

**POLICY-MAKING AND THE CORPORATIST STATE:
THREE CASE STUDIES OF RURAL POLICY ENGAGEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA**

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines three case studies where rural people have engaged with national rural development policy-making processes with support from civil society organisations. The case studies are a Labour Tenant Campaign for land rights, initiated in 1991 by labour tenant communities and civil society organisations in response to increasing attempts to evict labour tenant communities by landowners in the Eastern Transvaal (later Mpumalanga) and Natal (later Kwazulu-Natal). A second case study is a Farm Dweller Security of Tenure Campaign, undertaken by farm dweller communities and NGOs, church groups, and trade unions in 1995 to lobby for legislation to promote the security of tenure of communities living on private land in rural South Africa. A third case study, the Rural Development Initiative, involves an attempt to mobilise civil society organisations to highlight rural people's demands through a Rural People's Charter and to raise the priority of rural development amongst policy makers.

The case studies trace the emergence of each initiative, and their relative influence on policy. In each case, the politics of engagement and the outcomes of the policy processes illustrate clearly the limited ways in which policy can be influenced by those who are affected most by its enactment. The dissertation argues that the obstacles presented by conditions of poverty and the relative political weakness of rural people in South African society have frustrated their attempts to influence policy to their own benefit. Further, the dissertation contends that these conditions are a direct result of the historical legacy of capitalist development in South Africa, and that their continuation is contingent on the current neo-liberal form and ideology of the South African state.

The study provides an analysis of the role of the capitalist state and its contingent ideological basis to provide an illustration of the constraints posed by the policy-making process in a corporatist state. An analysis of the post-apartheid South African state, and its rural development policy, concludes that they are unlikely to provide any relief for poor people living in rural areas due to an adherence to the economic policy of neo-liberalism. The three case studies explore the interplay of ideology and policy processes, and illustrate how the complexity of the policy process increases the dependence of rural people on NGOs in the process of engagement.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie skripsie ondersoek drie gevallestudies waar landelike inwoners met die hulp van burgerlike-samelewing organisasies, betrokke raak in nasionale beleidsmakingsprosesse oor landelike ontwikkeling. Die gevallestudies handel oor, eerstens, die veldtog om arbeidsinwoners grondregte te verskaf, die *Labour Tenant Campaign*, wat in 1991 begin is deur arbeidsinwoners in die oos-Transvaal (later Mpumalanga) en Natal (later KwaZulu-Natal). Die volgende gevallestudie, die *Farm Dweller Security of Tenure Campaign*, handel oor die veldtog om plaasinwoners se woon- en gebruikregte op privaatgrond te waarborg, wat saam met nie-regeringsorganisasies, kerkgroepe en nywerheidsunies in 1995 gevoer is. Hierdie veldtog het ten doel gehad om wetgewing in plek te stel wat besitreg sal waarborg vir plaasinwoner gemeenskappe in landelike Suid-Afrika. Die laaste gevallestudie, die *Rural Development Initiative*, was 'n poging om burgerlike samelewings organisasies te mobiliseer om landelike inwoners se behoeftes na vore te bring deur die publikasie van die *Rural People's Charter*, en om die dringendheid van landelike ontwikkeling aan beleidsmakers te kommunikeer.

Die drie gevallestudies skets die oorsprong van elke inisiatief en hul relatiewe invloed op beleid. In elke geval illustreer die uitkomstes, en die politiek van betrokkenheid by die beleidsmakingsproses, duidelik die beperkte invloed wat landelike inwoners op hierdie proses kan uitoefen. Hierdie skripsie argumenteer dat die struikelblokke wat armoede aan landelike inwoners stel, en hul relatiewe politieke magteloosheid, hul pogings om beleid te beïnvloed in die wiele ry. Die skripsie argumenteer verder dat hierdie kondisies die direkte gevolg is van die geskiedenis van kapitalistiese ontwikkeling in Suid-Afrika, en dat die voorsetting hiervan afhanklik is van die huidige neo-liberale form en ideologie van die Suid-Afrikaanse staat.

Die studie analiseer die rol van die kapitalistiese staat en sy kontingente ideologiese basis om 'n illustrasie te gee van die beperkinge van die beleidsmakingsproses in 'n korporatistiese staat. Die analise van die post-apartheid staat in Suid-Afrika, en sy landelike ontwikkelingsbeleid, kom tot die gevolgtrekking dat dit onwaarskynlik is dat arm mense enige versagting van hul omstandighede kan verwag. Hierdie is te wyte aan die ekonomiese beleid van neo-liberalisme. Die drie gevallestudies verken die interaksie tussen ideologie en beleidsmakingsprosesse, en illustreer hoe die kompleksiteit van die beleidsmakingsproses die afhanklikheid van landelike inwoners op nie-regerings organisasies vergroot.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACLA	Advisory Committee on Land Allocation
ANC	African National Congress
AFRA	Association for Rural Advancement
CAE	Centre for Adult Education, University of Natal
CAG	Community Advocacy Group
CALS	Centre for Applied Legal Studies
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CODESA	Conference for a Democratic South Africa
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
EDA	Environmental Development Agency
EMG	Environmental Monitoring Group
ESTA	Extension of Security of Tenure Act, No 62 of 1997
FRRP	Farmworkers Research and Resource Project
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy
GNU	Government of National Unity
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IPD	Institute for Participatory Democracy
LDO	Land Development Objective
LRC	Legal Resource Centre
LHR	Lawyers for Human Rights
NACTU	National African Congress of Trade Unions
NAU	Natal Agricultural Union
NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NLC	National Land Committee
NRDF	National Rural Development Forum

RDF	Rural Development Framework
RDI	Rural Development Initiative
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RDSN	Rural Development Services Network
RDTT	Rural Development Task Group
SAAU	South African Agricultural Union
SACBC	South African Catholic Bishops Conference
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SANCO	South African National Civics Organisation
SANGOCO	South African NGO Coalition
SANT	South African Native Trust
SMME	Small, Micro, and Medium Enterprises
TAU	Transvaal Agricultural Union
TCOE	Trust for Community Outreach and Education
TEC	Transitional Executive Council
TRAC	Transvaal Rural Action Committee



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