

THE STATE-CIVIL SOCIETY RELATIONS IN SHAPING THE NATIONAL POLICY AGENDA IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Bonginkosi Maxwell Nkosi ^a

^a Department of Development Studies and Anthropology,
University of Zululand, KwaDlangezwa, South Africa.

^a Corresponding author: bnkosi@pan.uzulu.ac.za

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Abstract: The concept of state-civil society relations is experiencing criticism and revival in the academic spaces starting from its basic understanding to the various roles. Fundamental attributes of development in the Southern African region depends on these relations since these relations are somehow confrontational and contradictory in some issues, while fruitful in one way or the other. On the other hand, they differ on how they organise themselves and how they desire to shape the public or private policy discourse. Secondary data, such as state policies and reports, were analysed using content-based data analysis. Some critical observation of civil society through participation and indirect and direct observation of proceedings in Southern Africa has been used to supplement the secondary information. This article explores how the state-civil society by first providing a clear background and literature in understanding the state and civil society and how should each function in a democratic society, not neglecting how civil society contributes or shape national policy in the various sectors of the public sector in Southern Africa. On the other hand, the article looks at the challenges that cripple these relations in shaping the national policy agenda in South Africa.

Keywords: civil society, state relations

INTRODUCTION

The nature of the state can clearly be understood by referring to the politics of civil society and the theory of the state cannot exist without the theory of civil society¹. The liberal theory on civil society cited by Chandhoke (1995) argues that civil society is the sphere of rights and the rule of law which is guaranteed by the state and the civil society gives the buffer for the state². However, this state-civil relation is sometimes contradictory and sometimes oppositional. The paper will then provide a critical exploration on the relationship between the state and civil society and the roles each play in the national policy agenda. It is imperative to be mindful of these roles which are sometimes similar while clashing on the other hand. As reader of this paper, it is paramount important how these roles become similar, and why they clash on the other side. Then, this paper would also highlight the weaknesses and challenges of civil society and the state. These challenges and weaknesses, as highlighted, would be discussed in relation to democratic principles and how each informs policy formulation, policy development and policy change in variety of government sectors and outside of government.

The information in this article collected through written documents, newspapers, and other secondary

¹ Chandhoke, N. *State and Civil Society: Explorations in Political Theory*. Sage Publications: New Delhi. 1995: p. 13.

² *Ibid.* p. 16.

data available concerning civil society and state in Southern Africa. Secondary data, such as national policies and national strategies and reports, were reviewed. Some critical observation of civil society through participation, indirect and direct observation of proceedings in Southern Africa has been used to supplement the secondary information.

BACKGROUND AND UNDERSTANDING OF STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

The State

To begin with it is important to first define what a state is in order to draw an understanding of conceptual relation between the state and civil society. A state defined by Bratton (1989) is an organisation within society that is a principal actor in the economic development and social welfare and is the dominant agent of social transformation and holds repository resources for economic growth³. The word 'state' emanated from the Latin word Status, which means a system of ranks each with its special rights, and tasks. As a result, many authors have linked and define the state to rank, position and power. The state according to Raadschelders and Rutgers developed in a social-political environment functioning on the basis of feudal relations. That is why it is not puzzling to realize the power struggling taking place in many states. As a result, lords who were acknowledged as having the higher authority of power in society governed the feudal relations of the state.

Born out of Renaissance period, a modern state in Africa is a concept that comes from the west and is imposed to Africa based on authoritative behavior. The reality about states in Africa as many writers such as Fatton and Bratton argue is incompletely formed, weak and corrupt⁴. This is the reason why the state in many cases is defended by elites or military because the state is a vehicle of personal and class interests gains. The state interacts with formal and informal organisations to achieve this economic growth as well as the socio-economic development. A state is a guardian territorial integrity in that it guards and protects its citizens in exercising their fundamental rights⁵. The state remains the custodian of development socially, politically and economically. The state is a major employer, economic agent and most important as the foundation for social and economic citizenship. It is the foundation for social and economic citizenship in a sense that it translates the citizen's rights into reality by "practising the ethos of public service" that

includes fairness and administrative justice. But this does not translate that civil society is not.

Civil Society

Civil society as defined by Chandhoke (1995) is the public sphere of informal and formal groups in society. It is the "location of those processes by which the experiences of individuals and communities and the expression of these experiences in debate and discussions, affirmation and contestation are mediated"⁶. He further contends that civil society is the mediator between the private and the public or the mediator between individual experiences and the public articulation⁷. His definition explains that civil society is important in bringing individuals and groups together into a discourse based on shared and common concerns. Civil society acts as a representative of community members that offers strength to individual voices within the community.

The concept of civil society as argued by Lewis (2001) is an old concept. The concept of civil society according to him was embraced by activists in Latin America from 1970s onwards fighting against the authoritarian military regimes⁸. For example, Yoshihiko Uchida and the civil society school of Japanese Marxism emerged in the 1960⁹. However, that Japanese civil society was weak and illustrated on how patriarchal families and culture of individual differences towards power allowed Japanese capitalism to grow fast¹⁰. History of the civil society in Africa indicates that civil organisations did not exist until the emergence of the colonial period. During this period voluntary associations emerged because of the oppression that colonialist imposed to Africans and most of them wanted to fight against that oppression. The state, on the other hand, created safe civil organisations that would not pressurise and criticise the welfare being of the state. It can also be new in Africa in a sense that it does not come from them and its understanding is different from the Western concept of civil societies.

Forms of civil society classes in Africa

It must be noted that civil society can be organised around issues, or can exist to further self-interest and can be directly related to class. As one can understand or deliberate whether civil society is formed around policy issues, self interest or class is a huge debate. The issue of class is argued by Fatton

³ Bratton, M. Beyond the State: Civil Society and Associational life in Africa in World Politics Vol 41, No 3. 1989: p. 407.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Chandhoke, N. 1995: p.169.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Lewis, D. Civil Society in Non Western Contexts. Reflections on the 'Usefulness of a Concept. Civil society Working Paper. London School of Economics Centre for Civil Society. 2001: p. 3.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

who identifies three types of civil society that are ideal vying for power in Africa¹¹. This includes the predatory class type of civil society, middle sectors and subordinate class. His analysis of the three types of civil society class assists us to have a theoretical understanding of powers they have and the exclusion and inclusion of member for participation.

Predatory Civil Society

The predatory civil society includes the ruling class. This type of civil society according to him uses their power and positions in the state as an effort to shape the growth of civil society as an arena where they can impose their own discipline and where they can pursue their corporate private interests¹². They also seek to benefit from the private property rights by using their position and status they hold in the state¹³. Predatory society is committed to liberalisation, in the sense that they approve and favour the neo-liberal policies in a way that they can protect them and fight anything that fight against these policies¹⁴. It is also self-explaining that this type of civil society is well resourced and they do not counteract against the ruling class because they are the ruling class themselves and they gain from this process.

Middle Class sector

The middle-sector according to Fatton is a technocratic ad professional class of middle sectors that has been excluded from the associational life of the predatory rule¹⁵. This involves teachers, police and nurses. This class is supported by international agencies and they seek to democratise the authoritarian polity. They do this by acting as a watchdog to the claims and policies of the state¹⁶. The democratisation of states has become a social project for the middle sector and it has become an opportunistic trend for them. A great example of a civil society that has projects on democracy is the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA). IDASA is an independent public interest organisation that is committed to promoting sustainable democracy based on active citizenship, democratic institutions, and social justice. During the first years of democracy in South Africa's many civil society movements were financed because they were promoting democracy. However, things have changed now in that civil society is funded basically on issues of service delivery.

The middle sector according to Fatton is committed to the "minimal state" which is instrumental to them. Fatton cites Sandbrook analysis which maintains that the minimal liberal state is the one that limits its intrusion to politics and economics¹⁷. The middle sector depends on the state for survival. This is the reason why they cannot be trusted in some cases because they cannot challenge the state on issues that can destroy the dependence on the state. It is a fact that the middle class sector only challenges the state on issues that pertains their social life.

The subordinate class

The third class that Fatton points out is the subordinate class. This class comprises of the unemployed and the poor citizens of the country¹⁸. In most cases they are the lower class especially in South Africa and they organise themselves on basic networks of survival around the second economy or informal economy. This group of class is politically weak and they do not have the resources to take on the state¹⁹. This is the reason why they are not attended to and that they cannot take on the state. In most cases this group is marginally excluded in the processes of deliberation because of their incapacity to engage in issues. Bohman (2000) called this process deliberative inequality. Deliberative inequality according to him has three types of deliberative inequality. The first one is power asymmetries which affect access to the public sphere of the lower class²⁰. Secondly, he mentions communicative inequality which affects the ability to participate and to make effective use of available opportunities to deliberate in the public sphere and thirdly political poverty²¹. Political poverty means to be politically weak, lacking the developed capacity to organise and deliberate on issues that affect their social welfare and solely they depend on the state²². Fatton maintains that the subordinate class is weakened by their daily struggles for survival in conditions of extreme deprivations²³. Instead of challenging the state, they solely focus on how they can bring food on the table.

According to the radical view explained by Osaghae which explains that the relationship the state and civil society is based on two distinct classes namely the ruling class who owns and control the means of productions and lower class that does not have

¹¹ Fatton, R. Africa in the Age of Democratization: The Civic Limitations of Civil Society in African Studies Review Vol 38, No 2, 1995: p. 77.

¹² Ibid. p. 79.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid. pp. 79- 80.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 82.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 83.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 85.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 91.

²⁰ Bohman, J. Public Deliberation. MIT Press: Cambridge. 2000: p. 108.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Fatton, R. 1995: p. 91.

anything²⁴. The relationship between the two, according to him, is based on domination and exploitation and hence Karl Marx cited in Osaghae concludes that the history between the two has been the struggle of class²⁵. The relationship between the two is based on domination and exploitation is a sense that the capitalist state is an instrument of class oppression and the interests of lower class or the oppressed lies in overthrowing the state. According to Osaghae (1994), who used Marx and Angel school of thought, further argue that citizens or the lower class organises themselves based on their own interest of overthrowing the state²⁶. This implies that civil society can also be organised around self-interest. Being organised in this fashion can be helpful while at the same time poisonous.

It can be poisonous in the sense that it can deliberately hinder or suspend an excellent solution or idea from the other party. Many people can bear testimony that certain ideas or perception are not as bad as long as they do not interfere with any body plans. As a result self-based organisation however causes huge disparities when it comes to service delivery or one would experience no service delivery at all.

The relations between state and civil society cannot clearly be understood without understanding the nature of the state as well as the nature and type of civil society. The relationship between the state and civil society is understood to be working well in some instances and not working effectively in some parts. Fatton draws a critical point in supporting this argument in that it depends on the nature of the state for this relationship to work or not to work well. He argues that military and authoritarian states, for example, in Africa 'continue to haunt civil society's capacity to effect a sustainable deepening of democracy'²⁷. It limits the empowerment range of options of the subordinate class.

DEMOCRACY, STATE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society cannot perform its functions of holding the state accountable unless, it is democratic. Chandhoke states that civil society can hardly ask for a democratic state if it is itself undemocratic²⁸. It is most likely that democratic states and democratic civil society can work well in that they all believe in the democratic principles. A democratic state in effect requires a democratic civil society. In support of this argument, we relate to Chandhoke who argues

that the privileging of civil society as the public sphere where democratic principles and politics can be constructed, involves the recognition of the right to hold states responsible and to ensure political accountability²⁹. This must not only reside in institutions and constitutions, laws and regulations, but must be part of the social fabric. The democratic state here must make sure that there is the recognition of rights of the participants and the presence of institutions such as the freedom of press, representative assemblies and the rule of law³⁰. This would assist the notion of the civil society, which implies that people come together in an arena of common concerns and discourse based on shared common understanding. Democracy must not become a political phenomena, however all spheres must practice it. In other words, the social, economic and environmental spheres must be part of this thing called democracy. They all must be democratic.

According to Chandhoke, the transfer of these discourses from the state to the public takes place through the formation and dissemination of public opinion where civil society groups share their concern with the state on paramount issues³¹. Public opinion according to him is elaborated through reasoned debate and discussions³². The discussions are public in a sense that they should be accessible to all and the right of individuals must not be hindered. This implies that nobody should be infringing on the ground of his location in class or other structures or whether he does not belong to any organisation. The space should exist outside the officially prescribed communication channels provided by the state where this free and public discussion takes place. However, the accessibility to all on its own raises a number of concerns. This raises a number of questions about the type of the civil society and the powers and resources it has. Some lack the capacity to communicate information amongst themselves while at the same organisational capacity is challenged. Some civil organisations due to the lack of capacity fail to change with time.

The relationship between the state and civil society is by no means one of the straight forward oppositions in a sense of one homogeneity entity confronting another³³. Chandhoke argues that the notion of civil society is ambivalent (not just conflictive), because the politics of civil society are not only plural but polarised between those practices which affirm the power of the state and those which challenge it³⁴. The ability of civil society to confront the state is

²⁴ Osaghae, E. *Between State and Civil Society in Africa*. Codesria Book Series. 1994: p. 2.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Fatton, R. 1995: p. 91.

²⁸ Chandhoke, N. 1995: p. 13.

²⁹ Ibid. p. 162.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid. p. 163.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid. p. 178.

³⁴ Ibid.

dependent upon the balance of power between those who support the state and those who oppose it³⁵. It also depends on the capacity and resources it has to push the state.

Bratton, on the other hand, maintains that the state-civil society relations is not always confrontational but in some circumstances it is complementary in a sense that civil society would and can never replace the states functions even if they attempt to, but they can assist political elites to adapt the state actions to be more closely with the interests identified by groups in society³⁶. Nevertheless, groups in society are just general members of the community in which the state provides service to. Bratton also makes an important point in that conflict is likely to take place when civil societies engage the state in political space that the ruling class has already occupied and similarly it is likely when civil organizations occupy space which state elites has never occupied³⁷.

Chandhoke maintains that the presence of a vibrant and active civil society has come to be seen as vital precondition for democracy³⁸. Active civil society enables states to act effectively and makes them accountable in some instances. Fatton states that the state is transformed by a changing and a vibrant civil society and civil society is changed by an active changing state³⁹. Civil organisations play an important role in policy implementation, relieving the state of the part of administrative burden⁴⁰. Civil society as the public sphere plays an important role in providing institutions and individuals and the modes of political reflections to engage with each other as mentioned earlier on. Center for Public Participation (CPP) is one of the civil society that act as a teacher to individual experiences on how to participate in state policy making processes and inform them how the legislature, judiciary and executive works. The primary role of civil society according to Bohman in deliberation is to make grievances public and to provide an arena in which citizens can exercise their capacities and freedoms in order to gain entry to the larger public sphere of all citizens⁴¹. He maintains that a true democratic society fosters and protects such associative bonds as a requirement for a vibrant public sphere capable of correcting its own inadequacies⁴².

Civil society is the site where the state intervenes to shape the public opinion and perceptions so that it

can create consent for its own policies⁴³. For example, the capitalist state hegemonies' civil society. This implies that civil societies have become buffers for the state rather than buffers for individuals. One of the ways the capitalist state penetrates civil society is through funding. The state funded civil societies exist to fulfill and protect the interest of the state and undermines and limits the autonomy of civil society. The South African Broadcast Services (SABC) is one major example of the state funded organisations that promote the consent of the state policies. However, other concerned civil society groups won against SABC policies of not including almost all vernacular languages on national programmes. This draws us to next role of civil society which is to prevent the state from exercising absolute control which is a sufficient condition for democracy⁴⁴.

CONTRIBUTION BY CSO IN SHAPING THE NATIONAL POLICY

The organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has long advocated that national economic policy must incorporate regional and local development in order to both moderate the impact of rapid economic growth on localities, civil society, and revitalize local economies and facilitate their adjustments to transformation of the national economy. This could not materialize unless civil society and community based organisations at local level become competitive by developing all underutilized human and natural resources' available at their disposal. It is necessary as Blakely & Leigh, maintained, that contributions through constructive participation of the disadvantaged and minority groups at local level.

Trade Union's role (COSATU) in South Africa

During the 1980s and early 1990s the South African trade union movements emerged as a model of a militant and progressive movement. The major contributions to the struggle by trade unions in South Africa were the contribution to the improvement of wages and working conditions of its members. Trade unions in South Africa successfully fought the struggle for democracy against apartheid. Webster and Buhlungu (2003) asserts that the transition to democracy and the process of elite formation in post-apartheid south Africa, has undergone an erosion as solidarity has fractured along new and old lines. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is the head of the entire sister unions such as POPCRU, SADTU and others affiliated with COSATU. COSATU has become watchdogs to the states' policies, keeping the state intact. COSATU

³⁵ Chandhoke, N. 1995: p. 178.

³⁶ Bratton, M. 1989: p. 428.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 429.

³⁸ Chandhoke, N. 1995: p. 163.

³⁹ Fatton, R. 1995: p. 67.

⁴⁰ Bratton, M. 1989: p. 429.

⁴¹ Bohman, J. 2000: p. 138.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Chandhoke, N. 1995: p. 179.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 165.

and South African Communist Party have in 2011 created a corruption watch to stop corruption within government officials.

However, it is rather a difficult exercise to argue the exact role of COSATU in SA socio-economic policy in SA, in a general sense that the federation of the labour movement is in marriage with the state (ruling party). It is rather difficult for them to argue with the state if they share a particular policy issue.

Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) in South Africa's HIV/AIDS Policy

One must note that, contributions by civil society in shaping the course of national policy have been evident. However, these actions vary and these variations depend greatly on the nature of political context and the manner in which civil society plays their role in the national policy agenda. In many cases, these contributions made by civil society has little or no impact in some other states or many oppressed nations, while in some ways it has played a vital role in changing lives. However, this does not neglect the fact that civil society plays a major role in informing the national policy.

Founded in 1998, the TAC advocates for increased access to treatment, care and support services for the people living with HIV. TAC also has major campaigns to reduce new HIV infections in South Africa. Other major programmes driven by TAC include the Prevention and Treatment Literacy (PTL), Community Health Advocacy (CHA). In 1999, TAC began the fight of providing anti-retrovirus (ARV) to HIV/AIDS infected people. Which gain momentum in the year 2000 with former President of South Africa denying on the 8 September 2000, that HIV causes AIDS. It was until 2003 & 2004, which TAC recorded a massive victory for public health where affordable medicines for millions of sub-Saharan Africans were much closer to treatment after and agreement made between TAC and pharmaceutical companies. TAC significantly transformed national policy on HIV/AIDS treatment and stigma in South Africa. The driving force by TAC enabled the state to review its ways of providing Anti-retroviral (ARV's) to Aids victims. These successes are as a result of cooperation between TAC, COSATU, CEPPWAUWU and the AIDS Consortium and understanding the need and the positioning of civil society in society. To inform the course of action in public policy requires principles such as cooperation, responsibility and accountability.

Through excessive funding, a number of social movements have played an important in SA HIV/AIDS policy. As a result the state is not alone the fight against HIV/AIDS. The collaboration of civil society in various regions has contributed

significantly in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Through these collaborations, vast programmes have been established, such as HIV/AIDS awareness, voluntary testing and counseling (VCT) have ⁴⁵been evident in reducing the bulk of work on government shoulders.

Human rights movements in Zimbabwe

The human rights movement in South Africa has played an important role in fighting for human rights, promoting social justice and the rule of law. In Zimbabwe, civil society leaders are even prisoned for their loud constructive voices fighting against the abuse of human rights. Human rights groups have contributed a lot in sheltering and protecting the abused and marginalised individuals by the state repressive groups. In the latest attempt, Zimbabwean civil society has engaged the state constructively, with an aim of arriving to the true meaning of democracy. However, such attempts, has been seen as dysfunctional as a result of the existing flawed constitution, which is amenable to manipulation and abuse by the state (ruling elites).

In mid 2005, the government of Zimbabwe, targeted members of civil society groups including Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU and Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA).⁴⁶ Violation of human rights by President Robert Mugabe continued where demonstrations or the freedom of assembly is severely restricted by law. On the 14 February 2012, the governor of Masvingo Province, ordered a suspension of activities of 29 NGO's for allegedly failing to register their operations with his office. This is a sign of ill-utterances and irresponsibility of the senior officials to hinder the efforts of civil society who are trying out the best to help fellow Zimbabweans.⁴⁷ As a result Zimbabwean civil society and human rights organization are still operating under a critical and warring eye of the government of national unity. This is with no doubt that the relationship between Zimbabwean government and civil society in this regard is antagonistic. Despite such difficulties, CSO representatives of Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) and Elections resource continue to urge external support from Southern African Development Community (SADC) to press political leaders in Zimbabwe to prepare genuine free and fair elections and reject the flawed elections roadmap that does not meet the ordinary expectations of Zimbabwean citizens⁴⁸.

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⁴⁶ www.zlhr.org.zw

⁴⁷ www.zlhr.org.zw

⁴⁸ www.zlhr.org.zw

CSO in Mozambique

Civil society in Mozambique has been said to be very weak. The weakness is informed by friction and fierce political disputes between the dominant political forces in Mozambique which still persist. According to Francisco, Mucavele & Monjene (2007) argue that the 'situation is unhealthy and harmful to the development of civil society because there is a tendency to try and manipulate members of CSOs to take the side of one force or the other, irrespective of the sense and practicability of their positions'⁴⁹. A policy brief conducted by Alliance 2015 entitled "*Slow Progress Towards Democratic Ownership in Mozambique*" shows that the relationship between civil society and the state is problematical as regards mechanisms for mutual accountability and transparent and effective monitoring. Interaction between civil society and the state is superficial and informal⁵⁰.

The main obstacles to more efficient and effective action by CSOs in Mozambique can be observed in the sub-dimensions on state and corporate accountability, weak empowerment of the citizen and the weak advocacy and lobby capacity of CSO members. As public confidence is weak CSOs end up having an extremely limited role in promoting the growth of social capital at community and district grass roots level. In practice, CSOs make a weak contribution to promoting the social capital of the Mozambican population

Other authors such as Hodges & Tibana (2005), however, argue that CSO participation or involvement is insufficient, sometimes a mere convenience and to legitimise circumstantial policies without involving the real empowerment of civil society. According to this latter argument, the space granted to civil society must give way to forms of effective partnership, the real empowerment of society and the transfer of state accountability from donors to society, through a proactive, efficient, effective and competent Parliament (Francisco & Matter, 2007; Macamo, 2006; Mosse, 2007).

PUDEMO in Swaziland

Swaziland, as a monarch, remains to be ruled without democracy since the countries independence in 1968. In a monarch, leadership is ascribed than being achieved. As a result, there are no democratic principles left for the people of Swaziland. The liberation movements in Swaziland led by the

Peoples United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO) are the champions of true democratic governance in Swaziland. In September 2011, PUDEMO and other civil society movements embarked on a mass action of 30 000 to 40 000 of people in demand for freedom⁵¹. However, the Swazi government is not even concerned with the democratic transformation that the masses require, but the King of Swaziland continues to live an extravagant live despite the countries' financial crisis, crippling poverty and HIV/AIDS

CHALLENGES CRIPPLING THESE RELATIONS AND FACTORS AFFECTING EFFECTIVENESS IN SHAPING NATIONAL POLICY.

The challenge for African states is that most of the states do not understand the democratic principles themselves and are weak and incomplete as stated earlier on. Leaders themselves do not understand the principles of democracy, because they are unable to accept defeat, unable to decentralise roles and responsibilities and are mainly corrupt. Diamond (2000) argues that for democracy to be fruitful, participating candidates must be willing to accept results as they come, whether positive or negative which is fundamental in consolidating democracy.

This is as a result of the authoritarian rule that African states found themselves in due to the colonial rule. This draws attention on the analysis that civil society is young and weak in Africa. This is relevant if we talk about formal civil society. It is young in the sense that the democracy itself is young and inadequately implemented. Another challenge of civil society and its relationship with the state they are undemocratic as mentioned earlier on and that its autonomy is limited because most of them are funded by the state itself. Civil society especially subordinate class is under resourced and politically poor. Some of the middle sector civil society is not well resourced and capacitated. Some of the major challenges crippling both the state and civil society are lack of capacity, corruption, dependency syndrome and the cooption of local leaders.

Lack of capacity

Lack of capacity by civil society is another crippling factor. Many civil society groups lack the capacity to implement programmes. A lack of capacity, according to Grindle, leads to the "inability to formulate and implement policies effectively".⁵² It

⁴⁹ Francisco, A, Mucavele, A & Monjene, P. 2007. Civil Society Index. Mozambican Civil Society Within: Evaluation, Challenges, Opportunities & Action.

⁵⁰ Pereira, J. (Alliance 2015). Slow Progress towards Democratic Ownership in Mozambique. March 2011: p. 4.

⁵¹ Links. International Journal of Socialist Renewal. Swaziland : Liberation movements proposes path to democracy. www.links.org.au

⁵² Grindle, M. Getting Good Government: Capacity Building in the Public Sectors of Developing Countries. Harvard University Press: Harvard. 1997: p. 3.

can even contribute to an inability to carry out even most basic task required of modern states.⁵³ There are so many factors contributing to this reality. First and foremost, there is lack of human resource to drive and implement programmes. A Non-Profit Organisation (NPO) baseline survey conducted by Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation revealed that the majority of NPO senior management staff has Grade 12 level as their highest qualification and they have never acquired skills in Project Management or relevant disciplines⁵⁴. About 10 out of 23 senior staff members have only matric as their highest qualification.⁵⁵ To develop a Logical Framework, Policies, Budget Management and Fundraising and so forth; in some staff members with only matric becomes difficult. In many cases, there are no job description and employment contracts for the staff and volunteers, no funding to pay staff, no full time staff. Many employees are employed on a temporal basis.

The study also revealed that the lack of management skills from the NPO management staff lead to the number of key challenges within the management of its activities. Secondly, finances remain crucial in driving such programmes. Lack of financial management skills have been proved as a damaging factor. This does not only hamper civil society alone, but the state cannot be left in isolation. Many government departments are unable to manage their on finances. Using finances is one problem, but obtaining them also is another challenge.

Building capacity by civil society should begin within. CSO must not imitate what they are not and must remain original in their capacity building agenda. Building capacity must not be informed by the so called global market kind of education limited by the consultancy culture, the new form of colonization called globalization with a trend of short courses and so forth. Capacity building must be informed by the greater vision and mission of the organization,

Corruption

The level of corruption both the state and civil society in Africa is very high, despite the continents' richness in mineral resources. Both institutions are somehow or the other led by corrupt individuals. Corruption in African states has rooted itself deeply beyond control. It is evident in many unstable and stable states in Africa where leaders are not willing to relinquish power. Not only influenced by power

mongerism, but also infected by the drive to squander resources (material and financial resources through various means of corruption channels). These countries include Zimbabwe, currently Ivory Coast and Libya to mention a few. One can raise a concern that Africans have been hungry and oppressed for a long time through colonialism and as a result corruption is induced deeply in us. As a result, Michael Edward put it "*yet where the interplay of global interests and national vulnerabilities has had the upper hand the advance of citizenship has been halted or reversed.....African leaders have squandered public goods and public trust*".⁵⁶ Issues of public and citizenship participation and political competition is marginalised or pushed under carpet.

The Dependency Syndrome

Dependence in financing is a major syndrome for both the state and civil society in Africa. Not only affecting the nature and the way these institutions should relate but hamper the effectiveness in carrying out their responsibilities and functions. Foreign aid which has become the way of life by civil society and state has not brought change, but sorrow and shame to the beautiful motherland, Africa.

There is a crucial need for both the state and civil society in Africa to break loose in financial dependency. Africa needs to be on her own and begin to administer her affairs effectively without anyone's intervention. If the Arabian states have done it, Africa can too. Andre Gunder Frank once suggested this. In his analysis of dependency school of thought, he maintains that delinking from the core could be inevitable solution. He went on to say that Africa can become better if she can trade amongst herself. One of the South African icon, Dr. Mosibudi Mangena once wrote, "*Blackman, you are on your own*". He also maintains that civil society or government or states can function effectively on their own without an external assistance. However, these theoretical analysis remain imperative and sound very good, but the question of implementability remains. One could also ask him/herself another, how long this syndrome would continue.

The Cooption of grassroots leaders

Leaders co-opted at grass root level by the state have hampered civil society. Some leaders co-opted from local government where service delivery should be considered crucial, to national government, has opened capacity gap at local level. Local centres of grassroots level being co-opted nationally leaving a power vacuum at local thus crippling the status quo of local structures. Structures such as the South

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ ZCBF. NPO Baseline Survey Report & Skills Audit Assessment for the Implementation of Capacity Building Programme within uThungulu District Municipality. November 2009: p. 14.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Edwards, M. The Challenges of Civil Society in Africa. Dakar, Senegal. 2009: p. 5.

Africa National Civic Organisations (SANCO) are failing to maintain or stabilise such gap locally. Failure to retain these skilled personnel by both the state and civil society remains hazardous to development. This is not only hazardous to social development, but also to the development local development framework (LDF), local economic development (LED) and other crucial policy framework. It will always take an organisation that is committed to skills development and training to sustain their own capacity and the programmes they plan to achieve. Or otherwise close down.

DISCUSSIONS

As a result, civil society may be of greater assistant to the state provided they are strong and have the persistent ability to pursue the state and inform national policy whether on the grassroots level, regional, national or global. Civil society has the instinct to do even beyond the financial and capacity limitations if they could build themselves to meet the needs of the ever changing global market systems.

However, the need to survive by civil society poses some threat to its growth in the future and might result in not shaping policy even at grassroots level. Where the state is function effectively, the civil society is weakened, but not in all cases since they have no one to advocate for since the state has taken such responsibility. At the same time, civil society need to look beyond survival means and champion itself to organization that are deem fit to stand on their own in a long run. This is difficult sometimes since they rely mostly on funding, but the need to be majors for civil society to sustain its well being and maintain projects effectively.

On the other hand, civil society is viewed as watchdogs over the state in making sure that the state lives to its responsibility and account for every action they take. One critical example is the role that is sometimes played by COSATU in South Africa and PUDEMO in Swaziland. Opposition political parties that always play this role are not enough to put the state intact. Sometimes civil society requires taking the driving position of policy formulation and decision making, to shape and challenge the state. In the driving seat, enables them to enhance more funding and they are being exposed to funders through the role they play. But one must not forget that this may cause the state to become aggressive and oppositional to the civil society in a sense that the state would feel being made naked or exposed by the civil society.

Civil society, through the interaction with the state, might be the channel or lead to transparency, accountability and responsibility. They can or are the agents of transformation to the state and thus making

the state to succumb to the principles of good governance and democracy. It would require civil society groups to be well capacitated to inform policy change and take such huge responsibility as Grindle puts it. Civil society should not be viewed as taking over the state responsibility neither become the state nor act like the state, rather should build pathways to cause the state to be effective. The state on the other side must open the doorways for citizenship participation, allowing every stakeholder to engage constructively in the development discourse. The doorways must be opened from the policy planning process down to the implementation stage. In other words, participation of all stakeholders must be involved in all stages of the policy cycle to enable what Anderson called juicy or effective implementation and thus allowing fruitful relations between the state and civil society.

Another argument put forth by Avadani (2009) is that 'CSOs is delivering social services that are mostly small, local, community-based, and less visible outside their constituencies and struggling for public recognition'⁵⁷. As a result, this is viewed as if CSO are not contributing to the larger sector or the national policy. These criticisms are meant to dwarf a number of CSO thus labeling them as incompetent for larger scope of work while others argue that CSO steal foreign grants. However, one must also maintain that the little as labeled is a major contribution since there is no measurement or scale as to how much one must contribute to the nation building.

CONCLUSION

It is a fact that civil societies are organised around issues to discuss and contest with the state and this collaboration is organised around certain discourses that are of interest based. The relationship between the state and civil society is a pluralistic one, in that it provides so many different opinions based on the class type of civil society and the nature of the state. African states as mentioned earlier on are very weak and authoritarian and this requires strengthening their democracy. Strong civil society that is informed of the democratic principles would help strengthen the ability of people to engage and deliberate effectively and thus strengthen the state itself.

However, dealing with these challenges will require most of it all the commitment of all parties to engage to the priority and responsibility at hand. Making a promise is good but a commitment to the promise is even more effective. It's imperative to note that action speaks better than words. Even though development and service delivery is not promising in

Africa, not at this point in time, it is paramount that actions are taken against not implementing the promises.

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