were mostly directed to the struggles against apartheid. However, there seem to be a dearth of literature on the role of mobilisation and participation by civil society in Post-Apartheid South Africa. This has been partly because there was a shift of focus on the role of mobilisation and participation (which seem to be characterised by ebbs and flows) in post-apartheid South African civil society towards the current "New Social Movements".

This chapter is based on examining the concept of civil society, mobilisation and advocacy. It is divided into two broad sections. The first aim of the chapter (i.e. part one) is to examine the concept and role of civil society from a Western political point of view. It proceeds to explore the concept of civil society in South Africa. In so doing, it plans to analyse the current trends and impacts of civil society in South Africa and in situating the PBC as a civil society agent of mobilisation for development in the 21st century.

The second part of the chapter begins by defining the concept of mobilisation on a broad scale. In the course of analysing the concept, emphasis will be laid on the PBC and how it could be perceived as an agent of civil society mobilisation for development in Post-Apartheid South Africa. This section will also highlight a discussion on advocacy within the context of the PBC. Is the civil society having an organised platform for debates on issues around mobilisation and participation for development in 21st century South Africa? Is the PBC a civil society organisation, a coalition of social networks, an organisation having a collegiate or adversarial relationship with the state, a survivalist agency or does it operates within the framework of New Social Movements in South Africa? These and others are certainly some of the pertinent questions that this chapter will be unveiling.

CHAPTER TWO (PART ONE)

THE WESTERN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY ON THE CONCEPT OF CIVIL SOCIETY

The western political philosophy of civil society is said to be the bed rock through which the concept has emanated. The fundamental agenda of this concept as elaborated by most western political philosophers (such as Harbeson, Adam Ferguson, and Friederich Hegel) is that, it acts as a bulwark against the state. Civil society organisations are also regarded as agents of change more specifically with regards to the implementation of development oriented projects. For the purpose of this study, the PBC has been uniquely singled out as the main civil society agent that engages the government in a relatively equal footing regarding budget policy implementation and evaluation in South Africa. The principal objective of PBC's engagement with the government is to ensure that its programme of fiscal austerity (1996 GEAR policy) which was exemplified by market-oriented features, be alternatively changed to a developmental and people-centred budget framework Their engagement with the government of South Africa on this policy framework has enormously projected their image both as bulwarks and agents of change.

Harbeson's[30] view of civil society is perceived by most political philosophers (with the possible exception of Hegel) to be "the mechanism through which the organising ideology of the state are synchronized with those of the entire society." Drawing from Harbeson's view of civil society, one can posit that he is of the view that there can be no civil society if the supreme document that guides the state does not guarantee its existence. Therefore civil society organisations can be considered as effective agents of mobilisation for development if they are made up of those processes that are characterised by laws set by the government and its societal fundamentals.

The PBC can be regarded as an intermediary between the government and the state on budget implementation questions. Their uniqueness as the only civil society organisation in South Africa that opposes the government's neo-liberal fiscal policy framework gives them the image as mediatiors between the state and society on budget monitoring and evaluation processes.

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[30] Harbeson, J, W (1994) "Civil Society and Political Renaissance in Africa, In Harbeson, J, W, Rothchild, D & Chazan, N (1994) Civil Society and the State in Africa." P. 2 - Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc – America.

Young's[31] view of the term civil society stresses the importance of transformation and the rights and liberties of individuals. In light of this research, the PBC is acting as a representative body of the civil society sector in South Africa that advocates for the people's right in striving to know about the budget, how it's implemented, and whether it is evenly distributed to positively impact on the lives of the poor majority.

While Ferguson did not make any distinction between the state and society, Friedrich Hegel (a German Philosopher) who was also one of the key proponents of the concept made this demarcation in his book titled "Elements of the Philosophy of Rights." A retrospect of Young's view, convinces one to argue that the subject of transformation with regards to the budget process in South Africa is pertinent and, can only be fully accomplished if the role of civil society is incorporated into budget implementation processes.[32]

In relating the concept of civil society to democracy,[33] 'Young had also identified its role in a democratic order as vital.' Sydney and Verba have argued that 'the political element of many civil society organisations facilitates better awareness and a more informed citizenry.' Contrary to the tenets of the above mentioned authors, Robert Putnam has argued that 'even non-political organisations in civil society are vital for democracy. Non-political organizations are vital for development initiatives.' Holistically, for the cycle of development to be complete, people's participation must be taken into consideration, which is an aspect of democratic transformation that is inherently non-political. In relating the above argument to this research, one can postulate that PBC is a civil society organisation with the political objective of raising awareness to the public about the budget and how it should be suitably distributed to impact on the poor majority.

After having presented Thomas Hobbes' views of civil society on Western political philosophy as earlier stated, it is vital for us to understand its role or relationship vis-à-vis the state. The intention here is not to present a full analysis of the role of civil society, but summarising the main ideas will be useful. The

[31] Young, W (1994) "In Search of Civil Society." In Harbeson, W, Rothchild, D and Chazan, N (Eds) (1994) "Civil Society and the State in Africa." Pp.33-49.
[32] Hegel, F, Wood, W, & Hugh, B (1991) "Elements of the Philosophy of Rights." Translated Edition by Hugh, B, N. Published by Cambridge University Press (1991).
[33] Young, W (1994) "In Search of Civil Society." In Harbeson, W, Rothchild, D and Chazan, N (Eds) (1994) "Civil Society and the State in Africa." p.35

summary will proceed still with a much more precise examination of Hobbes'[34] interpretation of the role of civil society from the Western political perspective.

According to Harbeson,[35] 'one of the functions of civil society is that it can be regarded as a bridge between society and polity. A core characteristic of civil society is its role in setting up gaps between the society and government and in questing for solidarity of their relevant designs.' As earlier stated, the PBC can be seen as a bridge between society and the state. In this case its main focus is to bargain for an alternative budget policy with the government to ensure that there is effective re-distribution of the budget. This entails that all sectors of the economy will be properly addressed with the necessary inclusion of people in the previously marginalised communities who were hitherto excluded from reaping the economic benefits of the former apartheid state budget.

Harbeson's presentation of the role of civil society includes inter alia, 1) 'it is perceived as a bulwark against government or society, 2) intermediary between government and society, 3) it is conceived as a figure of genuine political custom setter, 4) it is also seen as an agent of change, 5) it is equally perceived as the monitor of the processes of participation in societal custom setting, 6) leader of associations presenting their political interests into a workable process for doing so, 7) agents of meticulous interests, and 8) intermediary of a change of government. Hobbes' conclusion in this direction is that these various channels of operation are not essentially ends in themselves but a means to attaining the basic custom-setting rationale of civil society.'[36]

Looking at civil society in the period of political transition in Africa demands a manifold of questions that seems to be encouraging about its viability to have championed the course of the new political atmosphere that many African states have found themselves enjoying today. In this section of the chapter this study argues that civil society has contributed a great deal to the present dispensation of democracy that most African states [in particular South Africa which is one of the most advanced democracies in modern day Africa] seem to be enjoying today. The study also share the view that civil

[34] Hobbes, T, Tuck, R. & Silverthorne, M (1998) "On the Citizen." Contributor Silverthorne, Michael (Translated the 1651 original copy), Published by Cambridge University Press.
[35] Harbeson, J, W (1994) "Civil Society and Political Renaissance in Africa." In Harbeson, J, W, Rothchild, D, & Chazan, N (1994) "Civil Society and the State in Africa." p.23 - Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc - America.
[36] Ibid, p. 23

society particularly in the South African context can be distinguished between three different blocs, each of which according to Habib[37] is a product to different degrees, of separate transnational processes.

The three different spheres within civil society according to Habib are "NGOs, survivalist agencies and social movements that emerged in response to structural factors such as the democratisation process and globalisation's neo-liberal manifestation in South Africa, having very distinct relationship with the state."[38] What follows is to discuss civil society and their role in the political transition of Africa, and then proceeds with that of South Africa which is our main area of attraction.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND POLITICAL TRANSITION IN AFRICA

As it is generally acclaimed,[39] 'the notion of civil society as something separate from both the individual and the state, but equally from society as a whole, is not a new phenomenon to political theory. After collapsing into darkness for a while, this notion seemed to have been outstandingly revitalized in the context of a variety of processes of transformation from dictatorial-or even totalitarian-rule to multiparty democracy, which has previously occurred in Latin America and later in Eastern and Central Europe.'

As stated by Schillinger[40] the ways in which various sectors of the society are prearranged, the restoration of social relations outside the authoritarian state, and the formation of an independent public sphere have been pertinent to those transformations. The above statements conform to the view that civil society has contributed to the political transition of Africa. This section explores the intricacies of civil society within the context of Africa's political transformation.

According to Aiyede[41] "Africa's emerging civil societies have been depicted as the main drivers of the democratisation process in the 1990s." Taking a look back at the colonial days, one would realise that

[37] Habib, A: on Civil Society and Democracy in South Africa. This article was co-ordinated by the University of Johannesburg Research, Innovation and Advancement, department. Site: http://www.SangoNet.org.za/portal
[38] Ibid
[39] Schillinger, H (1995: 5) "Introductory Perspectives." In Maxine, R and Humphries, R (1995) "Civil Society after Apartheid." Proceedings of a Conference convened by Centre for Policy Studies on the role and status of civil society in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Published by Centre for Policy Studies- Johannesburg- South Africa.
[40] Ibid, p.5
[41] Aiyede, R (2003) "The Dynamics of Civil Society and the Democratization Process in Nigeria." Published in the Canadian Journal of African Studies, 37 (1): pp. 1-27 (2003).

the ways through which African states were governed by their various colonial masters was too totalitarian. With the demise of colonialism and the independence of most African countries, the newly inaugurated African leaders inherited the legacies of authoritarianism and monolithic political systems. During this period, civil society-state relationship was hostile and antagonistic in nature. This study posits that it was this constant confrontation and opposition by the civil society that mounted pressure to most African governments to finally endorse and acknowledged the view for the adoption of democracy in their respective countries.

To further highlight this question, Ayoade[42]has described "state-society relations under authoritarian rule in Africa as a case of states without citizens, this is because authoritarian governments in Africa were impositions." This view ties with the afore-mentioned logic in the sense that the extent to which African leaders were authoritarian, made them not to take into consideration the fact that they were governing citizens or people, in other words, their egocentric and totalitarian nature tilted their focus more towards their personal interest to the detriment of the citizenry. All this culminated into a strong adversarial and resistant base of the civil society which persistently mobilised in various forms to exert pressure on the state to change its mode of governance. The outcome in their struggle was the emergence of the democratic era in most African countries.

As pointed out by Aiyede[43], the situation in Nigeria was well captured by Balogun[44]: In his words he posits that "up to the end of Babangida's rule in August 1993, the initiative on the shape, size, and powers of political units was taken by the military. If the military felt like creating new states or additional local governments, it simply issued a press release communicating the decision. Under Babangida, the hitherto subtle imposition of military wishes turned into direct promulgation of executive orders and decrees."

Aiyede believes that despite the intensity of military dominance in Nigeria in the said period and coupled to the fact that the governance structure was often reduced to the practical expression of the

[42] Ayoade, J (1998) "States without Citizens: An Emerging African Phenomenon." In The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa edited by Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan, pp.21-29. Boulder and London: West View Press.
[43]Aiyede, R (2003) "The Dynamics of Civil Society and the Democratization Process in Nigeria." Published in the Canadian Journal of African Studies, 37 (1): pp. 1-27 (2003). pp.1-27
[44] Balogun, M, J (1997:251) "Enduring Clientelism, Governance Reform and Leadership Capacity: A Review of the Democratization Process in Nigeria." Journal of Contemporary African Studies, pp.15: 37-260.

wishes, whims and caprices of dictators and their cabal the civil society still succeeded in penetrating the established military blockages that were hitherto limiting the voice of the people underground. Aiyede[45] clearly states that it was quite certain to explain the democratic struggles of the 1990s as a culmination of "a second independence." He further states that in the forefront of these struggles were Africa's "nascent civil societies" and concluded that their activities supposed the promise of democratic development and the end of totalitarianism.

With regards to the Kenyan case, it has been noted by some civil society proponents such as Okuku that Christian Churches were involved in fostering the struggle for democracy both during and after the periods of transition. As stated by Okuku[46], Christian churches in Kenya were at the centre of the pressures for democratisation, while in Uganda they have been acting as an intermediary, that is, they have been negotiating between state power and the society. For the case of Kenya as presented by Okoku, he posits that the resurgence of an oppressive one party state in Kenya in the colonial era prompted the civil society [Christian churches] to mount pressure on the state, and in so doing retained a degree of corporate autonomy from the state. It was this organisational resource [that is, that of the civil society] that was put into critical use in the struggle against oppression in the 1980s and the 1990s that partly resulted to the emergence of democracy in Kenya.

In the struggle for change, Okuku reiterates[47] that both the established Christian Churches and their collective entities, the National Council of Churches [NCCK] in Kenya and the Evangelical Fellowship of Kenya [EFK] demonstrated a willingness to advocate on the marginalised and disenfranchised ones in the society.

As already mentioned above, the church in Kenya came up as a result of the rise of an oppressive one-party state. Okuku further posits that when other organisations of the civil society were repressed by the state, churches often remain "zones of freedom" and tend to take up the political role of the repressed.

[45]Aiyede, R (2003) "The Dynamics of Civil Society and the Democratization Process in Nigeria." Published in the Canadian Journal of African Studies, 37 (1): pp. 1-27 (2003).
[46] Okuku, J (2003) "Civil Society and the Democratisation Process in Uganda and Kenya, in Politikon (2003) 30 (1), Carfax Publishing, pp.51-63.
[47] Ibid, pp55-59

In a number of ways the church was at the forefront of the process of political transformation in Kenya. Firstly, it criticized excesses in the exercise of state power. Secondly, it protested against changes in the electoral law, which removed the secret ballot and replaced it with the queuing system, and finally it denounced the brutal evictions of squatters in Nairobi and the state engineered ethnic rivalries in the rift valley. The Christian churches in addressing issues related to poverty and inequality, as well as those of citizenship participation in development agendas attacked the state in a satirical twist through biblically proven and justified sermons hence contributing in reinstating consciousness to the state power and consequently impacting on social development and political transformation.[48]

For the case of Zambia, the authoritarian government headed by Kenneth Kaunda for over 20 years was finally made possible to be out of control by the civil society. As stated by Callaghy[49], Zambia's first democratic election took place in November 1991. This change of government which put an end to the long standing one party rule of Kaunda was broadly conceived as a victory for civil society over a corrupt authoritarian state.

The list of cases in Africa seems to be in- exhaustive if one dwells in examining one after another. But the stance that has been taken at this stage is adapted from Crawford Young as pointed out by Callaghy which states that: 'one tends to see civil society and its counterattack on authoritarian politics as the salvation of Africa,' and thus it deserves much emphasis especially with regards to Africa's political transformation.[50]

COMPETITING VIEWS OF CIVIL SOCIETY AND ITS ROLE IN SOCIETY

The concept of civil society emanated from the European political theory and has persistently seemed to be perceived as a global reality in comparative analyses of democratic change, yet the theory has exposed many alterations, even within the European perspective, and its applicability to African conditions is by no means self-evident.[51]

[48] Okuku, J (2003) "Civil Society and the Democratisation Process in Uganda and Kenya, in Politikon (2003) 30 (1), Carfax Publishing, Pp. 60-62
[49] Callaghy, T (1994) "Civil Society, Democracy, and Economic Change in Africa: A dissenting Option about Resurgent Societies." In Harbeson, W, J, Rothchild, D, Chazan, N (Eds) (1994) "Civil Society and State in Africa." Pp.231-253.
[50] Ibid p.232
[51] Lewis, P (1995) "Civil and other Societies." Journal of Democracy Vol. 6 .No. 2 pp.24-25. April 1995.

Despite the fact that there is no general agreement on the definition of civil society, Naomi Chazan who perhaps is one of the most prominent analysts of the concept in Africa, as presented in the work of Maxine Reitzes[52], defined it as "the realm of organisations that are autonomous from the state and that interact with it, but do not want to take it over." The attributes which she confers – that civil society organisations do not desire to take over the state is absolutely vital to the definition. This is so mainly because prior to April 1994 [that is, in the apartheid period], this definition was not yet appropriate and could not apply to the period in context.

According to Reitzes,[53] the inappropriateness of the definition as per the said period was due to the fact that formations that tended to be identified as 'civil society' wanted to take over the state. He further agues that civil societies were not set up to exhibit a role in fostering an established democracy, but to rather turn an undemocratic system into a democracy.

Cohen and Arato[54]who are other commentators of the concept of civil society, sees its existence as a necessary feature of the society and that it serves as a necessary vehicle for citizens' participation in public life and a check on the exercise of state power. One of its prime purposes is therefore to 'civilise' the democratic state. Cohen[55] conceptualises it as an increasingly important agent for promoting good governance like transparency, effectiveness, openness, responsiveness and accountability. Strictly looking at PBC, one would realise that its prime objectives are not far from those evoked by Cohen-that is, in relation to its advocacy for an alternative budget process in South Africa which speaks of transparency and accountability in budget deliberations.

Civil society as defined by Diamond[56] could be perceived as "the realm of organised social life that is voluntary, self-generating, largely self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by legal order or set of rules. It is distinct from society in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in public sphere to express their interest, passions and ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state, and hold state officials accountable."

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[52] Reitzes, M (1995:7) "Civil Society after Apartheid." Proceedings of a Conference convened by the Centre for Policy Studies on the Role and Status of Civil Society in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Published by Centre For Policy Studies-Johannesburg-South Africa.
[53] Ibid p.7
[54] Cohen, J and Arato, A. (1992) "Civil Society and Political Theory." Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
[55] Ibid
[56] Diamond, L (1994:5) "Rethinking Civil Society: Toward Democratic Consolidation." Journal of Democracy, 5: 4-18.

Diamonds' definition seems to be captivating but suggests that citizens who are distinct from society and bound by a legal order but are not self-motivating and generating could not be identified as civil society. Schmitter has notified four important features attributed to the term by its users as cited by Kasfir:[57] "the first one is that civil society should be autonomous from both social interests and state, the second is that of collective action for promoting interest and passions, the third one is that of civil society's absence of its intentions to seize power and the final one is that it should have an agreement to act within civil rules conveying mutual respect."

Schmitter's view on the first citation which states that civil society should be autonomous from both social interest and state is tantamount to contestation. The researcher disputes this view in the sense that if civil society's interest is independent from social interest and that of the state, it therefore suggests that he is seeing another society and probably people sharing egocentric rather than public interest which seems to be contrary to the tenets and traditions of the concept which originated from the western political theory as described by Thomas Hobbes in Harbeson's work[58]. Another objection here is that the state is a category of individuals within the ambit of civil society, which suggests that it has its own interests, but if Schmitter's view of the state states that it is not having any interest separate from that of the society, therefore his perception as to the definition of the state suggests something of an imaginary than an existing state.

According to Aiyede's assessment of Diamond's view on the concept of civil society, he states that "civil society applies to a vast array of organisations created by private individuals in pursuance of public ends in relation to the state. He further states that both formal and informal organisations, including groups that are economic, cultural, informational and educational, interest based, developmental and issue-oriented, or civic in aim all constitutes features of civil society."[59]

[57] Kasfir, N (1998) "Civil Society, the State and Democracy in Africa." In Civil Society and Democracy in Africa: Critical Perspectives, edited by Kasfir Nelson, 123-149. London Frank Cass. p.126.
[58]Harbeson, J. W (1994) "Civil Society and Political Renaissance in Africa." In Haberson, W, Rothchild, D and Chazan, N. (1994) "Civil Society and State in Africa." p. 2. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc-America.
pp.1-29
[59]Aiyede, R (2003) "The Dynamics of Civil Society and the Democratization Process in Nigeria." Published in the Canadian Journal of African Studies, 37 (1): pp. 1-2 (2003).

Diamond's view like that of the researcher contradicts with that of Schmitter as he states that civil society encompasses a vast array of organisations with private individuals pursuing a public interest, this is contrary to that of Schmitter which in a juxtaposition states that civil society's interest is independent from that of the state and society.

With reference to what Huntington has described as the 'third wave" of democratisation as mentioned in Aiyede's work,[60] he states that civil society has benefited massive intellectual consideration. It has really appeared as a vital concept in the democratic evolution lexicon. It has not only been conceptualised as the driver to the evolution of democracy in Africa and other areas of the globe, but it has been equally instrumental to the reinforcement of democracy.

Though Aiyede has clearly pointed out that civil society has made enormous contribution in setting the pace for the struggle against authoritarianism in Africa thus contributing to Africa's political transition, he further draws our attention by citing from Encarnacion's[61] work that the "proliferation of civil society organisations may in fact be inimical to democratic deepening." To further stress Ayeide's argument it is important to have the caption made by Encarnacion that:
"In some instances civil society organisations have become alternatives to strong political institutions (political parties) atomising society, dispersing political power and thereby complicating democratic consolidation."[62]

Taken the above commentaries into consideration, one may assert that the concept has been employed to describe all aspects of society that are non-governmental. Seen from the perspective of democracy, one may also be convinced to state that it has contributed a great deal to the advancement of democracy in Africa, despite Encarnacion's view that in some instances they have become alternatives to strong political institutions. This brings us to the next section which is that of examining the term as it used in South Africa.

[60] Ibid pp 1-3
[61] Ibid p.4
[62] Encarnacion, O, J (2000) "Tocqueville's Missionaries, Civil Society, Advocacy and the Promotion of Democracy." World Policy Journal, Spring pp. 9-18

CIVIL SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The controversial nature of the concept of civil society is not different in South Africa. In this country, the idea of civil society has raised the thoughts of 'change agents' and analysts across a wide range of issues, hence rendering the concept to mean all things to all people and different things to different people.[63]

According to Adam Habib,[64] "there are two distinct phases in the evolution of contemporary civil society in South Africa." However, before pointing this out, it may be vital to consider that contemporary civil society is differentiated by the fact that it is not only a retrospect of the realities of the South African demography and society, but equally transforms the racialised structure of the 'adversarial-collaborative dichotomy' that was characteristically exemplified in civil society-state relationship in earlier epochs.

CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE APARTHEID ERA

Two societies came into existence during the apartheid era: on the one hand, there existed a white civil society that was an intermediary between the white minority and the apartheid state, and on the other, a fully separated black civil society that was involved in mobilising the black majority in opposition to the apartheid state. The argument here is that, in terms of their objectives, the functioning of civil society organisations in South Africa was not the same and was not operating on the same platform. The reason why the researcher asserts this point is that, the system in place restricted the black civil society not to interact with the state due to the undemocratic and repressive system of government that gave an edge to the white over the black majority. During this period, white civil society was very collaborative with the state and in a way established networks that only helped to further distance the blacks. To further strengthen this argument, Adam Habib[65] makes this point:

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[63] Friedman, S and Reitzes, M (1996) "Democratisation or Bureaucratisation?: Civil Society, the Public Sphere and the State in Post-Apartheid South Africa."
http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:jfk5cDgUe9YJ:www.transformation.ukzn.ac.za/archive/tran029/trans029005.pdf+global+revival+of+civil+society&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=4&gl=za

[64] Habib, A (2005) Civil Society and Democracy in Africa

[65] Adam Habib (2003) "State- Civil Society Relations in Post-Apartheid South Africa" in " State of the Nation" 2003-2004 - John D, Adam, H and Southall, R. (eds) pp.227-241, Published by Human Science Research Council Press.

"In the apartheid period, the bulk of the population in South Africa was excluded on racial basis from representation in the state. This saw the emergence of resistance organizations mobilised largely in an effort to claim the state. Under the apartheid era, the adversarial-collaborative divide largely took a racial form with the bulk of "white- civil society" establishing collegiate relations with the state, and the majority of "black-civil society" adopting a confrontational mode of engagement."[66]

The two associational compositions that constituted the apartheid era (that is, those that formed these two societies) were at the verge of complete separation. This was due to the fact that inter-racial interaction was practically impossible as a result of the apartheid laws that were enacted.[67]

Another point advanced to strengthen the argument that during the apartheid period two societies were at the spotlight and at variance to each other as opposed to the state is that during the 1980s the relationship between organised civil society and public that campaigned against apartheid government was relatively straight forward. The straight forward nature of the relationship that seems to be captivating here has to do with the "adversarial-collaborative divide" which largely took a racial form with the bulk of white civil society setting up cooperative ties with the state, while those of black civil society were at constant confrontations with the state. To further highlight the debate, Ebrahim Fakir[68] makes this point:

"There were contradictory impulses in the way that anti-apartheid civil society engaged with the apartheid state." Partially, civil society engaged with the state in a way that was necessary. The anti-apartheid civil society structures made up of the black majority who had this confrontational tendency against the state played a significant role in the demise of the apartheid state and in bringing about democracy to the majority of South Africans.[69]

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[66] Ibid, pp.228-232.
[67] Ibid - p.228
[68] Gasela, R and Masiwa, B (2007) Interface or Aid: Evaluating the Role of NGOs in Developmental Local Governance. A seminar hosted by Afes-corplan on 23 March 2007 was primarily aimed at providing a platform for deliberations on the nature of state-civil society relations, particularly in a transformed, yet transitionary post-apartheid context, in this seminar Ebrahim Fakir Described how NGOs have evolved from the pre and post apartheid period. He also described how the anti-apartheid civil society structures played a very significant role in the demise of apartheid in South Africa. http://www.afesis.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=110&Itemid=47. Accessed, 20-11-2007.
[69] Gasela, R and Masiwa, B (2007) http://www.afesis.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=110&Itemid=47.

During this period, as pointed out by Reitzes[70] the aim of the black civil society was not to make claims against the state but to participate in fighting a polity and a state which were both undemocratic. In this light, it was the rule of the struggle against apartheid [black civil society] rather than that of the democratic citizenship that informed their role. It can be argued as mentioned by Reitzes that their subsequent inclusion into state structures is therefore not the inclusion in civil society, thus it is the replacement of elements of a previous state with those who sought to take it over.

However, with the demise of apartheid, the South African civil society was rejuvenated and the newly elected government instituted democratic proceedings under which it was to operate.[71] As Ballard et al points out: "It marked the moment when the leaders of anti-apartheid activism entered the corridors of political power." [72] The demise of apartheid led not only to a rearrangement in which the two associational configurations were to amalgamate, but also to a re-direction in which both were to basically redefine their role vis-à-vis the state.[73]

The demise of apartheid also instigated the racial split between the "white civil society" and the "black civil society," to start quitting the scene. This racial divide in Adam Habib words: "began to blur in the transition period as significant sections of "white civil society" began to distance them selves from the apartheid regime. In the contemporary era, the racial divide has all but disappeared, with adversarial and collegiate relations extending across the entire ambit of civil society." [74]

In general, the South African post-apartheid civil society has played a remarkable role in shaping the government's social and economic policies. Broadly looking at development, one would realise that some of the key developmental strategies and policies that have been put in place in the current period have incorporated the ideas of both public and private institutions with the civil society representing the entire non-government sector. This section of the study has asserted that civil society has intervened in a number of areas in post-apartheid South Africa. Some of the areas include participation in the policy-

[70] Reitzes, M (1995) "How should Civil Society formations relate to structures of representative government?" in Humphries, R and Reitzes, M (1995) (Eds) "Civil Society after Apartheid."Pp.99-127.
[71] Ballard, R. Habib, A. Valodia, I. and Zuern, E. (2006) "Voices of Protest-Social Movements of Post-Apartheid South Africa." University of KwaZulu-Natal Press-South Africa. p.1
[72] Ibid p.1
[73] Habib, A. (2003) Pp.232-238.
[74] Habib, A. (2005) "Civil Society-State Relationship in Post-Apartheid South Africa, Social Research Fall, 2005. : http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2267/is_3_72/ai_n15922538. Accessed, 2-12-2007.

making process; the monitoring of government performance; partnering in service delivery, fostering effective leadership and the provision of resources, as well as fostering civic participation and a spirit of volunteerism.[75] These myriad modes of civil society formations entail a shift in orientation. The skills, structures and modes of interaction involved in political resistance in the apartheid era differ sharply from those involved in reconstruction and development in the post-apartheid period hence requiring a new approach and making it an essential aspect to be studied.

CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE POST-APARTHEID ERA

According to a research on civil society conducted by a team of researchers in the National Labour and Economic Institute [NALEDI], it is stated that "civil society in South Africa is a term that can be used to describe all aspects of society that are not government. The term is used most often to describe community –based organisations, non-governmental and non-profit organisations, including trade unions and the churches. Given that civil society is made up of ordinary men and women, it is the sector from which many advocacy campaigns are formed that aim to improve people's livelihoods, or their access to certain rights."[76]

Civil society organisations play different roles, and span a range of sectors. Some of the roles include those of service provision, campaigning and policy support.

In terms of providing services, many organisations which are non- governmental have been involved in building capacities in communities through programmes such as market gardening which is an income generating activity, youth training programmes, adult education programmes, counselling, shelter for the homeless, community –based advice offices and many important services. Organisations like the Teddy Bear Centre has been very instrumental in preparing children to participate in court hearing sessions especially on cases of child abuse.[77]

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[75] Gasela, R and Masiwa, B (2007) http://www.afesis.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=110&Itemid=47

[76] NALEDI: South African Civil Society Speaks. Site: http://www.naledi.org.za/fighting_poverty/book.htm. Accessed, 9-12-2007.

[77] NALEDI: South African Civil Society Speaks. Site: http://www.naledi.org.za/fighting_poverty/book.htm. Accessed, 9-12-2007. P.92

Civil society organisations have also been involved in campaigns. The aim of campaigns by civil society organisations is to create awareness to the masses about issues affecting them and the ways to handle these issues. Campaigns educate people about their choices and actions (for example love life,), while others concentrate on enlightening people and communities about their economic rights (Soweto Electricity Crisis, Anti-Privatisation Forum), some are fully designed to engage with the government in order to influence some of its policies for the betterment of its citizens (e.g. the Treatment Action Campaign, Basic Income Grant, Landless People's Movement, People's Budget Campaign, Homeless People's Alliance etc) or calls for the implementation of new initiatives.[78]

Other civil society organisations are involved in policy support to the government. There are so many research NGOs in South Africa which are basically concerned with government policy, and on seeking means to ascertain that policy development takes into consideration the interest of particular sectors of the economy such as workers or business. These NGOs are related to social actors most of the time. For example NALEDI is linked to the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU]. The centre for development and enterprise is closely associated to business in South Africa. Other organisations like the Economic Policy Research Institute are assigned most often to offer research support to both government policy processes and civil society campaigns.[79]

CIVIL SOCIETY'S ROLE IN THE POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICA

After having described how civil society is conceptualised in South Africa, it is important to proceed with analysing its role on the political transition of the country. Anchored within the paradigm of the pre and post 1994 period, this section proposes to unpack the underlying civil society trends in South Africa. It then proceeds to define the PBC within the context of the three distinct blocs of civil society as described by Adam Habib.

[78] NALEDI: South African Civil Society Speaks. Site: http://www.naledi.org.za/fighting_poverty/book.htm, p.92. Accessed, 9-12-2007
[79] Ibid p.92

PRE- 1994 PERIOD

Many questions have been raised by political analysts (such as Steven Friedman) and civil society commentators as to why the subject of civil society is an important area of concern in South Africa. Probably, one of such questions has been the failure of the apartheid government to guarantee citizenship participation in public decision-making processes, as well as economic rights to the majority of the South African people.[80]

Another probability as to why the subject of civil society is an important area of concern in South Africa might be that civil society organisations have been very instrumental in the struggle for South Africa's political transition. They contributed by joining forces to influence the nationalist government to change from the harsh conditions of apartheid that was implemented in disfavour of the blacks. The constitution was the main instrument that the apartheid government used to impose various restrictions against the black citizens. Therefore, the process of transition was fundamentally centred on the mounting of pressure by civil society to change the apartheid regime's constitution that was the main pillar where all the adversities of the system revolved.[81]

In light of the above, this study will analyse the role of civil society by focusing its attention on the constitution of the apartheid regime which was largely undemocratic. This undemocratic nature of the constitution was manifested in all sectors of the South African society.

Jagwanth has posited that this discriminatory nature of the regime as reflected in its constitution was the major area of civil society's concern. The struggle for freedom began as far back as 1948 when the National party came into power and officially launched the policy of apartheid. The first South African constitution established in the 'South Africa Act' of 1910 gave prerogatives to an all white government. The enactment of this law was the genesis of the struggle by the civil society against a system full of

[80] Friedman & Reitzes , (1996) pp.55-56

[81] Jagwanth, Saras (2003) "Democracy, Civil Society and the South African Constitution: Some Challenges." This article draws our attention to the fact that the civil society of South Africa was very instrumental for the drawing up of the Post-Apartheid constitution. The process involved a massive public participation campaign in which the role of civil society was paramount, and with regards to its content, the transformative nature of the constitution declares itself devoted to the persistent inclusion of civil society in governance. This is a Discussion Paper submitted to Management of Social Transformations [MOST]. Discussion Paper No.65. Published by the MOST Programme-UNESCO-2003. The author is a senior lecturer in Constitutional and Administrative Law at the University of Cape Town.

discrimination and oppression.[82] Other measures of segregation were put in place of which the enactment of 'Land Act' in 1913 was one of them, which out rightly dispossessed the African people from land ownership.

The civil society [as further described by Jagwanth] struggle for freedom attained its peak in the 1970s and 1980s when the apartheid state resorted to repressive measures due to the increasing levels of internal opposition. The attention of the international community was tilted on the predicament of South Africans. As stated by Jagwanth:[83] 'one of the significant developments in this period was the adoption of a new constitution in 1983.' He further described this development as a "spectacularly unsuccessful attempt to restructure racial and political arrangement while keeping power in the hands of the white minority."

Jagwanth further elaborates that the above circumstance only helped to aggravate the existing political atmosphere following the establishment of a tri- cameral parliament. The South African civil society joined forces during this period with the ANC which was an umbrella body of a high mass base. It is also acknowledged that the international community contributed enormously to dislocate the apartheid regime in some ways, one of them obviously was through boycotts and imposition of sanctions against South African products in the global market.[84]

Following a myriad of sporadic efforts for change, the beginning of 1990 saw the liberalisation of political parties and political prisoners and the process of change was inevitably under construction. In 1993, the South African civil society [blacks in particular] regrouped under the largest single umbrella organisation [ANC] and 24 other political parties and the government came together to discuss South Africa's transition to democracy.[85]

The discussion took place in stages, and the first one took the form of the convention for a democratic society and then proceeded with a Multi-Party Negotiation Forum. The civil society which formed part of the extensive freedom movement jointly worked with the ANC to support in setting up policy options

[82] Jagwanth, S (2003) p.7
[83] Ibid, pp.7-8
[84] Ibid, p.8
[85] Jagwanth, S (2003), pp.8-9

and decisive priorities for the new South Africa. Often, this can be seen in the constitution itself as most of its requirements mirror the concerns of various civic organisations and interest groups.[86]

As stated above, the involvement of civic associations helped in strengthening ANC in many ways, one of which was to give the process more legitimacy, another was to reinforce worker strikes in support of ANC demands thereby enhancing the negotiations. The close collaboration of civil society structures helped to draft out a plan for what the ANC had in mind for the prevailing conditions in relation to the negotiation process. Consultation, participation and compromise with all sectors of the South African civil society were equally a principal factor for the negotiation process.[87]

According to Murray[88] (as cited in Jagwanth) the Constitutional Assembly's Public Awareness and Education Campaign was the most important reason for the success of the process even before it was being drafted. Several strategies were utilized during this campaign, numerous meetings were held covering nearly every town and village in South Africa. The aim was both to educate and allow civilians to give feedback and make submissions on the content of the new constitution. These meetings were widely publicised via the radio and television. As pointed out by Ebrahim,[89] participatory workshops were as well organised in consultation with civil society structures to advance the process of negotiation.

Briefly, even members of the constitutional assembly took part extensively in this public awareness campaign and travelled all over the country to confer with the public about the progress of the constitution-making process. Meetings were held with various sectors of which about 200 organisations were representing a number of interest groups. A constitutional talk line was set up to enable people to make submissions over the telephone.[90] As reported by Murray, "an independent survey found that approximately 73 percent of adult South Africans have been reached by the campaign." [91] Houston et al [92] reports that in the Constitutional Assembly itself "six theme committees were set up, which had the

[86] Jagwanth, S (2003), pp.9-10
[87] Ibid
[88] Murray, C (2001:106) "Negotiating beyond Deadlock: from the Constitutional Assembly to the Court" in Andrews, P &Elsman, S (Eds) Post-Apartheid Constitutions, pp.103-127. Witwatersrand University Press.
[89] Ebrahim, H (1998) "The Soul of a Nation"-Oxford University Press.
[90] Murray, C (2001:106) "Negotiating beyond Deadlock: from the Constitutional Assembly to the Court" in Andrews, P &Elsman, S (Eds) Post-Apartheid Constitutions, pp.103-127. Witwatersrand University Press.
[91] Ibid, p.107
[92] Houston, G, Liebenberg, I, Ramaema, V, Dichaba, W and Humphries, R (1999) "Public Participation in Legislative Processes-HSRC Work in progress Seminar Paper 1999. p.26

task of collecting and considering submissions from the public including organs of civil society, ordinary individuals and political parties."

POST- 1994 ERA

In light of the above commentaries, this study hereby asserts that the content of the current constitution was to a large extent successful due to the enormous input of civil society in the negotiation process. The new South African constitution has provided for a range of social and economic rights that needs to be enjoyed by its people. However, the advent of democracy in South Africa has offered numerous challenges for civil society-state operations. Some of the challenges of the new era have surfaced as a result of the challenges for the democratic government to actualise as well as to enforce some of the social and economic options that have been laid down in the constitution. The partial or no fulfilment of some of these policy options as defined in the constitution has led to a split of the civil society structure in South Africa, as some organisations within the civil society sector have been co-opted by government, while others are still standing on their former positions as monitors of government policies, some are mainly survivalists in nature. The next section will explore the explanation of the three distinct blocs as presented by Adam Habib.

In light of the above conclusion on the change of South Africa's political regime, it is likely that it can have a remarkable impact on society. As Adam Habib[93] has mentioned: "regime change is all the more efficacious if it occurs in an era of globalisation, of which South Africa's situation is more evident than elsewhere particularly in an era where democratisation and globalisation have fundamentally transformed the society." In relation to the democratisation and globalization process, the civil society sector in South Africa has reshaped itself in important ways of which the impacts are only becoming apparent now. This sector has been undergoing changes after thirteen years of its transition, and the most noticeable result of the reshaping process is the materialization of three distinct blocs within the civil society sector. Each of these blocs is a manifestation to dissimilar measures of separate phases of change.[94]

[93]Habib, A. (2005) "Civil Society-State Relationship in Post-Apartheid South Africa, Social Research Fall, 2005. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2267/is_3_72/ai_n15922538. Accessed, 2-12-2007.
[94] Habib, A. (2005) "Civil Society-State Relationship in Post-Apartheid South Africa, Social Research Fall, 2005. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2267/is_3_72/ai_n15922538. Accessed, 2-12-2007.

The three diverse streams that came into fruition as a result of a change of the apartheid regime to the democratisation and neo-liberal materialisation of globalisation's processes in South Africa are NGOs, survivalist agencies and the new social movements. It is noted that each of these streams have a separate rapport with the state.[95] While some like the service oriented NGOs have a more collaborative rapport with the state as a result of a change of regime, others like the community based structures are still maintaining their hostile rapport with the state as a result of its newly adopted neo-liberal policies.[96] These forms of organisations also see them selves as having equal strengths to that of the state. This is manifested in the ways they engage the state with regards to the adoption of its developmental policies.

Among these two groups of civil society organs is a third which is more unofficial and mainly functions in marginalised communities with virtually no connection with the state. These organisations, according to Habib,[97] are having as one of their key objectives to support people who cannot endure the negative effects of neo-liberalism.

Taking into consideration the above-mentioned blocs within the civil society sector in South Africa as described by Adam Habib, where do we situate the People's Budget Campaign? In this section, the study will define the PBC drawing from the researchers' experience on 'direct and participant observation' which constitutes some of the key strategies of data collection as has been described in a case study design.[98]

As mentioned above, the PBC can be situated in the second bloc of organs within the civil society sector in South Africa. A critical review of the literature on PBC and participation of its programmes, allows the researcher to define the PBC as a 'coalition' that involves networks between partners sharing common objectives. The partners of this coalition are the South African Non-Governmental Coalition, the South African Council of Churches and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. The National Labour and Economic Development Institute is a unit that deals with both administrative and research

[95] Ibid
[96] Ibid
[97] Habib, A. (2005) "Civil Society-State Relationship in Post-Apartheid South Africa, Social Research Fall, 2005. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2267/is_3_72/ai_n15922538. Accessed, 2-12-2007.
[98] See, Zonabend, F (1992), Tellis , W (1997), Yin, R (1994)-Op.cit

related issues of the coalition. Though a separate NGO in its own right, it is a branch under COSATU which is a partner of the PBC.[99]

The PBC is a coalition of civil society organisations (namely SANGOCO, COSATU, and SACC). The campaign was launched in 2000, and it was having as some of its key objectives to support participatory and democratic governance, as well as to give a voice in debates on the budget to major constituencies in civil society. A retrospect on Adam Habib's description of the second bloc of civil society components in South Africa brings us to one of the fundamental arguments that the PBC had advanced earlier on as opposed to the state.

The most essential argument advanced by the PBC is that of the government's implementation of the GEAR policy in 1996 as a fundamental means to drive economic development in South Africa. The PBC considered GEAR as a neo-liberal agenda that was driven by the trends of globalisation. They have always been advocating for a pro-poor budget which implies an increase in government spending. Their view as opposed to GEAR has always been controversial. Their relationship with the state on the aspect of GEAR in particular was very adversarial. They engaged the state in a relatively more even footing and were more critical in their demands as outlined in their spending proposals.[100]

GEAR proponents argued that the South African government had to reduce its borrowing relative to GDP without reducing taxes. It also contended that this fiscal policy would free up resources for the private sector hence causing higher investment and growth. But the PBC was constantly in opposition to this view by saying that budget policy should support development by maintaining levels of spending sufficient to improve services in poor communities and stimulate overall economic growth.[101]

One of the main features of the PBC from the researcher's observation is that their relationship with the state is engaging as they operate in a logically more equal position with it. They engage the state in a bid to persuade it through lobbying from a more substantive and pro-poor budget standpoint. Though SANGOCO in its own right may have a kind of collaborative relationship with the state. With regards to the People's Budget Campaign of which they form part of the coalition, their view in this particular

[99] Participant Observation – September 2007- January 2008
[100] Critical analysis of Participant from PBC Documents and insights from Meetings attended – September – December 2007.
[101] Ibid

agenda is contrary to their objectives as a separate entity from the PBC. SANGOCO as a separate entity can therefore be situated as one of the powerful set of service –related NGOs which as a result of a change in political regime has been engulfed into the state development machinery.[102]

COSATU, on its part operates with the state in a relatively more equal footing. It engages the state on issues generally reflecting its client-base. COSATU can be situated within the second stream of civil society organisations in South Africa. At one end of the spectrum, it adopts a more engaging interaction with the state (for example, on the PBC), and at the other end, it resorts to adversarial positions –for example their stance on the issue of the distribution of anti-retroviral drugs to HIV/AIDS patients. Equally of importance is the fact that the SACC as a separate organisation from the PBC has its own areas where it may collaborate, engage or lobby with the state on an issue and disagree completely with it on another one. For example, their position with the state on the People's Budget is more engaging and they operate in a more relatively even footing, whereas their interaction with the state on other issues of concern may be collaborative, controversial or adversarial in nature.[103]

On a conclusive note therefore, as stated by Adam Habib, "the diverse roles and functions undertaken by different elements of civil society collectively creates the adversarial-collaborative relationship," and the implication to this different positions is issue specific and varies across different civil society organs in South Africa. The second part of this chapter will be analysing the concept of mobilisation and advocacy within the context of the PBC.

[102] Critical analysis of Participant from PBC Documents and insights from Meetings attended – September – December 2007.
[103] Critical analysis of Participant from PBC Documents and insights from Meetings attended – September – December 2007

PART TWO

A REVIEW OF THE CONCEPT OF MOBILISATION AND ADVOCACY

INTRODUCTION

This section explores the concept of mobilisation. It also points to the question of advocacy. These questions are going to be examined within the context of the PBC. As will be evoked in the subsequent chapter, civil society advocacy is one of the major activities of the PBC. With respect to the PBC, advocacy is about the act of lobbying with government for an alternative budget process by key proponents of the Coalition. The aspect of mobilisation in PBC perspective focuses on social networking and creation of alliances to include other civil society groups on budget policy questions. The PBC also mobilise to reach out the wider public in order to raise awareness for budgetary decisions awaiting them. Mobilisation in the context of PBC is therefore based on two fronts: this is envisaged in PBC campaign activities and their advocacy related deliberations.

THE CONCEPT OF MOBILISATION

Social mobilisation is about engaging people to advocate for their rights and to gain more control over the resources they need. Social mobilisation aims at mobilising resources, articulating concrete demands, networking, setting up coalitions and securing sustainable social movements and their demands.[104] Social mobilisations have political, as well as economic implications on civil society-state relationship, and with specific regards to being an appropriate policy instrument in the context of poverty – reduction, unemployment, and development-driven initiatives. For the purpose of this study, the researcher has used the term mobilisation to refer to civil society organisations which are involved in alerting the public to be able to participate in the budget process and in development initiatives.

The term mobilisation as posited by Bartolini entered political usage from the military vocabulary. “It is an ambiguous term imported from totalitarian theory and later used in all sorts of contexts; it now conveys the meaning of a complex process of self-mobilisation and hetero-mobilisation-that is, of

[104] Schuftan, C (1996) “The Community Development Dilemma: What is really empowering?” Community Development Journal 31:3. Pp. 260-264

"being mobilised" and of mobilising. Mobilisation was a multi-faceted process of citizens' involvement in the [post] –national and industrial faces of modernization."[105]

As reiterated by Bartolini, 'citizens were progressively mobilised in non-political spheres by capitalism and industrialism in the economic sphere through media such as exchange and money; through the extension of the market; geographical and labour mobility; through the imposition of tariffs; credits and capital procedures and techniques; and the availability of services and goods. They were also mobilised by the military and the administrative machine of the state, as soldiers, as well as subjects of administrative agencies and through travelling and residential restrictions and/ or liberalization.'[106]

According to Nedelmann, the analytical concept of mobilisation activities consist of three processes: the process of interest formation (cognitive dimension), the process of community building (affective dimension), and the process of employing means for action (instrumental dimension).[107] Different phases or waves of (economic, administrative, cultural) political mobilisations can be distinguished. However, it was the first wave that was of paramount importance, because it not only opened the door to successful waves, it also set the original opportunity structure within which those that followed had to be accommodated.

The first political mobilisation was the process by which former subject individuals were initially recruited as active participants in forms of nation-wide organisational and electoral activities for the purpose of influencing political decision –making; in order for this to take off, minimum level of other forms of mobilisation had to be reached.[108]

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[105] Stefano Bartolini, (2000) "The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980: The Class Cleavage." Cambridge University Press – Cambridge.

[106] Stefano Bartolini, (2000) "The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980: The Class Cleavage." Cambridge University Press – Cambridge.

[107] An analytical discussion of the concept of mobilization is presented in Nedelmann [1987:181-191], where the distinction between the three dimensions of mobilization as "formations of interest," "management of emotions," and "development of instrumental capacities" is developed. Nedelmann's general definition of political mobilization as the 'actors attempts to influence the existing distribution of power is too broad for the purpose of this study. Such a definition is introduced as a result of dissatisfaction with others who limit political mobilization to the process of authority legitimization or attribute excessive emphasis to the dimension of instrumentality, in the sense of mobilization as "resource control" (as utilized by [Tilly 1978]). The emphasis on 'recruitment of citizens in active political participation' implies a reference to the three dimensions mentioned by Nedelmann. How ever, for the purpose of this research, we have acknowledged usage of the cognitive and instrumental dimensions of the term.

[108] Bartolini, S. (2000) "The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980: The Class Cleavage." Cambridge University Press – Cambridge.

As earlier mentioned, the concept of social mobilisation which encompasses the cognitive and instrumental dimensions of mobilisation is the main focus of this research. The explanation for utilising the concept of mobilisation in this approach can be seen in two folds: (1) the cognitive dimension of mobilisation deals with interest formation. From its inception and looking at interest formation within the PBC, one can surmise that its objective of mobilising popular participation in the budget process is relative to its particular interest in the budget and how it should be suitably distributed across various sectors of the society. It can therefore be obvious that the 'national budget process' is the main instrument through which the PBC embarks for civil society mobilisation. Thus the PBC's implementation of its objective of mobilisation in the national budget process ties with the aspect of interest formation in the budget process.[109] In other words, their interest has been formed around the budget, and their stance as to that is to see that development of the budget should be pursued from a pro-poor dimension.

(2) The instrumental dimension of mobilisation deals with the process of employing means for action. Some of the means for PBC actions includes public campaigns and advocacy related work evoked in different board room meetings. Locating this dimension [instrumental] of mobilisation within the context of the PBC it is obvious that the main instrument for civil society mobilisation is the budget. The national budget process clearly stands out as the fundamental platform for the PBC to take action – and their actions in this sense are the series of meetings ranging from lobbying with officials from the finance ministry, delegates' conferences of the PBC itself for the development of proposals in response to the Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement and, other adhoc committee sessions of relevance to budget implementation and to the agenda of development in general.[110] At times, the PBC does this by inviting representatives from other civil society structures as well as officials from related ministries [such as social and labour department] to their meetings and engage them through lobbying as well as advocating for a more equitable and redistributive budget. They also execute their action by outreaching people in the wider public through the distribution of tracks and pamphlets in order to assure the depth of the campaign.

[109] COSATU, SANGOCO, SACC (2005) (The People's Budget Campaign). Budgeting For People's Needs, p.10
[110] COSATU, SANGOCO, SACC (2005) (The People's Budget Campaign). Budgeting For People's Needs, p.10

Social mobilisation is about the participation of people in development initiatives. As mentioned by Burkey,[111] "participation is an essential part of human growth, that is, the development of self-confidence, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility, and cooperation. Without such a development within the people themselves all efforts to alleviate their poverty will be immensely more difficult, if not impossible. This process, whereby people learn to take charge of their own lives and solve their own problems, is the essence of development."

With regards to the PBC, the aspect of popular participation is relevant because it allows people to monitor and improve implementation in national development strategies. Another aspect of participation in relation to the PBC is that one of its key objectives is to expand opportunities for individuals and organisations to take part meaningfully in debates about economic policy and spending priorities. At the national level, the parliament is the primary forum through which representatives from various sectors of the society express their views on legislation of the budget.

The question of participation is important in analysing the success of the PBC with regards to the mobilisation phenomenon in particular and to the development cycle in general. Participation in this context refers to the active involvement of citizens in communities or organisations. Participation is a legitimate and transformative approach to development. When people participate in the development process of their various organisations and communities, they become self-confident and fulfilled. This self- confidence leads to a greater sense of believe in their personal abilities. This self-contentment and believe in personal abilities speed the process of participation in development.[112] With regards to this research, a key aspect of PBC mobilisation is to ensure ample participation of organised civil society in the budget process.

From a development perspective, participation is not only about self-perception of power and control, but also about connectedness to, and togetherness with, others. Take for example in a community development project, connectedness and togetherness has to do with the networking and collaboration of the beneficiaries involved in the project. The challenges of any development pattern striving to

[111] Burkey, S (1993) "People First: A Guide to Self-Reliant Participatory Rural Development." p.56. Zed Books Ltd – London.
[112] Higgins, J, W (1999) "Citizenship and Empowerment: a remedy for citizen participation in health reform." Community Development Journal 34: 287-307. Published by Community Development Journal and Oxford University Press-1999. The aspect of self-confidence and believe has also been cited above by Burkey.

harmonize economics with social and environmental needs require active participation in public issues. Public participation in decisions about development is fundamental to achieving lasting and possible solutions. Modern democratic life requires an active role from the population and needs participation of members of the community. Active participation allows government action to become transparent.[113] In relating this view to the PBC, it is worth while to note that participation in the national budget process is not supposed to be limited within PBC advocates. In other words, they are supposed to relate with other structures of civil society (such as BIG, TAC etc) in order to fortify the campaign to reach more people.

According to proponents of alternative development, as mentioned by Hickey and Mohan, [114]participation has always been conceived radically as a struggle against political and economic exclusion from exercising control over public resources. Since its emergence in the 1970's, its task has been defined as being to transform the claims of discarded citizens into rights.

Participation has actually deepened and extended its role in development. It essentially concerns the exercise of popular agency in relation to development, a concern that has been typical of post-impasse development studies, and much current development strategy based on recognizing existing capacities of people as vigorous claims-making agents.[115]

With regards to the above critique, public participation in the budget process as stipulated by the PBC is fundamental to improving the range of decisions made and to improve compliance between the civil society and government on the budget process. Perceived within the context of this research, participation is important in development because it promotes the commitments of people in their various communities, especially when people have been involved from the outset of development agenda (that is, in the program's design) in their respective communities, to the implementation

[113] Higgins, J, W (1999) "Citizenship and Empowerment: a remedy for citizen participation in health reform." Community Development Journal 34: 287-307. Published by Community Development Journal and Oxford University Press-1999. The aspect of self-confidence and believe has also been cited above by Burkey.
[114] Hickey, S and Mohan, G (2004) "Towards participation as transformation: critical themes and challenges, in Hickey, S and Mohan, G (Eds) (2004) "Participation: from tyranny to transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development." Published by Zed Books London /New York. Pp.1-20
[115] Hickey, S and Mohan, G (2004) "Towards participation as transformation: critical themes and challenges, in Hickey, S and Mohan, G (Eds) (2004) "Participation: from tyranny to transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development." Published by Zed Books London /New York Pp. 1-20

phase.[116] Ironically, when perceived from the PBC perspective, one can easily point to the fact that there is a lapse in the participation of the broad public in their budget deliberations. This is because they concentrate more on advocacy work which excludes the participation of people from poor communities as a result of its limited mode of operation.

In social mobilization, the empowerment of people is equally important as far as development is concerned. The researcher's contestation with regards to this is that, in order for people to actively participate in development oriented –initiatives or projects in their respective communities - they first of all need to be equipped with skills which can enable them to actively participate. In relation to this, Schuftan [117] has argued that in social mobilisation, participation means, or is actions that tend towards the articulation of people's felt needs into concrete demands. The explanation here is that social mobilization does not normally stems out of a vacuum, most often, it is as a result of the fact that people always have a 'felt need' which might either be in the form of poor public service delivery or the deprivation of certain economic or political rights which may precipitate the occurrence of mobilisation activity [more especially the instrumental dimension of it –which is that of employing means for taking action].

In light of this study, the people's felt needs is an improvement in their living conditions, and their demands is that the state budget should be evenly distributed in all sectors of the economy so as to have a positive impact on their living standards. For example, degrading health conditions in South African communities may be as a result of inadequate services provided by the health department in rural areas due to the low budget ascribed by those responsible for the drafting. In social mobilisation, participation is also about turning people's needs into claims so that they can ultimately better fight their rights (for example, mobilisation of their social power), Schuftan[118] has also mentioned that it is also about actions that turns towards mobilizing people's own, and other identified needed resources including those not previously used.

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[116] Burkey, S (1993) "People First: A Guide to Self-Reliant Participatory Rural Development." p.56. Zed Books Ltd – London.
Pp.56-57

[117] Schuftan, C (1996) "The Community Development Dilemma: What is really empowering?" Community Development Journal 31:3. Pp. 260-264

[118] Schuftan, C (1996) "The Community Development Dilemma: What is really empowering?" Community Development Journal 31: 3. Pp. 260-264

Social mobilisation in this context also has to do with exerting an effective demand for resources other than those which are readily available for development. In light of this study, the PBC is exerting an effective demand on the government for a development-oriented budget. That is, a budget that will reflect the demands of the poor majority in society. In social mobilisation, participation also means organizing people's actions [instrumental dimension of mobilisation] to effectively use and progressively control external resources (leading to a consolidation of a new and growing power base).[119] In light of this study, the use of budgets can be realised simply in response to how effective external resources are controlled and monitored by the PBC which is the sole civil society platform via which national budget allocation and implementation are grossly disputed.

Social mobilisation as well, means the participation of people and actions that turns towards networking with others. With regards to the PBC, it is absolutely important for us to take note of the fact that the survival of the coalition is as a result of the huge social network involved. Social mobilisation also means the participation of people that strives to achieve a critical mass of concerned individuals both locally and externally through the establishment of coalitions (that is, expanding the power base through solidarity).[120] The case of the PBC in Johannesburg involves external networking with its advocates in other areas of the country in a bid to cohere its proceedings nationally. In addition, participation in social mobilisation means turning actions towards giving people the voice over the decisions affecting them thus making them to be politically active and self-confident. It also means turning actions into proactive and concerted systems of working involving all strategic allies. With regards to this research, the PBC has not transformed their actions by giving marginalised people rights to take part in their different board room meetings which is centred more on advocacy.

The underlying rationale of the concept of mobilisation in the context of this study is to highlight the notion of participation by civil society organisations with regards to the budget process in particular and the agenda of development in general.

[119] Schuftan, C (1996) "The Community Development Dilemma: What is really empowering?" Community Development Journal 31: 3. Pp. 260-264
[120] Burkey, S (1993) "People First: A Guide to Self-Reliant Participatory Rural Development." p.56. Zed Books Ltd –London Pp. 56-57

It has been contested that participation is not only one of the goals of social development but an integral part of the social development process. In other words, participation is only a means to an end; and not an end in itself, more especially with regards to the participation of civil society organisations in the budget process. It is argued that social development is facilitated if people participate fully in making decisions that affects their welfare and in implementing these decisions.[121] In light of this study, the PBC's objective of mobilisation is to facilitate the process of participation by the civil society as seen in their various medium-term budget proposals, so that they can be part of the budgetary decisions affecting them. The mobilisation of citizens in this way not only fosters improvements in social conditions but strengthens human and community bonds. As seen within the PBC, its proceedings have helped in fortifying the interaction between members individually and within the various partners of the coalition.

The notion of participation is deeply rooted in its ideological perception on how societies should be organised socially and politically. Central to this reasoning is a response to the centralization, bureaucratization, rigidity and remoteness of the state. The ideas of community participation is sustained by the principles that the control of the state has extended too far, abating the freedoms of ordinary people and their rights to be in command of their own affairs.[122]In the light of budget development in South Africa, it is obvious that it is deeply rooted in its political ideology which is an exclusive architecture of the state. This is contrary to the tenets of a democratic (such as South Africa) state which stipulates that budget implementation and development initiatives needs to be more people-centred.

Participation creates a sense of community which gives meaning to human existence and fosters social integration. For any development initiative to be fully realised, it requires the active participation of the beneficiaries involved. Community participation serves immediate instrumental goals such as the identification of felt needs as well as the mobilization of local resources.[123] But it also promotes broader ideas of social development: by participating fully in decision-making for social development, ordinary people experience fulfilment which contributes to a heightened sense of community and a strengthening of community bonds. Therefore, as opposed to the former traditional top-down development paradigm,

[121] Midgley, J & Hall, A, L (2004) "Social Policy for Development." Pp.16-18. Sage Publication Inc. (See also Burkey on p.58 second paragraph, on the issue of participation not being an end in its self but only a means to an end).
[122] Midgley, J & Hall, A, L (2004) "Social Policy for Development." Pp.16-18. Sage Publication Inc. (See also Burkey on p.58 second paragraph, on the issue of participation not being an end in its self but only a means to an end). Pp. 16-18.
[123] Burkey, S. (1993) [see also Midgley, 2004, Mohan &Hickey, 2004, Vincent, S 2004 in Mohan &Hickey (Eds) 2004].

participation in development projects must be direct and give ultimate control to local communities so that they can themselves decide their own affairs.

In conforming to the above statement, and to ensure that various sectors of civil society participates in decision-making in the budget process and to share its benefits equitably, the PBC makes sure that it encourages the involvement of civil society to be fully committed to the realisation of this objective, which is to expand discussion around the budget, and by so doing it tries to ensure that more people know about the budget and government programmes. Participation therefore, requires the direct face-to-face involvement of citizens in social development.[124]

Since the late 1970s there has been a range of interpretations of the meaning of participation in development. The following are a number of examples to further reinforce the definition as conceptualised in this study.

With regards to rural development, participation includes people's involvement in decision-making processes, in implementing programmes, their sharing in the benefits of development programmes, and their involvement in efforts to evaluate such programmes. Participation is concerned with the organised efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations on the part of groups and movements of those previously deprived of such controls.[125] As mentioned in Burkey, in a study carried out by Cohen and Uphoff which was based on an assessment of over 50 rural development projects, they found out that local-participation in decision-making during implementation was even more critical to project success than such participation in the initial design.

In light of the above Burkey[126] further argues that community participation is an active process by which beneficiaries influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their wellbeing in terms of income, personal growth and self-reliance. For him, participation can also be seen as the process of empowerment of the deprived and excluded. In this perspective, participation necessitates the creation of organization of the poor which are independent and self-reliant. In the light

[124] Burkey, S. (1993) [see also Midgley, 2004, Mohan &Hickey, 2004, Vincent, S 2004 in Mohan &Hickey (Eds) 2004].
[125] Burkey, S. (1993) [see also Midgley, 2004, Mohan &Hickey, 2004, Vincent, S 2004 in Mohan &Hickey (Eds) 2004]. P.56
[126] Ibid, p.57

of this research, the exclusion of marginalised communities to participate in PBC board room meetings is critical because it does not allow nor authorize them to influence the direction and decisions of the budget process neither within nor out of the PBC ranks. Thus, their welfare in terms of budget allocation and implementation is negatively affected.

Participation in development means more than participation in economic benefits; it is a process which can range from information, consultation to local people assuming ownership of and responsibility for the development initiative. For instance, if the objective of a project is to encourage ownership and responsibility, then it will be important to monitor how people's participation in the project evolves over time from an initial more passive involvement to eventual active participation and responsibility.[127] It is also a process of continuous education, a process of progressive conscientisation as described by Paulo Freire in his book titled "Pedagogy of the Oppressed." In this work he states that through the collective self-reflection of the oppressed people's experiences and problems, they became more conscious of the breadth of their reality and of what they can do in order to change their situation.[128] In relation to this research, information flow from key PBC proponents to local people is limited within campaign activities. At the level of advocacy, information circulates only within those who are capable of engaging in high level discussions on budget implementation and deliberations. This therefore makes those who are incapable to engage in PBC board room proceedings not to assume ownership of and responsibility for decisions of the national budget affecting them.

Participatory development stands for partnership which is built upon the bases of dialogue between various actors involved in the development process. In participatory development, negotiations rather than the dominance of an externally set project agenda dominates the scene, thus making people to become actors instead of being beneficiaries in development outcomes. The World Bank [1994] has defined participation as a process through which stake holders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them.[129] With regards to this study,

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[127] Burkey, S. (1993) [see also Midgley, 2004, Mohan &Hickey, 2004, Vincent, S 2004 in Mohan &Hickey (Eds) 2004]. p.58

[128] Freire, P (1972) "Pedagogy of the Oppressed." Penguin Books Harmondsworth.

[129] World Bank (1994) "Participation and the World Bank: Successes, Constraints and Responses." Draft for discussion, (prepared for the International Conference on Up- scaling and Mainstreaming – participation: of primary stakeholders: lessons learned and ways forward), By Maria Aycrigg. Social Development Papers. Paper No. 29. http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:ybCUx4mbcJgJ:siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPCENG/Resources/sdp-29.pdf+world+bank%27s+definition+of+participation,+1994&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=za. Accessed, 15-12-2007.

the researcher has earlier mentioned that the PBC falls within the second stream of Adam Habib's classification of civil society organizations in South Africa, which engages the state in dialogue concerning the budget. In a way, the PBC advocates for the People's Budget with the government in a relatively equal footing and at times actualizes their central objective of pro-poor budget development through the setting-up of their intended proposals as opposed to the medium-term budget policy framework announced by the finance minister every early November. Within the ranks of the PBC itself, dialogue between the various activists of the campaign appears to be the central strength in the course of executing its proceedings.

Participatory development as perceived by Vincent in Mohan and Hickey[130] requires not surprisingly, that people take the time and energy in establishing the basis for planning, carrying out and /or evaluating activity or activities that will bring a change in their own lives. She progressively reiterates that the participation of those at whom an intervention is aimed is meant to ensure that the change will be more appropriate to their needs. According to her, the location of participatory work is thus focused on the local level and depends upon local interest and capacity to engage in action for change. With regards to this study and as purported by Vincent in Hickey and Mohan, the objective of mobilisation which is that of public participation to the budget process at both levels (i.e. within the ranks of PBC and government) requires the actualization of participatory work at the local level. In other words, dwelling on the concept of participation with regards to budget development in South Africa, the PBC needs to consider the voices of people at the local level in order to fulfil the ethics guiding a democratic state that purports a people-centred development initiative. The PBC has been focusing more on advocacy regarding budget implementation and development.

THE CONCEPT OF ADVOCACY

Even though the concept of advocacy is very broad and can only be defined within the context of a particular case in point, it is however important for us to have a general understanding of some of the underlying questions that point to its existence and developments.

[130] Hickey, S and Mohan, G (2004) "Towards participation as transformation: critical themes and challenges, in Hickey, S and Mohan, G (Eds) (2004) "Participation: from tyranny to transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development." Published by Zed Books London /New York Pp. 112 -119.

Generally, advocacy is a term related to a number of issues. One of them relates to 'the process of persuading result that involves public policy and resource distribution decisions within economic, political and social systems.'[131] The term itself operates within different arenas and can be defined in different ways ranging from public interest to policy advocacy, social justice to people-centred advocacy, and participatory to feminist advocacy.

While the public interest advocacy operates within a typically large-scale campaign style that involves professional advocates or lobbyists and media specialists, the policy advocacy stream solely focuses on a policy agenda and a specific policy objective. This line of scholars often believes that an alternative policy might result to a real change underground.[132]

While people-centred advocacy aims to capacitate poor people to fight for their civil liberties and welfare them selves, participatory advocacy strives to spread the frontiers of public decision-making by incorporating civil society groups in policy agendas.[133] The feminist stream in its own right strives for strategies and various mechanisms to uproot inequalities between men and women folk. They do this through their influence in public decision-making processes. How is advocacy perceived within the PBC context?

Deducing from the above-mentioned description of advocacy, one can easily surmise that the PBC's style of advocacy is not far from being a conglomeration of those attributed above. A review of primary documents and literature on PBC's style of advocacy reveals that it's principally concerned with the policy advocacy stream which focuses exclusively on an alternative budget process in South Africa. The PBC advocates mostly believe that a change in GEAR policy which was the fundamental stance of government's neo-liberal fiscal agenda in 1996 might result to a genuine change at the grassroots level provided the intended budget policy decisions would be implemented from a pro-poor development standpoint.

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[131] Advocacy Institute, (2001) See www. Advocacy.org for more details.
[132] PROLINNOVA Working Paper 10 (2005) "Strengthening PROLINNOVA dialogue and advocacy strategy." Discussion note by PROLINNOVA International Support Team (December, 2005). Retrieved from: http://www.prolinnova.net/Working_Papers/WP10%20Policy%20advocacy%20discussion%20note.doc.
[133] PROLINNOVA Working Paper 10 (2005) "Strengthening PROLINNOVA dialogue and advocacy strategy." Discussion note by PROLINNOVA International Support Team (December, 2005). P.2 Retrieved from: http://www.prolinnova.net/Working_Papers/WP10%20Policy%20advocacy%20discussion%20note.doc.

The PBC also has attributes of large-scale campaign style advocacy. Through the distribution of tracks, pamphlets and media outreach, the PBC ensures that its campaign reaches out to a wide range of individuals including those in marginalised communities. The PBC actors do this by mobilising these resources in quest for policy changes (such as land, labour, health etc) on social and political issues with the objective of serving the broad public interest. Existing literature also reveals that the PBC does not execute people-centred advocacy which aims to empower poor people to advocate for their rights and welfare themselves. This is because they believe that policy is the terrain of experts and so would rather prefer to circulate all information on how to pursue a change of policy within a group of expert advocates who are obviously having the capacity to engage issues on the intended policy concerns. Participatory advocacy is practised by the coalition. This is evident as they go beyond their frontiers regarding public decision-making by inviting other civil society groups to engage in debates on budget policy implementation and monitoring.[134]

CONCLUSION

This chapter has broadly examined the role and concept of civil society. It has proceeded to analyse the concept with specificity to South Africa. It has also acknowledged the fact that civil society has been very instrumental in the political transition in Africa as a whole and in South Africa in particular. The chapter has equally established the fact that with the dawn of democracy and its new challenges for South Africa, there has been a split of the sector as a result of the fact that some organs of the sector have been co-opted into the state development machinery, while others have maintained their status of being a 'social watch dog.' This division as stated by Adam Habib can be distinct into three blocs-service-related NGOs, community-based structures that covet the status of a social movement and survivalist agencies. The chapter has also situated the PBC within these three distinct blocs of the civil society. The second part of the chapter has examined the concept of mobilisation and advocacy. It has equally done so by laying much emphasis on the PBC and how it can be perceived as a civil society agent that deals with mobilisation for development in 21st century South Africa. As this study has stated earlier on, the cognitive and instrumental dimensions of mobilisation have been considered as the fundamental platform for the analysis of the concept of mobilisation. Meanwhile, on the question of advocacy, it is alleged that the PBC is principally concerned with the policy advocacy stream which exclusively focuses on an alternative budget policy in South Africa.

[134] People's Budget (2002) "An illustrative exercise using participatory tools." Published by IDASA South Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

NATURE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PEOPLE'S BUDGET CAMPAIGN

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is broadly to introduce and briefly assess the PBC, as well as to describe the institutional profile of the coalition members. It further proposes to discuss issues surrounding the nature, structures, mechanisms and the implementation process of the PBC. It is divided into three sections. Section one explores the background of the PBC, and points to the conditions of South African economy with specific focus on the fiscal policy (at the time, i.e. GEAR) prior to the initiation of PBC. Section two examines the institutional profiles of the various members that form the coalition. Section three is based on discussing issues around the structure and functioning of the PBC. This will immediately be followed by the conclusion.

The PBC is a coalition of the South African Council of Churches, the South African Non-governmental Coalition and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. The National Labour and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI) is the research and administrative unit of the coalition. This unit is the main coordinating structure of the coalition. The PBC is a coalition that is stratified with regards to how it functions and how responsibilities regarding the initiative are been distributed. With reference to the researcher's exposure to study the PBC while on internship at SANGOCO, and his participation of PBC activities, it was carefully noted that the coalition is stratified into three arms. These are: the research unit, the policy and advocacy unit and the campaign unit. The research unit which is driven by NALEDI is responsible for carrying out research on current labour and macro-economic development issues in South Africa. This unit feeds the coalition on the current state of South African economy with specificity to the budget and how it is distributed across various sectors of the society. The policy and advocacy unit of the coalition focuses on policy agendas and a specific policy objective. In this case, their main policy objective is to see that the national budget process is alternatively pursued, and that it should be implemented from a pro-poor budget standpoint with the necessary inclusion of civil society's role in the decision-making process. Their main reason for this is to ensure that the budget is equitably distributed to positively impact on the poor majority of South Africans. The PBC policy objective was

directed against the backdrop of the government's programme of fiscal severity that was considered to have negative repercussions on the poor majority. The PBC campaign strategy focuses on a generally large-scale style of campaign fortified by professional lobbyists of the coalition such as media experts and activists for the interest of the broad public. The researcher's internship at SANGOCO and his participation in PBC activities from August 2007 to January 2008 holistically drives him to assert that at the level of advocacy only professional experts (such as proponents of social dialogue, political activists, communicators, civil society advocates, economists, researchers, religious leaders etc) within and out of the formal PBC structures participates in pursuing debates on budget policy discussions and how it should reflect the interest of the broad public. This does not contradict nor downplay the fact that at the level of its campaign activities, it does not sufficiently reach the wider public. Through the distribution of tracks, pamphlets, audio and print media, it is alleged that the campaign has made some enormous efforts in outreaching the broad public even though the participation of people in marginalized communities is less evident. The PBC has also supported the work of several campaigns such as the Basic Income Grant, Landless People's Movement, Universal Child Support Grant, and the Treatment Action Campaign.

BACKGROUND OF THE PBC

Several sources (such as Ismail) have affirmed that the post-apartheid government developmental strategy was first enshrined in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Thereafter, the RDP was replaced by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) and the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative programme (ASGISA). In the apartheid era, various constituents of civil society (especially the black civil society) were excluded from participating in the formulation of social and economic development policies. The situation was different when Nelson Mandela came to power under the first democratically elected government on 27th April 1994. The promise of the ANC during the electoral campaign was enshrined in the RDP and was to be implemented by the immediate post-apartheid government.[135]

[135] Ismail, D (2005) "Poverty in South Africa: a Development Management perspective." In Davids et al (2005) "Participatory Development in South Africa: A development Management Perspective." p. 43

This programme was a South African socio-economic policy framework that was to be adopted after months of discussions, consultations and negotiations between the ANC, its alliance partners of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the South African Communist Party and mass organisations in the wider civil society. The ANC's chief aim in developing and implementing the RDP was to address the immense socio-economic problems brought about by the consequences of the struggle against its predecessors under the apartheid regime. Specifically, it sets its sight on alleviating poverty and addressing the massive short falls in social services across the country[136]…? Something that the document acknowledged would rely on a stronger macroeconomic environment.

Thus, as posited by Ismail 'achieving poverty alleviation and a stronger economy were therefore seen as deeply interrelated and mutually supporting objectives.' "Development without growth would be financially unsustainable, while growth without development would fail to bring about the necessary structural transformation within South Africa's deeply inequitable and largely impoverished population. Hence the RDP attempted to combine measures to boost the economy such as contained fiscal spending, sustained or lowered taxes, and reduction of government debt and trade liberalisation with socially minded social service provisions and infrastructural projects." In this way the policy took on both socialist and neo-liberal elements…but could not be easily categorised in either of the camps.[137]

The reconstruction and development programme that was an initial commitment to a more social democratic project was abandoned only two years of the democratic government for fear that there would be capital flight and disinvestment. Thus the RDP was replaced by the Growth employment and redistribution programme [GEAR] in 1996. While indicating promotion of redistribution GEAR was a fully-fledged market-oriented economic programme that emphasized privatization, deregulation and trade liberalisation and a host of measures that tend to be found in standard structural adjustment programme. Succinctly put in the words of Neo Simutanyi:

[136] Ismail, D (2005) "Poverty in South Africa: a Development Management perspective." In Davids et al (2005) "Participatory Development in South Africa: A development Management Perspective." p. 43
[137] Ibid p.43

"The post-apartheid South African state which was constructed as an elite pact between the departing racist government and the representative of the national liberation movements was more a continuation of maintenance of the capitalist system with its entrenched privileges."[138]

The above quotation simply qualifies the abandonment of the RDP programme for GEAR as an indicator of the entrenched legacies of the colonial capitalist economy led under the apartheid regime. Following to its ten years review of 2003, the government embarked on a substantial reorientation of its approach to development, as there was growing disillusionment with the GEAR as it has not been able to satisfy the demands of the people most of whom are blacks. Mounting pressures from the civil society in line with their discontentment of the GEAR strategy led to the formulation of the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa [ASGISA]. This was a clear indication of government's acceptance of the failure of a neo-liberal strategy, even though there was no substantial difference between GEAR and ASGISA in terms of their formulation.[139]

From the implementation of GEAR, it is clear that in the last ten years economic growth has not helped in alleviating poverty, unemployment, crime and disease in South Africa.

Viewing GEAR as a replacement and as a follow-up policy of the RDP, it attempted to combine measures to boost the economy such as contained fiscal spending and sustained lowered taxes. Two aspects are worthy of note. First; the aspect of budget and GEAR's proposals to economic growth strategy; and second, the proposals of organised civil society [as represented by the PBC] as opposed to GEAR's developmental strategy. With respect to fiscal policy, these two aspects will constitute the debate surrounding the post-apartheid government developmental strategy in general and its budget designs in particular.[140]

The budget is supposed to ensure that government departments account to parliament for the money they spend. In theory the budget lets parliament control spending by the executive. As has been previously

[138] Simutanyi, N (2006) "The State and Economic Development in Africa: Challenges in Post-Apartheid South Africa." Paper presented at the Harold Wolpe Memorial Trust Eastern Cape Lecture Series on 16th October 2006 –East London. Pp. 6 [http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:DArQxGHAvwcJ:www.wolpetrust.org.za/dialogue2006/EC102006simutanyi_paper.pdf+the+post-apartheid+government+developmental+strategy&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=9&gl=za]. Accessed, 14-11-2007.
[139] Simuntanyi, N. (2006)
[140] Ibid

mentioned, however, restrictions now make it impossible for parliament to change the budget. As a planning process, the budget makes government to define its priority aims and how to achieve those aims. The budget also sets targets for government during the year. These targets are set in order to know how much government will get in taxes and borrowing and how much each department will spend on major programmes. The budget equally let the public informed on what the government plans to do in the course of the year. It guides the provision of resources by the finance departments, as well as it's useful in analysing trends in government spending.[141]

One of PBC's positions against GEAR is that it essentially argued that high taxes and government borrowing will hurt the economy. It argued that when government taxes the rich and companies, they will have less money to invest. If government borrows money, it will reduce the amount available for the private sector to borrow. The result will be higher interest rates. In both cases, the GEAR strategy argued investment will fall. This is called the "crowding out" argument-that government spending will "crowd out" private investment. GEAR also argued that government already spent too much on interest payment on earlier borrowing. It posited that government had to cut the deficit so that it could, in future, pay less interest and have more money left for services. GEAR has also contended the fact that to avoid "crowding out," government must restrain taxation and borrowing. For this reason, it posited that taxes should not rise above 25% of the GDP. It equally postulated that the deficit-that is, the amount government borrows every year-should fall as a percentage of the GDP, from around 5% in 1996 to around 2% in 2001.[142] On the whole, GEAR envisaged an increase in economic growth and a gross reduction in government spending.

The post-apartheid era has witnessed a much more active civil society in the developmental dispensations of the State, as opposed to its neoliberal and fiscal role.

Its implementation in 1996 ushered a broad spectrum of critique on the South African economy vis-à-vis its pros and cons as displayed by its proponents and those who were contrary to the tenets of its formulation. As mentioned by Hassen,[143] two broad categories of those in support of GEAR were identified: they were those with a 'tactical compromise' and the 'free maketeers.' Based on the

[141] PBC, (2003) Pp.9-10
[142] PBC, (2003) Pp.9-10
[143] Hassen, E, K (2003) "Fighting Poverty in South Africa: A Civil Society Reader." Published by NALEDI.

increasing debt that was accrued by the apartheid regime, the proponents of tactical compromise argued that "South Africa had no option in a globalizing world but to adopt a strategy based on a more open economy," in order to come out of the debt trap. The free marketeers' proponents of the policy document argued that "the support for the programme was based on the prospects of increased access to markets, and a faith that economic growth would be the bed rock for not only sustained development but also sustained profits."

Initially, COSATU and the SACP were among the most eminent organisations to oppose GEAR. Subsequently, GEAR's opposition advanced and became more widespread to include churches and other organs of the civil society [especially progressive organs of the civil society sector]. It is equally on this premise that the PBC came into limelight as a progressive force to challenge the GEAR policy, which to them has been underpinned by huge influences of globalization's neo-liberal agenda. Their fundamental stance contrary to the tenets of the GEAR policy was, and it's still reflected persistently in their pro-poor budget policy position.[144]

The main criticism against GEAR has been that growth in the economy has remained far below expectations. As evidenced in a report drafted by the South African Reserve Bank, [145]private savings dropped by 45 percent from 1996 to 2000. It however, rose to 2 percent between 2000 and 2003. Meanwhile, the amount required for sustainable growth affected the overall investment keeping it below the 20% to 25% envisaged.

INSTITUTIONAL PROFILE OF THE COALITION MEMBERS

This section describes the institutional profile of the member organisations that form the coalition. The reason for this description is to find out whether there was a common need for members of the coalition to establish a campaign to support its objectives.

The South African Non-Governmental Coalition (SANGOCO) is a membership-based organisation that was established in 1995 as a response to creating a platform for social policy dialogue, as well as

[144] Hassen, E, K (2003) "Fighting Poverty in South Africa: A Civil Society Reader." Published by NALEDI p.5
[145] South African Reserve Bank, Long-term data series on National accounts, accessed from www.resbank.gov.za.

coordinating NGO input into government policy and ensuring that the rich traditions of civil society forged in the resistance to apartheid, continue to serve the people of South Africa. From time immemorial, SANGOCO's mission has always been to fortify civil society to influence government policies in a bid to guarantee the development of pro-poor policies. At the national level, SANGOCO has made many significant interventions in social, political and economic issues and was one of the three institutions together with the South African Human Rights Commission and the Commission for Gender Equality-that organised the highly significant country-wide hearings on poverty in 1998.[146]

SANGOCO is the largest single umbrella body of NGOs in the Southern African region with affiliates in every part of the country and operational on all issues affecting South Africa's development. The democratic government came into limelight in 1994 with consent to alleviate poverty through the provision of basic needs to South African citizens, reforming and revitalizing the economy, democratising the state and reinvigorating civil society. It is SANGOCO's declared objective to support the democratic government in this venture.[147]

However, since the foundation of SANGOCO there have been a number of major policy shifts which necessitated a re-examination of its central position and function as opposed to the state. The most fundamental of these developments was the implementation of a macro-economic agenda, which was meant to reallocate wealth, create jobs and spawn economic growth. But the reverse is true because of its neo-liberal disposition.[148] In this regard, its current interaction with the state can be classified as that of collaboration with specificity to the execution of development-oriented tasks. Even though it thus collaborate with the state in certain developmental concerns, it however engages the state in a relatively equal footing on other pertinent issues more especially that of supporting the idea of a developmental state and the notion that budget implementation should be people-centred.

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[146] SANGOCO, http://www.sangoco.org.za/site/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=3&Itemid=25. Latest news include among other issues the mobilization of resources globally to fight underdevelopment, SANGOCO People's Budget Coalition working group invited delegates to attend the People's Budget national consultative conference on the response to the medium-term budget policy statement made by the minister of finance early November 2007. Accessed, 19-11-2007.

[147] Ibid, http://www.sangoco.org,

[148] SANGOCO, http://www.sangoco.org.za/site/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=3&Itemid=25. Latest news include among other issues the mobilization of resources globally to fight underdevelopment, SANGOCO People's Budget Coalition working group invited delegates to attend the People's Budget national consultative conference on the response to the medium-term budget policy statement made by the minister of finance early November 2007. Accessed, 19-11-2007.

The South African Council of Churches is made up of 26 member churches and represents the majority of Christians in South Africa. The SACC was centrally involved in the struggle against apartheid and since 1994 has been engaged in the reconstruction and development of the new South Africa. The organisation implements programmes dealing with a wide range of issues including poverty eradication, socio-economic justice, health and national reconciliation. In addition, the SACC makes intervention in order to strengthen the voices of poor and marginalised groups in the public policy-making process. Its Parliamentary office monitors legislation and government policy and engages in advocacy around issues of concern to the church [http://www.sacc.org.za/].

According to the views of Desmond Lesejane (who is the executive Director of the Ecumenical Service for Social Transformation – an independent research NGO closely affiliated to the SACC) in an interview slot, he affirmed that as separate organisations previously, they [SACC and ESSET] concerted to discuss issues around the budget and the critique was centred on the anti –Gear budget or fiscal policy which later on became the focal point of the PBC's developmental agenda.[149]

A review of both primary and secondary data on COSATU affirms that it is the largest labour federation on the African continent and currently has a membership of 21 affiliates representing almost 2 million workers. It was launched in 1985 and was fundamental in the struggle against apartheid. COSATU's major objectives are to improve the material conditions of workers and to enhance workers participation in the struggle for peace and democracy in South Africa and internationally. The federation is guided by its founding philosophy of non-racialism, non-sexism and workers control[150].

Concerning its political policy, it believes in a democratic society free of racism, sexism and exploitation of the working class. They believe in a society where workers have full control over their lives. They are also determined to work with other democratic forces to do away with all forms of coercion and exploitation. From their initiation, they have always believed in the need for broad fronts to achieve their political and socio-economic struggles. Together with the United Democratic Front [UDF]

[149] Interview with Desmond Lesejane [Executive Director of the Ecumenical Service for Social Transformation].
[150] Interview with Oupa Bodibe on 27-09-2007 & http://www.cosatu.org.za/aboutcos.htm

and its affiliates they were involved in struggles that brought about the current dispensation in South Africa.[151]

When political organisations were legalized, the ANC, SACP and COSATU contracted to work collectively as a radical alliance (Tripartite Alliance). The Alliance is centred on short, medium to long term goals of the national democratic revolution. Their socio-economic policy is based on the need to get rid of economic inequities in society and in the work place. Taking into account the organisation's negative response to the government's macro-economic framework, the Alliance decided that they need a developmental, macro-economic policy, associated to the needs of the country.[152]

A cross examination of the above-mentioned organisations reveals that they share a common view regarding the government's neo-liberal macro-economic policy. This common view is crafted in their quest for an alternative budget formulation process and pro-poor developmental strategies. This common view is also reflective in their quest for an effective re-distribution of wealth to meet all sectors of the society coupled with fulfilment of the promises enshrined in RDP by the ANC party before and after the first democratic election. However, two years after ANC took over the government, the RDP was abandoned for fear of disinvestment and capital flight, and the growth, employment and redistribution programme [GEAR] was initiated and it was a completely market-oriented strategy. It is partly contrary to the tenets of this government's neo-liberal economic policy and developmental strategy that the PBC seemed to be basically stemming from.

This pro-poor developmental strategy can be readily described and analysed with respect to PBC's view on the national budget process. How is the national budget process being pursued, is it designed in a democratic and participatory manner? Or are the decisions being taken by a few technocrats within the finance ministry? These are some of the issues that the PBC seeks to be sure of, and possibly make their proposals which are broadly informed by a consultative and participatory method of civil society in the budget process.

[151] Interview with Oupa Bodibe on 27-09-2007 (see also: http://www.cosatu.org.za/aboutcos.htm, for more details).
[152] Ibid

The national budget process is carried out within closed doors and is strictly limited to financial experts within the treasury and the finance department. The process is undemocratic as it restricts the participation of other sectors of civil society. Taking into consideration the provisions of the newly adopted constitution, it is rather unfair for a government propagating a people-centred development agenda not to consider the voice of the majority of its population with respect to budget enforcement and implementation. It is partly against the backdrop of participatory budgeting that the PBC came into the limelight.

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE PEOPLE'S BUDGET CAMPAIGN

The PBC is composed of three major arms. These are: the research unit; the policy and advocacy unit; and the Campaign unit. The research unit deals with, and/or co-ordinates major research demands pertaining to the programme. It is also responsible for the publication of the programmes' manuals, archives, and its annual responses to the government's medium-term budget policy statement. It liaises with major contributors of the campaign to decide on sectors that demands greater research, and what can be done in order to address them. All of these concerns are managed by the National Labour and Economic Development Institute.[153] The National Labour and Economic Development Institute is an independent Non-governmental research entity linked to COSATU. This organisation is in charge of directing the research demands of the PBC and also acts as the co-ordinating structure of the coalition.

In an interview slated with Khalil Ebrahim and Zanele Twala, they affirmed that the policy and advocacy unit championed by the national steering committee [that is comprised of delegates from SACC, SANGOCO and COSATU], engages in policy and advocacy work and set targets to evaluate how the budget is to be spent on various development projects and how it affects the lives of the poor in society. The Policy and advocacy unit does this by engaging the government on major developmental questions. It also goes beyond the PBC circle by inviting other actors of civil society to take part in their deliberations and budget proceedings. Finally, the Campaign unit is involved with the mobilisation and organisation of coalition members and partners of the civil society. Jointly with NALEDI, they fix the dates and draft the agendas for various meetings, as well as prepare reports for previous meetings for

[153] http://www.cosatu.org.za/aboutcos.htm,

further updates. The national steering committee (NSC) which is comprised of representatives from the members of the coalition are those playing the national oversight role of the People's Budget Process.[154]

The PBC functions in different settings and each one is carried out according to the demands of the period and depends on how pressing the issues to be discussed are at stake. Given that the nature of People's Budget is participatory and involves compromise between the key players, it therefore requires that its mode of functioning should be consultative and interactive. The process of organisational consent is considered in each aspect to be discussed and how it should be implemented as opposed to the time ascribed for the discussion. The guiding principles and package of the People's Budget is developed in a series of workshops composed of researchers, political activists, communicators, civil society advocates and other participants of the initiative.[155]

The first area of concern in the PBC's involvement in national budgeting is that of policy advocacy and mobilisation of civil society as evoked in their quest for democratic participation in the budget process, and this is highly focused at the national level which is an exclusive architecture of the executive [treasury and Finance ministry].[156] Deliberations on this issue gradually commenced around mid –year and normally engages key players of the coalition members. Towards the end of each year it reaches its peak and finally culminates in November following the pronouncement of the medium-term budget policy statement. During this period, the major activists of the campaign indulge in high level discussions on various developmental needs and strategies with regards to the initial development of various budget proposals and how they can evenly cut across different sectors of the economy.

The second aspect of deliberations deals with their responses to the medium-term budget policy framework. It is worthy of note that deliberations at this level is highly interactive and consultative among the key players. The ideas of major participants of the coalition as well as guest speakers from some institutions of government are incorporated into a document for press release. The objective for this press release is to guarantee PBC's objective of awareness creation of the national budget process to the wider public. The budget framework sets the agenda for government expenditure and revenue for

[154] Interview with Ebrahim Khalil and Zanele Twala conducted on 3 &4 October, 2007. Khalil was the former secretary at the National Labour and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI- He is currently an independent policy analyst.
[155] http://www.sangoco.org.za/site/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=48&Itemid=48
[156] Direct Participation from the month of September 2007 to January 2008. An interview with Hassen Lorgat gave some insights in the above postulations, more particularly on the issue of medium-term budget policy framework.

the next three years. For instance, their response to the current Medium-Term Budget Policy Framework [MTBPF], acknowledges a more expansionary budget which is needed to meet developmental objectives and to address the need of the poor, despite indicators of expansionary budget with growth in real and per capita terms of the previous budget terms.[157]

The third area of concern in the national budget process is that of developing their responses by setting up proposals in a consultative, interactive and participatory fashion. This exercise mostly involves the delegates and/or representatives of the coalition members [SANGOCO, COSATU & SACC]. The conclusions that are reached by this committee vis-à-vis their response to the medium-term budget policy statement is documented and published for the broad public to equally have their views on how the national budget should be distributed and implemented.[158]

The operation and objectives of the PBC with regards to mobilisation and participation in the budget process appears to be questionable. If one of the PBC interventions is that of policy advocacy, it implies that other elements of civil society (such as the poor) cannot participate in budget implementation process due to the fact that this kind of work is done by people who are aware of their rights in the budget. Budget advocacy can only be effectively done by people who have a prior knowledge on budget development and how it can be evenly distributed to benefit the majority of individuals in society. Examined from this dimension, the objective of mobilising towards budget development and implementation cannot be realised. This is because mobilisation is about engaging people to advocate for their rights and to gain control over the decisions affecting them and the resources they need.[159]

With regards to the PBC campaign activities, it is alleged from the researcher's interaction with members and direct participation in activities of the coalition that to a reasonable extent, its campaign proceedings have profoundly gone beyond the scope of its advocacy work. In other words, it has made an enormous effort in outreaching the wider public compared to its policy advocacy stream of action which is limited to key experts within and out of the formal PBC structure.[160]

[157] Direct Participation and Observation from August 2007 to January, 2008
[158] Direct Participation and Observation from August 2007 to January, 2008
[159] Insights developed from direct participation of PBC activities from August, 2007 to January, 2008.
[160] Interview with Thembu Simon on 12-10- 2007 (chairman of Soweto Concerned Residents)

Taking the above into consideration, one may postulate that the working mechanism of PBC is too closed and appears to operate within a particular class [elitist] of individuals. In this regard, the PBC's objective of mobilisation and participation of civil society in the budget process is questionable. It is debatable because its working structure does not give room for the contribution of other components of civil society more especially the participation of people in marginalised communities. This however does not downplay the fact that in its campaign endeavours, it has not sufficiently raise awareness to people in marginalised communities. A retrospect on the literature of participatory development as postulated by Burkey[161] demands a sense of citizenship participation in development-oriented tasks. Participation also creates a sense of community which gives meaning to human existence. It also engenders the active involvement of citizens in organizations. With regards to the PBC and its working mechanism, it is obvious that there is lack of cooperation and connectivity between the various units of the coalition in relation to the main beneficiaries of the programme. In other words, this has to do with networking and collaboration between the key players of the coalition and ordinary members of communities who appears to be the main beneficiaries of the campaign.

It is also worthwhile to acknowledge the importance of participation in development within the above context. According to proponents of alternative development as postulated by Hickey and Mohan, participation has always been radically conceived as a struggle against political and economic exclusion from exercising control over public matters. Putting the PBC into perspective, one may be tempted to allude that from its mode of functioning more especially at the advocacy level, it has excluded the non-elitist class of people in society to actively take part in its deliberations. This is mainly because there is virtually no such forum for deliberations on issues related to public budgeting that may permit the participation of people in poor communities who are most often uneducated about budget policy discussions. In other words, participation is allowed but the paradox about its occurrence is that those who are not self-confident, dignified and creative find themselves incapable and void of self-confidence to engage in People's Budget proceedings at the advocacy level.

Public participation in the budget process as postulated by PBC is fundamental to improving the range of decisions made and to improve compliance between civil society and government on the budget

[161] Burkey, S (1993) "People First: A Guide to Self-Reliant Participatory Rural Development." Zed Books Ltd –London. P.56

process. The PBC envisages participation of civil society (most particularly at the level of advocacy) in the budget process as a kind of exclusive know-how by knowledgeable and well informed individuals. From this dimension, it can be argued that only individuals who are better equipped and informed about national budget proceedings can be able to improve compliance between civil society and government. In other words, compliance needs constructive inputs to improve existing budget implementation conditions. It is ironical at this juncture because civil society participation in the budget process warrants the inclusion of grass root people in the decision-making process. This is because they are the direct beneficiaries of new budget policies.

From a direct participation view point, a close examination of primary data of PBC's working structure brings us to the conclusion that it's a coalition that involves social networks. The contradiction here is that, the extent of social networking is limited only to the key players of the movement. In this regard therefore, the fundamental aspect of improving the range of decisions made to enhance conformity between civil society [as represented by the PBC] and government on the budget process cannot be actualized. The reason for this can be obviously ascribed to the fact that participation has been limited only to experts (such as political activists, economists, communicators etc) thus restraining the range of ideas and decisions that can be made to improve public budgeting.

In an interview slot with Kotze Marius and Baka Samuel, it was revealed that though participation has been limited within board room deliberations and proceedings on the budget, it has nonetheless spawned a great deal of progress with regards to the expansionary nature of the campaign's objective of raising awareness to the public.[162] The PBC has made huge contributions in campaigning for a variety of sectors that has appeared to be positively impacting on the lives of the poor. In a bid to further strengthen their objective of mobilisation and participation, they have joined forces with other civil society campaigns such as the Basic Income Grant and Universal Child Support Grant. The PBC has also supported the Treatment Action Campaign which is a campaign that advocates for government's provision of Anti-Retroviral Drugs for the free treatment of persons infected with HIV/AIDS. The PBC has also distributed tracks and pamphlets, as well as outreaching a great deal of individuals in communities via the print and audio media regarding its campaign strategies for the purpose of creating awareness about

[162] Interview with Kotze Marius and Baka Samuel (during the said period they were both volunteers at SANGOCO and supporters of the PBC) on 4-11-2007.

budget implementation and monitoring process in South Africa. In executing this initiative, they have won the favour of other civil society actors in fostering their campaign.

SOME AREAS OF PBC CAMPAIGNS

Taking into consideration the fact that the apartheid regime deposited huge debris of landless individuals, it has caused many who were forcefully removed from their homes and deprived from their land to be homeless and landless. It is one of the PBC's objectives to support a civil society campaign around these questions. Even though they are not directly involved in championing these campaigns, they nevertheless acknowledge and support the work of the Homeless People's Alliance, Landless People's Movement and the Domestic Violence Act.

Among the varieties of civil society campaigns, the PBC has seriously embarked on the question of a Basic Income Grant and government's provision of free basic services. Their argument towards these demands appears to be impractical but seems to be very realistic in terms of its multiplying effect in the economy. On the implementation of a BIG, the PBC argues that even though the R100 is very minimal, it can make a difference to the dignity of people. The view of Zwelinzima Vavi (Vice President of COSATU) in this issue as stipulated in the Mail and Guardian on 20th February 2007 is that, "the basic income grant is not the first option as people need proper job." Vavi further argues that in order that people should not rely much on government for social security, it is imperative for the government to embark on restructuring the economy away from sectors such as mining, metals, heavy chemicals and automotive in order to alleviate poverty. He argues that restructuring of the economy will create sufficient job opportunities.[163]

The People's Budget coalition also argues that there is an increase in inequality as 40% of the population earns less than R2500 per month, while company chief executives earn millions a year. Zwelinzima Vavi has argued that the government is failing to create jobs and this has seen unemployment increasing by 10% from 1995-2005. The 2008 to 2009 people's budget proposes that the government increases resources to create jobs, make society more equal and provide the poor with

[163] Mail and Guardian online, 20th February 2007, 02:37. Downloaded from: www.mg.co.za/article/2007-02-20-call-for-basic-income-grants-all-58k

hope.[164] The people's budget coalition posits that the BIG should supplement existing household grants so that no one benefits less social grant as he or she does now. Their campaign strategy is that it should be financed through the tax system and delivered basically through public institutions.

This research argues that the PBC's position with the government on the issue of a Basic Income Grant is one of equal confrontation. It has fully engaged the state in a relatively equal footing in sorting out means to address social grants that may be helpful in alleviating poverty levels in South Arica. Even though the R100 appears to be minimal, it will be helpful in stimulating unemployed individuals to embark on job search. It will equally afford for their movements from one place to another in search for better job opportunities. Several contenders are of the opinion that if this amount is paid to all South Africans, it will have a multiplier effect on levels of basic food consumption as it will strengthen their purchasing power.

The PBC has also argued that a developmental approach requires an ample long-term strategy- a vision- that identifies the industries, structures of ownership and regions that should grow in order to provide more livelihoods. The position of this research as opposed to PBC's view about a developmental approach to the budget is that, it suggests that PBC is in support of the fact that the state should be in control of the main sources of production. They also contended that a developmental approach would offer a framework to shape or direct the economy toward better developmental measures. These developmental measures will enforce the agenda of participatory development, which is an alternative strategy of development geared towards empowerment of the poor and marginalized people in society. Further more, the PBC argues that the social department should re-direct their programmes toward anti-poverty measures more consistently to support the integration of marginalized communities and people into the economy.[165]

With regards to free basic services, the PBC acknowledges its importance as it is crucial to addressing capability and asset poverty. In the past years, the PBC wished-for the free provision of a basket of basic services that includes water, electricity, telecommunications and refuse removal so as to set-up minimum living levels under which no one should fall. The PBC also believed that the provision of free

[164] Ibid
[165] PBC, (2003) P.13

basic services is vital to enhance services in a sustainable and reasonable fashion to the majority of South Africans. They have also called for the pricing of the basket of services used as benchmark for municipal subsidies to be increased, and for a greater proportion of nationally raised revenue to be allocated to local government.[166]

Taking the above proposals into consideration, and given that the PBC represents an organized civil society that advocates and campaign for a more re-distributive budget with a view to improve people's livelihoods or their access to certain economic and political rights, it is evident from their central objective of mobilization and participation in development initiatives, that their position on social spending vis-à-vis other categories of national expenditure (such as the development of nuclear energy and arms related concerns) is more instrumental with regards to improving the living conditions of South Africans. It is evident that their proposal on the current system of social grants appears to be more vital taking into consideration the huge poverty gaps entrenched in society as a legacy of the apartheid regime. Their position with the state on these issues appears to be controversial.

On the issue of a BIG, the government has argued that endorsing a BIG package will make people to become more discouraged and dependent on government for persistent subvention. This might affect the country's work force in the long run which might as well be detrimental to the GDP. This research has confirmed that the PBC's view in light of an additional R100 for all South Africans is contrary to that of the government as they are in constant support of the fact that it might spawn jobless individuals to embark on job search and even increase their levels of consumption.[167]

In examining the concept of civil society within the confines of western political philosophy, it is evidenced that civil society organizations act as a bulwark against the government. Strictly looking at PBC's engagements with the democratic government on the issue of a developmental approach to the budget, it is evidenced that they are acting as a bulwark against the developmental ideology of the state. The PBC can also be perceived as an intermediary between the government and society on the aspect of budget development and how it should be evenly distributed to positively impact on the lives of South

[166] PBC, (2005) - Proposals from COSATU, SANGOCO and SACC. p.25
[167] Mail and Guardian online, 20th February 2007, 02:37. Downloaded from: www.mg.co.za/article/2007-02-20-call-for-basic-income-grants-all-58k

African citizens. In addition to being an intermediary between government and society, the PBC could as well be seen as agents of change. In this regard and for the purpose of maintaining this image, they engage the state on the same strength to bring about change in budget implementation and development in order to guarantee improvement in the lives of the poor.[168]

A look at Naomi Chazan's definition of civil society which postulates that it is a realm of organizations that are autonomous from the state and that interact with it but do not want to take it over, brings us to the conclusion that the PBC is a coalition comprised of different autonomous organisations that interact with the state in a relatively equal footing, but do not want to precede the state in executing its developmental ideology, especially with regards to public budgeting. Drawing from Adam Habib's assertion of the emergence of three civil society blocs in the post-apartheid period, it has been confirmed as earlier postulated in the study that the PBC falls within the second bloc of civil society who some times appears to have a friendly relationship with the state and other times evokes an adversarial position depending on the issue in question. In areas where they evoke adversarialism especially with regards to public budgeting, they concert to formulate their proposals on how the government should embark on public spending and how they should set development priorities.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has broadly described the context under which the PBC was established. It affirmed that predisposed by the fiscal, monetary and international economic trends, the content of the RDP was shifted and finally abandoned and the government's strategy moved towards a neo-liberal macro-economic policy agenda which finally culminated in the release of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy in April 1996. This policy sparked much criticism both in and out of the ANC ranks and files. Briefly, it is assumed that it was contrary to the tenets of GEAR policy that PBC was established. This chapter has broadly described the nature and implementation of PBC. The chapter has described the method employed by the PBC in implementing its campaign and has stipulated the various areas of concern of the process and the mechanism through which it functions. It has equally analysed budget development as perceived by the PBC. The publication of archival documents by the PBC is one of the most strategic means used to strengthen and implement the campaign. The chapter has also affirmed that on the advocacy front, the PBC has been operating and circulating information within a

[168] Insights developed from the researchers' direct participation with the PBC.

particular set of experts in and out of its formal structure. They believe that only such experts can make valuable contributions to improve compliance between the government and civil society on the budget process and how it can be equally distributed to positively impact on the broad public.

CHAPTER FOUR

MOBILISATION AND PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

Civil society organizations in 21st Century South Africa have been very instrumental in the process of mobilisation for empowerment and participation in development initiatives. Generally, the notion behind civil society mobilisation is to propel a dynamic process of developing a strategy for participation in development - oriented projects.[169] Globally and in South Africa, the conception of development cannot be fully actualized and / or accomplished without the aspect of public participation being taken into consideration. Mobilisation is therefore an essential aspect of development since its central objective is to engender public participation. Public participation in development-oriented tasks requires the empowerment of people in order to realize the objectives of mobilisation. When people are empowered or equipped with skills, they can be able to sustain life without much reliance on the government. The outcome will be an improvement in human development as the aspect of self-confidence, dignity and creativity will be acquired.

According to Hickey and Mohan,[170] 'admirers of alternative development strategies have always fundamentally envisaged the idea of participation as a great effort against political and economic segregation from exercising control over public resources.' With reference to Midgley and Hall, the concept of participation is deeply rooted in its ideological perception on how societies are organised socially and politically. Burkey[171] on his part has mentioned that participation is an essential part of human growth, that is, the development of self-confidence, creativity, pride and cooperation. Participatory development is not limited in economic benefits; it is a cycle which stresses from information and consultation to local people assuming ownership of and responsibility for the development initiative. With regards to this study, participation is examined in two folds: it is examined within the formal PBC structure and how it relates to the broad public, as well as in the formal national budget formulation process.

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[169] Hickey, S and Mohan, G (2004) "Participation: from Tyranny to transformation? Exploring New Approaches to Participation in Development." Published by Zed Books London / New York. Pp. 1-20.
[170] Ibid
[171] Burkey, S (1993) p.56

The central objective of this chapter is to critically analyse the PBC's intention of civil society mobilisation and participation in the budget process in South Africa. This chapter will be based on evaluating the major findings of the study, it proposes to do this by analyzing the results that has been got from semi-structured interviews, primary documents of the PBC, participant and direct observation as well as other related documents of relevance (such as budget speeches of various premiers) to the study. The research questions will guide the analysis of this chapter. The first part dwells on evaluating the mechanisms through which the PBC facilitates public participation of marginalised people in the budget process. The second part proposes to address the PBC's success in creating awareness among the poor about the budget process. The third part plans to holistically evaluate the effects of the nature of the PBC with particularity to the poor and uneducated class of people in society. In so doing it proposes to explain why there is very minimal or virtually no participation of poor communities in the People's Budget Campaign.

WHAT ARE THE MECHANISMS CREATED BY THE PBC TO FACILITATE PUBLIC PARTICIPATION OF THE POOR IN THE BUDGET PROCESS?

The aspect of public participation cannot be fully realised without the creation of a political space. Since the notion of participation has to do with the expansion of opportunities for people and organisational entities to meaningfully take part in developmental projects within their respective areas, it is therefore imperative for the PBC to seek means for the participation of the poor in the budget process. It is in this regard that this research deems it necessary to evaluate the mechanisms through which the PBC facilitates public participation of the poor in the budget process. This assessment will be based on the findings gathered from semi-structured interview schedules, primary documents (more especially reports from consultative meetings), as well as direct and participant observation. As previously mentioned in chapter three, the PBC uses two central mechanisms in enforcing public participation in the budget process, these are its campaign and advocacy activities. Its campaign activities are carried out as wide as possible to include people in the wider public. While on the contrary, its engagements on advocacy related works are implemented within a limited scope of people-which in this case are mostly experts from various walks of life within and out of the formal PBC structure.

Basing the analysis on results collected from the above sources as presented in chapter three it has been evident that public participation of the poor in the budget process is very minimal. Even though it is very difficult to measure success with regards to participation within the formal PBC structure, research results have proven that at the level of advocacy the extent of participation of people in poor communities within the PBC formal structure is less evident. On the contrary, the PBC's campaign activities have enormously impacted positively to the lives of the poor majority. The PBC has not succeeded in its objective of mobilising popular participation (more especially of the poor) in the budget process regarding its advocacy initiatives.

This partly has been as a result of the nature of the coalition. The nature of the coalition is stratified with responsibilities ascribed to various units of the coalition. The advocacy unit which is composed of experts from various walks of life operates within close doors with regards to their deliberations on budget implementation and monitoring. The campaign unit is charged with the responsibilities of outreaching people as extensively as possible.[172] Through the distribution of tracks, pamphlets as well as public meetings in poor communities and radio communiqué, the coalition ensures that a wide range of people are aware of its campaign activities around issues of the budget.

The character of the PBC has affected the way it operates and has equally limited the public space for participation in such a way that the poor and marginalised people in society cannot be self-confident and creative in pursuing debates on issues surrounding the budget process at the advocacy level within the PBC formal structure. This lack of confidence is as a result of low levels of literacy and precisely the inability in pursuing issues surrounding budget questions. In this light therefore, the advocacy mechanisms created by the PBC to effectively participate in the budget process can only be beneficial to the educated class and budget technocrats.[173] On the contrary, the mechanisms of campaign activities ensure it reaches a wide range of people including those in the marginalised communities.

One of the mechanisms created by the PBC to facilitate public participation of the poor in the budget process is through the organisation and planning of public meetings which are highly consultative in character. In an interview conducted with Oupa Bodibe, [executive director at NALEDI] his response to

[172] Interview with Lesejane, Desmond and Lorgat, Hassen on 23rd and 25th November respectively.
[173] Insights from Direct Participation –Sept 2007 – January 2008.

this question was that; "the PBC runs through four major sessions a year and can convey an adhoc meeting when deemed necessary. Formally, the co-ordinating structure of the PBC meets at least six times a year. There is a national consultative conference that takes place at the national level. There is a meeting at the technical level-this one takes place in February and on the budget day. Other meetings are held to track expenditures. Others are held to discuss issues related to the millennium development goals and the broad aspect of poverty reduction strategies."[174]

On a separate slot with Zanele, [former executive director at SANGOCO] it is revealed that the PBC meetings are held quarterly, and that they are based on consultative reports. It also deals with budgetary issues within the current financial year and that these issues vary depending on the constituency where it falls. Issues that are being discussed in meetings include aspects on trade unions, corporate tax, public service financing etc. Other aspects of interest discussed are issues related to various social policies such as health, education, land, housing…etc. They are also engaged in tracking spending within these areas both at the provincial and local level. Concerning the key issues that are usually discussed in the coalition, she mentioned that the PBC is more concerned with policy advocacy on the budget process. At a certain level, the PBC is more involved with technical issues on the actual drafting of the budget. [175]

In another interview schedule carried out with Kimani Ndungu on this particular question, his view was that the research arm of the PBC [which is NALEDI] has been producing tool kits and manuals to educate the populace on what the budget is all about, what it is intended to do and why it is important for common people in the society to know about it. . He also made mention of the fact that the PBC has been going on air several times especially when the Medium-Term Budget Policy Statement is approaching. The PBC also prepares annual budget proposals for the preparation of the MTBPS and calls for active participation by its coalition partners and representatives of the government (more particularly from the finance ministry) to both deliberate and listen to the drafting of these proposals.[176]

In an interview with Khalil Hassen [former secretary at NALEDI] still on the same aspect, he said that the campaign engages its coalition partners in the budget process and this is the course which essentially

[174] Interview conducted with Oupa Bodibe on 27 -09-2007
[175] Interview conducted with Zanele Twala on 3-10-2007
[176] Interview conducted with Kimani Ndungu, Senior researcher at the National Labour and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI). NALEDI is the research arm of the People's Budget Campaign.

sets up negotiations between them and government about how to use its funds. Actually at the national level, there is no room for the participation of civil society in the budget process.

Nevertheless, the overriding ruling of budget development is that the parliament only has the right to vote the budget or count it down but do not have the mandate to amend it, taking into consideration the provisions made by the constitution for the parliament to be fully involved in ratifying as well as debating issues surrounding the drafting of state budget. It therefore implies that the budget process is undemocratic if it does not allow for an exclusive participation by the public.[177]

On the question of participation of poor communities in the budget process, Kimani argues that it has never been the design of PBC. According to him, the issue of participation is at the top level and involves only individuals who have the capacity to confront debates on budget drafting even though the budget process is not that open to the public.

In light of the above views, it is obvious that public participation of the poor regarding the budget process in South Africa is very insignificant. The national budget process is considered to be too technical and involves only financial experts within the finance department. Even though the constitution guarantees a political space for the civil society (at the parliamentary level) to take part in budget deliberations, it is nevertheless unrealistic for budget drafting to be effectively implemented by the general public taking into consideration the technocratic intricacies involved in designing it. On the other hand, one of the PBC's fundamental objectives of mobilising popular participation in the budget process as postulated by most of the major players of the coalition was to embark on advocacy and to establish networks through which activists of the coalition could assemble and debate issues pertaining to the national budget process. In other words, they had as an objective to democratically represent a broad section of civilians with specific attention to the budget and how it is implemented to cut across the entire society. Taking into account this mode of operation, it is therefore apparent that public participation can only be the resolve of the 'elitist class' at the level of advocating for an alternative budget process.

[177] Interview conducted with Khalil Ebrahim Hassen on 4 – 10 - 2007

From its inception, mobilisation and public participation of civil society in the budget process has always been, and still, seems to be at the forefront of the PBC's developmental agenda. The PBC as an agent of mobilisation for development has distinguished itself as the only organised platform through which issues surrounding the national budgeting process are debated.[178]

Before progressing to the analysis of the PBC's success in mobilisation and popular participation in the budget process, it is of crucial importance to retrospect on some of its key objectives. It is worthwhile to note that objectives in this regard reflect those of mobilisation and participation in the budget process. This is because it is from the objectives established by the PBC that, this research can be able to grasp whether [or not] they are succeeding in civil society mobilisation and participation in the budget process.

One of the fundamental objectives of PBC's mobilisation and participation of civil society in the budget process is to ensure that debates around the budget are democratically pursued and should equally take into consideration the people's voice. The democratic nature of the budget process can be remarkable if the levels of decision-making and civic involvement on issues around the budget reflect the views of the majority. As earlier mentioned, Section 77 (3) of the government gazette stipulates that decisions around the budget should permit an oversight by the parliament and the public. It also states that the budget should be drafted in a way that will meet the needs of the people as well as being realistic and practical.[179] According to the PBC's view on the budget, this can be properly realised if civil society inputs to the process is remarkable. In other words, their view as change agents on budget development and implementation demands an encouraging portion of civil society participation.

Taking a close look on the western political philosophy of the civil society concept, it is obvious that the PBC acts as an intermediary between government and society. In this light, advocates of the campaign are perceived as bulwarks against the government with regards to its budget implementation policy.

With regards to the budget, a further objective of mobilisation and participation of civil society by the PBC is to promote the right of people to organise and act collectively for the realization of their rights

[178] This fact is based on discussions and comments gathered from key leaders and activists of the People's Budget Campaign. Direct and Participant Observation gave me the opportunity to grasp and develop insights which are of critical importance to the study.
[179] Revised Constitution of the Democratic Republic of South Africa (1996). See also (http:www.sangoco.org.za/site/index.php? Option=content &task=view & id =48&itemid=48

towards budget development and implementation. As a bulwark against government's budgeting policy, the PBC ensures that its objective of mobilisation is further strengthened by establishing social networks and forums where the people's voice can be taken into account. If the PBC do not embark on creating forums for discussion around budget concerns that will involve all sectors of the society, their objective of mobilising towards the budget would rather be insignificant. Taking into account the various phases of budget development, it would be difficult for them to effectively review past performance of the budget, organize and allocate resources (that is, organising through subsequent consultative meetings while setting up budget proposals in various sectors of the economy), provide for financial management and accountability as well as utilizing the budget process effectively as a platform for introducing new policies that will guide the economy.[180]

After having described some of the objectives of civil society mobilisation and participation by the PBC as experienced in direct participation and as acknowledged by Chikaonda, it's therefore pertinent to proceed with analyzing the success and /or achievements towards mobilisation and participation in the budget process. As earlier stated, this will be done by assessing the findings got from the various modes of data collection.

Results collected from semi-structured interview schedules revealed that the objectives of mobilising popular participation in the budget process in South Africa by the PBC has not been fully realised. The reason for this statement can be apparent in their mode of operation which does not provide space for the contribution of those who are unequipped and less informed with developmental strategies and budget drafting processes. In addition, the PBC is not the kind of campaign that calls for wide spread demonstrations by the public. In other words, it is more of an advocacy group composed of elites who are representing civil society in overseeing national budget development plans. If the objective of mobilisation is to engender public participation in budget development, then participation of the poor and less privileged needs to be taken into account.

On the other side of the spectrum, it would not be fair to deny the fact that the PBC has not made necessary interventions to enhance their objective of civil society mobilisation in the budget process.

[180] Chikaonda et al (2004). The Budget as Theatre- the formal and informal institutional makings of the budget process in Malawi, Final Report July-2004 p.1

Even though the campaign is about social networking with partners of the coalition, it has been evident that the aspect of participation within PBC ranks is impressive. The series of public meetings ranging from development and financial planning, to that of the drafting of budget proposals and responding to the medium-term budget policy statement are among the ways through which public participation in the national budget process is carried out by the coalition. They have made considerable interventions in this regard, even though this intervention is deliberated and enforced within closed doors.

According to the views of a range of key players within the formal structure of the PBC (such as Oupa Bodibe, Lesejane Desmond, Lorgat Hassen etc) regarding the aspect of public participation in the budget process, they argued that "Civil society participation in South Africa is still much of a national process." The views of the above players of the coalition that the PBC is currently embarking on a nation wide training programme on budget development are worthwhile.[181] Taking into account the fact that the PBC is currently planning to embark on a nation wide training programme as postulated by a range of its key players, it therefore entails that there is a need in terms of meeting its objective of mobilisation and participation in the budget process. The aspect of need in this regard is in two folds: first, the budget process is still very much national and technocratic; second, the PBC's budget proceedings exclude the participation of people underground most especially at the advocacy front.

As earlier mentioned, one of the purposes of mobilisation and participation in budget processes is to review past performances, and in studying any budgetary institution, account must be taken of its legal bindings. Taking into consideration the democratic nature of the post –apartheid constitution and its section 77 (3) stipulations on how the national budgetary process is to be implemented, it is obvious that civil society inputs in the budget process is one of the fundamental prerogatives used in determining the PBC's achievements in mobilising popular participation on budget implementation in South Africa. In this regard, and from the views of a range of major players earlier mentioned, it is very certain that one of the PBC's basic objectives of mobilising popular participation in the budget process is yet to be fully accomplished.[182]

[181] Insights collected and developed from a range of key players of the Coalition from August 2007 to January 2008.
[182] Commentaries based on Direct Participation

A semi-structured interview conducted with Zanele [former executive director at SANGOCO] on the same subject revealed a similar result. In her words, she made mentioned "that participation has so far been taking place mostly among unions, public services and churches." The PBC according to her has not achieved the aspect of popular participation in terms of creating common grounds to enhance civil society contributions in the budget process. She further stipulates that even though the budget process is much concentrated at the national level and excludes or creates limited space for participation of the public due to the technical aspect of its design, it has not also been succeeding at the provincial level. She continued that even at the provincial level, civil society representatives who are present in terms of their organisations or as individuals are only there as spectators to listen to the pronouncements of what Members of Executive Council of finance declare regarding the budget plan for the next fiscal year. At the national level, the Medium-Term Budget Policy Frame work set the pace for the budget process. She continuously argued that there is disjuncture between the provincial and national budgeting process. In terms of accountability, the minister of finance has called to attention some of the decisions on the budget at the provincial level."[183]

In light of the above views, one may be tempted not to deny the assertion that one of the central objectives of the PBC which has always been to embark on mobilising popular participation in the budget process has not been attained. The views of most of the interviewees presumed to be key players of the PBC in Johannesburg were that civil society participation in the budget process in South Africa still needs to be fully taken into consideration. In other words, participation of budget implementation at the national level excludes the broad public. Within the PBC formal structure, it is less evident in their advocacy proceedings compared to their campaign initiatives. However, the views of some interviewees differ somehow.

According to results gathered from an interview conducted with Kimani Ndungu and Hassen Lorgat on the issue of civil society participation in the budget process, their response was that to the best of their understanding, they think it has not been succeeding towards that direction. They continuously argued that the PBC was not originally designed to embark on mass mobilisation of civil society regarding the budget process. Their basis is that it was formally designed to represent an organised civil society in its

[183] Interview with Zanele Twala (former executive director at SANGOCO and current country director of Action aid international –South Africa) on 3rd October 2007.

institutionalised forms to engage in participatory evaluation and monitoring of the national budget. They further mentioned that the PBC was never meant to mobilise popular participation in the budget process, but that it was designed to represent a coalition of civil society entities. For instance, labour is to be represented by COSATU, issues on poverty alleviation are more propagated by SANGOCO and, issues affecting Christian churches are been disputed by the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

The interlocutors also made mention of the fact that in terms of participation by civil society, the aspect of representative democracy in the budget process is more relevant. In other words, this is to reflect our attention on the fundamental objective of the PBC which was intended not to mobilise people at a broad base level but was designed to engage on advocacy and lobbying with government through a coalition that will engender public participation in the budget process.

Strictly looking at the achievement of PBC vis- a- vis its objective of civil society input in the budget process, it is quite obvious as stipulated by Hickey and Mohan[184] that the aspect of transformation, which is to ensure that existing development practices such as the traditional top - down 'modus operandi,' as commented in development literature needs to be alternated to a people-centred focus. If the PBC is finding it difficult to fully realise its objective of civil society participation in the budget process, it may be partly due to the fact that existing ways of budget drafting (which used to be an exclusive know-how of governments) has not been transformed. Thus, it remains a conventional wisdom in the literature of participatory development that the appropriate motive of participation is to guarantee the 'transformation' of existing development ties, and more fundamentally the social relations, institutional practices and capacity gaps which has been responsible for social exclusion.[185]

Taking into consideration the fact that social mobilisation is about engaging people to advocate for their rights and to gain more control over the resources they need[186], it is therefore undisputable to acknowledge the fact that one of the central objectives of mobilisation is that of civil society participation and more precisely in the budget process. In other words, if one of the PBC's objectives of public participation in the budget process is to organize and allocate resources, of which it has to be done by collaborating with other sectors of the civil society and more especially community based

[184] Hickey, S and Mohan, G. (2004) p. 13
[185] Ibid p.13
[186] Schuftan , C. (1996) pp.260 -264

institutions, research findings have proven this to be partly futile. Drawing from a range of responses of the key actors of the coalition, it is alleged that civil society participation in the budget process as explained above, and with regards to PBC, has not been able to fully realise this objective. This is mainly because the structure and functioning of the coalition has formally limited the participation of poor and uneducated people in society. Therefore, civil society participation in the budget process as implemented by the PBC is fundamentally "elitist" in character (as postulated by Virginia in an interview slot) hence excluding many people more particularly those in poor and marginalised communities. [187]It should be noted at this point that the PBC's mode of operation especially at the advocacy front is limited to those who are of the educated class. In other words, only experts who are capable of making constructive contributions to alternative budget implementation processes receive information on deliberative meetings of the PBC.

Deliberations on issues surrounding budget policy proposals, as one of the ways of PBC's implementative objectives of mobilisation in the budget process has been partly attainable. This is as a result of the elitist nature of the campaign. The relationship between elitism and attainable objective of mobilisation for budget development has to do with the constructive contributions which are required to improve government's economic policy and developmental strategies. Perceived from this angle, only those who are educated can make such constructive contributions because they are literally equipped to do it.

The PBC is a coalition made up of the educated class, and it is comprised of individuals with different intellectual backgrounds (such as pro-poor economists, educators, social scientists, civil society activists, political commentators, as well as theologists), who individually make huge contributions on public budgeting concerns that has obviously helped in guiding the country's economy. The argument at this juncture is that those who are not educated are psychologically incapable to fit into the PBC's mode of operation and deliberation regarding policy advocacy, and precisely on how they engage the government on budget implementation questions. In this regard, the issue of elitism has to do with the

[187] Analysis based on an interview conducted with Zanele Twala and Virginia Makwaza on 3rd and 5th October 2007 respectively. Miss Virginia is currently head of the Media and Information Communication Technology Programme at the Freedom of Expression Institute, former secretary general of Jubilee South, former activist of the PBC, pioneer member of the Anti- Privatization Forum, Founding member of the Soweto Electricity Crisis and an established resident at Soweto.

fact that PBC advocacy networks is limited within board rooms, and most often board room proceedings are carried out by educated individuals.

An example to support this view can be found in the area of deliberating on comprehensive social security system which has been implemented to include a myriad of social benefits such as the Universal Child Support Grant, Basic Income Grant, Old Age Grants, increased spending on Land redistribution, and increased spending to include the Domestic Violent Act and others.[188] The question at this point is that, how is it possible for people who are not educated and equipped with developmental ideas to engage in board room proceedings of this nature.

Critically looking at the objectives of mobilisation and participation within the context of PBC and on the budget process, one might deduce that regarding the agenda of reviewing past performance on national budget, as well as on the issue of organizing and allocating scarce resources, the PBC has achieved its objective of participation even though the inclusion of ordinary citizens wouldn't have affected the situation in any way because of the 'elitist' nature of the coalition. It has equally made great contributions in policy related issues (more especially in comprehensive social policy) which has positively impacted in shaping the national economy.[189]

This has been partly due to the fact that the coalition is comprised of people from the educated class with different intellectual backgrounds. Even though it is difficult to measure with precision, levels of civil society participation in the budget process in South Africa seem to be low partly due to the "board room" character of the movement on the one hand, and on the other, the technocratic and exclusive nature through which the national budgetary process is being drafted and adopted. Based on this premise, it is clear that section 77 (3) of the government gazette which makes provisions for civil society participation in the budget process with an oversight of the parliament in national budgetary rulings has not been adhered to. [190]

[188] People's Budget Campaign (2005) – Proposals from COSATU, SANGOCO and SACC. Views on the Budget and Development strategies. Pp. 11-20. Analysis on this view is also based on insights gathered from Direct Participation
[189] Ibid
[190] Ibid

A critical examination of one of the central objectives of mobilisation which is that of citizenship participation within the context of PBC, shows that the budget process in South Africa is still largely undemocratic taking into consideration the fact that it is both a 'once off yearly event exclusively carried out by the government, and more precisely by the finance minister and technocrats within his department. The parliament which is the major platform through which the civil society is being represented in debates on budget related concerns has no powers to amend the budget despite its constitutional prerogative to do so. The PBC on its part, which is another platform through which previously marginalised organs of civil society can engage in deliberations on issues surrounding the budget equally seems to be operating within a limited democratic space as a result of its 'board room character.'[191]

HAS THE PBC SUCCEEDED IN CREATING AWARENESS AMONG THE POOR ON THE BUDGET PROCESS?

As noted above, results from research findings have shown that the PBC has not fully attained its objective of civil society mobilisation and participation in the budget process. This is because advocacy activities require the participation of those who can make constructive contributions to an alternative budget implementation process. In other words, a budget process that revolves around pro-poor policies. Nonetheless, the PBC has registered some success in the area of comprehensive social policy, as there has been an increase in land distribution as well as Domestic Violent Act, coupled with the implementation of both basic and child income grants. They have been seriously advocating for an increase in the adoption of social grants for the past years. Since their concern on the budget is to advocate for a more re-distributive stance, their budget proposals in this direction has been more expansionary over the years, that is, demanding the government to embark on additional spending in order to meet the needs of the poor in society. There has also been an expansionary budget on education over the years. Despite this moves, has the PBC succeeded in creating awareness among the poor about the budget process? This question is the principal area of focus in this section of the analysis. However, it's vital to highlight the importance of awareness creation before answering the question of its success with regards to PBC.

[191] Participant and Direct Observation from August 2007 to January 2008.

Awareness creation in the budget process is important because it would enable more people to be informed about its development thus impacting on the aspect of popular participation which is relevant for monitoring as well as improving implementation in national development strategies. Another significance of awareness creation regarding the PBC is that it will expand opportunities for people and organisations to take part meaningfully in deliberations about economic policy and spending priorities.

Another point to advance the importance of creating awareness in the budget process is that when people becomes aware of budget proceedings it would enable them to advocate for their rights and to gain more control over the budgetary decisions affecting them. It would also enable them to articulate concrete budget demands which if granted would possibly improve their living conditions.

As previously mentioned in chapter three, PBC activities are stratified into different sections. These are: research unit, advocacy unit and the campaign unit. It has been mentioned that the advocacy unit enforces its budget policy proceedings by circulating information to experts within and out of the PBC formal structure. This mode of information circulation limits the scope of participation as people who are not experts cannot be reached. With regards to the campaign activities of the coalition, it is pertinent to note that information is circulated by all possible means to reach the wider public in order to guarantee their objective of awareness creation.

According to the responses gathered from semi-structured interviews and informal group discussions conducted with members (Mthembu Simon, Ma Lerato, Patrick Vega etc) of Orlando East at Soweto, even though it's difficult to measure with precision, it is confirmed that there is very significant level of community awareness spearheaded by PBC about the budget process. Experiences from direct participation reveals that even though there is shortage of print and audio-visual media coverage on events of PBC's agenda in creating awareness of the poor on the budget process in South Africa, there is still some reasonable number of individuals who are aware of the PBC campaign on the budget.

Taking into consideration the fact that the PBC is a coalition of social network, information concerning its operational agenda circulates only within the coalition members and some few technocrats and advisers from government departments of concern; such as the finance and social affairs departments.[192]

Most people in poor communities constitute the bulk of previously disadvantaged population in South Africa. The PBC campaign unit ensures that through the distribution of tracks, pamphlets, radio communiqué, and community news papers, a reasonable number of people in poor communities are informed about their campaign on an alternative budget process in South Africa.

Despite these efforts, the alarming rate of illiteracy among this group of individuals makes it cumbersome for the campaign to effectively gain its popularity. This has on the contrary impacted on the degree of broadness of the campaign. Poverty has also been a hindrance to their low levels of education.[193] In spite of the fact that there is some degree of awareness, poverty and other factors are probably responsible for the exclusion of people from poor communities to effectively take part in deliberative discussions on issues surrounding budget implementation. At the level of PBC, as an agent of mobilisation for development in South Africa, they have been excluded due to the fact that advocacy activities provide a limited political space for such discursive sessions on budgetary issues. Regarding budgetary implementation process at the national level, participation of civil society is highly restricted due to the technocratic and exclusive nature of the budget implementation method. Therefore, the undemocratic and exclusive nature of budget implementation procedure in South Africa generally, makes it rather more difficult for the participation of people from marginalised communities despite their awareness. Thus making the national budget process as implemented by financial technocrats and PBC activists to be deficient from its intended popularity. [194]

[192] Interviews conducted with Mthembu Simon (chairperson of Soweto Concerned Residents) and Ma Lerato (National Association for Child Minders) on 27 Sept and 12th October respectively.
[193] Evaratt, D (2003) "The Politics of Poverty." This chapter was published in 'the (real) State of the nation: South Africa after 1990' (Vol .4, No.3, 2003). In the 1998 parliamentary debate on reconciliation and nation –building, Thabo Mbeki – the then vice president famously argued that South Africa is made up of two nations divided by poverty: the prosperous White nation and the poor and underdeveloped black nation. As postulated by Mbeki, the latter nation lives under conditions of a huge underdeveloped economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructures.
[194] Analysis based on insights gathered from semi-structured interviews, direct and participant observation from August 2007 to January 2008.

In a separate interview conducted with Ma Lerato, Thembu Simon and Patrick Vega on community awareness of the PBC, she made this remark: "… my very first experience was when we were invited to attend the mayor's budget speech. We were invited as an organisation to take part in the meeting, but when we arrived there we only listened to the mayor's budget speech without any forum for discussion. Participation has been at closed doors-issues of concern are only disclosed to community members who are directly attached to CBOs without their full participation. Information filtering down is a problem-even in issues related to other campaigns like the Treatment Action Campaign and Basic Income Grant. Part of the benefit is that officials at local NGO's normally represent their communities for hearings on issues related to the budget; but the bulk of people in the community where we live are still not much aware of the PBC."[195] This implied their awareness about PBC campaign activities but the contradiction here is that a great deal of individuals in the Soweto community still needs to be informed about the PBC.

The above view shows that the PBC's aim of creating awareness among community members is yet to be fully accomplished. It equally reveals that the existing forms of budget practices has not been fully transformed even though budget drafting at the local level provides space for community members to participate actively.

However, on the contrary, as argued by Ebrahim Khalil in another slot on this same issue, he made the assertion that "the PBC's media profile has put it in a position of comfort." Through the assistance of its research unit, it has been publishing many articles while ensuring that these publications reach all its major partners and other stakeholders of the campaign. The PBC is also having a web site through which all its major events are updated. Its various press releases are also available on the web. The major problem for people in the poor communities is that the bulk of its inhabitants are not very literate. However, the PBC is aware of this short coming and has been planning strategies to embark on extending training programmes to local communities.[196] This on the contrary implies that campaign efforts have been made by the PBC to ensure that individuals in community are informed about budget proceedings. But the hindrance to these efforts is that the majority of people in poor communities are illiterates thus affecting the breath of awareness of PBC campaign activities. Another reason might

[195] Interview conducted with Ma Lerato (a Soweto based resident, working with the National Association for Child Minders – Soweto) on 27th September 2007.
[196] Interview conducted with Ebrahim Khalil (former executive director at NALEDI) on 4th October 2007.

probably be that the PBC is not involved in a public type demonstration, where individuals whether literates or illiterates can just join in demonstrating publicly. In other words, it requires an elementary level of education to be able to read its campaign tracks and to understand its radio communiqués.

Another interview conducted with Makwaza Virginia (an activist resident at Soweto) on the same question shows that there is not much awareness of the PBC's works vis-à-vis the budget. Dwelling on the same aspect, Virginia made this assertion:

"From the time of its creation till date, the work of PBC has not properly filtered in the Soweto community. Members who have an idea of what PBC is all about are those who can be able to afford and read news papers very frequently, even though there is still not enough media coverage on the campaign. In fact, the PBC is a campaign for the literate class in society. I happened to be aware of PBC as a result of my passion for civil society activism. This began with my earlier involvement in the Soweto electricity crisis Campaign, Anti-Privatisation Forum and my involvement with Sangoco as an activist of the PBC."[197]

However, not all the respondents to this same question appeared to be sharing the same opinion or view. According to Zanele, the PBC has been succeeding specifically around the issue of mass based mobilisation but with limitation around the middle class and educated people. This mass-based mobilisation according to her previous argument is actualized within trade unions, churches and NGOs. It was clear of making the voices of people heard and having the aim of bringing the whole issue of accountability of bureaucrats into perspective. It had the priority to inform communities on the aspect of national budgeting process and about social policy and how it is being affected by the budget. The PBC has also been involved in decoding the kind of information that people generally need regarding the budget, for example, people were looking at how the finance minister looks at issues of zero rating of paraffin goods. This has always been one of the issues of the campaign. The PBC is also concerned with social policies such as education spending, health and housing. It has also been enforcing campaigns on the basic income grant, universal child support grant, comprehensive social security system and free treatment of those infected with HIV/AIDS.

[197] Interview conducted with Virginia Makwaza on 5-10-2007

In light of the above explanations therefore, it is obvious although with some exceptions that there has been some deficiency in accomplishing its mission towards attaining the goal of awareness creation with regards to people from poor communities. This has eventually affected civil society inputs in the budget process, even though there is limited public space for discussions on budget implementation procedures at the advocacy level. With regards to human development as postulated by Burkey[198], one can assert the fact that awareness deficiency might affect levels of citizenship participation. This is due to the fact that it might erode the self-confidence, pride, initiative and creativity embedded in citizens. Therefore, it does not conform to the concept of transformation looking at it from a development perspective. Since transformation is based on doing away with existing development practices, it is therefore convincing to affirm that the PBC has not fully accomplished its objective towards attaining one of its purposes of raising awareness partly because of its awareness deficiency created by literacy gaps in most communities in South Africa. This might have some effects on budget implementation in the long run.

One of such effects is that, if people are not aware of the budget process it might erode their confidence and dignity which may not provide them the space to monitor and improve implementation in national development strategies. It might not equally allow them to expand opportunities for individuals and community organisations as a whole to meaningfully participate in debates about economic policy and spending priorities. Since participation requires the active involvement of citizens in communities, it compels one to allude that lack of extensive community awareness on the side of PBC is partly due to the undesirability to transform existing development practices which were hitherto undemocratic and autocratic.

Even though it's difficult to measure levels of awareness about the PBC in poor communities, it has been affirmed that the campaign unit's objective of creating awareness has not been extensively met. This is probably because of the deficiency created by literacy gaps in most marginalised communities in South Africa. The campaign unit of the coalition has ensured that information on PBC line of action on the budget reaches people as wide as possible through the distribution of tracks, pamphlets, as well as print and audio media coverage. The research unit assist the campaign unit in the publication of articles that are used to enforce the campaign to reach the broader public as wide as possible. These articles are written in the simplest form possible to enable people at the community level to understand the

[198] Burkey , S (1993) p.56

objectives of the campaign. The PBC (via its campaign activities) has to reasonable extent raise awareness among community members even though they are hindered by the fact that there is high illiteracy rate in these communities.

EFFECTS OF THE NATURE OF THE COALITION ON THE POOR

As previously stated, the PBC is a coalition of the South African Non-Governmental Coalition, the South African Council of Churches and the Congress of South African Trade Union. The campaign was launched in 2000. The campaign's key objective was to effectively use the budget as a tool for reconstruction and development in order to eradicate the huge inequality and poverty gaps that have been deposited by the apartheid regime. Before analyzing the effects of the nature of the coalition on the poor, it is important for us to have a grasp of its social and political objectives. The reason for this is because critical comments on the nature of the campaign will be deduced from its proposed line of action.

Socially, the apartheid regime created a huge margin between whites and blacks in terms of education, access to skills, job creation and acquisition as well as access to basic needs. This social weakness inevitably led to economic deficiency of the blacks as experienced in their low purchasing power. The PBC had as an objective to effectively use the budget as a tool for reconstruction and development to meet these basic needs and probably do away with the huge inequality and poverty gaps, it also had the objective to assist people by ensuring the creation and retention of quality jobs, as well as assisting the majority of people with access to assets and skills.[199]

Politically, the apartheid government prohibited the black majority from participating in public life. The PBC's central objective in this direction was to effectively use the budget as a platform through which it would increasingly support democratic and participatory governance. It proposed to attain this goal by creating a political space that will stimulate public discussions and deliberations on the budget to major constituencies of civil society whereby the people's voices would be taken into consideration.[200] It also planned to achieve this aim by supporting a broader understanding on how the budget works and how it

[199] People's Budget Campaign (2005) Proposals from COSATU, SANGOCO and SACC.
[200] Ibid p.1

affects South African communities. And lastly, it had the objective of using the budget to provide research into key programmes for transformation and to improve the knowledge of South Africans with regards to development strategies and resource needs.[201]

As earlier mentioned (in chapter three), the structure and functioning of the coalition is interactive and participatory. However, this interaction and participation is limited within a particular group of informed and educated individuals who are able to make constructive contributions to improve budgetary conditions in South Africa. In each area of the deliberative process, organizational consent on how to perform various tasks are taken into consideration. The social, economic and political objectives of the PBC are developed in a series of workshops, deliberative meetings, and conferences that are comprised of researchers, communicators, political activists, proponents of social dialogue and generally, activists of the campaign.[202]

Insights developed from direct participation, semi-structured interview schedules, as well as those of documentary research have proven that the operational character of the campaign is comprised of three areas of concern. Budget policy advocacy as projected in their quest for democratic participation in the budget process, informs the first set of deliberations of PBC's involvement in national budgeting. The second area of PBC's implementation is concerned with their responses to the medium-term budget policy framework. And the third deliberative aspect deals with the development of these responses by setting up proposals in an interactive, consultative and participatory approach.[203]

In light of the above mode of operation, the question is how then is it possible for ordinary citizens (more especially those in poor communities) to participate actively in deriving means to attain proposed objectives of the PBC? Is PBC's operational character open to the public? Was it a fundamental objective of PBC to utilize the budget as a major instrument for reconstruction and development in a bid to wipe off the huge poverty and inequality gaps left over by the apartheid system? Has it ever been a purpose of PBC to equally use the national budget process as a platform for stimulating public

[201] Ibid p.1
[202] Ibid p.2
[203] Insights developed from direct participation. The period of the researcher's internship at SANGOCO provided the opportunity to witness events such as the National Consultative Conference of the PBC that took place in November- 2007, of which the researcher was considered as one of the representative delegates from SANGOCO. The researcher also had the opportunity to participate in a myriad sessions of PBC meetings ranging from strategic planning, seminars on the MDG's, participatory workshops, to financing for development.

negotiations that will include ordinary citizens? These are certainly some of the questions that will guide the process of analyzing the effects of the nature of PBC. The nature of the coalition has led to some negative repercussions regarding the participation of marginalised communities in the budget process.

Research findings[204] have proven that it is practically impossible for ordinary citizens to effectively take part in budget proceedings in South Africa. The national budget process is highly technocratic, hence requires the contribution of financial experts within specified government department.

As earlier mentioned, the coalition operates in three areas (research, policy advocacy, and campaign unit). The policy advocacy unit is engaged with the fundamental objective of the coalition. This unit engages the government in a relatively equal footing through public meetings and other forums. This form of social networks involves only partners and activists of the campaign and probably a few informed individuals invited as technocrats and observers (such as, financial experts from the finance department, proponents of social dialogue, political activists, civil society activists etc). [205]

It is has been evident (as elaborated in ch.3) that in PBC, policy advocacy on the budget operates within a limited scope of individuals hence reducing the political space for budget deliberations. Thus, PBC's mode of implementation (policy advocacy) regarding the budget automatically exclude those who are not within the intended category of individuals deemed necessary for positively contributing to an alternative budget process in South Africa. In this case, those who are not within the intended category of people are obviously those who are uneducated – like ordinary community members. If policy advocacy as projected in their quest for democratic participation in the budget process is one of PBC's methods of operation, how then is it possible for people with limited knowledge on policy concerns to be active in budget implementation within the ranks of PBC? First and foremost, the national budget implementation process is executed within closed doors. It is a complete resolve by the central government and involves only those who have financial expertise. The scope of civil society participation within the PBC ranks is also affected. This is because their mode of operation at the advocacy level provides limited political space for participation in national budget deliberations.

[204] Direct Participation and observation gave the researcher insights that were useful in analyzing the nature of the coalition.
[205] Ibid

Another strategic area of PBC's implementation is to respond to the government's medium-term budget policy framework. Issues of this nature are handled by informed and educated individuals with access to political space. With regards to PBC's mode of operation (at the advocacy level) it's most likely that ordinary community members will lack the political space to respond to the medium-term budget policy framework Responses of this genre can only be effectively carried out based on knowledge and accessibility of those individuals who are directly or indirectly concerned with the proposed objectives of the campaign[206] and how it is operationalised.

The third area of deliberations within the ranks of PBC as earlier mentioned is that of developing these responses by drafting proposals in a consultative, interactive and participatory manner. Critically looking at the concept of participation as described in this study, one may deduce that for it to be fully actualised, it requires that there should be some degree of transformation. Transformation on its part comes with the empowerment of people. Drawing our attention back to the PBC, it is important for them to fully embark on educating the public (most particularly poor communities) so that they should be aware of budget implementation processes in order for them to have access to engage in budget policy advocacy.[207]

Research findings in this direction has proven to be futile, thus rendering the PBC's operational character to be restrictive only to individuals who are generally knowledge-based and more precisely, those who are highly informed on policy, budgetary and development-oriented concerns. Perceived from this dimension, it is evident that the PBC is still operating within existing development strategies, in other words, the aspect of transformation which is a gateway for popular participation as postulated by Hickey and Mohan[208] has not been accomplished. Their objective of public participation (more especially the poor) in the budget process has been very unrealistic and seems to be operating within a few informed and educated individuals.

Responses extracted from semi-structured interview sessions, documentary research as well as insights developed from direct and participant observation shows that the PBC is comprised of three major arms. These are: the research unit, the policy and advocacy unit and the campaign unit. These three units are

[206] Ibid
[207] Ibid
[208] Hickey, S and Mohan, G. (2004) p.13

interwoven in terms of pursuing their objective of public participation in the budget process. The research unit informs the advocacy unit, while the advocacy unit does same for the campaign unit. A participatory method (which is interactive and consultative) shapes the implementation of PBC proceedings. Based on this form of operation, one can argue that the level of participation is limited with regards to advocacy and research, while awareness creation at the level of campaign activities is to a reasonable extent attained. Issues of public interest are lobbied by the political leaders of each organisation that form part of the coalition. Each organisation ensures to carry out advocacy work for the campaign at its own organisational constituency. For example the leadership of SACC will obviously be the visible space and design for the organisation.[209]

CONCLUSION

There are some indications as evident in this chapter that policy advocacy implementation within the PBC is highly restricted to a specified group of individuals who can positively impact on the formulation of an alternative national budget process. This research hereby state without any reservation that 'it is practically impossible' for people in marginalised communities (who are mostly illiterates) to make such contributions taken into consideration that they first lack the political space to do so. This declaration is made as opposed to the limited political nature and functioning of the movement. With regards to the objectives of mobilisation and participation as stipulated by PBC, it is obvious from the analysis that the aspect of democratic participation to the budget process has not been fully realised, this is because it has neither granted access, nor taken into consideration the voice of ordinary citizens partly due to the 'elitist' character of the coalition's mode of operation (more specifically at the advocacy level).

On the other hand, the objectives of reviewing past budget performances, allocate and organize scarce resources (that is, through the organizing of subsequent consultative meetings while setting up their budget proposals in various sectors of the economy), as well as provide for financial management and accountability has been realised to a greater extent. This is mainly because of the consultative, interactive and participatory methods involved in budget proceedings, of which, for these processes to

[209] Semi-structured interview conducted with Desmond Lesejane (Executive Director at the Ecumenical Service for Social and Economic Transformation – a departmental service of SACC that is concerned with the PBC) on 26th November 2007. Once again, semi-structured interviews are relevant for this study because they have enabled respondents to comment from their personal points of view –more particularly to certain issues of civil society mobilisation. They are also relevant because they have further proposed solutions and provided insights into various questions. They are equally important for the purpose of authenticity and variability as they may also corroborate evidence from other sources. For further information on this (see Tellis, W 1997).

be actualised, it requires the participation of those who are enlightened and educated and more precisely those who are self-confident, creative, knowledgeable and very current in policy related concerns. It also entailed the participation of those who are originally granted access to expose their skills. An example to affirm this point could be seen in the review of past budget performances on comprehensive social security such as education, child grants, basic income grants and an improvement in land redistribution. These areas have experienced an increase in their budgets because of the expertise involved in reviewing past performance, and the proposals that advocates of the movement have proposed to the government for consideration.

The fact that the operational character of the coalition excludes ordinary people in society, it therefore implies that it has not succeeded to integrate and accept the voice of ordinary people who comprises the bulk of South African population on the budget question. In this regard, the PBC has established a public space that may enable people to deliberate on budget development and implementation but with restriction to a particular class of individuals in society. This restriction falls within existing development practices, more especially as the aspect of public participation which is one of the attributes of alternative development has not been realistic within the PBC's operational character.

That notwithstanding, the movement has made reasonable efforts in raising awareness about budgetary questions in South African communities. Through the distribution of tracks and pamphlets published by the research and co-ordinating structure of the coalition (NALEDI), radio communiqués and other forms of information dissemination, the campaign unit has made enormous efforts to inform communities about budgetary questions and how it should be evenly distributed to positively impact on the poor majority of South Africans. The PBC has been supporting several campaigns such as the Basic Income Grant, Universal Child Support Grant, and the Landless People's Movement. Their campaigning in these and other areas is to justify their stance for a more redistributive budget to cut across other sectors of the society.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this chapter is to draw final conclusions of the study. It proposes to do this by recapitulating the main arguments advanced in the entire study. This will be done chronologically from chapter one to four.

RECAPITULATING THE CENTRAL ARGUMENTS OF THE STUDY

This study has affirmed that the conventional notion of governments in Africa and elsewhere have been opposing the idea of public participation in national budgetary processes. The formulation of national budgets which is shaped by state ideology as experienced in South Africa and other areas of the globe appear to be very complex due to its technocratic outlook. This study has affirmed that there is much display in budget speeches, but it has stated on the contrary that ordinary citizens are excluded from its development and implementation. This seems to be contrary for a country such as South Africa that encourages a people-centred development initiative.

That notwithstanding, recent progress has shown that civil society's role in public budgeting, more especially in drafting and monitoring of the impacts of budgets on the poor proposes that budget-making and its implementation cannot be the exclusive design of government alone. It is certain that in developing countries, basic developmental goals such as progress in mainstream economy and poverty reduction cannot be attained without ample participation and monitoring of budgets by the public.[210]

It has been argued in this study that budget processes across the world share four common purposes: To review past performance; mobilise and allocate resources; provide for financial management and accountability; and to act as a platform for introducing new policies. As precluded in the study, national budgeting process in South Africa is the sole architecture of the state with basically unremarkable participation of civil society. This study has asserted that Section 77 (3) of the constitution guarantees the adoption and execution of money bills including the national budget. Nonetheless, the parliament still seems to be incapable to oppose its rulings because the suitable legislation adjoining the modus operandi for such modification as fixed by Section 77 (3) of the constitution has never been enacted. In

[210] Ndungu –PBC Project Proposal

this regard, government solely set-up the national budget and proposes the partition of revenue and expenditure. Parliament's role is to accept or deny such proposals but not to amend them.[211]

Taking into consideration the fact that there is no adequate control over budgetary planning by the parliament, spending priorities are entirely initiated by the government. This study has equally stated that the government has recognizably adopted an expansionary budgeting practice as experienced in essential core areas of expenditure such as education, health, social welfare and infrastructural development. That notwithstanding, major human development trends in South Africa indicates a slow down. Theoretically, and according to proponents of social dialogue (for example, PBC activists), organised civil society should be able to carefully survey government's spending priorities through the device of national and provincial legislatures, practically, this has appeared to be impossible and complex.[212]

This study has confirmed that it is based on the above arguments that the PBC as an organised civil society embarks on public participation and monitoring of national budgetary processes by extending the political space whereby debates on social and economic policy concerns in South Africa can be enhanced. In this regard, the PBC is unique in its pursuits for a more transparent and pro-poor budget implementation in South Africa. It is equally in this regard that the PBC has carved out several objectives revolving around the development of an essentially different budget – which it argues must be people- centred. Based on this argument, it acknowledges the importance of alternating the macro-economic framework that shapes the current budget.[213]

As described in chapter one, this study's purpose has been to critically analyze the PBC's objective of civil society mobilisation and participation in the budget process. The central and subsidiary research questions have been helpful in guiding the study. The study has equally acknowledged the importance of the budget and has considered it to be the central platform through which the democratic government's reconstruction and development agenda revolves. The study has confirmed that the need for

[211] PBC- Views from (COSATU, SANGOCO, and SACC) on Project Proposal -
[212] Ibid
[213] PBC (2005) Proposals from COSATU, SANGOCO, and SACC. This publication was sponsored by the Foundation for Human Rights, South African Catholic Bishops Conference, South African Council of Churches and National Labour and Economic Development Institute.

participation and mobilisation in the budget process is to ensure that debates around the budget should be democratically pursued and it should take into account the voice of the people.

This study has acknowledged the importance of civil-society state relationship in Africa and most particularly in South Africa. The reason for this acknowledgement has been crafted in their contribution to democracy and the fact that they act as regulative agents of society and the state. Precisely focusing on this study, civil society organisations have tremendously impacted on mobilisation and development in contemporary South Africa. From the literature, this research has informed us that in analyzing civil society-state relations in South Africa, it is extremely crucial to consider the historical underpinnings of the subject, which according to Adam Habib: 'two distinct phases have marked the evolution of contemporary civil society in the country'. On the one hand, there existed a white civil society that was a negotiator between the white minority and the apartheid state, and on the other, a completely separated black civil society that was involved in mobilisation of black majority against the apartheid state. The study has argued that during the apartheid era, these two civil society camps had different objectives and modes of operation.

However, this study has largely argued that with the demise of apartheid, there has been a complete rejuvenation of the South African civil society. This rebirth was instigated by the newly elected democratic government and it propelled the ways through which organs of civil society were to become operational. In the words of Ballard et al "It marked the moment when the leaders of anti-apartheid activism entered the corridors of political power." The abolition of apartheid system put an end to this racial split. As postulated by Adam Habib, "it began to blur in the transitional period as reasonable portions of white civil society began to create distances from the apartheid regime."

This study has advanced the argument that the post-apartheid developmental strategy was crafted in the RDP programme, GEAR and ASGISA. It has further argued that during the period in question, various constituents of the civil society (especially the black civil society) were excluded from participating in the formulation of socio- economic and developmental policies and strategies. However, with the coming to power of the first democratic government the situation changed drastically. It's equally important to note that this study has fully employed a qualitative research methodology. The design adopted has equally been that of a case study. And the People's Budget Campaign has been singled out

from the lots of organs in the civil society sector due to its uniqueness as the only organised civil society platform through which debates on national budgeting and development can be pursued.

The aspect of civil society has been considered as one of the key concepts in the study and it has provided the foundation through which the PBC can be situated or defined. This research has affirmed that literature on the role of civil society in the apartheid era appears to be substantive; reason being that the myriads of civil society proceedings was more focused to the struggles against apartheid which was a basis through which most part of the civil society embarked. The study has however, asserted the fact that literature on civil society mobilisation and participation has shifted towards the current 'new social movements' as a result of the demise of apartheid.

The concept of civil society as commented in this study owed its origin from the Western political philosophy. It has been dominant from the time the modern nation-state came into fruition. As earlier mentioned in chapter two, it has been argued by Harbeson[214] that civil society is considered by most political philosophers (with the possible exception of Hegel) as the mechanism through which the organizing ideology of the state are synchronized with those of the entire society. Literature on the concept of civil society as earlier stated in chapter two by Young,[215] has affirmed that the term 'civil society is often traced by Adam Ferguson, who perceived the expansion of a "commercial state" as a mode to transform the corrupt feudal order and strengthened the liberty of the individual.

This study has also affirmed that in relating the concept of civil society to democracy, it is worthwhile to note the early writings of Alexi De Tocqueville, Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba (21st century theorists). According to these authors the aspect of democracy must take into consideration the existence of political elements of many civil society organisations-which according to them facilitates better awareness and a more informed citizenry. However, Robert Putnam appears to be contrary to the above argument and has asserted that even non - political organizations in civil society are crucial for the furtherance of democracy. The concept of civil society has generally contributed to the political transition of most African states. In this study, the cases of Nigeria, Kenya and Uganda have been addressed and, this research has evoked how the authoritarian regimes of Nigeria in particular have

[214] Harbeson, (1994) p.2
[215] Young, (1994) pp. 33-49

withered. It has also mentioned (Aiyede) that it was thanks to the contributions made by the civil society, that this society became transformed. For the case of Kenya, it was thanks to the Christian churches that mounted pressure on the state as opposed to a rise of an oppressive and monolithic political system that was in existence at the time.

It has equally been argued in chapter two that the concept of civil society emanated from the European political theory and has unceasingly appeared to be apparent as a global cliché in comparative analyses of democratic change, yet the theory has uncovered many changes, even within the European perspective, and its applicability to African conditions is by no means self-evident. This chapter has also acknowledged Naomi Chazan as one of the most eminent contributors of the concept of civil society in Africa. As presented in the work of Maxine Reitze, the concept of civil society has been defined by Chazan as "the realm of organisations that are autonomous from the state and that interacts with it, but do not want to take it over."

Even though it has been mentioned by Aiyede that civil society has contributed a great deal to the political transition of Africa, it has never the less been counteracted by him as pointed out in Encarnacion's work that the "proliferation of civil society organisations may in fact be inimical to democratic deepening."
With regards to how the concept is perceived in South Africa, this study has acknowledged the fact that civil society in the pre-1994 era had a different mode of operation vis-à-vis the post apartheid period. It has equally commented that civil society in South Africa was divided into two blocs during the apartheid period – (black and white). The white civil society sector had a collaborative agenda with the state, while the black one had an adversarial and confrontational tendency against the state. Civil society organizations play different roles and contribute to a variety of sectors ranging from service provisions to campaigns and policy (support) related issues.

This study has confirmed that the South African civil society was very instrumental in the fight against apartheid. Political commentators such as Steven Friedman have confirmed the importance of civil society studies in South Africa. Probably, one of the reasons for studying this subject has basically been the failure of apartheid government to guarantee the access of citizens' participation in public decision – making processes, as well as assuring the economic rights of South African citizens. This study has

revealed that the constitution was the main pillar via which all the adversities of the former apartheid regime revolved. In this regard, the study has argued that the mounting of pressure by civil society against the regime in question was basically to revise the constitution.

In light of the above argument, it has been previously argued [chapter two] that the content of the current constitution was established due to a tremendous input by the civil society. The present constitution has provided certain economic and social rights for the citizens of South Africa. This study has however argued that the advent of democracy has offered several challenges for state-civil society interaction. Probably, one of such challenges has emerged as a result of the challenges of the democratic government to actualise as well as to implement some of the social and economic options stipulated in the constitution. This has led to a split of the civil society structure in post apartheid South Africa, as some organisations within the civil society sector have been co-opted by government while others are still maintaining their status as social 'watch dogs' and others are survivalists in nature. As argued out in chapter two with the acknowledgement of Adam Habib's view, a change of political regime can have a remarkable impact on society.
The aspect of mobilisation has equally been considered as another major concept of the study. It has been analyzed holistically, with specification to the PBC and how it can be viewed as a civil society agent of mobilisation for development.

Based on Adam Habib's description of the three different blocs of South African civil society, this research has situated the PBC within the second bloc which shuttles some where between adversarialism and engagement. It has been posited earlier on that the PBC is a coalition of 'social network' that involves partners sharing common objectives. The coalition is made up of SANGOCO, SACC, and COSATU. The National Labour and Economic Development Institute (NALEDI) which is a branch in COSATU acts as the co-ordinating structure and drives the research demands of the coalition. The bone of contention between the PBC and the government was government's implementation of GEAR in 1996 as a principal channel to drive economic progress in South Africa.

This research has also posited in chapter two that social mobilisation is about encouraging people to demand for their rights and to gain more power over the resources they need. Social mobilisation aims at

mobilising resources, articulating concrete demands, networking, setting up coalition and securing sustainable social movements and their demands.[216]

This study has equally affirmed that social mobilisation has political, as well as economic implications in state-civil society relationship with specificity to being a suitable policy mechanism with regards to poverty-reduction, unemployment and development –oriented concerns. For the purpose of this study, the term mobilisation has been referred to civil society organisations which are involved in educating the public to be able to participate in the budget process and in development-related initiatives. The concept of participation has also been relevant in this study; it has been mentioned and argued that it is worthwhile to analyze the concept of participation with regards to mobilisation phenomenon in particular and the development process in general. Participation in this context has been referred to the active involvement of citizens in communities or organisations with a certain degree of legitimate and transformational approach to development.
It has also been argued in chapter two that public participation in the budget process as predetermined by the PBC is essential to improving the variety of decisions made and to advance conformity between the civil society and government on the budget process.

Chapter three of the study has been based on describing the nature and implementation of the PBC. This chapter has acknowledged that one of the central concerns of the PBC's emergence to the forefront as an organised civil society agent of mobilisation for development is government's implementation of GEAR in 1996. As argued earlier on, it led to a huge critique on its advantages and disadvantages in relation to the South African economy as purported by its proponents and those who were contrary to the tenets of its formulation. This chapter has briefly described the institutional profile of the coalition partners. It has equally acknowledged the use of documentary sources as one of the means of data collection for the study.

The chapter has equally analysed the nature of the PBC. In the analysis, it asserted that the guiding principles and package of the People's Budget is developed in a series of workshops that is composed of researchers and participants in the initiative. Drawing from the analysis, three phases of the PBC's involvement in national budgeting informs the process. The first one is that of policy advocacy and

[216] Schuftan, (1996) pp.260 - 264

mobilisation of civil society as evoked in their quest for democratic participation in the budget process. The second phase is concerned with their responses to the medium-term budget policy framework which takes place every November by the finance minister. This budget framework sets the agenda for government's expenditure and income for the next three years. The third phase deals with developing their responses by setting – up proposals in a consultative and participatory manner.

As mentioned in chapter one, the budget is very important viewing it from a development perspective. According to the PBC, it is relevant for three main reasons: first, fiscal policy sets the level of government spending. This affects the availability of funds for development efforts as well as economic expansion and job creation; second, engagement on the budget is a way to monitor and improve implementation of national development strategies; and third; the budget provides a useful framework for analysing government policies. Looking at the budget from these perspectives as precluded in chapter three, the PBC is having as a central objective to annually publish a document that will assist the campaign in all of these areas. This chapter has further argued that in relation to the budget and development, the PBC has always posited that the budget must be evaluated in terms of its contribution to sustainable progress in the lives of South Africans (more especially those in poor communities). The chapter has also explored the functioning mechanism of the PBC. It has equally taken into consideration the indices the PBC considers for the review and evaluation on the growth of the national budget.

It has been commented in chapter four of the study that civil society organisations in 21st century South Africa have been very instrumental in the process of mobilisation for empowerment and participation in development initiatives. It has similarly been posited that the notion of civil society mobilisation in Africa is to speed up an active process of strategizing for participation in development – oriented projects.[217] The fundamental objective of chapter four has been to objectively analyze the PBC's initiative of civil society mobilisation and participation in the budget process in South Africa. Prior to the discussion of PBC's success in mobilisation and participation in the budget process, some of its key objectives were worthy of note.

It has been acknowledged in this study that the political intricacies involved in national budgeting process have made it to be strictly determined by a political power. This study has affirmed that findings

[217] Hickey, S and Mohan, G. (2004) pp. 1-20

gathered from various sources have it that the objectives of mobilisation and participation of civil society (more especially poor communities) in South Africa has not been fully successful. The reason for this has been due to the 'elitist' character of the coalition. From all possible areas of PBC's evaluation, starting from its objectives to the nature right up to its implementation and functioning, it has been evident that the coalition is characterised by elites such as political commentators, civil society advocates, development practitioners and, generally proponents of social dialogue. That notwithstanding, the campaign activities of the coalition have been successful to an extent. The PBC has been very instrumental in campaigning around the areas of health, land, subsidiary income and universal child grants. It has made itself known to many communities through its campaign activities on issues around the budget.

After recapitulating the central arguments of the study, it is paramount to make possible suggestions based on the major findings. The PBC's central objective has been to utilize the budget as a tool for reconstruction and development in post-apartheid South Africa. It is therefore crucial that for development to be fully realised, it must consider the aspect of public participation which has been one of the PBC's core objective of mobilisation. Based on this premise, and on account of the major findings, this study has made the following suggestions in order to strengthen the campaign.

Suggestions to Strengthen the Campaign

One of the possible suggestions that this study has deemed necessary to advance in light of the above argument is that the PBC should embark on an extensive civil society awareness programme. This programme should be able to extend to poor communities so as to enable people within these previously disadvantaged areas to be educated and be aware of the impact of national budgeting and development strategies. It is only based on their state of 'transformation' as a result of awareness on the national budgeting process, which will enable them to be capable of participating in PBC proceedings. This is mainly because at certain levels of PBC operations (advocacy) it has been evident that it is a movement for the literate class.

This study has found that there is lack of commitment among members of the coalition to enhance the work of the campaign. Considering the nature of national budgeting and the operational character of the

PBC, it is evident that the budget process is periodical and those involved [both within government and PBC ranks] only assemble when it is time for its proceedings, hence making it to operate within peak and low periods. This operational character of the PBC has affected the level of membership commitment. This study therefore proposes that there should be a permanent working structure especially on the aspect of awareness creation in poor communities. It also suggests a fuller commitment of the coalition's members. It is only based on the commitment of members of the movement that its objective of mobilisation and participation can be fully achieved.

Taking into consideration the fact that the national budgeting process is an exclusive design of the government [precisely finance minister and a team of financial technocrats], it is evident as argued earlier on that the parliament's power to amend money bills is null and void. This is contrary to section 77 (3) of the South African constitution which guarantees the parliament to make possible amendments to the budget. In light of this contradiction, this study proposes that the above section of the constitution should be enacted in order to guarantee the voice of South African citizens in national budget implementation.

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Appendix

Guiding Questions

These are some of the questions that served as guidelines for the intended semi-structured interview schedules.

Questions for Leaders of the Coalition Partners

1. What are the key issues usually discussed in the coalition?
2. How often do you meet in discussing these issues?
3. What is the common objective of the coalition?
4. In which areas do you often conflict in terms of ideas and interests?
5. Has there been any impact of mobilisation on poor communities?
6. How effective is the PBC in mobilising people in poor communities?
7. What are the constraints facing the coalition since its creation in 2000?
8. What is the coalition's account of the previous annual budgets proposals?
9. Who funds the coalition and how are the advocates of the coalition compensated?
10. Is mobilisation based simply on advocacy, awareness creation or it also aims at building capacities?
11. Is the question of identity a problem in the aspect of mobilisation?
12. Are people in the communities aware of the People's Budget Campaign?
13. Are the people in poor communities active participants of the mobilisation process?
14. Is mobilisation a participatory approach to development?

Questions for Community Members

1. Are people in this community aware of the People's Budget Campaign?
2. What does it stand for?
3. Have people in this community been participating in its previous budget programs?
4. Has the PBC created any forum for people in this community to be represented or participate in their meetings?
5. So far, has there been any benefit of the program to this community?