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GENDER AND POVERTY REDUCTION: VOICE, DIALOGUE AND TARGETING

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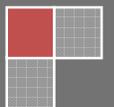
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ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
ARV	Antiretroviral
ASGISA	Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
CEDAW	Convention against All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CMIP	Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme
CSG	Child Support Grant
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
DSD	National Department of Social Development
DST	National Department of Science & Technology
DTI	National Department of Trade & Industry
DWAF	National Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GCI	Global Competitiveness Index
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GDI	Gender Development Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GDP	Growth Domestic Product
GRB	Gender Responsive Budgeting
HDI	Human Development Index
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
ISRD	Integrated Sustainable Rural Development
LAC	Latin American and Caribbean
LRS	Labour Research Service
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MIG	Municipal Infrastructure Grant
NDA	National Development Agency
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SA	South African
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAWEN	South African Women Entrepreneurs' Network
STATSSA	Statistics South Africa
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
URP	Urban Renewal Programme

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INTRODUCTION

This study examined the gendered dimensions of poverty in South Africa and their implicationsfor poverty reduction interventions in South Africa. The study identifies and analyses national approaches to understanding and addressing poverty and their integration of gender. It also identifies and analyses approaches to understanding and addressing poverty and their integration of gender in three countries: Chile, Brazil and India. From these understandings, the study develops recommendations for developing integrated approaches to understanding poverty and its links to gender inequality and for developing and implementing ameliorative strategies.

The research questions, in particular included:
- What are the gendered dimensions of poverty and their implications for poverty reduction interventions in South Africa?
- What poverty reduction policy and interventions exist to change the material realities of women and men's lives in South Africa?
- How have other (selected) countries understood and addressed poverty, and how do their strategies aim to change the gendered lives of women and men?

POLICIES INFORMING POVERTY REDUCTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa's policies are informed by several international policy frameworks and treaties including:
- the Word Bank's and International Monetary Fund's Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) (even though South Africa does not have a PRSP);
- the 2000 World Development Report (WDR), which focused on poverty and offered a more complex view of gender (IDRC, 2010);
- the World Bank's 2001 Policy Research Report, *Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice*, which is considered one of the key documents in understanding poverty from a gender perspective (IDRC, 2010); and
- the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), adopted by world leaders and to be achieved by 2015.

Most of the country's contemporary histories of poverty share a narrative: explanations of current poverty are grounded in colonial legislation around land ownership and the control of labour, particularly the movement of black people through the 'influx control' policies of the apartheid era, entrenched racial discrimination around employment, housing, education, mobility, and citizenship, and the overwhelming effect of state-initiated violence, discrimination, and systematic disenfranchisement. The narratives then move through key post- 1994 state policies, successively named the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994), Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) (1996), to the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) (2006).

Key issues emerging from the review include, first, that national poverty reduction strategies are linked only weakly to strategies for economic growth and stability. This weakness includes a failure to consider gender as relevant to macroeconomic strategy. Second, there is no cohesively articulated programme of poverty reduction strategies through which departments can organize their own relationship to national strategies in detail, alongside

monitoring and evaluation. This makes it difficult to assess the impact of programmes overall, and leaves analysts vulnerable to volatile, politically driven debates on 'progress' or 'increased poverty' which are not anchored to a comprehensive, widely and well developed, programme of action. Third, social assistance grants and old age pensions are the most effective current form of poverty alleviation, and heavily impact women's quality of life and need to be retained alongside more sustainable programmes such as the EPWP. Fourth, analyses which identify factors beyond income as contributing to poverty in households and communities are profoundly gendered (they include security, sexuality, and relationships between people).

Research has shown that even though women and men share many burdens of poverty, they frequently experience poverty differently, have different poverty reduction priorities and are affected differently by development interventions. Gender mainstreaming and the design and implementation of poverty eradication policies from a gender perspective are key to addressing these diverse needs.

POVERTY REDUCTION PROGRAMMING IN SELECTED GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

South Africa's approach to eradicating extreme poverty and hunger is comprehensive, seeking to address both the monetary aspects of poverty whilst also attending to its multidimensionality and individuals' basic needs. The analysis of the programmatic work carried out in selected government departments (Departments of Social Development, Education, Health, Trade and Industry, and Labour) suggests that:

- While there is evidence of some tools within departments aimed at alleviating poverty, culminating in a variety of schemes and programmes across departments, there is a lack of an over-arching gendered focus in these measures, resulting in programmes prioritising mainly women.
- There is a lack of an over-arching contextual framework from which the Anti-Poverty Strategy is embedded, mainly from a gendered perspective.
- The departments are far from equal and their approaches to poverty reduction are even more unequal. Such degrees of differences occur between the National, Provincial and District Levels.
- A shift in an understanding about poverty is evident within departments: there is a move from a material asset approach that focuses on agency and capabilities toward one addressing social services.
- A significant strategy for poverty alleviation appears to be social grants (notably those provided by the Department of Social Development). However, evidence shows that, given the multidimensionality of poverty, such grants are also used for health care and school fees, leaving very little for recipients to ensure basic survival. An important impediment to access appears to be the availability of Bar Coded Identity Documents.
- The cluster system, aimed at coordinating efforts between and among various departments, and ensuring a poverty filter that is applied to all aspects of strategic planning, while necessary, has not succeeded.

POVERTY REDCUTION POLICIES AND PROGRAMMING IN CHILE, BRAZIL AND INDIA

This study profiled three countries with similar or slightly higher Human Development Index (HDI) indices as South Africa (Brazil, India and Chile) in terms of their anti-poverty policies and/or strategies and their consideration of gender equality. Drawing from these profiles, four lessons emerge:

- While there might be general analytic agreement that gender inequalities do make conditions of poverty 'worse for women', there is debate about the concrete link between achieving gender equality and ensuring economic growth along neoliberal lines. This requires balancing policies which seek to attract people into the labour market through job creation and encouragement of entrepreneurship and at the same time, rewarding women who prioritize the welfare of their families, or does economic growth depend on women for unpaid care work. It also requires creating opportunities for entrance into the labour market for men and women as well as gender equality in terms of sharing the necessary care work both within and beyond the family.

- In contexts where the 'family' has been the focus of social spending and of many welfare initiatives among the poor. So, while neoliberal policy discourages welfare approaches to the alleviation of poverty, and encourages cut-backs in social spending, no credible engagement in poverty alleviation can afford not to invest heavily in the lives and environments of the poor. Such gender dynamics can ensure that such investments (social grants) actually deliver better health, education, and nourishment for the poor.

- Co-ordination of policy planning and implementation at the micro-level has been recognised as essential for poverty reduction efforts. South Africa is a country of great geographical, cultural, and political diversity, and the success of any poverty reduction strategies will lie in the evenness and substantiality of their implementation at micro-community level. This is also the level from which the most valuable feedback from the affected women and men can be gathered.

- Women are moving rapidly into the labour market as paid workers, albeit in largely semi-skilled jobs. Such jobs are often contract labour, part-time, and 'casual' in terms of seasonal flows of work, and this means less pay than for men in full-time employment. Thus, while there are more women moving into the labour market (and even though there are fewer men, especially in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs), women's economic burdens have not lessened.

KEY FINDINGS

Poverty, like many concepts, is understood and defined differently by diverse scholars, policy makers and service providers on one hand, and by those most affected by (poor men and women) on the other. To illustrate, some measure poverty in monetary terms, while others conceptualise it in terms of the ability/inability of individuals and families to meet their basic needs and to participate meaningfully in their communities. Yet others define poverty in a more holistic way, emphasizing its multidimensionality, including the lack, or inadequacy of such needs as adequate education, housing, health, water, sanitation, and electricity.

Feminist critiques of the definition and measurement of poverty have included the lack of a gender analysis (see for example, Cornwall *et al*, 2007; Chant, 2006a; Sweetman, 2003; Razavi, 2000).

Due to unequal power relations, there are gender differences in the ways in which these resources are distributed between men and women (and boys and girls) within communities and households. Unless these differences are taken into consideration in developing policies and interventions, such efforts will remain largely ineffective.

On one hand, findings from the study point to the importance of macro-level policies and micro-level realities, as well as the relevance of macro- and micro-economic research. On the other, the diversity of communities continues to pose particular challenges in the interpretation and understanding of the complexity of poverty.

While *poverty* is sometimes discussed explicitly or implicitly in the chapters in this report, the term has been used as part of a larger configuration of meaning to foreground its relational aspects (cf. Chant, 2003a).

However, available literature also suggests that poverty might not be feminized in all instances, and that it might even be limiting to reduce poverty simply to feminisation. In this report, we utilise a gender perspective as it goes beyond a descriptive analysis to look at the causes of poverty, approaching it as a process (and gives it a more dynamic perspective), contributing to the design of policies and interventions that target the most vulnerable (in this case, poor women and girls) (Desarrolo, 2004).

This study is premised on the belief that while women are disproportionately affected by poverty, and scholars and practitioners have agreed that they must be considered major actors in combating poverty, too many poverty reduction interventions still render them invisible, disregarding their needs, interests and tacit knowledge about the challenges that face them and the solutions that might work to address them. To address this silencing and marginalisation, the project aimed to utilise three methodological concepts and processes: Voice (challenging silence; listening to the disenfranchised), dialogue (opening up conversations between and among various stakeholders and agents), and targeting (developing policies and programmes that specifically target women or girls to address their socio-economic needs). One of the limitations of the current study is that in this report we only present a cursory view of targeting. From this we identify areas for investigations in future studies focusing on this issue in the section below.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

This report raises a number of concerns and questions that remain to be answered. For example, prospects for strengthening policy in its relation to gender, the balance between demand and supply; civil society and participation, and the match between existing policies and their implementation are some of the issues that still warrant conceptual and empirical investigation. Some of these are addressed below.

Research:
- While this study intended to focus on aspects of voice, dialogue and targeting in relation to gender and poverty reduction, it has only done so in exploratory terms, and these issues still warrant more comprehensive investigation in future studies. As such, whatever the solutions might be, this report is designed to provoke further debate in human and social science research that centres on descriptive and analytical approaches to poverty and gender, as well as debate and action within policymaking and activism.
- To avoid a situation where the specific gender needs and interests of women will be given less attention or could be ignored completely, gender-disaggregated data are

needed that enable differences between and among men and women to be clearly established.

- In order to understand programmatic work in government departments, what is needed is a fuller sense of how departments interpret, and develop programmes which include gender as a component of their work, and subsequently a route to integrating different perspectives, looking for gaps, and synthesizing approaches. There is a need to understand better the impact of the various interventions beyond who it is (men and/or women) who receives them, but how they play out in terms of sustaining individuals and households.

- Careful documentation of women and men's lived experience of poverty is necessary. As such, qualitative studies that examine how these groups understand and experience and what impact interventions have on their lives are needed. Such qualitative studies would not only aim to unearth the voices of such women, they would also enter into dialogue with them and from these engagements, develop targeted strategies for alleviating their poverty and ultimately eradicating it.

Policy development and programming:

- Greater policy coherence, co-ordination and targeting are required between government ministries (e.g., between National, Provincial and District level departments, as well as between government and civil society organisations and business).

- Integrating gender into analyses of poverty as well as into policies (and programmes) aimed at addressing it is essential. To address the challenges of gender mainstreaming in the design and implementation of poverty eradication policies, the lack of appropriate experience and analytical abilities with gender issues among officials (Sadie and Loots, 1998) needs to be addressed through training.

- Social grants as a way of ensuring survival of individuals and households need to be maintained as it has in fact enabled millions of South African poor women to develop short-term credit systems, control family budgets, and – in some instances –support children not biologically their own. While this continues to locate women as 'caregivers', the impact of this on poverty alleviation (not necessarily reduction) is impressive.

- Policy work is also needed that would seek to reward men for participation in good childcare and/or care of the elderly, and to reward companies and organizations for participation in programmes which allow men as well as women to access good childcare, while they are occupied in wage labour.

- With rural areas being more negatively impacted by poverty than urban areas, and urban areas continuing to draw on casual labour (e.g., in domestic work), exposing women to violence in communities and households, to ensure the integration of gender equality and poverty reduction, it would be essential to ensure that:
  o wages were at the prescribed levels, that transport systems are safe, that childcare options are available and subsidized in the neighbourhoods in which the domestic workers live, and that pension plans are in place.
  o the Basic Income Grant, as a means to begin addressing the number of poor men, unemployed, in urban areas is implemented. This addresses not only their under-employment, but also issues of gender inequality (and gender-based violence) within homes and communities.

- There needs to be a better imagined effort to both honour the principles of ASGISA and to focus on strengthening domestic industries which support the income of poorer men and women. The commitment to trade liberalization is not compatible, in the broadest sense, with equality of employment opportunities.
- Gender budgeting remains a very useful tool in helping state actors to actually understand the practical links between activities, budgets, and gender impacts. Retraining on this technique is a priority for actually managing the integration of poverty reduction plans with gender equality goals in various government departments.
- It is in countries with a strong civil society in which robust debate on the complexities of national policy-making, gender equality, and poverty-reduction exists that the most progress has been made (e.g., Chile and India). Policy development should be aware of the ways in which 'gender debates" may be segregated from others, and seek active engagement from all stakeholders (regardless of whether or not they work with one another).

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

Eradicating extreme poverty continues to be one of the main challenges of our time, and is a major concern of the international community. Ending this scourge will require the combined efforts of all, governments, civil society organizations and the private sector, in the context of a stronger and more effective global partnership for development

Ban Ki-Moon, United Nations Secretary-General

1.1   Introduction

South Africa has arguably made a lot of progress in relation to gender-responsive interventions targeting various spheres of life, particularly in terms of legislation and policy. While this has allowed their increased participation in local and national politics, the qualitative experiences of women and girls remain largely unchanged, with females living in poverty continuing to outnumber males. For example, Statistics South Africa (2007) reported that:

> Over the period 2002 to 2006, the percentage of children that went hungry was substantially higher in female-headed households than in male-headed households. For example, in 2006 in 3,4% of female-headed households, children went hungry as against 1,6% in male-headed households.

(www.statssa.gov.za/news_archive/23August2007, *accessed April 12, 2009).*

Thus, informed by research evidence and analyses which suggest that women are disproportionately affected by poverty, this report aimed to first examine the gendered aspects of poverty and their implications for poverty reduction interventions in South Africa. Second, the project aimed to identify and analyse national and international integrated approaches to understanding and addressing poverty. Third, it aimed to develop recommendations for developing integrated and gendered approaches to understanding and addressing poverty. The project was intended to frame 'Voice', 'Dialogue' and 'Targeting' as central to an understanding of gender and poverty

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reduction (see Chapter 2 for a full discussion of these three concepts). While this report presents findings that foreground voice and dialogue as key to understanding gendered poverty and poverty reduction strategies, these have not been fully explored empirically. In addition, this current study has not fully addressed *targeting* as a conceptual and analytical framework[1].

In the sections below, in addressing the context of the research more generally, the report explores the importance of conceptualising poverty in its gendered dimension (the conceptual framework for the study is discussed more fully in Chapter 2) and concludes the chapter with a discussion of the purpose and focus of the study.

1.2 The Context

For some people, being poor is a state of mind in which we desire things that we do not have. However, for many, it is usually a reflection of a lack of resources needed for *survival,* including insufficient material and cultural resources to sustain their existence. In most instances, being 'poor' has much to do with, for example, the lack of basic requirements such as food, shelter, health and education. Logically, to be 'poor' has a lot to do with the absence of an income, such that poor or low levels of income imply that one lives below the poverty line and that *survival* is compromised. In most communities in South Africa and internationally, evidence from research suggests that it is usually women and girls who are more vulnerable to poverty and who suffer the dire consequences of being poor in families and communities (see for example, Mubangizi and Mubangizi, 2005; Van Averbeke, 2007 and others). Yet, poverty reduction strategies continue to fail to recognise women's needs,

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[1] This was due to the lack of capacity of the research team to work this concept.

interests and tacit knowledge about the conditions in which they live (Zuckerman, 2003; Loots, 2007; Woodrow Wilson Report, 2008).

Recognising the renewed relevance of gender in poverty reduction initiatives, in line with gender and feminist research, first, this report offers a dedicated policy analysis to the theme in relation to South Africa, but draws on comparative experiences from four countries: Brazil, Chile, India and Tunisia (see Chapter 4). The report is informed by the realisation that the macro-economic framework in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) constitutes a sort of gender injustice as it tends to treat women's reproductive labour as without monetised worth. Given that economics is both about power to access resources and the ownership of resources, a non-accounting of the unequal gender-related distribution of resources may not contribute to improving the position of women and may instead, continue to make them invisible. The report builds upon this theme and focuses on policies and programmes as well as on conceptualising the issues that frame the gendered nature of poverty and its implications for poverty reduction strategies.

Second, rather than positioning poverty as the only backdrop, the report also explores the relationships and processes connecting poverty to its gendered meanings. In so doing, the report illuminates the ways in which a variety of factors (notably conceptual understandings, policy, programme, agents) shape current terms of the debate and discussion. From different perspectives, the report analyses the gendered dimensions of poverty and reflects on their implications for developing ameliorative interventions.

Third, this report highlights the notion that, in its multidimensionality and complexity, poverty, as we understand it, is connected to resources, production, people, enhanced health

care and education, the rights of women, youth and of indigenous people and local communities. All of these, we believe, should be supported by democratic decision-making, participation in relation to good governance and effective service delivery. The challenges therefore, for poverty eradication, lie in the promotion of economic growth that is simultaneously sustained by direct action for employment strengthening and income-generation.

As the time of writing this report, service-delivery protests in South Africa intensified (cf. Grobler, 2009; Parliament, 2009; Van Wyk, 2009). The report raises questions, debate and dialogue that challenge policy makers and practitioners to think creatively about possible strategies for poverty eradication. Such questions might include: What are the meanings of poverty in its gendered dimensions? How do public policies speak to and/or differ from the gendered realities of the poor in South Africa? What can be learnt from comparative experiences of poverty and poverty reduction interventions in South Africa and internationally?

The project was a response to the Department of Science and Technology's (DST) Unit on 'Technology for Social Impact' call for a study that broadly adopts an integrated approach to addressing poverty in terms of the National Agenda of Government Programmatic Work in this area. Central to this research was the focus on Gender and Poverty Reduction as one of the national priority areas of policy work. The idea was to conduct a study in this national area of focus in order to better inform work in terms of social impact. As such the project was an attempt to respond to government's Programme of Action which involves, among others, comprehensive anti-poverty interventions aimed at addressing indigence, especially the high numbers of women and children affected; co-ordinating and aligning all anti-poverty

programmes to maximise impact and avoid duplication and wastage; and operationalising the "War against Poverty". As such, this study examined the gendered aspects of poverty and their implications for poverty reduction interventions in South Africa. It reviewed understandings of poverty and conceptualisations of poverty reduction strategies in local and international literature. The study then identified and analysed integrated approaches to understanding and addressing poverty in selected government departments in South Africa. Lastly, it explored poverty reduction strategies and their relation to gender equality in three countries: Chile, Brazil and India. From these, the report will develop a set of recommendations for developing integrated approaches to understanding and addressing poverty for South Africa.

The broad scope of this project was to provide 'new models' and 'innovative ways of thinking' in dealing with poverty. Modelling requires an economic analysis and future projections but as indicated above, the research team approached the problem principally with a social analysis framework (not an economic model) by firstly prioritizing a qualitative assessment of current interpretations and practice with respect to policy. The procedure for in this research involved a comparative review and assessment of the social impact of the National Government's programmatic work in the broad area of poverty reduction. This involved a descriptive and analytic overview of programmatic work (and policy) currently taking place in addressing poverty reduction in selected government departments (Education, Labour, Social Development and Health). The analysis aimed to:

- identify indicators of poverty as identified by the programmatic work (and policy) within such government departments;
- assess whether such indicators address development and the quality of life of South Africans;

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- understand how marginalized and vulnerable groupings (women and children) are targeted within such programmatic work (and policy) and whether programmes directly target such groupings; and

- understand how poverty is conceptualized and understood within such programmatic work and policy,

The procedure also involved a comparative analysis of poverty reduction interventions in three countries with similar (or slightly higher) human development index (HDI) indices as South Africa (Brazil, Chile and India), and to make recommendations for poverty reduction policies and gender equality strategies in South Africa.

1.3   Research Design and Methodology

Although this report does not provide an overview of research in the whole continent of Africa, nor of the relations between gender and poverty across the globe (though some comparative case studies reference appropriate lessons), it offers insights into a number of facets where poverty operates. The report represents an important entry into socially relevant debates as the world enters the second decade of the millennium. The report draws principally upon qualitative data, framed through a gender lens to generate further debate and discussion about the implications of gender and poverty reduction, and women's participation more broadly. The various chapters in this report explore and analyse the links between gender and poverty, asking:

- What are the gendered dimensions of poverty and their implications for poverty reduction interventions in South Africa?

- What poverty reduction policy and interventions exist to change the material realities of women and mens' lives in South Africa?

- How have other (selected) countries understood and addressed poverty, and how do their strategies aim to change the gendered lives of women and men?

Data collection instruments were largely desktop reviews of local and international policy documents (document analysis) and literature relevant to this study. In this regard, first, a desk-top review of critical documents on 'national indicators of poverty', (national poverty reduction strategies and the extent to and ways in which these are gendered was undertaken. Second, fieldwork, aimed at an *in-depth* analysis of programmatic work in selected key departments (Social Development, Health, Labour, Education, and Trade and Industry) was undertaken. The fieldwork was also aimed at direct engagement with different stakeholders within these departments. To achieve this, one-on-one interviews (involving both face-to-face and telephonic surveys) with key staff responsible for poverty reduction in the departments were held to strengthen the desktop data. Third, a comparative review of Gender and Poverty Reduction strategies in Brazil, Chile, and India, and to a limited extent, Tunisia, as a comparative basis for analysing the South African situation and its implications for policy change was undertaken.

Fourth, a National Policy Symposium on Gender and Poverty Reduction, hosted by the HSRC which included presentations from a diverse stakeholder group in respect of poverty reduction was held. Presentations and deliberations at the symposium were invited to, among other things:
- Examine the gendered aspects of poverty and their implications for poverty reduction interventions in SA;
- Identify/develop local concepts/discourses for explaining the feminisation of poverty and its context specific impacts, as well as develop new ways of framing the challenge;

- Develop new scenarios based on an aggregated understanding of poverty through recourse to the National Standard Indicators of poverty; and

- Map new models for an integrated approach to understanding and addressing poverty.

A selected number of papers from the symposium were published in various forms in a special issue of *Agenda* (see Issue 81, 2009), and these also inform findings in this report.

1.4   Structure of the report

Flowing from the focus of the research, this report is divided into six chapters: *Chapter 1* has provided a brief context and brief to the report, and highlighted aspects of the research design and methodology. *Chapter 2* outlines a delimited literature review that emphasizes current and ongoing work in gender and poverty reduction, both locally and globally. The focus of this chapter is to ground the analysis of this report in its gendered lens, and accentuates the key conceptual tools and vocabulary utilized in the analysis. *Chapter 3* reviews key documents on national poverty reduction strategies and the extent to and ways in which they are gendered. A policy analysis is offered by turning to the gendered meanings of the current policy framework, with a summative overview of key findings that are translated into recommendations in the latter part of the report. *Chapter 4* focuses on a review of three countries (Chile, Brazil, and India) who are either on a similar or slightly higher Human Development Index compared to South Africa. 'Comparison' in this instance entails the analysis of possible events, processes, actors, and social groups in various contexts. This chapter highlights the policy ramifications of poverty reduction in relation to gender. Here too, a summative overview of implications arising out of the comparison are outlined, and are translated into recommendations in the concluding chapter. Using case studies of selected national departments, *Chapter 5* presents an overview of government's programmatic work on Gender and Poverty Reduction in selected departments. In turn, *Chapter 6* concludes the

report and identifies implications for policy and practice in gendering poverty reduction strategies in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2 - GENDER AND POVERTY REDUCTION: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1   Introduction: Towards a gendered understanding of poverty

What does existing local and international research/literature tell us about integrated approaches to understanding and addressing poverty from a gendered perspective? This chapter outlines a delimited literature review of ongoing work in gender and poverty reduction, both locally and internationally. The chapter aims to ground the analysis of poverty and poverty reduction in a gendered lens, and to accentuate the key conceptual and theoretical tools utilized in the analysis.

Poverty is a worldwide malady that has been around as long as humanity itself with sub-Saharan Africa one of the most affected regions. However, the concept 'poverty' is not easy to pin down as there is no absolute agreement on how to understand and/or measure it. Chambers (2006), in highlighting the slipperiness of the concept, indicates that its meaning depends on who is asking the question, how that question is understood, and who answers. In South Africa, for example, it appears that the understanding of poverty is still undergoing a process of evolution from a material asset based approach towards the concepts of agency and capabilities. Oosthuizen (n.d.) asserts that although in the past poverty was measured in monetary terms only, it is now conceptualized and measured in terms of individuals' and households' ability to meet their basic needs and to participate meaningfully in their societies. Similarly, Statistics South Africa (2007) defines it as the absence of adequate resources to meet basic needs whilst others (Dayal, 2008; Momsen, 2004; Chambers, 2006; Laderchi, Saith & Stewart, 2006) have adopted a more holistic approach in their definition, emphasizing its multidimensionality.

In this study, 'poverty' is understood most fundamentally as a condition of want, or scarcity, particularly of subsistence or material possessions. Informed by this understanding, usually, economic development or the social redistribution of wealth is viewed as providing a proper solution. Poverty is in essence a negative condition, in contrast to wealth, abundance, fullness, fertility, and productiveness. Three measures of poverty are identified in the literature. The most widely used measure of poverty is *official poverty,* which refers to the percentage of people with cash incomes that fall beneath the poverty line before taxes. The second is *net poverty,* which refers to the percentage of the population remaining beneath the poverty level after all resources – cash and in-kind, earned and unearned – are taken into account. The third is *Latent poverty,* referring to how many people *would* be poor if it were not for government help; in other words, a population dependent on government assistance (cf. Murray in: Pierson & Castles, 2006: 96 - 100).

The definition and measurement of poverty has often been scrutinized by feminists for being gender blind (Chant, 2006a; Cornwall *et al*, 2007; Jackson and Pearson, 1998; Kabeer, 1997: 1; Razavi, 2000; Sweetman, 2003). Some of these studies, and others, regularly highlight the experiential differences between men and women (and boys and girls) in living with and in poverty. For example, measures of poverty usually classify people as poor if they live in households or settings where the per capita income is less than a predetermined threshold (absolute poverty). However, these fail to account for potential gender differences within such households (through, for example, unequal distribution of resources). This measure determines what has become known as the 'poverty line' which quantifies a population's lack of such resources as housing, food, education and health. Similarly, as suggested above, another measure of poverty recognises the multidimensionality of poverty, addressing the

question of satisfying basic needs (for example, adequate education, housing, health, water, sanitation, electricity) considered to be some of the primary needs that need to be met. Again, the extent to and ways in which these are equitably/equally distributed between men and women (and boys and girls) within communities and households is often not understood or taken into consideration in programming.

Available literature also suggests that while poverty might not be feminized in all instances, and it might even be limiting to reduce poverty simply to feminisation, people's experiences of poverty are differentiated in respect of how men and women enact, reinforce and reinvent expectations and practices concerning gender (cf. Fenstermaker & West, 2002). According to Desarrolo (2004:9):

> It is possible to identify gender factors that increase or decrease the probability of individuals experiencing poverty, and how the characteristics of poverty are different for men and women.

Moreover a gender perspective enhances the conceptualisation of poverty because it goes beyond a descriptive analysis to look at the causes of poverty. It approaches poverty as a process, thereby giving it a more dynamic perspective. In addition, a gender perspective contributes to the design of policies allowing measures to be directed at the severest poverty and the most vulnerable populations (Desarrolo, 2004).

So, how has this perspective informed research on poverty?

2.2. Researching Poverty
Research on poverty has shown remarkable developments in the last decade with important contributions focused on Africa. For example, Kessy and Tostensen (2008) review anti-poverty strategies in Eastern and Southern Africa; Illife (1987) and Anderson and Broch-Due (1999) emphasise the historical development focusing on pastoralism; economic perspectives

are highlighted by for example, Baulch and Hoddinott (2000); the necessity of including the poor in poverty reduction policies in Africa is the focus of Kempe (2004). Roberts (2007) provides a migration audit of poverty reduction strategies in Southern Africa; Mulinge (2004) provides a pan-African overview of the 'African debt dilemma', while Whitehead and Lockwood (1999) review World Bank assessments of poverty. However, as stated in the sections above, these analyses are generally thin on the gender dimension.

2.2.1 Utilising Gender Lens in Researching Poverty?

Studies demonstrating that poverty has no geographical limits and has a global face are numerous (e.g., Chossudovsky, 2003; Goldberg and Kremen, 1990; Holyfield, 2002; Iceland, 2006; Kingfisher, 2002; Sweetman, 1998). In particular, a steadily growing corpus of international scholarship (conceptual, discursive, methodological, empirical, programmatic) on poverty has taken new directions in the past decade, with the framing of gender, albeit minimal, slowly taking shape. Examples of studies utilising a gender lens which are beginning to shape policy and practice internationally include those that analyse the issues as well as those that analyse efforts aimed at addressing poverty.

First, in terms of analysing gender and poverty, focusing on Latin America, Chant's (2003) study outlines methodological and conceptual challenges to understanding poverty from a gender perspective. Furthermore, the social life of food (notably diet, cuisine, discourse, and practice) is used to sketch a detailed and compelling account of the foods eaten in Zambagua, an indigenous parish of highland Ecuador by a small community in the face of endemic racism and accelerating poverty (Weismantel, 1998).

From the Asian context, Arya and Roy (2006) assess transnational poverty-driven migration (an effect of globalisation) in various Asian countries and its impact on changing patterns of labour relations. A study focused on rural households in Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka in India (Mukhopadhyay and Savithri, 1998) illustrates linkages between women's fertility behaviour and reproductive choice and poverty. Poverty also shows up its gendered face in relation to broad sustainable and human development (see for example, Heyzer and Wee, 1996 and Somjee and Somjee, 2005). In an ethnography of urban development in Calcutta, Roy (2002) demonstrates the geopolitics of modernity through the everyday practices of territory and urban spatialisation as a factor in the reproduction of poverty.

Focusing on developing countries and notably on sub-Saharan Africa, Wodon and Blackden (2006) and Antonopoulos and Hirway (2010) illustrate how time poverty (the connection between time use, gender and poverty) is a distinct reality. Wilcox (2006) confirms linkages among power inequality, gender-based violence and gendered poverty. Other factors that intersect with poverty include health, notably HIV and AIDS, and locale. For its part, globally, HIV/AIDS is increasingly connected to the problems of poverty (Watanabe, 2008; Nattrass, 2009).

In relation to initiatives that focus on addressing poverty, in spite of the scant attention to gender in current research, women's role in antipoverty strategies is ironically not new. Consider the historical account provided by Orleck (2006), who shows how a group of black welfare mothers in the United States built successful antipoverty responses. On the African continent, anthropological case studies such as those reported by Iroegbu (2007) show how bride wealth and marriage (as experienced by some Igbo in Southeast Nigeria) are responses to the pressures of poverty, globalization, politics, and health. Furthermore, in an analysis of

women and poverty in Morocco, Skalli (2001) accounted for the multidimensionality of poverty despite the existence of antipoverty measures. Focusing on South Africa, Bhorat and Kanbur (2006) and Habib and Maharaj (2008) have drawn together a broad range of voices that look at policy, practice and resource flows but here too, there is scant attention to the gender picture. More recently, Moeletsi Mbeki (2009) has lamented the lost opportunities within Sub-Saharan Africa and criticised African political elites with respect to their contributions (or lack thereof) to poverty reduction, but again with scant attention to the gendered dimension. In addition, Ashwin Desai's *We are the Poors* (2002) provides a grounded and fascinating community activist perspective on the organised opposition and struggles by poor people of Chatsworth, South Africa against contemporary capitalism. This book, although not explicitly focused on gender, does draw in the voices of women and men in response to basic needs such as water, electricity and general services that would otherwise compromise survival. What also implicitly emerges in this important book is that the identities of the poor (men and women) *matter* in thinking about poverty reduction

In relation to interventions addressing poverty from a social justice perspective more broadly, several studies illustrate. In a collection of essays, Chunn and Gavigan (2010) highlight the urgency to insert social justice issues (arguably, these include gender) into the public consciousness and agenda of developing democracies as an emerging strategy for addressing poverty. In their study, Krishna (2004) and Narayan-Parker (2000) highlight the relevance of the informal urban sector in helping to extricate some from dire poverty. Newell and Frynas (2007) make a business case for addressing poverty, social exclusion and other developmental challenges directly through corporate social responsibility.

In addition to mapping the rates, nature and impacts of poverty locally and internationally, these diverse studies also proffer ideas that speak to safety net policies that might reduce the

risks of persistent and in some instances, chronic poverty. While this may seem like an oversimplification of a complex set of historical, social, political and economic relations, this report, offers case-specific interpretations that privilege context and suggest alternatives specifically in relation to South Africa (See Chapter 6).

2.3 Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

This section is divided into three sub-sections. The first, 2.3.1 discusses gender and development as key concepts in the analysis of poverty. Section 2.3.2 provides an overview of the ways in which a gender analysis can be used to understand poverty and its eradication. In section 2.3.3 other conceptual and theoretical frameworks that can be or have been used to understand gender and poverty and poverty reduction are identified and discussed.

2.3.1 Gender and development as key concepts in the analysis of poverty

Gender and Development as key concepts in the analysis of poverty are best understood in relation to the history of policy interventions in developing countries and in relation to the history of the women's movements around the globe (Reddock 2000; Connelly, Murray Li, MacDonald and Parpart 2000). Chant (2003) outlines the responses to development and the attempts to "mainstream gender in methodological and conceptual frameworks for poverty" that have arisen since the 1960s (ibid.: 10; see also Kabeer 2003; Godoy 2004; Jaquette and Staudt 2006). Responses to development during and up until the 1960s are characterized as 'early strategies for growth' (Chant 2003; Kabeer 2003). During this period development policy not only placed emphasis on economic growth, but equated development with economic growth. "The benefits of [economic growth] were expected to gradually 'trickle down' through society to its poorer members" (Kabeer 2003: 20). During this period development policy paid little attention to the role and experiences of women in development.

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A new focus on the role of women in development came with the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985). Research on women during this period offered new insights into the role of women in development and poverty (Chant 2003). Broadly, it offered four new perspectives. Firstly, it emphasized the disparities in income between men and women which "gave rise to … disparaties such as inequalities in literacy and education, discrimination in labour markets, unequal gender divisions of unpaid work within the home, and the low social and economic value attributed to work performed by women." (ibid.: 10). Secondly, it highlighted the need to disaggregate data by sex and/or gender by drawing attention to the difficulty in obtaining meaningful data not only on women in relation to poverty and development, but on any aspect of women's lives. Thirdly, early gender research problematized the notion of the household as a unit of analysis, highlighting the need to view households, including female-headed households[2], not as unitary, homogenous entities operating on altruistic principles, but rather as areas of competing claims, rights, power, interests and resources (Chant 2006; Jaquette and Staudt; Kabeer 2003). Fourthly, it emphasized the fact that women's roles in informal and formal labour, and their considerable contribution to the survival of the household, i.e. women's economic contributions, had been grossly underestimated (Chant 2003; Kabeer 2003).

Gender and Development as key concepts in the analysis of poverty are the particular focus of the "Gender and Development" Model (GAD) one of the two main feminist development frameworks (Connelly, Murray Li, MacDonald and Parpart 2000). The GAD perspective emerged in the late 1980s, largely in response to criticism of the "Women and Development" (WID) approach (the second of the two feminist development frameworks mentioned above)

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[2] This aspect of the contribution of a gendered perspective to the analysis of poverty and its eradication will be elaborated on in section 3.2 below.

(Jaquette and Staudt 2006). While the WID approach was considered "too women-specific and welfarist to make a difference" (ibid.: 29); the GAD approach is concerned with gender and gender relations, particularly in relation to gender inequailty. It offers an analysis of poverty in which the understanding that gender is a dynamic and diverse social construct that varies by culture and encompasses both men and women is critical (Reddock 2000; Chant 2003; Kabeer 2003; Godoy 2004; Jaquette and Staudt 2006).

The GAD approach views development concepts and practice through a gender lens by examining how unequal power relations between men and women prevent women from accessing both material and non-material resources. This perspective illustrates how gender relations impact on how development programmes are designed and implemented and therefore on who benefits from these programmes. The GAD approach is critical of the economic growth model of development[3]; it values women's reproductive roles, and the role played by women in both paid and unpaid labour. Proponents of this approach argue that women are already part of the development process rather than underutilized resources for development, and thus emphasize the need for women to be active participants in development processes. Importantly, the diverse categories such as age, class, race, ethnicity and religion that constitute women in development as a group are fundamental to the analysis of poverty in the GAD approach. An important focus in the GAD perspective is on the empowerment of women which emphasizes their capacity to participate actively and meaningfully in challenging the marginalization of women. It is, therefore, also referred to as the "empowerment approach" (Connelly, Murray Li, MacDonald and Parpart 2000).

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[3] Kabeer (2003: 80) notes that "…economic growth does not necessarily benefit the poorer sections of society" as the benefits of economic growth failed to 'trickle down' to the poor.

An important contribution made by the GAD approach to the analysis of poverty has been the critical analyses of structural adjustment programmes (SAPS) (Connelly, Murray Li, MacDonald and Parpart 2000; Chant 2003; Jaquette and Staudt 2006). Research into the impacts of SAPs at the grass-root level revealed that women were the first to feel the effects of these policies and bear a greater load than men in coping with the consequences, both social and economic, as a result of the cut-backs in state services and subsidies (Chant 2003, 2006; Kabeer 2003; Jaquette and Staudt 2006). This 'structural poverty' experienced by women has been exacerbated in many low-income countries by structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). Although South Africa has not formally entered any SAP, there are aspects of the policy framework, for example, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) (1996-2006), and the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) (2006-2007) which can be correlated with SAP approaches. These include the emphasis on the provision of stable environments for investment, the privatization of national industries, the relaxation of exchange controls and encouragement of export-oriented growth. The gender dimensions of these policies are only now coming to be recognized within South Africa (ILRIG, 2006) but globally, the impact of adjustment on the labour market and the informalisation of work have all been disproportionately felt, particularly by women (Rhazavi,2006).

This report is informed by research findings which suggest that *gender* is an essential concept for understanding and eradicating poverty. As Beneria and Bisnath, 1996 argue, "[t]he causes and outcomes of poverty are heavily engendered and yet traditional conceptualisations consistently fail to delineate poverty's gender dimensions, resulting in policies and programmes which fail to improve the lives of poor women and their families" (Retrieved from *nird.ap.nic.in/clic/rrdl96.html,* March 27, 2010).

Internationally, there are many debates on the connections among development, poverty, political ideology, and gender. Beneria and Bisnath (1996) identify, among others, the fact that, first, the presence and sustainability of poverty is widely linked to the unequal access to and distribution of resources, a lack of control over productive resources and limited or compromised participation in political and economic institutions. Thus, poverty is to be understood as produced through, and embedded within, economic and political relationships: those between different classes, and those within classes. This means that the experience of poverty is driven by the interests of those who are well-resourced, as well as by historical policy legacies (which also carry a gendered dimension: see Chapter 3). It is therefore essential to link strategies for reducing poverty with strategies for the redistribution of resources and wealth. Gender dynamics operate both within the production of poverty and within the demands of well-resourced environments for particular standards of living. Gender hierarchies structure access to resources such as land, credit, and mobility (reproductive responsibilities complicate mobility for women). Gendered division of labour also ensures that job opportunities created to service well-resourced environments (such as domestic labour, casual/short-contract labour, cleaning of public spaces, low-skill service delivery in the tourism industry) are feminized, creating overburdened lives for women and unemployment for men (Casale, 2005; Posel, 2004).

Second, the economy needs to be analysed through multiple layers, all of which involve gate keeping. access to resources (such as land and/or the means of production, productive deployment of skills, and political institutions linked to the control of economic opportunity) is structurally organized. Such organization is often implemented through cultural norms and/or long-standing traditions of who owns and controls what, as well as through legislation

or policy. Many such methods of organization are gender-based. For example, in South Africa, many women face obstacles to controlling land and other productive resources. They also face norms which prioritize political and local authority for men, especially when it comes to decision making in micro-economic situations (businesses, households where men are present, small farms, trading concerns).

Third, the strongest gendered dimension of poverty arises from the widespread cultural and social assumption that reproductive labour is mainly the province of women. The gendered split between productive and reproductive/community labour is a cornerstone of what happens to men and women in development. The split accounts for the relegation of women to unpaid household labour, to double-labour (reproductive and paid), to lower participation in paid production, and to formal employment in jobs which demand reproductive skills (domestic work, caretaking, the service industry, cleaning, and so on).

Thus, gendered constraints at institutional, social, and cultural levels determine women's poverty through restricting women's rights both to entitlements and to the enhancement and unfettered exercise of their capabilities. It is critical, then, that poverty eradication strategies not only transfer productive resources to the poorest of the poor and increase access to resources for the poor but also include gender as a category of analysis in the formulation of appropriate economic, political and social policies. As Beneria and Bisnath (1996:1*)* suggest:

> Poverty […] is not merely a function of material conditions but also reflects the role of institutions and ideologies in positioning women and men and ascribing different meanings to their lives. Deconstructing such meanings is an essential part of poverty analysis and the design of strategic responses. For example, different interpretations of the meaning of the household will lead to different poverty eradication strategies targeted at the household level. Regarding the household as a site of both tension and cooperation, rather than pure harmony or inevitable conflict, emphasises the relational aspects of intra-household power and poverty and suggests a gender-sensitive approach to strengthening women's bargaining position…The engendering of poverty eradication requires careful

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documentation of women and men's different lived experiences. Qualitative dimensions of poverty, such as stress, self-esteem and autonomy largely elude quantification but need to be included in poverty eradication measures. Working directly with poor women and men is thus a critical strategy.

In South Africa, such qualitative analysis of poverty was undertaken in 1998, through the Poverty Hearing process. The reports from the hearings demonstrate the impact of gender on the lives of both poor women and poor men. It is also critical, within South Africa, to continue to combine gender analysis with the recognition of the ways in which race dominates the organization of access to resources, power, and authority. The poor in South Africa remain overwhelmingly black, and black women are poorer than black men (36.4% of black women are unemployed as opposed to of black men; and two out of three "discouraged work seekers" are women (Labour Force Survey, 2007). Although quantitative measurements suggest that more South Africans have access to water, electricity, housing and education than they did in 2001 (see Community Survey, 2007), it remains the case that where access to basic services is lacking, the burden of finding water, fuel, and resources to keep a household going falls more heavily on women's shoulders than on men's. These facts alone suggest that the experience of poverty in South Africa needs to be tackled through analyses that take gender (and racialisation) very seriously indeed. As Chapter 3 will suggest, there are additional questions to be taken on board when unpacking the meaning of poverty: questions of nutrition, safety and security, access to communicative technologies, to cultural status, and to class mobility are all important, which all interact with gender in very insidious ways.

2.3.2 Using *Gender Analysis* to Understand Poverty and its Eradication

This report uses gender analysis to explore national poverty reduction strategies. This is done by 'thematising' the terrain of *poverty reduction strategies* and addressing issues raised

through a focus on the politics of gender within each theme. This is a standard approach for exploring the links between gender relations in society and the problem being targeted (in this case, poverty). The approach draws on a number of basic principles: First, gender is one of the primary ways in which people organize their relationships to themselves and to one another. Such organization may differ from one context to another, and may also interlock with other systems for social organization (such as race and class). Second, unequal power relations between men and women have historically influenced access to resources, authority, opportunity and agency. In South Africa, this inequality has been complicated by other systems of social organizations (such as race, ethnicity, and class and other identities). To explore people's realities, therefore, involves *taking gender seriously as one key influence on their lives and experiences.*

Informed by these principles, gender analysis proceeds by disaggregating complex realities into different layers of concern, and seeks to examine how men and women interact in terms of power, consciousness, roles, responsibilities, experiences, and agency (Sow, 1997: 21). While there is no assumption that all women or all men can be understood in the same way, gender analysis is aimed at illuminating not simply the norms operative in a particular context, but in unpacking such norms so that the operation of unjust or inequitable relations of power are clarified. It is this clarification which is used to inform recommendations for interventions (policy and practice).

An example of such an analysis would be the recognition that **labour** can be disaggregated into different layers: *type, status, actual responsibilities and tasks, relations with other people, renumeration, risks, and skills needed***,** and so on. A gender analysis would ask, for example, how/whether men and women earn differently, what 'remuneration means

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for/between men and for/between women, what processes for remunerating occur for men and for women, what activities actually receive remuneration, whether all men and all women experience remuneration in similar ways or not, and so on. The analysis would also reveal that certain activities, mostly those performed by women (such as pregnancy and childbirth), are not remunerated It would also reveal whether men and women doing the same activity in a specific context are differently remunerated, and what the discrepancies or inequalities are.

According to Kabeer (1997:1)[4]:

> Poverty has not always been analysed from a gender perspective. Prior to the feminist contributions to gender analysis, the poor were either seen as composed entirely of men or else women's needs and interests were assumed to be identical to, and hence subsumable under, those of male household heads.

However, as illustrated in above, an analysis of poverty from a gender perspective is vital as women and men experience poverty differently. Further, the processes through which women and men become poor or are vulnerable to becoming poor, though related, are different (Sen 2000; Razavi 2000; Kabeer 2003; Chant 2003, 2006; Godol 2004; Arriagada 2005; Jaquette and Staudt 2006). Importantly, gender inequality is present if not pervasive across almost all levels of social structure in most societies. Kabeer (2003: 13) argues that:

> …gender inequality intersects with economic deprivation to produce more intensified forms of poverty for women than men. Gender inequality is part and parcel of the processes of causing and deepening poverty in a society and must therefore constitute part and parcel of measures to eradicate poverty.

On this view, poverty and gender inequality need to be addressed on two levels, at the level of society and social structure and at the level of specific inequalities or forms of disadvantage (ibid.).

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[4] In Chant 2006: 87

Varied established *approaches to gender analysis* exist, including, but not limited to: First, the Harvard Analytical Framework: Developed by researchers at the Harvard Institute of International Development (HIID) in collaboration with USAID's Office of Women in Development, this framework, also known as the Gender Roles Framework "represents one of the earliest efforts to systematize attention to both women and men and their different positions in society. It is based upon the position that allocating resources to women as well as men in development efforts makes economic sense and will make development itself more efficient – a position labelled as the "efficiency approach."

Second, the Moser Gender Planning Framework: Developed by Caroline Moser, this framework "links the examination of women's roles to the larger development planning process. The approach introduces the idea of women's "three roles" in production, reproduction, and community management (see below), and the implication that these roles have for women's participation in the development process. In making these links, both between women and the community, and between gender planning and development planning more broadly, Moser's framework encompasses both the technical and political aspects of gender integration into development".

Third, the Gender Analysis Matrix (GAM): Developed by A. Rani Parker as a quickly employed tool to identify how a particular development intervention will affect women and men, the GAM "uses a community-based technique to elicit and analyze gender differences and to challenge a community's assumptions about gender. Unlike some of the other tools described, this one is explicitly intended for use by the community for self-identification of problems and solutions".

Fourth, the Women's Empowerment Framework (WEP): Developed by Sara Hlupekile Longwe, a gender expert from Lusaka, Zambia, the WEP model is "explicitly political, arguing that women's poverty is the consequence of oppression and exploitation (rather than lack of productivity), and that to reduce poverty women must be empowered".

Fifth, the Social Relations Approach: "the Social Relations Approach …to show how gender and other inequalities are created and reproduced within structural and institutional factors, and then to design policies that can enable women to work to change those factors that constrain them".

(www.devtechsys.com/gender.../review_of_gender_analysis_frameworks.pdf, accessed March 30, 2010).

What all approaches have in common is a commitment to taking gender seriously as a force both in the operation of social injustices and in the organization of daily life at multiple levels. To draw on gender analysis as a scientific technique, therefore, is to access the operation of power at a micro level within households, communities, and institutions. As such, it offers a valuable lens to programming which seeks to transform societies 'from the bottom up'.

2.3.2.1   Gender analysis and the definition and conceptualizations of poverty

The contribution of a gender analysis to the understanding of poverty and its eradication has been significant in encouraging a more holistic approach to conceptualizations of and responses to poverty (Chant 2003, 2006; Kabeer 2003; Godol 2004). Although income is the most salient criterion in the evaluation of poverty on a macro level, a gender analysis makes a valuable contribution to the definition and conceptualization of poverty by broadening the

criteria used in definitions of this phenomenon. The definition of poverty being used affects the methodologies and measurements used in research into poverty the results of which inform policy and poverty reduction strategies (Arriagada 2005).

Understood from a gender perspective poverty is conceptualized as dynamic and multidimensional, affected by power relations, and comprising diverse material and non-material, symbolic and cultural aspects. It acknowledges the subjective experiences of poverty at the individual level, and the levels of social and economic hierarchies (Razavi 2000; Sen 2000; Chant 2003, 2006; Kabeer 2003). Moreover, it is recognized that more women than men are affected by poverty, that women suffer more severe poverty, and that women are more vulnerable to it (Godol 2004). Sen (1998: 127)[5] argues that "the probability of being poor is not distributed randomly among the population." Women have more limited access to material (including income), social and cultural assets, human (including education and skills) and social capital (including kin and friendship networks and community support) (Chant 2003, 2006; Kabeer 2003; Godol 2004). Over and above income, limited access to these assets, resources and capabilities affects poverty over the short and long term, making people (women in particular) more vulnerable to poverty and less able to withstand economic and social changes and instability (Chant 2003, 2006). A further consideration with respect to access to assets, resources and capabilities is the fact that men and women have different priorities and responsibilities and therefore different needs and uses for these. Thus men and women experience deprivation of assets, resources and capabilities differently.

The different material, psychological and symbolic aspects of poverty that are exposed through a gendered perspective sheds light on the choices available to individuals in different

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[5] In Godol 2004: 12

contexts which may appear to be exacerbating the burden of poverty experienced by those individuals. On closer inspection, however, Chant (2003, 2006) points out that women may chose to leave a male partner and establish a female-headed household despite the risk of increased material deprivation in order to achieve a greater degree of autonomy. In terms of the greater degree of personal and financial independence, then, the psychological and symbolic benefits outweigh the material costs. Thus, it is clear that poverty exceeds calculations of income. As Chant (2003: 16) states, it is:

> … constituted by more than income, encompasses strong perceptual and subjective dimensions, and is perhaps more appropriately conceived as a package of assets and entitlements within which the power, inter alia, to manage expenditure, to mobilize labour, and to access social and community support, are vital elements.

The contribution made by gender research into poverty and female-headed households has been significant. Early research into gendered aspects of poverty led to female-headed households becoming synonymous with the 'feminisation of poverty' and women's experiences of poverty. On this view female-headed households were assumed to be both a symptom and a cause of the perpetuation and exacerbation of poverty (Chant 2003,2006; Kabeer 2003; Godol 2004). Contributing to the perpetuation of the view of female-headed households as the 'poorest of the poor' were the following factors affecting woman:

- restricted time and material resources attributed to female-headed households,

- the triple burden of income-generating employment, housework and child-baring and rearing,

- the fact that welfare and aid were often directed to male heads of households

- the assumption that women were unable to adequately provide for their families

(Chant 2003, 2006; Kabeer 2003; Godol 2004).

Chant (2006: 91) argues that though it is undeniable that women suffer disproportionately from social and economic inequalities, it is not at all certain that it is possible to ascribe these same inequalities to all female-headed households. Research has failed to prove a systematic link between female-headed households and poverty. Furthermore, there appears to be no definite link between levels or trends of poverty and the existence of female-headed households as their incidence in middle- and upper-income groups is just as likely as in low-income groups. Importantly, and in keeping with a critical aspect of diversity in the definition of poverty from a gender perspective, female-headed households have been revealed to be diverse in terms of not just socio-economic status, but age, household composition and access to resources from external sources. Thus, it is not useful to treat female-headed households as a homogenous sub-group in the analysis of poverty from a gender perspective.

An important aim and outcome of the GAD Approach, gender mainstreaming is vital for the design and implementation of gender aware policies at all societal levels from the individual through to government. The UN Economic and Social Council (UN 1997: 28)[6] defines it as follows:

> Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.

Gender or Women's empowerment is included in some definitions of gender mainstreaming (Moser and Moser 2005). According to Chant (2003: 13, 2006), women's empowerment has important implications "for women themselves, and for their relationships with others" in terms of 'macro' social relations and 'micro' household relations (Godol 2004).

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[6] In Moser and Moser (2005)

Empowerment places an emphasis on enhancing women's ability and capacity to exercise agency in making choices and promoting women's participation in decision-making, thus facilitating and encouraging women's participation in development and poverty eradication.

An understanding of the diverse and multidimensional nature of poverty and the emphasis on participation and empowerment that arose out of the GAD approach (and other gender aware approaches to poverty and its eradication, discussed below) exposed tensions between policies and interventions promoting gender equality and 'traditional' perceptions of and ideas about gender roles and relations (Jaquette and Staudt 2006). It is thus understood that 'universal' programmes for the promotion of gender inequality and poverty eradication are not feasible. These need to be context specific, taking into account the material, psychological and symbolic dimensions of gender inequality and poverty in the particular area or community in which the programme is being implemented.

2.3.2.2   Gender analysis and the measurement and indicators of poverty

According to Chant (2003, 2006: 95) gender research as had three implications for the measurement of poverty, namely broadened and gender-sensitive indicators of poverty to be used in macro-level assessments of the phenomenon; the disaggregation of households which have been the most common unit of measure in income-based poverty assessments; and the recognition of the limitations of poverty assessments that exclude the evaluation of people's view of their own situation.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has developed four indices for use in macro-level poverty assessments: The Human Development Index (HDI), the Human Poverty Index (HPI), the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), and the Gender-related

Development Index (GDI). The GDI has the same three indicators as the HDI and adjusts it for gender disparities in these indicators, namely 'longevity', 'knowledge' and 'decent standard of living' (UNDP 2002: 23; Chant 2003; Kabeer 2003). The HPI goes beyond the conceptualization of poverty as reducible to income by seeking to expand the measure of poverty to include quality of life taking into account health, reproduction and education. This index is intended to identify the proportion of people who lack the basic needs and capabilities to lift themselves out of poverty and to sustain development (Chant 2003: 17). As the four indicators of the GEM listed below reveal, the focus of the GEM is on broader economic and political choices and opportunites available to women (Chant 2003: 18; Kabeer 2003; see also UNDP 2002):

- the share of parliamentary seats occupied by women

- the proportion of legislators, senior officials and managers who are women

- the female share of professional and technical jobs

- the ratio of estimated female to male earned income.

The "GEM measures equity in agency …. the extent to which women are actually able to achieve equality with men." (Chant 2003: 17).

The recognition of the need to disaggregate the household as a unit of measure for poverty was mentioned briefly above. Measures of aggregate household income fail to take into account the diversity of different households in terms of income (distribution and use of total income) and composition (i.e. number of members, number of dependents). An example of the potential for a skewed picture of household wealth or deprivation generated by measures of aggregate household income is the fact that according to this measure larger households

appear wealthier than smaller households. This inaccuracy can result in policies and interventions 'overlooking' larger households in greater need.

2.3.3 The poverty line approach, capabilities approach, and participatory poverty assessments as conceptual frameworks

Kabeer (2003) identifies three dominant approaches to poverty analysis that have featured in development literature: the *poverty line approach*, the *capabilities approach*, and *participatory poverty assessments* (PPAs). Chant (2003, 2006) argues that these approaches have remained 'gender blind' in a number of ways despite the fact that each approach reveals valuable aspects of the gender dimensions of poverty which in turn contribute to the development of policies and interventions aimed at poverty reduction/eradication.

2.3.3.1   The Poverty Line Approach: defined in relation to the household

The poverty line approach measures the economic 'means' (i.e. income) to which households and individuals have access in order to meet their basic needs. Thus, the measure separates the 'poor' from the 'non-poor' in terms of the ability to achieve a pre-determined minimum level of survival. (Chant 2003, Kabeer 2003). Kabeer (2003: 80) summarizes how the poverty line is drawn:

> The cost of purchasing the recommended daily allowance of calories for the average individual was calculated and multiplied by the average household size in a particular context in order to estimate the sum needed to meet the household's daily needs. The annual or monthly equivalent of this daily income was considered to be the minimum level necessary for the survival of household members.

The 'headcount index' which measures the percentage of a population living below the poverty line, and the 'poverty gap' which measure 'how far' below the poverty line people are living are the two main indicators arising from the poverty line measure.

There are a number of challenges to this approach to the analysis of poverty and its impact on policies and interventions to eradicate poverty. Many of these challenges have been revealed by a gendered analysis of poverty. There are two main criticisms leveled at the poverty line approach (Chant 2003, Kabeer 2003). The first is that the emphasis placed on income and economic measures of survival, well-being and poverty to the exclusion of the psychological and symbolic aspects of the phenomenon (discussed in section 3.1.1 above) results in a skewed and incomplete assessment of how people, women in particular, experience poverty. The second is that poverty line measures continue to use the unproblematized notion of the household as a basic unit of analysis. Disparities and complexities in the intra-household distribution of resources and the phenomenon of 'secondary poverty' are thus excluded from an analysis of poverty from this perspective.

2.3.3.2   The Capabilities Approach: defined in relation to the individual

There are three concepts essential to an understanding of the capabilities approach to the analysis of poverty and the consequences of these analyses for policies and interventions (Kabeer 2003, Chant 2003, 2006). According to this approach, 'means' includes not only income, but services that provide access to essential needs such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public health services, and public transport services. 'Ends' are defined as including a wide range of needs deemed necessary for decent human life such as shelter, health and clothing. 'Capabilities' encompass not only the basic individual needs such as nutrition and health, but broader, more complex social needs such as access to community participation and social interaction, access to knowledge, and the capacity to engage in decision-making. (Kabeer 2003; Chant 2003, 2006; Godol 2004). According to this approach income and other material measures of wealth are only important to the extent to which they contribute to peoples' capability to reach their 'functioning achievements', i.e. the ability to

live the lives that they want to. Means and ends do not necessarily constitute distinct categories. For example, education is both a means through which other functioning achievements may be reached, and an end insofar as it is a functioning achievement in and of itself (Kabeer 2003). Capabilities depend on and are determined by a combination of individual and social circumstances.

Capabilities lend themselves to interpretation and measurement in gender disaggregated ways as they are defined in relation to the individual through indices such as the GDI, GEM and the Relative Status of Women (RSW) measure (Dijkstra and Hanmer 2000; Kabeer 2003: 85-86). By revealing critical gender dimensions of poverty and the extent, scope and distribution of gender inequalities in society the capabilities approach contributes to a more holistic analysis of poverty (ibid.). However, Chant (2003: 25) cautions that although the capabilities approach and the indices mentioned above contribute significantly, they fail to capture certain gender dimensions of poverty (such as time use and work intensity), and are limited by inaccurate data.[7]

2.3.3.3   The participatory approach

The participatory approach views poverty from the perspective of the poor emphasizing their own analysis of their lived reality. Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) generally employ qualitative methods such as focus groups. Analyses of poverty from this perspective offer a valuable emic, 'bottom up' perspective on poverty which can inform policies and interventions in such a way that they more effectively address those dimensions of poverty considered critical by those living in impoverished conditions (Kabeer 2003, Chant 2003, Godol 2004). Kabeer (2003: 94) outlines the key contributions the PPAs have made to the

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[7] See Kabeer (2003: 86-93) for a detailed discussion of gender inequality, the GDI indicators, and other gendered dimensions of poverty.

analysis of poverty, including acknowledging the multidimensional nature of poverty encompassing the psychological and symbolic dimensions of poverty as well as the economic. Further, it exposes the varied ways in which poor people attempt to alleviate their own poverty and seek to reach their goals in terms of achieving a decent standard of life in terms of both material and non-material assets and resources.

Despite the potential that PPAs have for identifying gendered aspects of poverty[8], Kabeer (2003) notes that they are 'gender aware' only to the extent to which those conducting the research consider gender relevant in the analysis of poverty. PPAs are not only vulnerable to the bias of researchers, but also to 'transmission losses' when the data is interpreted and translated into policy. Furthermore, the very nature of participatory methodology makes it difficult to verify and generalize analyses and results. A critical limitation of PPAs in terms of gender awareness is the fact that gender issues may be excluded and/or ignored by the participants as a result of gender dynamics not being salient in their perceptions of poverty, or going unchallenged as 'natural' (Kabeer 2003, see also chant 2003, 2006).

2.3.4 Conclusion

The value of the GAD approach to poverty and a gender-aware analysis of poverty in other approaches is the contribution made to a more holistic, multidimensional conceptualization of poverty which then, in theory at least, gives rise to a more multi-faceted, comprehensive response to poverty alleviation or eradication. Gender inequality is a significant dimension of poverty. As Godol (2004: 37) writes, "it may be argued that in the absence of the gender perspective, there are insufficient elements to understand poverty." On this view, the

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[8] Such as the information emerging out of such studies arising directly out of the process of data collection, a dynamic analysis of poverty, and revealing how effective policies and interventions at both the macro and micro levels are (Kabeer 2003).

approaches to poverty and its eradication discussed above, namely the GAD approach, the poverty line approach, the capabilities approach and the participatory approach rather than being effective when applied separately, can most valuably be used to develop realistic and representative conceptualizations of poverty which contribute to the development of policies and interventions that effectively address the needs and concerns of poor people to alleviate poverty and promote sustainable development.

2.4 Voice, Dialogue and Targeting as methodological concepts

This study is premised on a belief that while women are disproportionately affected by poverty, and scholars and practitioners have agreed that they must be considered major actors in combating poverty, too many poverty reduction interventions still render them invisible, disregarding their needs, interests and tacit knowledge about the challenges that face them and the solutions that might work to address them. To address this silencing and marginalisation, this project aimed to utilise three methodological concepts and processes: Voice, dialogue, and targeting. First, our understanding and use of *voice* in this report refers to broad principles directed toward challenging silence; listening to the disenfranchised and recognising the citizenship of individuals. One member of our research team captures this understanding as:

> *This refers to the voice marginal and vulnerable groupings. Based on South Africa's history (of apartheid), the 'voices' of the majority of people were not heard (due to political reasons). With the advent of the country's democracy, all people have the freedom to articulate their opinions. Although this freedom exists, many marginal groupings are still silent* (Junior Researcher 1)

Second, *dialogue* has much to do with opening up conversation between and among various stakeholders and agents to ensure that multiple voices are heard in analysing poverty and its

feminisation and in finding strategies for addressing it. As such, effective dialogue is dependent on giving voice to all stakeholders and listening to a variety of perspectives on the issues. While this particular study has not solicited the voices of all key stakeholders in relation to poverty and poverty, some, particularly service providers in various government departments were consulted. Our understanding is articulated by a member of our team who stated that:

> *Dialogue builds on voice, in the sense that I can only enter into dialogue if I am prepared to listen to the other person/the other side of the story. Dialogue opens up new ways of thinking and helps people shift into different paradigms – although they may not have experienced life in a different way. True dialogue will require maturity, patience and compassion from all those participating, to listen to each other* (Researcher 2)

Third, *targeting* refers to developing policies and programmes that specifically target women or girls to address their socio-economic needs. This is based on the belief that such targeting can address the needs of this group more efficiently and with greater cost-effectiveness than general policy measures. For example, research has suggested that women tend to use available resources more directly to children, while men tend to allocate more resources to adults (digital-library.unesco.org/.../library, accessed April 01, 2010). One of the limitations of the current study is that in this report we only present a cursory view of targeting. From this we identify areas for investigations in future studies focusing on this issue. Reflecting our understanding of targeting, another one of our researchers stated:

> *Targeting is more about having clearly defined aims and objectives about who should benefit from the work that you do and how. It results from having a good grasp of the social context you are dealing with. It is about understanding social realities of various communities and acknowledging that diverse strategies could yield more positive results* (Junior Researcher 3)

The conceptual and analytical l frameworks discussed in this chapter will be extended and utilised in subsequent chapters of this report. The next chapter focuses on a review of key policy (and programmatic) documents informing national poverty reduction strategies in South Africa.

CHAPTER 3 - GENDER AND POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGIES IN SOUTH AFRICA: A REVIEW OF KEY POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

3.1   Introduction

Dealing with poverty has been a priority for the formulation and implementation of policies in post-1994 South Africa. These policies have sought to both redress the structural and social inequalities of the past and give material shape to the notion of a 'new' nation. While racial redress was a key priority for policy-making, gender equality and other social justice issues also formed some of the vital areas of reform. In particular, the conditions facing women as mothers, those at the coalface of reproductive responsibilities, informed one of the earliest presidentially-backed policies implemented in 1994: the provision of free health care to children under six years old and free pre- and post-natal care for women. Since then, informed by evidence on the ground, as well as available research in the field (as illustrated in the previous chapter), there has been a consistent note of concern within government policy-making circles about the link between gender (as a social force which shapes the roles of women and men differently), gender inequalities (as an analysis of power between women and men in specific contexts), and poverty.

Despite this concern, current debates on poverty, inequality, and policy strategy suggest a complex set of questions about the ways in which gender dynamics are:

 (a) integrated into the design of projects and programmes targeted at poverty reduction and

 (b) understood as key to the intransigence of the economic and social deprivation suffered by millions of South Africans.

There is strong evidence that access to water, electricity, and housing has improved in the past five years, and yet at the same time, life expectancy has decreased (Seekings, 2007:

Dorrington et al, 2006). According to the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive System of Social Security for South Africa (CICSSSSA, 2002:19), unemployment stood at 29% for the overall population but at 36.4% for African women. The Presidential Developmental Indicators Mid-Term Review (2007) also alerted us to the fact that more social spending is going into grants than ever before, but the inequality between those well-resourced, and those living in poverty is growing: measurements of inequality were higher in 2007 than they were in 1994 (see Seekings, 2007).

These realities hint at lives of struggle for resources. As such, it is critical to ask questions about the social relationships between people experiencing such conditions. It is these relationships (in the family, the community, the workplace and other networks) which either offer support and/or solidarity against the shocks of economic hardship (May et al, 2007), or ensure that cycles of vulnerability and dispossession recur and harden into chronic oppression.

As discussed in the previous chapter, gender dynamics are central to these relationships, positioning people (men and women, boys and girls) in relation to one another through ideas about roles, responsibilities, rights, authority, sexuality, agency and control over money. Understanding the connections between gender dynamics and poverty reduction strategies is thus not simply a question of recognizing that some people have been historically disadvantaged through gender norms (usually, women), but looks towards strategies that simultaneously redress this disadvantage while reshaping the terrain which creates poverty as a material condition.. Understanding gender dynamics is a route towards the analysis of that environment itself: poverty is a *gendered* state, in that lack of access to resources, employment, services and agency are lived and experienced differently by men and by

women. It is also a *gendered* condition because the norms of manhood and womanhood may conspire to preclude solidarity between people (where, for example, certain forms of work should not be undertaken by people of one gender or another), making it difficult to initiate transformative ways of working together. Finally, poverty is *gendered* in its effects and in who it is that endures these effects, and where.

Framed by the above analysis, this chapter reviews key policies and programmes related to national poverty reduction strategies and the extent to and ways in which they are gendered. This section outlines an introductory background review of current policies and reportsl critical to understanding national poverty reduction strategies within South Africa. The aim of the review is to to explore the ways in which gender analysis may reframe policy and programme focus. Recommendations arising out of the linkages between gender, gender inequality, and policy design and implementation so that poverty reduction strategies can comprehensively engage the lived experiences and needs of women, among others, will be explored later in Chapter 6.

An overview of government poverty reduction strategies (policies and programmes) suggests that thesecan be divided into five different areas:

- Comprehensive policy statements issued by the state through the President's Office, the Minister of Finance, and regional/international policy making bodies;
- Analysis of poverty from Statistics South Africa, the Labour Force Surveys, General Household Survey, Community Survey and the National Treasury;

- Commissioned evaluations and reports, both from within the government (such as the Public Service Commission review) and from high-profile research organizations in partnership with government, such as the HSRC and universities;

- South African-based analyses of diverse areas of government strategy (such as the budget, the implementation of specific projects or policies) located in universities and research NGOs (for example, IDASA, SAPRN, DPRU, CASE, CSSR, CAR, SALDRU and numerous others) and

- International discussions of poverty reduction programmes which either have relevance for South Africa because of the frameworks used, or issues raised, or because South Africa has been drawn upon as case study material.

This is a vast compendium, and this review does not offer a summary review of all the material available. Rather, different concepts, policies and programmes are discussed as a background to raising the issue of gender analysis in understanding poverty and poverty reduction.

In relation to the field of gender and development, since the mid 1980's, there has been substantial international discussion on the terms of engagement between the analysis of poverty, the realities of gender dynamics, and the need to link issues of inequity, gender, and poverty reduction. It is beyond the scope of this introductory review to comprehensively survey the available literature, and instead, the ideas of leading gender analysts (Kabeer, Beneria, Budlender, Makgetla, Posel, Moser, and Sen) are used to show how dominant positions on poverty reduction in South Africa do, and do not, incorporate gender analyses as part and parcel of their strategies.

3.2 *Gender analysis of national poverty reduction strategies*

This section uses gender analysis frameworks to review national poverty reduction strategies in South Africa. The section forms the bulk of the review, and is divided into five sub-sections: First, the section presents an overview of histories of poverty and economic policy in South Africa. Second, current government positions on poverty reduction strategies are reviewed. Third, definitions of poverty which work with both conventional and less conventional indicators and approaches to poverty are presented. Fourth, national poverty reduction strategies addressing conventional challenges are reviewed. In each subsection, key policies and reports are reviewed and emerging issues are identified and discussed, then gender analysis is applied to highlight gaps, innovative approaches, and outstanding questions. The section concludes by highlighting some key strengths and limitations of current national strategies on poverty reduction.

3.2.1 Histories of poverty and economic policy in South Africa

An analysis of the history of international poverty reduction strategies shows that gender concerns were missing from early growth orientated strategies since these generally did not consider the 'human factor' in development (Desarrolo, 2004). In the 1970s, however, when greater attention began to be paid to basic needs, rural productivity and the informal sector activity, there was growing advocacy on the issue of women in development. This took two distinct forms: an argument for economic equity and depiction of women as the poorest of the poor. Both started from the premise that women were important economic actors (IDRC, 2010). However they emphasised different aspects of women's performance and used different analytical approaches. The economic-equity argument focused on the effects of development planning on women's economic status. The argument was based on the work of Boserup (1970), who suggested that national governments and international development

agencies had not understood that women had productive, as well as reproductive, roles (IDRC, 2010). Conventional measures of economic activity, based on Western market-based economies, significantly underestimated the level of women's economic contributions (IDRC, 2010). They both failed to acknowledge the magnitude and value of women's unpaid work; and undercounted women's paid work outside the 'modern' sector (IDRC, 2010). The 'household' was assumed to follow the model of an idealised 'Western nuclear family' with a male breadwinner and dependent women and children. This led planners to focus mainstream development interventions on men. At the same time, they directed various welfare programmes such as maternal and child health, family planning and nutrition to women. The result was the emergence and widening of a gender-based productivity gap and negative impacts on women's status in the economy.

In the 1980s, a group of third world feminists started to analyse the phenomena of poverty from a gender perspective. The feminization of poverty framework (Desarrolo, 2004) acknowledges the fact that poverty affects men and women in different ways, and that gender interacts with other factors such as age, ethnic factors and geographical location, to influence poverty in ways that increase women's vulnerability to it. According to Wennerholm (2002:10), the 'feminisation of poverty' framework has been responsible not only for drawing attention to the 'great number of women living in poverty', but in highlighting the impact of macro-economic policies on women, calling for women to be recognised in the development process, and promoting consciousness of the existence and vulnerability of female-headed households. By assigning the domestic sphere to women, the sexual division of labour causes an disparity of opportunities for women as a gender, to gain access to material and social resources which are ownership of productive capital, paid labour, education and training), and to participate in decision making in the main political, economic

and social policies (Dessarrolo, 2004). As a result it was imperative that gender was mainstreamed in poverty reduction strategies. Mainstreaming gender aims to ensure that both women and men are involved in the development design, planning, implementation and follow up that development projects promote equality between men and women (Desarrolo, 2004). This requires analysing the potential impact on women and men of all development interventions.

In South Africa, most contemporary histories of poverty share a narrative: explanations of current poverty are grounded in colonial legislation around land ownership and the control of labour, particularly the movement of black people through the 'influx control' policies of the apartheid era, entrenched racial discrimination around employment, housing, education, mobility, and citizenship, and the overwhelming effect of state-initiated violence, discrimination, and systematic disenfranchisement. The narratives then move through key post- 1994 state policies, successively named the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994), Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) (1996), to the Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) (2006).

The consensus within these narratives is that for the majority of South Africans, poverty is grounded in a centuries-old history of denial of access to land, and the enforced colonial shift from primarily agriculturally based economies to urban, industrialized modes of production. There is also broad agreement that pre-1994 state opposition strategies engaged relatively weakly with the role of globalization in formulating new proposals for a democratic South Africa, and that the RDP bore a much stronger sense of the possibilities for a new government to link the question of growth to the challenge of redistribution. At one level it could be argued that the RDP broke with the view that

growth and development are processes that contradict one another. Its powerful statement

of principles set out a development strategy characterised by integration and

sustainability, and aimed to:

> …both meet basic needs and open up previously suppressed economic and human potential in urban and rural areas. In turn this will lead to an increased output in all sectors of the economy, and by modernising our infrastructure and human resource development we will also enhance export capacity (RDP White Paper, 1994:6).

In 1996, however, the Minister of Finance announced the Growth, Employment and

Redistribution (GEAR) strategy. With this, more orthodox neo-liberal ideas concerning trade

policy, fiscal policy, and privatization took centre stage, alongside a commitment to 'old'

positions: the readiness to develop a social security network through the provision of grants

and an interest in prioritizing black ownership of companies. Citing Michie and Padayachee

(1998), Hunter, May and Padayachee (2003) argue that:

> The underlying premise of GEAR, which aimed to attain a growth rate of 6 percent per annum and job creation of 400 000 by the year 2000, was that growth would best be promoted by freeing the private sector from the fetters of the distorted racist logic and constraints of the apartheid era. The essential need to remove all vestiges of a state-imposed, racially-based economic order has been extended to argue for a much more sweeping 'rolling back of the state'. These include the abandonment of arguably important policies such as a discrete and effective public investment programme, tariff protection for vulnerable industries, essential reform of the heavily conglomerate-controlled domestic financial system, and the tightening of controls to prevent capital flight, amongst others (p.11).

Announced in 2006, ASGISA does not substantially alter the economic framework of GEAR,

but seeks to "accelerate" growth and simultaneously concentrate on intensive job creation

programmes (see 3.3.2); so that unemployment is halved by 2014 (the figure of unemployed

cited by the Presidents Midterm Review, 2007, is 16 million).

Between 1994 and 2007, there have been many serious analyses of the effects of the

democratic government's economic frameworks on poverty reduction, and some of these will

be discussed in sections 3.3.2 – 3.3.4 below. What is significant here, however, is that dominant histories of poverty reduction strategies in South Africa exclude gender as a force within people's experiences prior to 1994 and – simultaneously – ignore the role of women's movements in contributing to debates and discussions about the way forward for a 'new South Africa' in 1994, and beyond. As discussed in previous chapters and the sections above, gender dynamics form a huge part of the ways in which poverty has become a norm for millions of South Africans, and particularly for women. From apartheid policies such as the pass laws, which controlled mobility and access to labour and housing differently for men and women, and the homeland system which rigidified labour roles in gendered ways (for example, men became migrant labourers, while women could only access employment as nurses, domestic workers, subsistence agricultural labourers without land-use rights, and so on). Gender dynamics were also central to the survival of poverty – kinship and community systems involved the double-burden labour of (usually) women, covering community and home-based labour to keep families alive and functional. Not only did these issues arise within trade union discussions from 1980 onwards, but the National Coalition of Women made it clear that while issues of political rights dominated their agenda, questions of poverty, lack of access to good healthcare, education and employment were of critical concern to South African women (Women's Charter for Effective Equality, 1994).

Notably, the centrality of gender to an understanding of poverty within South Africa has been rendered invisible in most popular analyses of apartheid's policies and legacy. That the roots of poverty are as gendered as they are racialized, and that recognition of this fact is helpful when seeking to develop strategies for poverty reduction is often missing from key analyses and resultant policies and programmes. In order to develop poverty reduction (and eradication) strategies from a gender-sensitive platform must involve three key

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understandings. The first is that men and women were exploited differently during apartheid, entrenching powerful norms about gender, labour and authority. The second is that men and women fought against, and resisted, the effects of poverty differently in the years 1948-1994 (the apartheid years). The third is that the marginalisation and exploitation of women and girls in our society, and particularly in the economy continues. Unless these are addressed, poverty reduction strategies will continue to fail, and in particular, the skewed impact of poverty against women will remain unabated.

3.2.2 International Policies on poverty reduction

Several international policies and treaties have influenced the ways in which governments and civil society organisations conceptualise and implement poverty reduction strategies generally, and the extent to and ways in which such strategies are informed by a gender perspective. The first such policy was launched in 1999 by the Word Bank and International Monetary Fund involving a series Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) in response to civil society demands to reduce the unsustainable debt that the poor developing countries owed multilateral financial institutions (Zuckerman and Garett, 2003). Since then, in many developing countries, PRSPs have become mandated national economic plans directed at reducing poverty. They are supposed to be country-owned, expressing not only government but also broad civil society interests solicited through a participatory process. According to the World Bank (2000) PRSPs must be engendered because research compellingly correlates greater gender equality with equal human rights for men and women, and greater poverty reduction and economic growth.

Although women's status has improved in most countries over the last half century, gender disparities persist everywhere and remain most acute in the poorest countries. Across and

within countries gender disparities in rights, mortality rates, education, health, political, participation, financial assets and other indicators are greatest within poorer income groups (Zuckerman and Garett, 2003). Gender inequalities impose large costs on the well-being and health of the poor, diminishing their productivity and potential to reduce poverty and ensure economic growth. In most societies women have more limited opportunities to enjoy rights, express needs, improve economic conditions, and access services than do men (Banberger et al, 2001). According to Zuckerman and Garett (2003), "…countries should find it worthwhile to produce engendered PRSPs. It is much costlier not to. Not to means poverty will not be tackled. And trying a second or third time is much costlier than a first time (Uganda)" (Zuckerman and Garett, 2003:12). As such, in order to help countries achieve poverty reduction targets, PRSPs must address the gender dimensions of poverty (Zuckerman and Garett, 2003).

A comparison of 2002 and earlier PRSPs indicates that progress is being made toward engendering content but there is still a long way to go before they adequately integrate gender issues (Zuckerman, 2002). Among the 13 PRSPs produced in 2002, eight were African and other five were dispersed among other regions. The three best engendered PRSPs are all Africa, including Malawi, Rwanda and Zambia (Zuckerman, 2002). Unlike other PRSPs Malawi, Rwanda and Zambia discuss gendered budgets. For example, Zambia's PRSP allocated funding to develop an engendered budget. Rwanda's PRSP uniquely tries to prioritise expenditure to redress gender inequalities. All sector expenditures incorporate Ministry on Gender inputs. Also, the Rwanda PRSP states that public expenditure data and macroeconomic monitoring indicators and for GDP, employment/wages will be gender disaggregated wherever possible. Rwanda's PRSP also promises to engender time use monitoring data. These are promises to use sex disaggregated data for economic indicators if

they are available rather than a plan to collect them. Rwanda's approach is more gender sensitive economic matters than are other PRSPs that neglect gender data completely. Rwanda PRSP was the only strategy where fiscal policy addresses gender issues in terms of expenditure. All PRSPs neglect gender analysis when it comes to revenues, for example, who taxation hits hardest (Zuckerman, 2002). Some PRSPs commit to improving women's access to jobs and job training, financial services, microcredit, small and medium enterprises (SME) and handcraft development (Guinea, Malawi, Niger, Vietnam, Yemen and Zambia). Guinea's and Malawi's PRSPs include follow up gender monitoring indicators but Niger's does not. Guinea's PRSP lacks a strategy from developing SMEs. Only Zambia allocates funds to engender the regulatory framework for microfinance and SME development.

The analysis also showed that Guinea budgets funding for agricultural training for women. Zambia's PRSP identifies funding for agricultural extension capacity building for women and two PRSPs include gender strategies for agricultural extension but lack follow up monitoring indicators and budgeting (Gambia and Rwanda). Zambia's PRSP also allocates funds to improve women's knowledge for the environment. Few PRSPs analyse the informal sector by gender although informal activities tend to employ the majority of working women in many countries. One PRSP mentions women compose a large part of this sector is Senegal. From the analysis of the PRSPs it was evident that there is a weak track record on identifying and addressing gender inequalities. Addressing the gender dimensions of poverty and creating gender responsive interventions enhances the likelihood of success poverty reduction strategy efforts.

The analysis also shows that beyond PRSPs, gender equality has to be promoted in implementing PRSP agendas. Governments, civil society advocates and development in

cooperation agencies must mainstream gender into all development investments. In the new PRSP framework, World Bank Poverty Reduction Support Credits (PRSCs), a new name for structural adjustment loans (SALs) and International Monetary Fund Poverty Reduction and Growth Facilities (PRGFs), Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) reincarnations must also be engendered. Since mandatory PRSP processes legitimize borrowing from the bank and fund, while PRSCs and PRGFs are the lending instruments for implementing economic, financial and trade liberalisation regimes, in all three instruments as well as the development projects in all sectors such as agriculture, health and water.

However, while they are more systematically gender sensitive than the other PRSPs, even the best ones have been shown not to mainstream and integrate gender. This, according to Zuckerman (2002) is counter-productive as such omissions will act to reinforce unequal gender power relations and consequently slow development.

The second international policy framework is the 2000 World Development Report (WDR), which focused on poverty and offered a more complex view of gender (IDRC, 2010). It was evident that gender featured at various points in the WDR's discussion of the key themes of opportunity, empowerment and security, but particularly under empowerment. The report recognised the institutional nature of gender inequality, tracing women's disadvantage to kinship rules, community norms, legal systems and public provision. The 2000 WDR argued for a gender approach to understanding poverty, noting that greater gender equity is not only desirable in its own right but also for "its instrumental social and economic benefits for poverty reduction" (IDRC, 2010:3).

The third policy framework emanates from the World Bank's 2001 Policy Research Report, *Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice*, which is considered one of the key documents in understanding poverty from a gender perspective (IDRC, 2010). This document offered different aspects of gender inequality using evidence from both the developed and developing world. For example the 2000 WDR, *Engendering Development*, recognised the importance of kinship systems in producing gender inequality. It introduced the concept of 'household economics' which was understood as the structure of power, incentives and resources in the household (IDRC, 2010, p4). The report also showed ways in which the beliefs and values of households and communities interact with wider legal frameworks to reproduce gender bias (IDRC, 2010). It further showed that women tend to be under represented in better paid formal sector jobs and over represented in the unpaid and informal sectors (particularly in the subcontracting, temporary, casual or home based work) (IDRC, 2010). In its conclusion a three part strategy to promote gender equality in the development process was considered. This involved; reforming institutions to establish equal rights and opportunities for men and women. Fostering rights based approach to development and growth as the most effective way to reduce gender disparity and taking active measures to redress persistent inequalities in political voice (IDRC, 2010).

The fourth policy framework is contained in the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs). In 2000, in response to a number of developmental problems experienced in all countries, world leaders adopted a set of MDGs to be achieved by 2015. The MDGs are both global and local, tailored by each country to suit specific development needs (UNDP, 2010). MDGs provide a framework for the entire international community to work together towards human development, and by implication, to eradicate poverty. If these goals are to be achieved, world poverty will be cut by half, tens of millions of lives will be saved, and billions more

people will have the opportunity to benefit from the global economy (UNDP, 2010). According to the Word Bank (2006:2):

> To promote economic development and attain the MDGs, especially the overarching poverty reduction MDG and the gender equality MDG, the global community must renew its attention to women's economic empowerment and increase investments in women.

An investment in women has the potential to reduce the root causes of poverty that affect millions of people (ODI, 2008). Therefore governments should ensure that poverty reduction is mainstreamed into all policies, ranging from national macroeconomic strategy to local-level administrative actions (IDRC, 2010). Ensuring gender equality and empowering women in all respects including desirable objectives are required to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to ensure sustainable development.

The limited progress in empowering women and achieving gender equality is a shortcoming that extends beyond the goal itself. Research shows that relative neglect of and bias against women and girls continues to prevail in most countries. Above all, however, achieving gender equality requires that women have an equal role with men in decision-making at all levels, from the home to the pinnacles of economic and political power. Government and other actors should therefore pay special attention to any and all at risk of being bypassed by the progress towards the MDGs (United Nations, 2008). Successful policies, programmes and projects should be expanded wherever and whenever appropriate. At the same time, national governments and the international community need to respond to the lessons of experience and to adjust to changing circumstances (United Nations, 2008). The prospects for achieving the Millennium Development Goals are both directly and indirectly improved by enhancing gender equity. Thus, there are close links between the reduction of both gender inequalities and multidimensional poverty. The empirical evidence suggests that developing countries

with less gender inequality tend to have lower poverty rates. Policy dialogue on the MDGs needs to recognise that the gender dynamics of power, poverty, and vulnerability are linked to achieving all MDGs (ODI, 2008). It is also important that countries understand that policies which are gender-sensitive offer an opportunity to link gender equality.

Unlike several other Southern African countries, South Africa does not have a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, a position paper required by the World Bank and the IMF for low-income countries to qualify for low-interest loans and debt relief. One advantage of having Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers or PRSPs (see, for example, Hunter, May and Padayachee, 2003) is access to a focused and public set of statements on national poverty reduction strategies. These in turn influence budget allocations and the types and scope of programmes and projects in various government departments.

In the absence of such a set of statements (aside from those unpinning ASGISA), it is possible to see several central government positions on poverty reduction strategies, emerging from the President's Office, the Minister of Finance, and other sources. These are discussed in the section below.

3.2.3 South Africa's poverty reduction Policies

We have come from a rather desperate situation-over 300 years of colonialism and apartheid, and those centuries produced a major disaster for South Africa. So we are starting from a very low base, one characterized by poverty among millions of people, therefore the majority of the population has conditions of underdevelopment.

(Thabo Mbeki: 2001:p10)

The newly elected South African government introduced a number of policies aimed at improving the livelihoods of all South African particularly those that have been previously disadvantaged during the apartheid law. As discussed above, in 1994 the Reconstruction and

Development Programme (RDP) was introduced to address poverty, democratise and expand access to land and improve the imbalances in access to services and infrastructure as a means of improving the quality of life of all people (PSC, 2007).

Notably, throughout the policy document, specific emphasis is placed on the development and empowerment of women. For example, Sadie and Loots (1998) note that no less than 40 references are made either to women in the development process or to gender equality. According to them, the principles set out relate to the fulfilment of women's practical, as well as strategic gender needs. Needs to be addressed relating to their social condition (practical gender needs) include: the improvement of maternal health, promotion of the provision of child-care facilities; affordable and safer transport; and the provision of electricity (it is acknowledged that rural women in particular face a heavy burden collecting wood).

However, they caution that meeting the strategic gender needs of women which are related to their social position, include special attention to be paid to their legal, educational and employment status. Although the policy guidelines on development in South Africa suggest a gender-based approach to development, the challenge of a gender approach lies in its implementation. The number of projects introduced by the RDP for women were however limited. In addition, the lack of meaningful participation by women in the planning, management, implementation and assessment of a project is a key in the failure of these projects. According to them, :

> Participation not only increases the information available about the locality in which projects are to be launched, but also enables women to prioritise their needs and develop self-confidence and collective capacity (Sadie and Loots, 1998:p10).

The Public Service Commission's 2007 *Audit of Government Poverty Reduction Programmes* (Public Service Commission, 2007: ii): suggests that that fFirst, the White Paper (of 1996)

prioritised poverty eradication, access to land and the provision of basic services to people within a peaceful and stable society characterised by equitable economic growth. Now, 14 years later, Government is still challenged by poverty and the need to reduce it by half by 2014 in line with its commitments to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Apart from the social security programmes which are currently major instruments for redressing poverty, both national and provincial departments have been implementing a broad range of interventions to address poverty. Although these programmes have largely been allocating funds to the neediest areas in the country, the impact of some of them has still been limited, especially amongst the ultra poor. Concerns that have been raised about these programmes include poor coordination, poor integration of service delivery, lack of proper processes, exclusionary practices and a lack of monitoring and evaluation. Evidence from "Towards a Ten Year Review" further stressed the need to coordinate all Government's divergent developmental initiatives under one framework or "Social Compact".

In his 2004 Address to the First Joint Sitting of the Third Democratic Parliament, the then President Thabo Mbeki outlined the following three strategies as the basis of Government's strategy of fighting poverty in the country:

- encouraging growth and development in the "First Economy"

- increasing the opportunity for jobs and addressing the challenges of the "Second Economy" and

- building a social security net to bring about poverty alleviation." (Mbeki, 2004)

The notion of the "First" and "Second" economies comes from Presidential analysis of the inequity between the poor and the middle-income/well-resourced of South Africa, and has become part of national discourse on the challenges of meeting the growth targets of

ASGISA while simultaneously offering strong social services and support to those living in poverty.

The *Presidential Development Indicators Mid-Term Review* of 2007 charts the economic progress of the country in relations to specific targets concerning macro-economic stabilization (which includes BEE transfers and numbers of black managers), halving unemployment, increasing per capita income, increasing participation in the social assistance programmes, and increasing participation in the Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP). No data offered in this Review is disaggregated by gender, and women's realities are addressed mostly through gender neutral language on social assistance grants, and early child health care (maternal mortality rates are included). In particular, a gender analysis suggests that, first, women are mentioned only twice within the founding GEAR document, which continues to form the basis of both ASGISA, and the notions of engaging with "First Economy" growth as a prerequisite for reduction poverty within the "Second Economy" (Orr, Heintz, Tregenna, 1998). *The Development Indicators Mid-Term Review* addresses women through only the narrowest form of gender analysis possible – the recognition that women bear children. This is a very weak platform from which to develop poverty reduction strategies which take gender dynamics seriously.

Second, if the "Second Economy" is understood to comprise the unemployed, those living at, and below the poverty "line" (see 3.3.3), research findings reviewed in this and other reports suggest that more women fall into this category than men. This means that gender should be integrated into national positions on poverty reduction at the highest level. The reviews and indicators also indicate a lack of understanding of the relationship between unpaid, usually reproductive labour, and productive labour. This gap suggests a weak grasp of gender and

economic theories and as a consequence, misunderstands the labour of most South Africa women whose work involves both unpaid, reproductive labour (essential to a stable economy), and paid employment. This is a major ideological flaw, with serious consequences for the meaning of 'increasing opportunities for jobs', building a social security net', and 'encouraging growth'. While growth remains measured in terms which exclude unpaid reproductive labour (work which must be done), and the 'social security net' involves the provision of support for those looking after children, the elderly, the ill, and the unemployed, people gendered as women are pulled in contradictory positions by the national strategy. On the one hand, they are likely to become the recipients of social security by virtue of their roles as unpaid labourers. On the other, it is exactly this role which will go unnoticed in calculations of growth, and women will be expected to become employed through job creation programmes which explicitly include targets for female workers (such as the Extended Public Works Programme).

Third, encouraging growth and development, as structured by GEAR and ASGISA includes trade liberalization and privatization. The clothing industry is an example of how trade policies associated with globalization impact on the local industry. In South Africa, this industry is dominated by women. As such, while thousands of people have lost their jobs in the clothing and textile industry (50,000 job losses since 2003) (Grevendock, 2005), women have formed the majority of those affected by these losses (understandably so, since they form the majority of workers in the sector). Given unemployment in South Africa this is a serious problem since these people struggle to find new jobs, which in turn leads to greater poverty. That women dominate in this sector illustrates how economies are segregated according to gender: in what is sometimes referred to as horizontal segregation.

Fourth, what is encouraging is the fact that the government's commitment to develop a social security net through the provisions of grants (of different types) effectively ensures that poor women receive government support. Grants are overwhelmingly allocated in relationship to work traditionally undertaken as unpaid by women: childcare in particular.

To redress the serious problem of chronic unemployment, the government of South Africa introduced the **Expanded Public Works Programme** (EPWP) in 2004. This active labour market policy is a public job creation programme that provides the unemployed with a paid work entitlement and has a target to create one million job opportunities within five years. The main goal of EPWP is to address economic empowerment through job creation. According to Antonopoulos (2008), the EPWP policy had the potential to mitigate social exclusion and contribute to poverty alleviation by mobilising an underutilised domestic resource, namely labour (Antonopoulos, 2008). This policy aims to build skills and provide on the job training and formal accreditation so as to prepare EPWP participants for longer term jobs. EPWP projects and job creation are primarily focused on labour-intensive infrastructure, such as construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, with a mandate to substitute labour for machines to the largest degree as possible (Antonopoulos, 2008). In addition smaller budgetary allocations were designated in environmental projects and for social sector creation (Antonopoulos, 2008).

The overall objective of the EPWP is to create additional employment and work opportunities, combined with training, for at least a minimum of one million people (at least 40% women, 30% youth and 2% disabled) in South Africa over a period of five years (that is, by 2009) (Nzimakwe, 2008). According to the HSRC Review (2008) the targeted proportion of employment and work opportunities for women and youth (although not for the disabled)

has been reached. However the EPWP programme along with other poverty reduction strategies such as ASGISA (Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative in South Africa) and GEAR (Growth Employment and Redistribution Programme), has been criticised for their neglect of a gender-sensitive approach in their conceptualisation and implementation. Gender-sensitivity seems to be equated with special efforts that have to be made in targeting women or in identifying women as 'target beneficiaries' (Antonopoulos, 2008). No further reference to women in policy guidelines is then made. It is therefore evident that women's particular needs are not prioritised in the planning and execution of projects. It is essential that gender equality is promoted and that women's different and unequal needs, and the responsibilities and opportunities created by the unequal division of labour are addressed in policies and projects implemented in South Africa.

3.2.4. Official definitions of poverty and strategies for addressing it

There exist many theoretical and methodological perspectives on poverty that purport to explain what poverty is, what its roots are, and/or how best to understand and measure it. Some of these have already been addressed in previous chapters. In this chapter, we look at conceptualisations of poverty and the assumptions that inform them, as well as the ameliorative strategies developed from these various understandings.

To illustrate, in its State of the World Population Report, 2002, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2002:1) discusses the assessment of poverty:

> Income is the common way of measuring poverty, but poverty has many dimensions. The poor are deprived of services, resources and opportunities as well as money. Their limited resources are inefficiently deployed. Energy, water, and food all cost more per unit consumed-paradoxically; poverty is expensive for the poor…. Economic growth will not by itself end poverty. The assumptions that wealth will "trickle down" to the poor, or that "a rising tide lifts all boats" are convenient, but do not always correspond to experience, especially in the poorest countries and among the poorest people. Ending extreme poverty calls for commitment to the task, and specific action directed to it.

Other explorations of poverty include more than consideration of access to essential commodities, such as energy or food. They include less tangible resources, such as social networks or safety, and some analysts prefer basing descriptions of poverty as a relationship to rights rather than a relationship to 'possessions' of some kind. In general, however, analysis of poverty looks at *incidence, severity,* and *distribution*, and draws on five main types of measurement to assess these: income, assets, capability (usually approached through access to education), numbers of people with special needs (disabled, elderly, chronic illness), and access to social assistance. These remain the key national indicators for the quantitative measurement of poverty.

In South Africa, the *Public Service Commission Report of 2007* adopts a:

> working definition of poverty that is as broad and encompassing as possible. That is, an individual or household is said to be in a state of poverty when they have no income or have an income below the standard of living or are unable to meet their basic human needs (Public Service Commission, 2007: 15).

In defining strategies for addressing poverty, the report draws on Henriot's (2002:15) categorizations of the various means often used to address poverty:

- Poverty Alleviation: this involves lessening the suffering of the poor, meeting their immediate pressing needs with welfare handouts and social security, providing safety nets, dealing with widows, orphans, the elderly and the handicapped. This is basically charitable assistance;

- Poverty Reduction: this is the task of lowering the numbers of those living below the poverty line and eliminating them from the rolls of the deprived. This involves providing people with jobs which pay wages above the poverty line, providing

health and education services, providing credit for small business enterprises and other opportunities to rise above the poverty line. This is, basically, commitment to development; and

- Poverty Eradication: this is the challenge of restructuring society so that there is no longer growing poverty and absolute numbers of the impoverished decrease to minimal exceptional cases. This calls for planning – for setting priorities, for shifts in power, for restructuring society, for radical social and economic changes. This is basically the transformation of society through policies based on justice, compassion and inclusiveness.

In South Africa, , there is little or no consistency in the manner in which these different concepts are used (i.e., poverty alleviation', 'poverty relief', 'poverty eradication', etc.), but there is, broadly speaking, an understanding that there are in fact different types of interventions aimed at addressing poverty (Public Service Commission, 2007). In addition, there are debates about what constitutes the 'poverty line' and on what the indicators are for determining who is 'poor', what comprises the experience of poverty, and which aspects of poverty can best be addressed through government responsibility.

The way researchers and policy-makers have defined poverty has arguably had an enormous effect on the focus of strategies to combat poverty, particularly on the notions of 'alleviation', 'reduction', and 'eradication. In *Poverty and Policy in South Africa,* Bhorat & Kanbur, 2006 make the point that the more complex one's understanding of the forces which conspire to shape poverty as an environment is, the more difficult it is to design targeted projects and programmes whose impacts do not have a counter-effect in other arenas.

Over the past few years, reports seeking to offer gender sensitive profiles of where South Africans are located in relation to the conventionally key indicators of economic well-being: income, employment, education, living conditions (including access to water, fuel, and electricity) have emerged. The 1998 reports from the Poverty Hearings set the ground for this, by collating autobiographical experiences of poverty from nine provinces, and including a wide range of voices (see for example, Hargreaves et al, 2007; May, et al., 1998; and others). In brief, both men and women noted the impact of gender on their experiences; men tended to associate their unemployment with a lack of opportunities in labour traditionally dominated by men (lay-offs in the mining industry, casualization in agriculture, and lack of access to land and skills training in engineering and technology); women consistently noted the impact both of being expected to perform reproductive labour (as women) and of relationships between themselves and male partners or family members (such relationships could involve violence, domination over resources, and/or restrictions over mobility and rights, all of which impacted their experience of being poor).

Budlender's (2004) piece, *Women and Poverty* opens with data from the Poverty Hearings reports, which illustrate how gender is woven into both men and women's experiences of their own poverty. The author goes on to ask how, given conventional techniques of quantification, an analysis of poverty might integrate gender. . She points out that standard techniques draw on 'the household' as a unit of analysis to understand the experience of poverty, but that there is a complex relationship between notions of household 'head', gender, income generation, and presence/absence of 'household head' in the home, within poor families. This makes it difficult to generalize about what is happening in any one household, as long as the micro-dynamics of gendered relationships in the household are invisible. Budlender then goes on to note the inequality between people in different income brackets in

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South Africa. Race and gender are critical variables, locating African women as the lower earning constituency in the country. Her analysis then moves 'beyond income' to suggest that poverty involves health (measured in relationship to life expectancy), education (measured in relationship to literacy, and all levels of education), and time.

Women and the Economy (Makgetla, 2004, retrieved from *http://www.genderstats.org.za/*) looks at the income, employment rates, and employment zones of South African women, relying on the October Household Survey (1998) and the Labour Force Survey of 2003. African women were mostly employed as domestic workers and in "elementary occupations" (mostly agricultural work), where wages were below R1000.00 a month. The document correlates poor educational levels with lack of employment for women, and also notes that age affects the opportunity for employment for women: 75% of African women under 30 were unemployed.

Women and Men: 5 Years On (Statistics South Africa, 2002) compiles a sketch of men and women's experiences of poverty in South Africa. Commenting on access to water, energy, education, employment trends and other variables, the report paints a picture of poverty in which more women than men are unemployed, more womenare spending intensive time ensuring that basic needs for water and fuel are met, and have more reproductive responsibilities than men, and less income. To illustrate, among others, the document noted that:

> Close on one-fifth (18%) of African women aged 25 years and older, and 13% of African men, have no formal schooling, compared to fewer than 1% of white women and men. Among African women and men and coloured women, 6% or fewer have a qualification higher than matric. There was a decrease in the percentage of women and men without formal schooling in each population group between 1995 and 2001. The decrease is most marked for African women and men, at five and three percentage points respectively…Just over half (52%) of employed women work in the formal sector, compared to close on three-quarters (74%) of employed men. Formal sector work is least

common for African women (38%) and most common for white men (93%) and women (92%)…In 2001, close on one fifth (19%) of employed women, compared to 9% of men earned R200 or less per month. Nearly a quarter (23%) of men, but only 14% of women, earned more than R4 500 per month (pp 3-6).

As illustrated above, literature exists (albeit minimally) which explores the gendered experience of poverty among South Africans.   However, most of it analyses poverty within conventional parameters. Here issues of assets, income, employment, access to basic services (fuel, water, electricity, sanitation, housing), access to other key services (telecommunication, transport), access to health and education, access to social assistance grants, and access to skills-building or training programmes, are explored. The material makes it clear that race and gender radically, and inequitably, structure South African realities in these areas. The conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that women are, overall, poorer than men; that poor women are less likely to be employed, are more likely to be discouraged work seekers, are more likely to carry the responsibility for unpaid care work, and are less likely to have access to critical assets such as land, ownership of small businesses, ownership of transport and so on. Such analysis does not discount the need to address men's poverty, but it highlights important differences between what poor women face and what poor men are dealing with.

As suggested above, there is widespread theoretical agreement among poverty analysts that indicators concerning income, assets, capabilities, and access to social assistance do not cover all aspects of life in a way that can adequately describe the experience of 'inadequate resources' (see for example, Sen, 1985). As such, a second category of literature also exists which uses less conventional indicators of poverty in its analysis. In this subsection, broad themes analysing these other critical variables are introduced briefly. It is these themes which underscore gendered differences and connections in ways which dramatically challenge

gender-blind poverty reduction strategies. In this review, the themes are grouped into four categories:

3.2.4.1   Quality of life beyond conventional indicators

Literature in this category explores the quality of life using analyses which are not directly linked to conventional lenses on poverty, but which nonetheless have a huge impact on the quality of people's lives. The first analytic lens here involves safety and security. Scholars using this lens insist that quality of life is affected by social, household and personal vulnerability (see for example, Dhanani and Islam, 2002; Bankhoff, Frerks and Hillhorst, 2003; and Devereux, 2010). What this means is that an analysis of climate change (and other natural disasters), crime, conflict, violence, and social instability is relevant to unpacking poverty.

Other lenses involve HIV and AIDS, where illness and death impact heavily on people's stamina, resources, and employment options. They also involve the illegal industry of drug production, marketing, and consumption (connected to crime, but simultaneously separable from it), which has powerful effects on the ability to maintain income, relationships, and lifestyles within the mainstream economy. This lens is particularly pertinent to understanding poverty cycles within urban areas. Another lens concerns nutrition, which, while connected to the topics within the concerns of the first category (income, access to social assistance grants), is also important to consider in trems of the availability and quality of what South Africans have to eat. Although each of these lenses demands a different set of data, and theoretical approaches, in order to understand the terrain, in combination they offer a very powerful way of deepening a definition of poverty to include less quantifiable aspects of

experience which can make the difference between a life that is qualitatively satisfactory (despite low income) and one that is utterly unbearable.

Gender analysis shows that each one of these category lenses impacts men and women very differently. To illustrate, generally, gender-based violence threatens South African women, girls and boy-children much more than it threatens men. Overall, however, it is men and boys who are the targets of gross assault. Households, transport systems, and particular businesses (banks, financial transport) are targeted for theft and attack. Men are overwhelmingly the organizers and perpetrators of this violence, and gender dynamics between men organize access to resources and opportunity within these activities. Young men without opportunities in the formal economy are particularly vulnerable to involvement in work identified as criminal, which may lead to increased income but which also carries severe risk.

Second, HIV and AIDS have had powerful impacts on South African communities, especially in poverty stricken rural and urban areas. Here again, gender analysis reveals that the two fastest growing constituencies for transmission of the virus are young women (aged 15-24) and married women. This fact does not imply that only poor women are vulnerable (on the contrary), but it is clear that a combination of illness, minimal resources, compromised access to water and electricity, and so on, intensifies the difficulties of survival. In addition, gender roles continue to dictate that it is women who remain primarily responsible for taking care of the ill, accompanying people to healthcare facilities, and broadening their household responsibilities to include the newly-ill or orphaned.

Third, the illegal drug industry is dominated and managed by men, but within poverty stricken urban areas, consumers are both men and women (usually young). Drug-use is

segregated by class, so that cocaine, ecstacy, and some amphetamine combinations are expensive and available only within well-resourced constituencies; drugs such as tik and mandrax circulate within poverty-stricken environments, creating economies of trade and transactions which come to dominate neighbourhoods, and which impact heavily on education, interest in formal employment, and health, impacting differently on the lives of men and women (and girls and boys) in communities.

3.2.4.2 Gendered relationships in Households and Communities

Research which focuses on relationships, especially gendered relationships both within the household and within the broader community is also emerging. This includes relationships between partners (husbands and wives, common law partners, children and parents or other adults, and so on), where responsibilities for managing household needs are shared. A key example of work in this area here comes from HSRC studies on fatherhood in South Africa, which suggest that over 45% of children grow up without fathers in their homes (Richter et al, 2004). Studies which document the struggles experienced by women to access maintenance payments due to them from divorced, or absent, male partners (Budlender, 2002) also form part of this body of research. The inability to access maintenance payments clearly disadvantages poor women, both in terms of income and in terms of time spent negotiating for maintenance, while the difficulty for some poor fathers to stay with their families suggests complex areas of stress, human deprivation, and lack of connection to kinship (a key resource in managing poverty).

A critical theme within this context concerns children. Gender dynamics continue to affect people so that it is more frequently women who take responsibility for ensuring that children are properly nurtured. On one hand, analyses of gender and poverty do not often include children (except insofar as they, too, are girls and boys, and may experience the effects of

gender roles in their own growing up). On the other, because women are so overwhelmingly tasked with reproductive labour which involves children, it is important to consider connections between gendered poverty and children's poverty. For example, where men are completely absent from their homes, unemployed, or as migrant labourers, their economic and social circumstances affect their children. Similarly, where women are deprived of assets and income (or conversely, have access to income through grants targeted as child support), children's welfare is influenced.

Given the high levels of unemployment and the number of children living without access to wage income through their parents and other adults, child poverty in South Africa, as measured by income, is extensive. If gender dynamics predict that it is women who will be responsible for the day to day work of taking care of children, even in households with male heads, then it is clear that the number of children living in poverty affects the lives of women dramatically (and vice versa). This is not to suggest that men in household are unconcerned about children's hunger or lack of resources. Rather, it is likely to be women who will take final responsibility for trying to ensure that children are fed, clothed, protected from ill health and kept warm.

There is a final theme within this category which deserves exploration: sexual relationships. While these are normally considered simply in relation to formal adult partnership within the household, sexual interaction between men and women, boys and girls, within communities is a live thread of activity which may impact on both the depth of poverty, and on the negotiation of strategies to ameliorate the impacts of poverty. To illustrate, teenage pregnancies exacerbate poverty for young women, and for those who take on the work of helping them care for the unplanned children (usually mothers and grandmothers and other

women). Transactional sex is increasingly becoming part of the terrain not simply of young heterosexual relationships, but also as a means of accessing transport, above-basic 'essentials' (cosmetics, cell phone time, clothes) (Leclerc-Mdladla, 2003). These are areas in which gender constructs different options for men and for women, exacerbating vulnerability for both, but of different kinds. This observation would pertain to the more formal types of sex work in South Africa. Research suggests that sex workers in poverty stricken urban and peri-urban areas are often women who do not consider themselves as 'professional' sex workers, simply as people who need to earn an income (Kanyengo, 2006). There is thus a dynamic relationship between women's poverty, sex work as an option, and women's increased vulnerability (sex work remains notoriously dangerous for women, despite its economic advantages). The fact that sex work remains a viable option for women suggests that men are willing to spend money in this way, and for poor men, this suggests expenditure which does not offer any investment.

3.2.4.3 Rights and access to Rights

Research findings in South Africa have suggested that human rights tend take on a gendered character, where women consistently face challenges in accessing their rights (Gouws, 2005). Such challenges range from actually receiving payment from maintenance orders issued to experiencing discrimination and poor service when asking for terminations of unwanted pregnancies, or asking for police protection from domestic assault. Access to land (Walker, 2006) and to housing (Oldfield, 2003) remain areas contested by conventional (sometimes traditionally sanctioned) systems of inheritance, family authority, and community status which privilege men over women. Although the South African constitution formally "trumps" such systems (Ndashe, 2005), in practice women can face legal and social struggles to implement their rights. This often has direct impact on their circumstances, causing – or entrenching – poverty.

3.2.5 National Poverty Reduction Strategies

There are a number of important recent reviews on national poverty reduction strategies where poverty is measured in terms of conventional indicators. These include the the Public Service Commission Report (2007), the Presidential Developmental Indicators Mid-Term Report, whose analyses proceed from within the state's position on the best possible approach to poverty reduction. Other analyses abound, from World Bank economists (Hoogeveen and Ozler, 2004) from the HSRC, (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006), as well as from diverse academic economists and policy analysts (Seekings, Meth, Leibrant). There are raging debates about the nature of poverty, the methods of measurement, and most intensively, the impact of national poverty reduction strategies. While government sources (such as the *Midterm Development Indicators Review*) suggest that anti-poverty targets are being met (especially in the areas of cutting the budget deficit, creating better access to housing, education, water, and electricity, and stronger provision of social assistance), others argue that unemployment is rising, that the difference in income and quality of life between the poor and the well-resourced is widening, that educational attainment (in the numbers of students getting secondary qualifications) is not translating into higher numbers of employed young people, that HIV and AIDS have dramatically lowered life expectancy rates (a key indicator of human development), and that the experience of poverty is creating volatile pockets of anger and resistance to state authority (see for example, Dorrington et al, 2002; Hoogeveen and Olzer, 2006; van den Berg, Louw and du Toit, 2007).

None of these analyses, however, deal analytically with gender dynamics, or with women. Overall, the gender-blindness of dominant analyses is startling, particularly given rhetorical recognition of black (especially African) women as a category vulnerable to poverty in most

popular commentary. It seems as though whether located within defence of government approaches or within challenges to these, researchers are in agreement about the marginality of gender as an analytic lens (Dorrington et al is an exception here). This fact raises questions about the invisibility of gender as a political and social force which extend beyond the purview of this review.

There are, of course, strongly gendered dimensions to all the national poverty reduction strategies. In this section, the key strategies are once again named, and addressed in terms of how gendered realities have both informed the strategy and, in turn, how the strategy affects gendered dynamics (and does, or does not, contribute towards gender equality).

As noted above, national poverty reduction strategies are divided into those promoting 'growth; and those promoting 'employment and redistribution'. Furthermore, the macro-economic strategies aimed at the promotion of growth, attracting foreign investment through the liberalization of trade tariffs, privatization, and reduction of the deficit, are gender-insensitive. It is precisely the neglect of gender which allows for an approach to growth to be split, conceptually and practically, from an approach to employment and distribution. What is missing in these analyses is the power of unpaid reproductive labour to impact on notions of both growth and on employment and redistribution. This is a difficult area to analyse, given the lack of detailed research connecting gender, macroeconomic strategy and developmental programmes.

The sub-section below focuses on strategies dealing with what government refers to as the second economy development. These strategies can be thematised as follows:

3.2.5.1 Provision of social assistance

In the early 2000s the government substantially increased its total expenditure on social assistance and arguably reached many more poor people. Expenditure on social assistance almost doubled from about 2 percent of GDP in 1994 (and 2000) to about 3.5 percent in 2005. In 2000 there was an extraordinary explosion in the number of beneficiaries, but this was almost entirely due to the growth of child support grants being paid out. The child support grant, although modest in value, very quickly reached ten times the number of children reached by its predecessor, the state maintenance grant. By April 2006 – i.e. the most recent actual data – about 7 million child support grants were paid monthly, compared to just 230,000 child allowances under the state maintenance grant at the peak year of 1998 (Seekings, 2007; see also Budlender in Leatt, 2006). There are different categories of social assistance – foster care grants, disability grants, old age pensions, child support grants, disaster relief packages, care dependency grants. Van der Berg (2006) argues that these forms of assistance, which amount to a sizable portion of the budget, are 'pro-poor', in that they alleviate poverty and are designed to address deficiencies of income within poor households.

As far as gender goes, these forms of assistance have been found to be of enormous benefit to poor women, because of their practical gender responsibilities: childcare, care of the elderly and disabled, and management of the home. For example, child support grants may form the major source of income within ultra poor households (Goldblatt, 2005), and make the difference between subsistence and starvation.

The national strategy here, then, is to be commended for its insistence of escalating the provision of social assistance since 2000; there is no doubt that women benefit. At another level, however, the link between stereotypic gender norms (that it is women who care for children), and social assistance as powerful income in the face of poverty, locates women in a

place which continues to identify them as reproductive labourers, dependent on the state for welfare. This is a tricky argument, given recent state arguments against the need for handouts and concern about 'welfarism' (ANC, 2007). While a culture of dependency does, indeed, complement oppressive gender norms for women, it is equally true that without old age pensions (for which men between the ages of 60 and 64 have recently petitioned for inclusion) and child support grants, poverty for many women would be unmanageable. In terms of household dynamics, there is a need for more research on the interaction between different women (those who do, and who don't have children), the men in their lives, and the relationships between power, gender, social assistance income and earned income.

3.2.5.2 Improvement of access to water, electricity, housing, healthcare

Leibrandt (2004) suggests that there has been substantial work on the provision of access to piped water, electricity and housing, and this is confirmed by the quantitative analysis of the MidTerm Developmental Indicators Report of 2007, and the Community Survey (STATSSA, 2007). While certain provinces (the Eastern Cape, Limpopo, and Mpumulanga) remain below the national average in terms of access to flush toilet facilities and the usage of electricity as a source of fuel, it is clear that as a pro-poor strategy, improved services and housing has benefits. These are undeniably gendered benefits, where it can be expected that women's work as cooks, cleaners, and caretakers is alleviated by access to closer water and sources and electricity. It is likely, however, that there is a need for more micro-analysis of the use and availability of water and electricity, in gendered terms, For example, Annecke (2003) suggests that even where poor women do have access to electricity, this is rarely used for cooking or heating water, but more for the provision of light, or to power appliances such as televisions.

The most serious failure of access to services concerns the national health system, which is rapidly collapsing, especially in poverty stricken areas. This is linked to the slowness with which national strategies on managing the health of those with AIDS symptoms, through the well-managed rollout of ARV (Anti-Retroviral) programmes to which it has been committed since 2005. Nattrass (2006) argues that this failure accounts for the early deaths, and economic incapacitation of thousands of South Africans yearly, and there are gendered consequences of this.

3.2.5.3 Development of targeted projects

The Public Service Commission recently undertakook an audit of departmental programmes designed to implement national poverty reduction strategies. The report (Public Service Commission, 2007) highlights several difficulties in the compilation of the audit. These include: the absence of a nationally integration poverty reduction plan, through which departments' own programmes could be systematically designed, implemented and monitored. The report also identifies the lack of accurate and comparable data on different programmes, the lack of departmental consensus about the meanings of 'poverty alleviation' and 'poverty reduction'and the submission of incomplete or inaccurate information on programmes to the Commission.

The Commission's report identifies some government anti-poverty strategies projects such as including the EPWP of the national Department of Public Works and the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development (ISRD), Urban Renewal Programme (URP), Local Economic Development, Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP) and Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG) of the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG).

In addition, some national and provincial departments are implementing smaller programmes on their own. These include the Department of Social Development's Food and Emergency Relief Programme and the HIV and AIDS Programme Furthermore, provinces are implementing poverty relief projects using their own funds that are not registered in the databases of the larger programmes and, therefore, the necessity for the Premiers' Offices to collate information on their poverty relief programmes at a provincial level (PSC Report, 2007).

The Report points out that the vast majority of programmes in fact comprise the management of social assistance grants (some 16,000), and the next largest category falls into the Extended Public Works Programme. The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) had a target of reaching one million unemployed people by 2009, offering short term employment and skills training. The programme consists of provincial and national projects, financed by the public sector, which provide short-term employment and training for people in desperate need of income and a job. Labour Research Service (LRS) explored the impact of the EPWP and found that while experiences with the projects were generally positive for the people employed, that women and men received work opportunities and training, that gender discrimination was consistently challenged and monitored within programmes, that standards of work safety were met and reasonable wages paid, the overall impact of the programme on sustaining poverty relief was uncertain. After the projects closed and the short-term contracts ended, workers did not always find new work, even given new skills (Triegaadt, 2003).

There is clearly a need to explore the PSC database with much more rigour to look for gendered trends within it, and it would also be useful to do in-depth gender analysis of

particular programmes, not simply in the EPWP, but in less high profile areas, such as land reform initiatives.

3.3 Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed some of the key policies and programmes related to national poverty reduction strategies and the extent to and ways in which they are gendered. The aim of the review was to explore the ways in which gender analysis may reframe policy and programme focus.

Key issues emerging from the review include, first, that national poverty reduction strategies are linked only weakly to strategies for economic growth and stability. This weakness includes a failure to consider gender as relevant to macroeconomic strategy. This creates a conceptual gap concerning unpaid reproductive labour at the highest level of planning for South African economic productivity and stability, a gap which has the power to influence the design of all other levels of planning. The overwhelming lack of attention to gender dynamics, and to (mostly) women, in state reviews of progress in terms of poverty and inequity needs to be addressed.

Second, there is no cohesively articulated programme of poverty reduction strategies, through which departments can organize their own relationship to national strategies in detail, alongside monitoring and evaluation. This makes it difficult to assess the impact of programmes overall, and leaves analysts vulnerable to volatile, politically driven debates on 'progress' or 'increased poverty' which are not anchored to a comprehensive, widely and well developed, programme of action. There are gender implications of this weakness – although it may be possible to see women through social assistance grants and (some)

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employment generation and training programmes, women in different provinces are clearly differently placed (as are men) in relation both to the experience of poverty and to the national programmes available for assistance of different kinds. It may be the case that much more sophisticated gender analysis is needed to really understand discrepancies and differences of gender equality (for example, young men in the Eastern Cape may be much worse off, in terms of access to employment, social assistance and national poverty relief project opportunities, than 25-35 year old women in Gauteng).

Third, social assistance grants and old age pensions are the most effective current form of poverty alleviation, and heavily impact women's quality of life. The current trend to move away from 'hand outs' into the 'dignity of work' (underlying the EPWP and others) ignores the gendered dimension of this level of social assistance.

Fourth, analyses which identify factors beyond income as contributing to poverty in households and communities are profoundly gendered. This is because they concern the body (beyond reproduction) – security, sexuality, and relationships between people. The 365-Day National Action Plan to End Gender Based Violence launched by Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Nguka in March 2007 has not received the necessary political muscle. Meetings of the task team are irregular and there is confusion about departmental responsibilities (Colleen Lowe Morna, 2007). To illustrate, it would seem obvious that women better protected from violence would contribute more productively to the economy. Similar comments could be made about the value of linking poverty and gender in areas beyond employment, social assistance, and capacity building.

Fifth, available statistics in key areas (life expectancy, unemployment, HIV infection, discouraged work seekers, mismatch between secondary school skilling and access to employment) suggest not only that African women are the worst off in the country (and that those in the Eastern Cape, Limpopo, and KwaZulu-Natal worse off that women in other provinces). Young women in poverty are also likely to be the most profoundly trapped. Young African men in poverty are similarly faced with bleak prospects for employment. This opens up serious questions about the need for poverty relief programmes which address the connection between secondary schooling and income generation, and simultaneously, offer opportunities to restructure gender norms so that unpaid reproductive work could be more evenly distributed.

Research has shown that even though women and men share many burdens of poverty, they frequently experience poverty differently, have different poverty reduction priorities and are affected differently by development interventions. Identifying and redressing these inequalities tend to have high social, economic and financial returns (Banberger et al, 2001). Gender mainstreaming and the design and implementation of poverty eradication policies from a gender perspective continue to come up against a series of challenges. According to Sadie and Loots (1998), a major problem in mainstreaming gender is the lack of appropriate experience and analytical abilities with gender issues among officials. Gender-awareness and gender-mainstreaming skills training should therefore be promoted at all levels of government, including among those directly involved in projects. This training should include the integration of gender issues into policy, planning and implementation (Sadie and Loots, 1998). Another difficulty that governments have is the lack of gender-disaggregated data regarding who is poor, where and to what extent, as well as who benefits from interventions, to what extent and how. If data is not collected in a way that enables

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differences between and among men and women to be clearly established, it is likely that the specific gender needs and interests of women will be given less attention or could be ignored completely.

A lesson learnt from the South Africa poverty reduction policies shows that it is imperative that a gender-sensitive approach not only incorporates gender planning in programmes, but also the development of appropriate methodologies for planning and monitoring projects for their impact on gender relations. Through the understanding of the effect of projects and policies on women and men, will it be possible to know whether their various needs are met. Quantitative indicators are not sufficient and the focus should not only be on meeting women's practical needs but also their strategic needs. In this way, women will be empowered and emancipated, thereby promoting the development of a secure society.

A number of challenges and difficulties has been experienced in mainstreaming gender into economic policies particularly poverty eradication policies. One of these concerns the linking of economic growth policies to employment and gender equality policies (Desarrollo, 2004). There is a clear relation between employment and poverty, since unemployment, underemployment and unstable employment cause poverty. As a result employment is a key factor in poverty eradication. Therefore the importance of generating more employment opportunities for women, in order to give them access to monetary resources and promote their economic autonomy is essential (Desarrollo, 2004). In all economic policies job creation must be an objective for gender development. From the research presented it is evident that integrating gender into poverty reduction policies continues to be a struggle for many policy makers. Gender mainstreaming is therefore a key instrument that can be used in helping

policy makers understand the importance of gender and how it can be implemented in all poverty reduction policies.

The above issues are followed through with recommendations in Chapter 6. Chapter 4 focuses on a Comparative Scan of Gender and Poverty Reduction issues (including strategies) that have some relevance for thinking about these issues not just from the perspective of South Africa, but in comparison with countries on a similar or slightly higher human development index.

CHAPTER 4 - AN INTERNATIONAL SCAN OF POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGIES IN THREE COUNTRIES: BRAZIL, INDIA AND CHILE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter profiles three countries with similar or slightly higher Human Development Index (HDI) indices as South Africa (Brazil, India and Chile) in terms of their anti-poverty policies and/or strategies and their consideration of gender equality. From these, the chapter draws implications for South Africa's poverty reduction policies and programes and their gender equality measures. For our purposes, we first examine what gender and poverty reduction policies and programmes exist in the three countries , and then assess what some of the lessons might be for South Africa.

As Andrea Cornwell and Karen Brock suggest, 'empowerment', 'poverty reduction,' and 'participation' have become 'buzzwords' within twenty first century global discourses on development (Cornwell and Brock, 2005). Their analysis of these 'buzzwords' argues that there is little consensus about how such terms apply to specific contexts, but that they allow for an imaginary space in which strategies such as the setting of the MDG (Millennium Development Goals), and PRSPs (national Poverty Reduction Strategic Planning) can create conversations about progress in addressing what it means to live as poor, in very diverse contexts. Cornwall and Brock are sceptical about the match between the proliferation of the "buzzwords" and the actual possibilities of changing contextually-rooted realities in which poverty is an endemic feature of the economic, political and social landscape.

This position on what it means to recognize the urgency of changing macro- and micro-economic realities so that people no longer have to endure lifetimes of debilitating hunger, unemployment, financial fear and anxiety, ill-health, and an overwhelming lack of political power is informed by solid research. The idea that a global consensus about poverty reduction is realistic, given the massive differences in wealth, resources, and military power between country blocs, is questionable. At the same time, dominant (as opposed to 'global') conversations about poverty reduction have been conducted within a neoliberal economic framework since the early 1980's, and have indeed influenced many national agendas when it comes to policy and programming. Countries thus very politically, socio-culturally, and historically different from one another (such as, for example, Kenya and Peru), have found themselves woven together in negotiation through core principles of neoliberal economic planning.

These principles include a core commitment to fiscal austerity, to the support of profit-driven markets, to strengthening the rights of the 'private' in property and business, and to the 'stepping back' of the state in terms of provision of socially essential services: healthcare, education, urban management, waste management, transport, and civic education (UNRISD, 2006). There is a wealth of research which documents the impact of such policies on the actual lives of men and women living in poverty, and an overwhelming consensus that, broadly speaking, such principles have done very little to improve poor people's access to resources (of all kinds) and that the weakening of the State, in 'developing' countries in terms of their provision of core social services has had negative impact not only on the qualities of poor people's lives but also on the capacity of the State itself to command any degree of broad-based national support (Kabeer, 2003).

In tension with neoliberal economic policies have been discourses of equality and rights. 'Good governance', the buzzword for the description of the conditions in which it is possible to implement economic policies (attracting both loans and investments), in some cases has not included explicit interests in social equality (Basu, 2004). In many, however, driven by the debates on 'gender and development,' concerns about women's status in society have been part and parcel of (for example) World Bank assessment around whether or not to make loans to emerging democracies (World Bank, 2001). Over the past 15 years, 'gender equality' too, has become something of a 'buzz-word' in discussion about economic and political policies and planning at national levels, so much so that in some contexts, it has become a term quite de-politicized and severed from its roots in feminist action (Sabea, 2007).

In the South African context, however, the situation is more complex. While neoliberal economic policies do dominate State approaches to poverty reduction (Seekings, 2007), the national policy framework both allows for some State provision of social services and explicitly recognizes the economic and political plight of poor and marginalized constituencies, including women. 'A long political history which takes questions of social discrimination seriously drives national thinking around inequality and injustice. In addition, a strong and diverse array of political researchers, activists, and policy-makes who understand the impact of gender on men and women's lives have insisted for years that gender dynamics privilege men, in alliance with the dynamics of race and class, and that poor women are economically and politically located as at the coalface of social inequity. This means that questions of gender equality and the challenges faced by poor (usually black) women are core advocacy issues for civil society activists, at diverse levels, and also attract attention within State-sponsored policy discussion.

The South African case is shaped by particular historical and political dynamics. But the visibility of poor women's vulnerability and the recognition that, while the past decades have seen increasing movement of women into formal employment (and the growth of informal economies in which women participate), the "face of poverty" is a woman's, rather than a man's, have played a strong role in global debates about poverty reduction. Discourses on the feminization of poverty have included deepened understandings of what 'poverty' entails beyond a lack of access to wages and/or land and property. As illustrated in the previous chapters, there are rich debates on how to conceptualize poverty beyond quantification of access to basic services (such as water, housing, and electricity) and participation in education or the labour market. These recognize questions of food security, the impact of HIV and AIDs, the meaning of conflict and war, the global shift towards modes of production that do not rely on manual and/or unskilled labour, and the meaning of migration. Through a gender lens, such debates tend to highlight the fact that poor women are affected by these questions not only differently from the ways in which poor men are affected, but often more seriously. This has partly to do with gendered ideologies which organize men and women's lives differently (so that, for example, poor men are drawn more quickly into armies and military activities faster than women are, leaving women to become more rapidly refugees in a conflict-torn zone).

There is also a recognition that gender influences dynamics between poor women and men, at the household level and beyond. Such dynamics include the meaning of unpaid carework, the possibility of sexual and domestic violence for women, encountering prohibitions around their sexual and reproductive lives, and negotiating power in the face of patriarchal norms about authority and voice. Internationally, there are many debates on the connections between development, poverty, political ideology, and gender. There is, however, consensus on

several key concepts, and for the sake of motivating their usage in this chapter, these are briefly summarized below.

4.2   Gender and Poverty in Comparative Perspective: Key concepts

Firstly, the presence and sustainability of poverty is widely linked to the unequal access to and distribution of resources, a lack of control over productive resources and limited or compromised participation in political and economic institutions. Thus, poverty should always be understood as produced through, and embedded within, economic and political relationships: those between different classes, and those within classes. It is therefore essential to link strategies for reducing poverty with strategies for the redistribution of resources and wealth. Gender dynamics operate both within the production of poverty and within the demands of well-resourced classes and constituencies for particular standards of living. Gender hierarchies structure access to resources such as land, credit, and mobility (reproductive responsibilities complicate mobility for women); gendered divisions of labour also ensure that job opportunities created to "service" well-resourced environments (such as domestic labour, casual/short-contract labour, cleaning of public spaces, low-skill service delivery in the tourism industry) are feminized, creating overburdened lives for women and unemployment for men (Casale, 2005).

Secondly, any national economy needs to be analysed through multiple layers. Access to resources, land and/or the means of production, to productive deployment of skills, and to political institutions linked to the control of economic opportunity is structurally organized. Such organization may be implemented through legislation or policy and/or through cultural norms and/or through long-standing "traditions" of who owns and controls what. Many such methods of organization are gender biased. Throughout Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia, women

face obstacles to controlling land and other productive resources. They also face norms which prioritize political and local authority for men, especially when it comes to decision making in micro-economic situations (businesses, households where men are present, small farms, trading concerns).

Thirdly, this structural poverty experienced by women has been exacerbated in many low-income countries by structural adjustment programmes, (and arguably by GEAR and ASGISA in the case of South Africa), emphasising the provision of stable environments for investment, the privatization of national industries, the relaxation of exchange controls and encouragement of export-oriented growth. The gender dimensions of these policies have been recognized: the impact of adjustment on the labour market and the informalisation of work have all been disproportionately felt by women (UNRISD, Rhazavi, ed: 2006).

Fourthly, the strongest gendered dimension of poverty arises from the widespread cultural and social assumption that unpaid care work (or, reproductive labour) is mainly the province of women. The gendered split between productive and reproductive/community labour is a cornerstone of theory about what happens to men and women in development. The split accounts for the relegation of women to unpaid household labour, to double-labour (reproductive and paid), to lower participation in paid production, and to formal employment in jobs which demand "reproductive skills" (domestic work, caretaking, the service industry, cleaning, and so on) (Bennett, 2007).

Gendered constraints at institutional, social, and cultural levels thus both shape and determine women's poverty through restricting women's rights both to entitlements and to the enhancement and unfettered exercise of their capabilities. It is critical, then, that poverty

eradication strategies not only transfer productive resources to the poorest of the poor and increase access to resources for the poor but also include gender as a category of analysis in the formulation of appropriate economic, political and social policies. As Endeley and Thompson (2005) suggest:

> Poverty … is not merely a function of material conditions but also reflects the role of institutions and ideologies in positioning women and men and ascribing different meanings to their lives. It is critical, then, that poverty eradication strategies not only transfer productive resources to the poorest of the poor and increase access to resources for the poor but also include gender as a category of analysis in the formulation of appropriate economic, political and social policies (p.5).

To what extent and in what ways do different countries engage with gender in their poverty reduction/alleviation/eradication policies and interventions? The section below examines this question.

4.3   National engagements with policy, poverty, and gender

> Securing livelihoods and creating an enabling environment are necessary preconditions for attaining gender equality and women's rights. But what is an 'enabling environment'? To a significant degree, women's ability to achieve parity with men in access to resources and influence, and in well-being, depends on the macro-economic policies and development strategies on which their livelihoods and ways of life, and those of their families and communities, ultimately depend (UNRISD, 2006: 16)

This analysis suggests that there are two main levels at which debates about the link between achieving gender equity and reducing poverty need to focus: the shape of macro-economic policies and 'development strategies', which are implemented both by national policy frameworks and within civil society organizations. Clearly, there is a major link between these two – as suggested in the introductory section, neoliberal economic policies (focusing on opening up zones of trade, strengthening investment opportunities, and prioritizing the rights of the private) have a direct effect on 'development strategies'. This is because the latter are forced to work within environments constrained by governments' needs to repay loans, maintain a relationship with dominant voices within international neoliberal planning, and co-operate with approaches which prioritize private capital gain over broad-based access

to non-poor livelihoods. And neoliberal macro-economic strategies have led to a focus on developing markets, and creating employment opportunities. Some have argued that this has had a positive effect, globally, on women's access to wage-labour, and that trade liberalization has both stimulated opportunities for women's participation in the labour force and allowed the flow of cheaper household goods to increase (see for example, Gupta, 2002; Kabeer and Mahmud, 2004).

Not only are such gains for women disputed by many feminist economists (Elson, 1995; UNRISD, 2006), but on the ground, within specific national contexts, the shape and impact of state policies differs dramatically. While it is possible – and useful – to survey global trends, and to note the transnational impact of neoliberal macro-economic approaches, understanding national contexts goes beyond the recognition of this impact. Contextual political, socio-cultural, and historical realities shape the meaning of 'development' in many different ways, and – in turn – interact with local norms and ideologies which differ from one environment to another. While there are often overarching realities concerning gender inequality (such as the fact that women perform unpaid care work rather than men, and such as the fact that women and girls are more vulnerable to sexual violence than men and boys), national and local realities generate widely differing options and challenges for poor men and women. In order to understand how state-led poverty reduction strategies engage the need for gender equity, especially among poor women, it is thus essential to compare different national engagements with the link between policy, poverty, and gender.

Comparison across nations is however a very complex affair. One of the most common quantitative indices is the HDI, which seeks to measure the quality of life beyond GDP statistics. The index looks at three main dimensions: basic education and school enrolment,

life expectancy, and purchasing power or income. The index divides nations into separate categories: Very High Human Development, High Human Development, Medium Human Development and Low Human Development. South Africa falls into the Medium Development, as does India, Tunisia, Ghana, Botswana, and Pakistan; Brazil and Chile fall into the High Human Development Category (along with, for example, Bahrain, Argentina, Saudi Arabia, and Belarus).

The following tables are based on Human Development reports, and show how different calculations – focusing on different realities (such as numbers of literate adults, or numbers of men and women in parliaments) – can lead to 'rankings' among nations.

Table 1: Human development index 2009				
HDI value	Life expectancy at birth (years)	Adult literacy rate (% ages 15 and above)	Combined gross enrolment ratio (%)	GDP per capita (PPP US$)
44. Chile (0.878)	31. Chile (78.5)	40. Chile (96.5)	48. Chile (82.5)	59. Chile (13,000)
75. Brazil (0.813)	**81. Brazil (72.2)**	**71. Brazil (90.0)**	**40. Brazil (87.2)**	**79. Brazil (9,567)**
129. South Africa (0. 683)	158. South Africa (51.5)	80. South Africa (88.0)	77. South Africa (76.8)	78. South Africa (9,757).
134. India (0.612)	128. India (63.4.0)	120. India (66.0)	134. India(61.0)	128. India (2,753)

(2009 stats, based on 2007 statistics, Human Development Reports, UNDP, www. hdr.undp/en/statistics)

While it is clear that the HDI can tell little concerning access to political power, the meaning of human rights, or the quality of the education available, it does certainly offer a platform from which to begin comparison between different nations. This platform can be complemented by two other quantitative measures; the PDI and the GDI.

The HPI measures severe deprivation in health by the proportion of people who are not expected to survive to age 40. Education is measured by the adult illiteracy rate. And a decent standard of living is measured by the unweighted average of people not using an improved water source and the proportion of children under age 5 who are underweight for their age. Table 2 shows the values for these variables for Brazil and compares them to other countries.

Table 2: Selected indicators of human poverty for Brazil				
Human Poverty Index (HPI-1)	Probability of not surviving to age 40 (%)	Adult illiteracy rate (% ages 15 and above)	People not using an improved water source (%)	Children underweight for age (% aged under 5)
85. South Africa (24.5)	143. South Africa (36.1)	80. South Africa (12.0)	56. South Africa (7)	68.South Africa (12)
88.India (28.0)	105 India (15.5)	120. India (43.0)	76. India (11)	137.India (46)
10. Chile (3.2)	23. Chile (3.1)	40. Chile (3.5)	47. Chile (3.5)	2. Chile (1)
43. Brazil (8.6)	**75. Brazil (8.2)**	**Brazil**	**Brazil**	**Brazil**

The HDI measures average achievements in a country, but it does not incorporate the degree of gender imbalance in these achievements. The gender-related development index (GDI),

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introduced in Human Development Report 1995, measures achievements in the same dimensions using the same indicators as the HDI but captures inequalities in achievement between women and men. It is simply the HDI adjusted downward for gender inequality. The greater the gender disparity in basic human development, the lower is a country's GDI relative to its HDI.

Table 3: The GDI compared to the HDI – a measure of gender disparity			
GDI as % of HDI	Life expectancy at birth(years) 2004	Adult literacy rate (% ages 15 and older) 2004	Combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio2004
	Female as % male	Female as % male	Female as % male
31. South Africa (99.6)	83. South Africa (106.8)	50. South Africa (98.1)	95. South Africa (101.2%)
139. India (97.1)	153. India (104.7)	123.India (70.9)	142. India (89.3)
72. Chile (99.2)	74. Chile (108.1)	24. Chile (99.9)	112. Chile (98.7)
25. Brazil (99.7%)	**20. Brazil (110.7%)**	**12. Brazil (100.5%)**	**51. Brazil (105.0%)**

According to the Human Development Reports, the gender empowerment measure (GEM) reveals whether women take an active part in economic and political life. It tracks the share of seats in parliament held by women; of female legislators, senior officials and managers; and of female professional and technical workers- and the gender disparity in earned income, reflecting economic independence. Differing from the GDI, the GEM exposes inequality in opportunities in selected areas, and at GEM quantification, Chile ranks 44 out of 182 countries, Brazil 75; South Africa 129; and India 134.

Such measurements play a critical role in profiling something of the shape and progress of national economies (the non-economist can, for example, find him/herself shocked by a 2009 figure of 36% of South Africa's population not being expected to live beyond 40 years of age, while in India (where, numerically speaking, there are many millions more poor people and where 46% of children/babies below 5 are underweight), this likelihood stands at 15.5%). There are however many critiques of what it is that can be illuminated through such measures, and the GEM has come in for harsh critiques from feminist economists, suggesting that while it can measure the 'superficial' display of women's presence at high levels of governance, this does not translate easily into a reading gender equality at less visible levels (such as the household, within local governance, or in terms of access to health care, freedom from gender-based violence, and sexual and reproductive choice).

Despite debates about the terms on which national comparisons concerning poverty and gender inequality can be made, it is undoubtedly valuable to ensure that policy is informed by more than nationally-focused information. Poverty is a worldwide reality, and there is general agreement, that gender inequality deepens poverty for poor women (and their children), that the dynamics of gender (where men are socially and politically empowered to ignore reproductive labour, control the sexual and reproductive choice of the women they are associated with, and make all economic decisions for the family) maintain states of poverty, and that improving gender dynamics and creating gender equality is a pre-requisite for poverty reduction. Consideration of other countries' approaches to the integration of national policy on poverty reduction with the need to strengthen gender equality is one important platform from which recommendations on South African strategies can be developed. While neoliberal macroeconomic policies dominate many countries, their implementation within countries is deeply embedded into national political histories, national challenges within socio-cultural spheres, and – where it comes to questions of gender – the very different ways

in which gender dynamics play out within national contexts. The only way to explain (for example) the difference between Brazil and South's Africa's HDI-I index is that HIV/AIDS has impacted on South Africa – something that may be shared by other Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries, but not by Brazil. The difference between Chile's adult literacy rates and India's has a great deal to do with shifting government policies on education in Chile. In other words, in order to compare different national policy approaches to poverty-reduction and to gender equality, each national context must be profiled in terms of its local political history, the specific gendered realities faced, as well as the ways its governance has attempted to link poverty reduction and gender equality policies.

The section below profiles poverty reduction strategies in three different countries – Chile, Brazil, and India. The section addresses Chile at some length, and looks at Brazil and India in slightly less detail. The following section notes the lessons to be learned from this comparison for South African poverty reduction strategies.

4.4   Chile

This section focuses on an in-depth survey of Chile, an HHDI-rated country and one whose poverty-reduction strategies have been hailed as successful in the past decade. The survey covers Chile's historical and political background, its changing approach to poverty reduction strategies, and its focus on families as a route to gender equality, and some of the specific routes through which activist women have sought to bring pressure to bear on the need to integrate a commitment to gender equality into poverty reduction strategies.

4.4.1 Political and historical context

Chile's historical and political background directly influences issues relating to poverty reduction outcomes currently. The country became a formally recognised democratic state in 1990. Developments post democracy cannot be appreciated without reference to a time line outlining major events leading up to 1990[9].

Chile's history shows that there was a rising of Marxist groupings within the country from 1920 onwards. The influence of Socialism was demonstrated in the Frei and Allende administrations of 1964 and 1970 respectively, where socialist ideologies were adopted in public policies. Allende's popularity grew after he adopted measures following the economic depression of 1967, which proved successful in reducing unemployment and increasing industrial output, post economic depression. Some of these measures included nationalization of state resources, agrarian reform, reorganization of the national economy, a foreign policy of national solidarity and a new institutional order relating to *"The People's State"* (Smith et al, 1994, Garcia, 2006). However, these reforms increased tensions with the USA when the Nixon administration put international financial pressure on Chile. The Junta's military coup led by General Pinochet in 1973 initiated a regime of militarism, state-repression, and tight government control of all resources. Chile's constitution was approved under this military government in 1980. Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1989) was characterised by serious human rights violations and abuses, and a reversal of the policies and programs initiated by Allende. Pinochet's right wing military government initiated free market economic policies. Garcia (2006) describes the impact of Pinochet's regime on 3 levels: It had a negative impact on the long standing democratic tradition and socialist ideology as well as on the economy, resulting in an increase in poverty.

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[9] Time lines are seen as a method of analyzing policy context.

Since 1990, three democratic administrations have reversed, to some extent, the complete repression of civilian engagement in government characterized by the Pinochet regime. The governments have been led by President Aylwin, President Ricardo Lagos and currently the first woman president elected in 2006, President Michelle Bachelet.

The period under Aylwin (1990-1994) was regarded as the transition period. All three administrations comprise a coalition government known as the *Concertacion*, made up of centre left political parties[10]. Reforms took place simultaneously across political, economic and social spheres, related to the three pillars of Chile's development strategy – growth, equity and democratic governance (World Bank, 2006).

In the political sphere, constitutional reforms and new institutional arrangements were initiated, which continued with each successive democratic administration. Two important areas are noted. First, amendments to Chile's constitution of 1980 were made when President Lagos signed these into law in 2005. The political scenario within which the reforms took place was reported to be a complicated and difficult one, because the effects of the Pinochet regime were still felt up until 2005. These reforms included eliminating the positions of appointed senators and senators for life, mainly represented by the conservative right; reducing the presidential term from six to four years; and constitutionally barring the president from serving consecutive terms. The position of appointed senators was a method designed for the right opposition to be guaranteed positions in parliament with subsequent governments.

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[10] The Christian Democrats (PDC) represents the centre and the main left political parties include the Socialist Party (PS) and the Party for Democracy (PPD). The right represented by the Independent Democratic Union (UDI) and the National Renovation (RN) formed an alternative electoral alliance. The influence of political institutions and political parties is further analyzed in Blofield & Haas, 2005.

There were negative implications of this situation for policy changes, especially with the introduction of new policies addressing gender issues during 1990-2005, as discussed later. The second area to note was the institutional changes made to facilitate the reform process further, especially with regard to promoting women's equality. Chile, like most new democratic governments in the Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) region and other developing countries, set up a 'women's policy machinery' in response to pressures from international women's organizations and the United Nations. A women's state agency called *SERNAM* (*Chile's Servicio National de la Mujer)* was established by law in 1991 and mandated to work with the Executive to develop and propose plans for ensuring women's rights and opportunities (Franeschet, 2003). Several activities were implemented by SERNAM, some of which included inter-sectoral collaboration, training public servants in a gendered perspective on public policy, designing social policy, and increasing women's social and political participation. SRERNAM also participated in legal reforms aimed at reducing discrimination against women in civil, legal, labour and educational matters (De Mesa & Montecino, 1999).

4.4.2 Broad economic policy shifts in the 1990's

In the economic sphere, changes and reforms in Latin America during the 1990's included downsizing the size of the State and its functions, increasing privatization of public enterprises, and decentralization of services and resources (Arriagada, 2005). Chile followed these reforms at two levels: the macroeconomic level to promote growth; and the microeconomic level to promote efficiency and transparency. At the macro-economic level, Chile is reported to have stable economic growth since 1990, owing to policies of free trade, opening up to foreign investments and increasing competitiveness through privatization (World Bank, 2006). Much of the state owned companies are privately owned except the

copper corporate "CODELCO" and a few other enterprises. The World Economic Forum, through its Global Competitiveness Index (GCI), rates Chile 27 out of 122 countries in 2006-2007, first in Latin America (Hicks & Wodon, 2001).

On the microeconomic level, infrastructure, human capital, productive development and strengthening economic institutions are emphasized. The private sector was incorporated in the provision of public services (electricity, water and sewage services, health, transport, social pension schemes, telecommunications amongst others) as well as infrastructure, in order to improve transparency and efficiency. Chile's private pension system is reported to be an important source of investment capital with assets estimated to be roughly US$54 billion in 2004 (Garcia, 2006).

In the Social Development sphere, the Ministry of Planning and Co-operation (MIDEPLAN) is responsible for the majority of Chile's social programs. MIDEPLAN, within which agencies representing women, indigenous people, youth and the urban/rural poor reflects the government's institutional approach to addressing poverty and social exclusion in Chile. SERNAM is placed within MIDEPLAN to address the issues of women's issues specifically. However, neo-liberal economic reforms pursued by Chile, impacted differently on the types of social policies adopted and outcomes for social development (elaborated on in section 3 and 4). Reducing the size and functions of the state and promoting privatization resulted in the creation of a private health care system, privatizing and decentralizing the educational system, developing the private housing market and privatizing the pension system (De Mesa & Montecinos, 1999 and Smith et al, 1994).

4.4. 3 Poverty reduction policies and programmes

According to World Bank estimates on good governance, the three countries with lower incidence of poverty in the LAC - Uruguay, Chile and Costa Rica, are also the three with stronger institutions (World Bank, 2007). Chile is recognized as one of the countries that has demonstrated better results in terms of poverty reduction over the last 15-20 years. Aggregate social and economic indicators for Chile show clear improvements, demonstrated in a reduction in poverty levels. To illustrate, total poverty in Chile decreased from 38.6 % in 1990 to 18.8 % in 2003; and the incidence of extreme poverty decreased from 12.9% to 4.7% in the same period (Garcia, 2006 & Machinea et al, 2005).

However, the era of the Pinochet dictatorship had a direct effect on the type of Welfare State inherited by the democratic governments of the 1990's. The reforms introduced by the Junta military regime, referred to as 'social modernization' transferred to the market and the private sector the task of providing goods and social services previously offered by the state. Social spending was greatly reduced and the state at the time moved away from the social sector and instead privatised services and instituted competition laws (Smith et al, 1994). In particular, Agrarian reforms initiated during Allende's time, were reversed and the military government permitted the sale of rural property, including the small family farms created by the agrarian reform. The military government's housing policy also followed the principles of privatization with the introduction of competition within the housing market. Public institutions were required to finance housing for families without sufficient income and had to establish norms and procedures to decide on beneficiaries. Inequity between social groups and between regions thus persisted. As Pribble (2006) observes, after the dictatorship, what remained was a regime which used targeting as the main tool for addressing social risk.[11]

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[11] Unique or new social risks are differentiated from traditional risks such as sickness, old age, disability or loss of income due to unemployment. A similar distinction is made from the World Bank

With an emphasis on economic growth, the successive democratic governments of the 1990's continued to target social assistance at vulnerable groups: children; unemployed youth; women heads of household; and small entrepreneurs, through increased social expenditure[12], but the pre-Pinochet universal principles of service provision have not been re-captured (Gideon, 2008).

Policy developments in education, health, social security and labour sectors are briefly highlighted as those contributing to the reduction of poverty in Chile from the service sectors. The most important social reform took place in the education sector with policies geared towards improving equitable access and quality at all levels of education. The Chilean education system is divided into preschool, primary school, high school, technical and higher education being the university level. Until 2003, primary school was free and mandatory within the public system. Total expenditure in education as a percentage of GDP almost doubled from 1990-2002, increasing from 4 to 7.6% (World Bank, 2006–summary report). After constitutional reforms in 2003, President Ricardo Lagos made high school education also mandatory and free within the public educational system, thus facilitating access to education, especially among the poor who cannot afford private education. Thus, the state has the responsibility of the education of all Chileans under the age of 18 years. Chile's public education system is supervised by the Ministry of Education but is managed by the municipalities within each district. The success of the educational system in meeting its targets is reflected in the adult literacy rates, especially in the near parity among males and

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perspective that outline "idiosyncratic shocks" as risks resulting from natural occurrences – and "covariant shocks" also referred to as macroeconomic shocks which affect the real incomes of a large share of the population. The types of social protection measures undertaken within countries also depend on this distinction. The former is associated with social safety nets linked to long term universal prevention policies, which should be in place all the time, while new or covariant shocks are associated with targeted programmes, designed to help large numbers of people from 'temporary adverse covariant shocks'.

[12] Between 1990-2005, social investment more than doubled in real terms. Garcia, 2005 states that this was reflected in its increased participation in GNP from 12.9% to 16.4%.

females (table 1). The coverage of basic and high school education runs high at 99.7% for primary school children between 5-13 years and 87.7% for teenagers between 13-17 years[13].

Health sector reform was initiated post democracy with the aim of rebuilding the public sector and improving efficiency and quality of health care. The National Health Service was replaced by a new system, the '*Servicio Nacional de Servicios de Salud – SNSS),* comprising of 27 regions with both public health service providers through the municipalities – as well as private providers. Increased competition, influenced by the emphasis on privatization, brought in the system of billing and vouchers for benefits. Chile's current health system is described as a "mixed insurance system" with the public-FONASA and private-ISAPRES (*Instituciones de Salud Previsional)*, creating two parallel sectors for financing and provision of health care (Gideon, 2008). ISAPRES comprise of institutions resembling US style 'Health Maintenance Organizations' and are private, profit making entities offering medical services based on ability to pay. Within FONASA, a uniform, compulsory health insurance contribution of 7% of earnings was introduced with benefits and entitlements depending on the level of earnings. The lowest income groups receive free care from the public health system. FONASA covers 63% of the population, ISAPRES 23% and the remaining population are covered by other private plans (PAHO, 2008). In 2002, improving access to health care for the lowest income group was facilitated at a programmatic level through the 'Plan for Universal Care with Explicit Guarantees' *(AUGE)*, aimed at free access to health care for indigents and the lowest income groups. A particular policy area to note for Chile is the 'Therapeutic Abortion Bill' of 1991, which did not enjoy majority support. Chile remains

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[13]   "Education   in   Chile,   downloaded   on   28/01/2007   from   : http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Education_in_Chile

one of the few countries in the world that does not allow abortion even when the mother's life is at risk.

Two areas of policy developments are highlighted within the broader social welfare sector. The first is the introduction of an Unemployment Insurance Scheme in 2000 and the second is the series of measures introduced to improve the existing private pension system (AFP). In 2000, an Unemployment Insurance Scheme was initiated. Benefits are based on private financing and workers with unstable or informal employment, are not covered. Measures to improve the pension system were associated with improving efficiency and quality of services, rather than risk sharing and policies of redistribution. De Mesa & Montecino, 1999 distinguish features of the old social security system (pre 1973) from the new (current). The former was organised on the basis of "collective insurance", designed to protect workers and their dependants from social risks reflecting the socialist influence at the time, while the latter is aimed at the insured "to receive benefits according to individual contributions and level of risk" which is a mandatory privately managed pension system. More specifically, the policy of "family allowances" is targeted at impoverished families. Allowances are available to the heads of households who are employed persons and pensioners with one or more children or other eligible dependants. Men qualify if they have dependant wives, and women qualify if their husbands are disabled.

On a broader level, Chile's labour system is described as a 2-tiered employment system (De Mesa & Montecino, 1999). The first tier is the contract workers who have access to all benefits of the labour market. The second tier is described as that which comprise the "*boleta*" workers, who are formal sector employees but with reduced status and who enjoy no labour market benefits. The '*boleta*' worker system is reported to have become more

prevalent especially among the low income workers. A large proportion of low income women are employed through the *"boleta"* system, whereas the high income workers are more likely to have a contract[14]. Specific labour policies impacting on poverty reduction and increased citizen participation include "salary improvements, increased job protection, stronger labour organizations and protection for union leaders" (De Mesa & Montecinos, 1999).

The Day Care Bill of 1994 was a policy of subsidized child care, where the recipients were working mothers with a contract. It requires that commercial businesses that employ more than 20 women must provide day care facilities for their formal employees on site, or to pay the cost for the children to attend day care. A policy of maternity leave was also introduced where paid maternity leave for women working in the formal sector with work contracts, are entitled to 100% salary during the leave period (six weeks before and twelve weeks after birth). In addition, an emphasis on pre-school education and policies that previously prohibited women from employment in certain occupations, were eliminated. These were specific incentives to encourage women's participation in the labour market. Table 2 demonstrates the steady increase of female labour force participation especially from 1990-2000. The Chilean government estimates that 19.5% of households "escaped poverty because of female entry into the labour force" (Pribble, 2006)

In order to meet the needs of those adults who were unable to complete their secondary schooling, especially among the poor, the government launched a program called "*Chile Califica"* to provide opportunities for adults to complete their basic education and acquire technical skills for the labour market. Within schools, traditional school feeding programmes,

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[14] An analysis of the labour market and its effect on the social security system and especially on women is provided in detail in De Mesa and Montecinos, 1999 study that shows that the privately managed pension system in Chile has increased gender inequalities.

as a targeted measure of promoting food access, have become increasingly widespread in the LAC region (Machinea et al, 2005). Chile has a school feeding programme with coverage of 66% of all children enrolled in public primary and secondary schools, aimed at "equalizing opportunities for children from different social strata and helping to stop the intergenerational transmission of poverty".

SERNAM, as part of the institutional arrangements for including the representation of women within the policy making framework, also prioritised programmes aimed specifically at particular segments of women. Its main programmes are aimed at Low income Women Heads of Households *(Mujeres Jefas de Hogar de Escasos Recursos); Women* Seasonal Workers *(Mujere Trabajadoras Temporeras);* Domestic Violence *(Prevencion Violencia Interfamiliar); and* Teenage Pregnancy Prevention *(Prevencion Embarazo Adolescenter).* A specific policy to protect student mothers and pregnant students was passed in 1994 to prevent the expulsion of pregnant young girls from school.

4.4.4 Gender equality and Chile's poverty reduction strategies

Analyses of poverty approaches help us understand country specific contexts. As Arriagada (2005) observes, policies associated with establishing economic and social rights must be distinguished from those aimed at compensation through social protection measures. Through the creation of the unemployment insurance fund and the private pension fund as social protection measures, as well as programmes targeted specifically at uplifting women, Chile has demonstrated an ideological shift towards market- led growth as the strategy to reduce poverty. Although data contributing to the GEM and GDI which acknowledge the broadened scope of poverty is available for Chile, policies to fulfil the goal of gender equality have become constrained by this ideological shift.

Of the political science approaches or theories that explain how policy is made and implemented, Chile's approach is a combination of the 'macro-socio-economic approach' and 'rational choice theory' (John, 1998). The former focuses on importance of socio-economic factors, both in terms of practical constraints on actions and as ideologies, while the latter investigates the preferences and choices of the actors themselves in the situations they face. In this analysis three factors are specifically referred to: contextual factors influencing reforms in social policies; the influence of various actors on the policy process and policy content; and women's mobilization and participation in policy making.

All policies are affected by contextual or exogenous factors, including situational, structural, cultural and environmental issus. Collins, Green & Hunter (1999) make specific reference to processes of social and economic change, politics and political regime, economic and financial policy, and ideologies defining the context within which policies are made. With reference to the national and international contexts described earlier, macroeconomic reforms have directly impacted on the social context in Chilean. After an interruption in socialist ideology initiated from the 1920's where principles of solidarity was the basis of public policies, reforms since 1973 have replaced state subsidized care with more individualized approaches in dealing with risks and social protection. Throughout this report, reference has been made to contextual factors which demonstrated the changing landscape for the formulation of policies specifically dealing with poverty reduction. Depending on the perspectives of various stakeholders, reforms are seen as positive - economists and World Bank, or negative – feminists and gender sensitive approaches. However, what is of concern is the potential threat which contextual factors directly pose. The very strength of Chile's economic reforms and internal stability is not immune to the unpredictable international

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market, on which Chile is so dependent. Due to its macro-economic policy of export growth, and despite the strong institutional framework within the country, Chile's vulnerability to external conditions is demonstrated by "the slowdown in growth over the recent past associated with Russia/Asia/ Brazil crises (World Bank, 2006). A fall in the economic growth from 2000-2003, following the Asian crisis shows how vulnerable Chile is to external factors. Thus, on a macro level, contextual factors which were initially seen to contribute to Chile's growth through macroeconomic policies can become a potential threat to sustaining Chile's economic success, which could impact negatively on long term poverty reduction.

Despite the impressive economic growth demonstrated in Chile over the last 16 years, the Gini coefficient shows a high discrepancy in income distribution between the wealthiest and the poorest as well as between males and females. Table 1 shows that in 2000, males earned more than double in income than females ($5,133 for women compared to $13,786 for men). Despite the increase in labour force participation among women (table 2), these did not translate into a basic living wage amongst the poor and among women in particular.

Precarious employment andworking conditions of the poor have been identified as the primary sources of poverty and inequality in Chile where the functional distribution of income did not change (Garcia, 2006). Unemployment, underemployment, informal employment and low investment in human capital are the areas of concern. Targeted programmes themselves, distinguish men from women with regard to what welfare entitlements are available, the basis of entitlement and the unit of benefits[15]. The policy of family allowances outlined earlier discriminates between working men and women, where working women only qualify for the allowance if the husband is disabled, but working men

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[15] These are categories outlined by Sainsbury and used as an analytical approach in the study undertaken by Pribble, 2006.

qualify with a dependent wife and/or children, thus discriminating against working women. The head of the household receives the allowance with the unit of benefit being the family, rather than the individual which doesn't take into account intra-household issues of income distribution.

The inequities experienced in the labour system also lead to gender inequalities within the programmes that were actually aimed at increasing female labour participation. The child care programme outlined earlier, is restrictive for women on 2 levels: labour market position and household income (Pribble, 2006). The system excludes women whose household income exceeds the minimal target; women working in the informal sector; women looking for work; and women employed without a contract. In addition, the policy of maternity leave is denied to female workers employed informally or without a contract. From her gendered analysis of labour market informalization, Gideon (2007) recommends that policy makers develop policies that address the realities of workers. This requires going beyond the conceptual divide between informal and formal workers.

Blofield & Haas (2005: 38) report on bills proposed in the Chilean government, which spanned policy areas of education, children's rights, family policy and women's health from two perspectives: Gender (social) and class (economic). The class-based bills were analyzed on the basis of their redistributive functions, while the gender dimension was analysed on the basis of a role-based or rights-based approach. The role-based approached considers the well being of women within their traditional, stereotyped gender roles while the rights-based approach is aligned to individual rights for women as equal citizens of the country and transcends women's traditional roles. The study found that those bills that did not fundamentally challenge existing gender roles and which did not require redistributive

function on behalf of the state, were successfully passed through the Senate. The policy addressing protection of student mothers and pregnant students, linked to the problem of teenage pregnancy, and the policy addressing day care, are examples of these bills that were passed because it did not require redistributive measures while it continued to reinforce the traditional 'role' of women.

Through a stakeholder analysis between the different actors: political parties, the church and SERNAM-representing women, it was found that the policy content had to be rephrased ('reframed') to emphasise traditional gender roles in order for the left to gain any support and make convincing arguments in parliament on gender issues. 'Rights-based framing' of the content of the policy had failed to win support in the case of the 1991 abortion bill, which directly opposes church teachings. However, the 1995 divorce bill, despite being in conflict with the church, was passed because it was reframed according to gender roles. In conceptualizing policy reform on women's rights generally and with evidence based policy analysis in Chile, the influence of actors on the policy content, and ultimately on the formulation of policy is highlighted through the words of Bloefield & Haas (2005: 39):

> Support or opposition to reform on women's rights is only partly linked to the economic left-right dimension. It also relates to deeply held beliefs about women's roles in the family and their participation in society. Conservative discourse tends to characterise the traditional family and the different social roles of men and women in it as the natural, complementary outgrowth of the biological differences between men and women. Conservative social and political actors therefore oppose proposals that aim to rebalance this traditional structure.

4.5 Brazil's gender equality and poverty reduction strategies

Like Chile, Brazil (a country founded through Portuguese colonialism on the economics of slavery which was not formally ended until 1888) suffered domination by a military government in the mid-late c20 (1964-1985). Brazil's political history is similar in many respects to that of South Africa, in terms of its struggle in the late 70's and early 80's to oust a repressive government, through commitment to some of the ideals of worker-led socialism. Brazil returned to civilian rule in 1985 after two decades of military rule and suffered a series

of economic booms and challenges, which plunges the country into economic crisis, particularly after the collapse of the Asian markets in now a federal republic with three levels of government the federal, state and municipal. The president is both the Chief of State and the head of the government. In 1994, President Fernando Cardosa took a major risk through the *Plano Real* in allowing the *real* to float (instead of attempting to keep it market-pegged) and although this led to temporary massive inflation, a large loan from the IMF allowed Cardosa to attempt to rebuild the economy along neo-liberal lines. While this did lead to much more economic stability, Cardosa's government was consistently challenged by charges of corruption, and anxiety about whether or not the economic growth could be sustained. President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva came to power in 2002, however, with the strong support of an alliance of socialist, worker-led, political movements, which included support from the women's movement.

Lula da Silva's government's objectives are stated in the 2004-2007 Pluriannual Plan (PPA) and targeted macroeconomic success to support economic growth. He identified three programmatic areas to focus on: 1) social inclusion and reduction of social inequalities, 2) environmentally sustainable economic growth (focus on employment and income generation) and 3) strengthening of democracy and human rights. However, the government has faced profound challenges, given the historical poverty of much of the population, the economic gap between the wealthy and the poor, the shape of the regional differences (poverty varies markedly across regions, with the Northeast and the North reporting higher poverty rates than the Southeast or the South, according to all three indices used), and ethnic diversities within the country. According to Williams, in 2007, 34.9 Brazilians (22% of the population) lived below the poverty line, and 74% lived in households where the head of the household had fewer than four years' education. At the same time, Brazil is home to some of Latin American's most successful export production businesses (60% of the exports are manufactured or semi-manufactured goods), a class (10%) which own 40% of the country's

wealth and wields economic and political power, and a strong – if complex – civil society (especially in urban areas), though which vigorous battles for rights are fought.

The specific macro-economic policies of the Lula administration are continuations of the neo-liberalism initiated by Cardosa (targeting inflation, managing the fluctuation of the real, opening trade, and supporting large fiscal surpluses). According to Mollo and Saad-Filho (2006; 110):

> economic underperformance over long periods, high inflation rates, excessively rapid import liberalization, and the structural transformation of the Brazilian industry through mergers and acquisitions and the 'flexibilization' of the workforce have led to a significant deteriorization of the labour market. The capacity to create new jobs has been declining and national levels of unemployment and underemployment have risen,,,

The Lula administration does however employ a strong rhetoric of concern with issues of social inequality, and there are state-supported welfare programmes targeting hunger, access to healthcare and to education. In addition, highly publicized initiatives targeting poverty reduction among the most socially excluded and within poor families have been launched. A multi-municipal consortium has been established with state-backed incentives to co-ordinate programmes aimed at improving malnutrition, health, and at challenging cycles of poverty within generation among the poor, especially in rural areas. According to Andrews (2006), this approach has been difficult to implement evenly, and one of the results has been an increasingly concentration of anti-poverty strategies which involve direct monetary transfers to poor families. She argues that there are states, such as Santa Catarina, which have managed to cut poverty by 46% in ten years, which suggest that with concentrated and well-managed combinations of welfare programmes and family-targeted financial support, poverty can in fact change. (Andrews, 2006: 1). These state-initiatives are widely publicized by the Lula government nationally and internationally as responsive to the need to change the quality of life for the Brazilian poor – the most recent of these is named "Territories of Citizenship",

seeking to create jobs, which joins 'Lights for Everyone' (a multi-municipal programme directed at improving electricification, 'Zero Hunger', and the 'Bolsa Family', the programme which supports 11 million families through direct grants (Duffy, 2009). Such programmes catalyse opposition to the state, on the basis of 'vote-buying' (Duffy, 2009) but are also palpably responsibly for the temporary improvement of the quality of life in some of Brazil's poorest communities.

This section considers questions of gender equality within Brazil. According to Marta Farah (2006), the 'constitution of women as subjects' within debates about democratization began in the 1970's, and continued through the 80's through the leadership of a vibrant women's movement with a strong working-class base. This was dominated by socialist and Marxist analysis of the relationship between class and gender as interlocking systems creating conditions of economic, cultural, and social injustice for women. From early on, it was recognized that while race does not play an overt role in the Brazilian government's discussions of inequality, racialisation remains a complex, insidious, and sustained way of perpetuating differences among Brazilian women (maternal mortality rates for 'black' Brazilian women remain, for example, three times higher than those of 'white' women) (Andrews, 2006: 15). The first public policies with a "gender perspective" were implemented in the 1980s, in Sao Paulo (the State Council for the Women's Condition, in 1983; the Police Precinct for the Defence of Women, in 1985; and the National Women's Rights Council, in the Ministry of Justice in 1985) and key articles of the Brazilian Women's Charter were included in the new constitution.

The 1990's saw increasing stress within the Brazilian economy, and optimistic goals around 'empowerment of women' began to give way to discourses on the 'femininization of poverty' (Farah, 2006:7), and the effort to 'integrate women' into co-ordinated welfare-specific initiatives among the poor (focused, as noted above, on health, education, electrification, and job creation) rather than sustained analysis of the way gender dynamics affected men *and* women came to dominate discussion about policy, gender, and poverty reduction. One of the arenas in which debates on the *meaning* of integration of gender equality measures into poverty reduction strategies have been most vociferous has been around initiatives like the Bolsa Family, where the idea that 'women-headed households' are by definition poorer than 'men-headed households' has been popular. As Sorj and Fontes (2008: 5) argue, there is in fact evidence to suggest that children growing up in a household without a father present as the 'head' do better educationally and nutritionally than those where fathers are present as 'heads'. They argue gender dynamics in general, which include women's vulnerability to violence and their diminished socio-cultural status in many communities (due to religious and other beliefs), create forms of gender injustice which increase women's poverty.

Overall, then, on one hand, public participation in Brazilian national politics has increased dramatically over the past decade, allowing women to access high level of political office and some sustained visibility for public demands around gender equality as part and parcel of all state policy. On the other, the actual initiatives designed to challenge poverty and gender inequality place 'the family' at the forefront of their poverty reduction strategies. While in practice, this does offer some relief to women struggling to negotiate the implications of being poor, it does not fundamentally change the terms on which they are 'citizens'. Their roles as mothers and caregivers trump and complicate their right to equal opportunity for

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employment, safety, mobility, education, and – ultimately – 'voice' at all levels of political participation. In a neoliberal economy under global policy pressure to diversify and open trade, to casualize and increase part-time and non-unionized opportunities for labour, and to rely on highly experienced, mobile, and well resourced networks of 'trans-national' companies to drive growth, poverty reduction strategies which "add women' rather than analyzing the political dynamics of gender are unlikely to change either the shape of poverty or the meaning of 'being men and women' for Brazilian citizens.

4.6 India's gender equality and poverty reduction strategies

With an estimated population of 1.12 billion[i], India is the world's 2nd most populous country and the world's largest democracy. The national gender ratio is 944 females per 1,000 males. The country's median age is 24.9, and the population growth rate of 1.38% per annum; there are 22.01 births per 1,000 people per year[ii] (Wikipedia, undated). It is home to the majority of poor people in South Asia. While the country is the world's 5th largest economy at market exchange rates and the 3rd largest economy in purchasing power, it is also the 4th poorest nation in the world. The country has the world's 2nd largest labour force[iii], with 509.3 million people, 60% of whom are employed in agriculture and related industries, 28% in services and related industries and 12% in industry[iv].

Economic reforms have transformed the country into the 2nd fastest growing large economy[v]. However India still suffers from high levels of poverty,[vi] illiteracy, malnutrition and environmental degradation. The country's literacy rate is 64.8% (53.7% for females and 75.3% for males). For example, according to the 2001 literacy rates figures, 45.84 % of women and 24.15% of men were illiterate. The state of Kerala has the highest literacy rate (91%)[vii]; with Bihar having the lowest (47%)[viii].

It is estimated that women are the majority of the 350-400 million people in India living under absolute poverty, 275 dollars per capita per annum. The World Banks' study on Gender and Poverty in India (2001) highlights the problems faced by poor women. The study shows that women continue to be denied access to productive assets in the form of financial credits, markets or land ownership and human capital such as education and skill-training. It is estimated that about 94% of women workers are in the unorganised or informal sector (agricultural sector) and just 6% are in the organised or formal sector. It can therefore be said that the unorganised sector in India is the women's sector. Women work for extremely low wages, with a lack of job security and social security benefits, women are not protected by any government labour organisations or labour legislation (Nandal, 2005).

Financial independence is a requirement for gender equality. One indicator of female poverty is control of assets. Women who own property are usually widows who after the death of their husband received a share from their husband's property. However, this property is in their possession only for a limited time, until it is transferred to the male members of the family. Women are forced to transfer their share of the property to their sons through cultural traditions and social hierarchy. Women who uphold a traditional approach towards their positions in households and communities are appreciated and respected by the family and society, virtues regarded as beneficial for marital harmony (Nandal, 2005).

India's economy is largely agricultural and although women make significant contributions to economic production, they are unequal to men. For example, land is a vital asset and evidence reveals that there are gender discrepancies in access to this and other assets necessary for poverty reduction. Women's limited access to assets impedes their efforts to reduce poverty and it also reduces the effectiveness of poverty reduction more generally. In

addition, although the principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian constitution, with respect to the ownership of land, women are absent from land registers. As in Chile and Brazil, traditional India views women as members of families or groups; as daughters, wives and mothers, and not as individuals, with an identity or rights of their own (Nandal, 2005).

Arguments about the underlying structure of Indian poverty are multiple. It is generally agreed, however, that the Indian economy was intentionally and brutally de-industrialised (especially in the areas of textiles and metal-working) through colonial privatisations, regulations, duties on manufactured or refined Indian goods, taxes and direct seizures (World Bank, 2004-2007). Policies from the 1970's have attempted, at first through protectionism, and later through cautious opening up of trade barriers, to intervene in the complex legacies of colonial privatization and ongoing perpetration of caste and religious ideologies which, especially in rural areas based on agricultural economies, create innumerable barriers to gender equality, transfer of skills and growth of education, and security.

Over the past 50 years, India has made efforts to alleviate poverty through measures to increase economic growth, including liberalisation of the economy, targeted programmes, land and tenancy reforms, participatory and empowerment based approaches and the provision of basic services (Nawal, 2006). The anti-poverty programmes are mainly run by the central government and are categorised under rural employment creation and infrastructure development programmes, and self-employment and food subsidy programmes. There are two rural works programmes: the Employment Assurance scheme and the Jawahar Gram Samridhi Yojana which focuses on infrastructure development undertaken by village local governments. The Swaran Jayanti Swarozgar Yojana is a self-employment programme that provides subsidised loans to self help groups. The largest food subsidy programme is the

Public Distribution System, which targets the poor. Some of the anti poverty programmes include *Food for Work* and *National Rural Employment Programme* (use the unemployed to generate productive assets and build rural infrastructure), *Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme* (address the dilemma of hard-core poor by increasing employment opportunities and building rural infrastructure as a means of encouraging rapid growth). There were many problems with implementation of these schemes but nevertheless, they helped reduce poverty. In 1989, the *National Rural Employment Programme* and *Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme* was combined and renamed Jawahar Rozgar Yojana or Jawahar Employment Plan. In August 2005, the Indian Parliament passed the *Rural Employment Guarantee Bill*, with an annual allocation of $2.5 billion (the largest programmes in terms of cost and coverage), which offers 100 days of minimum wage to every rural household in 200 of India's 600 districts (Wikipedia*, undated).

The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission has allocated $7 billion over a seven-year period to provide basic services to the urban poor in 63 major cities. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (Education for All Campaign), launched in the year 2000, is a national programme to make elementary education accessible to all. The National Rural Health Mission is focused on basic health-care delivery systems through a synergistic approach focusing on sanitation, water, nutrition, and health care.

In rural areas, the government has undertaken programmes to alleviate the effects of unfavourable monsoon rainfall that affects farmers, village artisans and traders when the price of grain increases. These include supplying water by financing well digging and by power-assisted well drilling (since early 1980's); withdrawing land taxes for drought areas, attempting to maintain stable food prices and providing food through a food-for-work

program. Employment is offered at a low daily wage, usually paid in grain (the rationale for this is that only the truly needy will take jobs at such low pay) (Poverty in India, undated).

In the 1980's and early 1990's, antipoverty strategies included providing basic needs at stable, low prices; increasing income through pricing regulations, such as supplying water from irrigation works, fertilizer and other inputs; fostering location of industry in backward areas; to increase access to basic social services, such as education, health and potable water supply; and helping needy groups and deprived areas.

In addition, a series of *Five Year Plans* have comprised the most clearly identifiable state strategy around poverty reduction. It is only in the past two *Five Year Plans* that the question of gender equality has been raised. However, the implementation of the plans has been very uneven, locally focussed, and resulted in demonstrable progress in some districts while leaving others untouched by reform (Nawal, 2008). Subsequent to India's independence, political leaders adopted the principle of formal economic planning as an effective way to intervene in the economy to promote growth and social justice and a Planning Commission was established in 1950. The first *Five Year Plan (FY 1951-55)* attempted to encourage balanced economic development while correcting imbalances caused by World War II and partition. Agriculture (including projects that combined irrigation and power generation) received priority. The second *Five Year Plan (FY 1956-60)* stressed industrialisation, predominantly basic, heavy industries in the public sector and improvement of the economic infrastructure. The plan also highlighted social goals such as more equal allocation of income and the extension of benefits of economic development to the large number of deprived people. The third *Five Year Plan (FY 1961-65)* targeted a significant increase in national and per capita income while expanding the industrial base and correcting the neglect of

agriculture in the previous plan. The third plan called for national income to grow at a rate of more than 5% per year and self-sufficiency in food grains was expected in the mid-1960's (Data 1995).

The planning process was interrupted in the mid - 1960's. A short war was fought with China on the Himalayan frontier, agricultural output was declining, industrial production was below expectations and the economy was growing at about half the planned rate. Defence expenditure increased sharply. It was clear that the plan goals could not be accomplished: food prices increased in 1963 resulting in rioting and looting of grain warehouses in 1964. The war with Pakistan resulted in a reduction of foreign aid. The droughts of 1965 and 1966 further disturbed the economy and planning. Between 1966 and 1968, the focus was on increasing agricultural growth, stimulating exports and efficient use of industrial assets. The rupee was devalued in 1966 and export incentives adjusted to encourage exports (Data 1995).

The fourth *Five Year Plan (FY 1969-73)* called for a 24% increase over the third plan in terms of public development expenditure. The public sector accounted for 60% of plan expenditures and foreign aid contributed 13% of plan financing. Agriculture received 23% of public expenditure and the rest was spent mostly on electric power, industry and transportation. The plan projected a national income growth of 5.7% per year but the realized rate was 3.3% (Data 1995).

The fifth *Five Year Plan (FY 1974-78)* was terminated by a new government. The plan was in effect for only one year although it provided guidelines to investments throughout the five-year period. The sixth *Five Year Plan (FY 1980 – 84)* was based on the principle of annual rolling plans. It called for development expenditures of nearly Rs1.9 trillion (FY 1979

prices), of which 90% would be financed from domestic sources, 57% to come from the public sector. Public sector development spending was concentrated in energy (29%), agriculture and irrigation (24%), industry including mining (16%), transportation (16%) and social services (14%). The plan called for GDP growth to increase by 5.1% a year, a target that was exceeded by 0.3%. The objective of the plan was to increase employment, especially in rural areas, in order to reduce poverty. The poor were given cows, bullock carts and handlooms. Consequent studies show that the income of only about 10% of the poor improved above the poverty level (Data 1995).

The seventh *Five Year Plan (FY 1985-89)* visualised a greater emphasis on the allocation of resources to energy and social spending at the expense of industry and agriculture. The main increase was in transportation and communications, which took up 17% of public sector expenditure during this period. Total spending was targeted at nearly Rs 3.9 trillion of which 94% was financed from domestic resources, including 48% from the public sector. It was assumed that public savings would increase and help finance government spending. In reality, government relied on foreign borrowing for a greater share of resources than expected (Data 1995).

The eighth *Five Year Plan (FY 1992-1996)* was affected by changes in government and a growing uncertainty over what role planning could usefully perform in a more liberal economy. Two annual plans were in effect in FY 1990 and FY 1991. The plan emphasised market-based policy reform instead of quantitative targets. Total spending was planned at Rs 8.7 trillion of which 94% was financed from domestic resources, 45% came from the public sector. The goals of the plan were to:

- cut back on the public sector by selling off failing and inessential industries while encouraging private investment in sectors such as power, steel and transport;

- prioritise agriculture and rural development and

- renew attack on illiteracy and improve other aspects of social infrastructure such as the provision of fresh drinking water.

GDP growth was expected to increase from around 5% a year during the seventh plan to 5.6% a year during the eight. However, in 1994 economists expected annual growth to be around 4% during the period of the eighth plan (Data 1995).

India's tenth *Five-Year Plan* (2003-2007) included targets of human development that can be monitored, consistent with, but more ambitious than the MDGs. The Eleventh *Five-Year Plan* (2008-2012) proposes state-specific targets. The Government has launched several large programmes with regard to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The areas that require redoubled efforts include literacy, nutrition, maternal mortality and child mortality. The responsibility of implementing most of the social sector programmes relating to the Goals lies with the provincial governments.

As noted above, it is only in discussion around the last two Five Year Plans, that the question of gender equality has been raised. India's Constitution ensures gender equality in its preamble as a basic right and also empowers the state to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women through legislation and policies. India has also sanctioned various international conventions and human rights interventions committed to secure the equal rights of women such as the Convention on elimination of all forms of discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), in 1993 (Edappagath, 2001).

A large gap remains, however, between the goals expressed in the constitution, legislation, policies, plans, programmes and the reality of the status of women. India introduced the National Policy for Empowerment of Women in 2001 with the following goals and objectives. The goal was to bring about the advancement, development and empowerment of women. The objectives of this policy included:

- Creating an environment through positive economic and social policies for full development of women to enable them to realize their full potential;

- The *de-jure* and *de-facto* enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedom by women on equal basis with men in all spheres political, economic, social, cultural and civil;

- Equal access to participation and decision making of women in social, political and economic life of the nation;

- Equal access to women to health care, quality education at all levels, career and vocational guidance, employment, equal remuneration, occupational health and safety, social security and public office etc.;

- Strengthening legal systems aimed at elimination of all forms of discrimination against women;

- Changing societal attitudes and community practices by active participation and involvement of both men and women;

- Mainstreaming a gender perspective in the development process;

- Elimination of discrimination and all forms of violence against women and the girl child; and

- Building and strengthening partnerships with civil society particularly women's organizations (Edappagath, 2001).

The year 2001 was observed as Women Empowerment year. The Indian government has, like Chile and Brazil, stated a commitment to improving the status of women in India and apart from the constitutional guarantee; several schemes and programmes have been planned and executed. The objective of the women's empowerment year, for example, was to create large scale awareness with the active participation of women themselves. The programmes for women's empowerment year included:

- Establishing Technological Parks for women;

- National Assessment for women friendly technology on hard work reduction, tools and implements and income generation for women;

- Exhibition on women in science; and

- Women in Information Technology (Edappagath, 2001).

The impact of such a focus on 'women' is debatable. Within a climate of economic stress, driven by neoliberal global support for trade reform, privatization, and the reduction of social spending, caste, class, and location (urban as opposed to rural) have more impact on the meaning of 'gender equality' than local initiatives to promote 'girls' education'. Where people gendered as women do have access to resources as a result of caste, class, or location, their access to equality is strengthened and supported by the State. Poor women remain largely untouched by State rhetoric around gender equality, although there have been many civil society and feminist NGO's who have been more successful in supporting change in oppressive gender norms within poor contexts.

Overall, despite the number of formal gender sensitive policies in place, there is very slow progress in terms of shifting ideologies about gender responsibilities, roles, and identities

within India. In addition, religious and cultural values and practices reinforce notions that women are symbolically and literally 'inferior' beings, and although the five year planning plans language around 'the girl child" at the forefront of programmes on education and healthcare, there is no consistent adherence to an analysis of gendered security, access to employment, food security, and mobility which is essential to understanding how strategies on poverty reduction can take gender equality concerns seriously (Agarwal, 2007).

4.7 Chile, Brazil, India: Some emerging lessons

There are clearly critical political, cultural, and historical differences between Chile, Brazil and India. Their encounters with the legacies of different colonialisms, militarisms and dictatorship, conflict, engagement with models of social analysis, the impact of different religions, and the realities of interactions between land, peoples, and the meaning of 'nationhood' within a rapidly changing global order make comparison a tentative business.

There are four areas, however, in which it is possible to learn some lessons by drawing from the profiles of Chilean, Brazilian and Indian efforts to integrate commitments to gender equality into poverty reduction policies and programmes. First, in Chile and Brazil, constitutional commitments to gender equality are connected to strong women's movements which contributed to struggles against militarism and dictatorship. The same is true for South Africa, but as in Chile and Brazil, legacies of oppressive regimes coupled with pressures to 'internationalize' economies in neoliberal terms have led to entrenched and uneven poverty. While there is general analytic agreement that gender inequalities do make conditions of poverty 'worse for women', there is debate about the concrete link between achieving gender equality and ensuring economic growth along neoliberal lines. Whether GDP-based growth is possible without dependence on women for unpaid care work is debatable. No modelling of

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an economy has been done in which unpaid care work is quantified, and equally shared between men and women, as part of scenario building around opportunities for job creation, privatization, and trade liberalization. What is visible in Chile and Brazil are increased opportunities for women with resources (which thus creates an impression of 'gender equality'), and – simultaneously – the femininization of poverty. For South Africa, taking the realities of unpaid carework (as critical to current growth) on board in order to develop a scenario in which **both** economic growth and gender equality are possible. While ideologies of gender place women as unpaid careworkers, there will be tension between policies which seek to attract people into the labour market through job creation and encouragement for entrepreurnialism and those which reward women for prioritizing the welfare of their families. Such a tension may be inevitable, but is worth noting as one which jeopardizes both poverty reduction (unless opportunities for entrance into the labour market include both men and women, production cannot grow) **and** gender equality (unless the necessary work of care is shared, both within and beyond the family, gender inequalities will remain and deepen).

Second, in Chile and Brazil, the 'family' has been the focus of social spending and of many welfare initiatives among the poor. The 'female-headed household' has emerged as one in particular need of support, despite challenges to the image of 'the broken, or father-less' home' from feminists. There are two issues to learn from here. It is clear from both Chile and Brazil that taking state responsibility for improving the quality of life for those who are poor is essential, because this operates at the level of most basic needs: healthcare, electricity, food security, and access to basic education. These programmes still require subsidization in the form of social grants. At the moment, South African's largest form of social support for the poor involves direct grants, and it has been acknowledged that without this level of support, millions would fall into destitution (Habib, 2007). So, while neoliberal policy discourages

welfare approaches to the alleviation of poverty, and encourages cut-backs in social spending, no credible engagement in poverty alleviation can afford not to invest heavily in the lives and environments of the poor. At the same time (the second lesson), gender dynamics 'on the ground' can either ensure that such investments actually deliver better health, education, and nourishment for the poor or guarantee that competition between boys/men and girls/women is fostered by ideologies of inequality, violence towards women, and that the burden of unpaid care work turns women into 'welfare dependents'.

Third, in India, and in Brazil, it has been acknowledged that co-ordination of policy planning and implementation at the micro-level is essential in order to actually impact upon poverty. Although the Five Year Plans, for example, do set out projects (in which gender responsive budgeting may be taken seriously), the plans tend to devolve into projects and programmes taken up very unevenly at local levels. This makes any national evaluation of their impact difficult. In Brazil, the multi-municipal consortiums –while problematic at some administrative levels – have had more demonstrable impact on hunger eradication, access to electricity and clean water, and access to resources at the family-level. It has been argued that the consortiums have created a very valuable 'institutional spaces' from which to support and manage welfare initiatives, and in some cases, progress across cities or even small states is clear. The lesson for South Africa is strong. Ours is a country of great geographical, cultural, and political diversity, and the success of any poverty reduction strategies will lie in the evenness and substantiality of their implementation at micro-community level. This is also the level from which the most valuable feedback, from women and men can be gathered.

The fourth lesson involves the impact of trade liberalization, and the fact that in Chile, Brazil, India, and South Africa, women are being moved rapidly into the labour market as paid

workers in largely semi-skilled jobs. Such jobs are often contract labour, part-time, and 'casual' in terms of seasonal flows of work. They can be paid less than men in full-time employment, although the number of full-time employment positions is dropping, and in Brazil and South Africa, poor young and older men are suffering badly from un-, and under-employment. This means that while there are more women moving into the labour market, there may be fewer men, especially in unskilled and semi-skilled areas, and that being in the labour market does not mean that women's economic burdens have lessened.

The above lessons offer important entry points for considering recommendations, arising out of a comparative assessment of gender and poverty reduction is countries with a similar or slightly higher HDI. These recommendations will be made in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5 - OVERVIEW OF GOVERNMENT PROGRAMMATIC WORK ON GENDER AND POVERTY REDUCTION: CASE STUDIES OF SELECTED DEPARTMENTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores what South African service departments, notably a few key government ministries are doing to improve the quality of women's lives. Five departments were identified to establish how they conceptualise poverty, address its impact and whether current programmes and appropriate strategies are used to target gender and poverty reduction. Poverty reduction in South Africa has increasingly become a priority with the realization that there is a need for a comprehensive anti-Poverty Strategy.

Previously, the South African government did not target poverty directly, but rather as a programme for which resources were allocated within the National Treasury. One of the major criticisms of government is that there has been no comprehensive and coherent strategy to reduce poverty. While there is a mixture of sectoral policies as well as targeted programmes to reduce poverty, a gendered analysis of these policies and programmes can help us to understand why policies and programmes may not have the desired impact or outcome. Chapter 3 outlined how the current Policy Framework has interpreted the gendered implications of poverty and preliminary conclusions suggest that National poverty reduction strategies are linked only weakly to strategies for economic growth and stability. This weakness includes a failure to consider gender as relevant to macroeconomic strategy. In order to fully assess whether at the micropolitical level this conclusion holds, some of the following questions underpinned engagement with government departments:

- What is the social impact of the National Government's programmatic work in the broad area of poverty reduction?

- How are marginalized and vulnerable groupings (particularly women and children) targeted within programmatic work (and policy)?

- How do programmes directly target such groupings?

- How is poverty conceptualized within such programmatic work and policy?

Sections that follow discuss key issues, informed by a desktop review of programmes as well as by the views of key stakeholder informants, stationed in appropriate departments in this component of the study.

5.2   *Overview of sectoral and targeted policies and programmes*

The democratic South Africa has very good legislation and is arguably committed to creating a society that is inclusive and equitable. There is also awareness that a lot of inequity exists, and government has urged various departments to develop projects aimed at poverty reduction and/or poverty eradication. This section examines selected departments and their poverty reduction programmes to establish what indicators of poverty are identified, whether such indicators do address developmental needs of citizens, and whether and how women and children are targeted by these programmes.

A desktop analysis reveals several sectoral programmes aimed at poverty reduction in selected South African government departments.

5.2.1 The Department of Social Development (DSD)

The DSD seems to be concerned with the welfare of all those marginalized or disadvantaged by poverty. As such, it provides social assistance grants which are a major source of poverty reduction for many in South Africa (Triegaardt, 2006). It is reported that just over 12 million people were recipients of social assistance grants by April 2007, and these were the categories, foster-care, care-dependency, war-veterans, old-age, disability, child-support, and grant-in-aid). The largest grouping (7 910 748) is that in receipt of the child-support grant (www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com, accessed 9/29/2009).

5.2.1.1 The old age pension

This is the oldest social grant. It is a monthly grant paid out to senior citizens who have limited financial means of survival (www.services.gov.za, accessed 9/30/2009). In many households, this is the only income. Khumalo (2003) citing Duflo (2003) asserts that pensions paid out to women have positively impacted children's health.

5.2.1.2 The Child Support Grant

The CSG was introduced in 1998 as a poverty alleviation strategy "to address the financial need aspect of the burden felt by women with young children" (Budlender, 2005:33). This is reportedly the state's largest social assistance program targeting caregivers of young children aged 15 years & younger who live in extreme poverty through cash transfers (UNICEF, 2008), with a positive impact on improving the lives of women and children, as demonstrated through the improved nutritional status of children who receive this form of state aid. Budlender (2005) reports that by March 2004 there were over four million children in receipt of CSG, and of these, less than 1.5% had a male primary caregiver which highlights two things: that the responsibility of childcare falls mostly on women and that women are more

affected by poverty than men. While the take-up rates were slow in the initial phase of its roll-out, a spurt in growth in the numbers of grant beneficiaries is reported to be because of relaxing the eligibility criteria (now 15 years) and increase in the actual amount. Although the eligibility criteria include all caregivers, both mothers or fathers and other extended members of the family, women remain the largest recipients of cash transfers.

5.2.1.3 Individual services social development

Individual services are a type of poverty reduction project intervention involving home-based care, i.e. for the elderly, for people and households affected by HIV/AIDS, and for vulnerable or needy children. The importance of home-based care in South Africa is underscored by the literature on HIV/AIDS, which acknowledges the strain caused by the epidemic on the country's healthcare infrastructure, as well as the complexity of reaching those affected and infected by HIV/AIDS because of the stigma associated with it (PSC, 2007).

5.2.1.4 The disability grant

This grant is usually given to people who are over 18years old and, because of physical or mental disabilities, are unable to work. People with AIDS also qualify for disability grants if they are medically declared unfit to work. This grant is usually given for short periods and is renewable, depending on the status of the applicant, but can be given for longer periods where the disability is clearly of a permanent nature (www.aidsbuzz.org/social-grants/the-disability-grant.html, accessed 9/30/2009).

5.2.1.5 Social relief of distress

This is a grant in the form of food parcels, given to beneficiaries of the other grants when these grants are suspended or have not yet been renewed to tide them over for periods not

exceeding six months (www.pprotect.org/report%20No%2027%20of%202008-2009/New.pdf, accessed 9/30/2009).

All these grants are invaluable in the department's fight against poverty and they continue to improve the quality of recipients' lives, particularly women but they are not empowering. To address this shortcoming, the National Development Agency (NDA), a statutory body, has been established to contribute towards eradicating poverty and its causes. Its core business is the eradication of poverty and it undertakes to accomplish this by facilitating development through targeted grant funding, research and strategic partnerships (NDA, 2009). The pillars of its strategic plan for 2009 to 2012 are the promotion of sustainable development, promotion of organizational sustainability, promotion of interface between civil society organizations, research institutions, development practitioners and government on development matters and to facilitate research that informs funding decisions, procedures and policies in development (NDA, 2009: 17-21).

In 2002, the DSD, in consultation with the Department of Education introduced the Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) programme which, among other things, supports community workers who help to distribute food parcels (http://www.info.gov.za/view/DownloadFileAction?id=79360, accessed 7/01/2010).

Although DSD is concerned and responsible for the welfare of all citizens, women and children do benefit significantly from some of this department's programmatic work. It is reported that there are more female recipients of the child support grant than male, and research has also shown that children tend to benefit from old age pension paid out to

women. The introduction of Social Relief of Stress (food parcels) and OVC programmes do provide vital nutrition to needy children.

5.2.2 The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI)

The DTI is conscious of the marginalization of women, youth and people with disabilities in terms of access to finance. As such, it has initiated several programs aimed at improving the lives of women. Among these is the South African Women Entrepreneurs' Network (SAWEN). This is a networking forum for women entrepreneurs and aspirant entrepreneurs established in response to women's frustrations in initiating, developing and sustaining their business ventures. SAWEN brings together individuals and organizations committed to supporting the progress of women in business whilst promoting their access to information, resources and business opportunities. Its focus is on facilitating and monitoring women entrepreneurs' socio-economic advancement, their contribution to the country's economy as well as tackling the challenges they face (www.thedti.gov.za/sawen/sawenmain.htm, accessed 12/01/2009).

Another initiative, the Isivande Women's Fund (IWF) launched in February 2008, was prompted by the existence of gender bias within financial institutions. It seeks to eradicate poverty by increasing women's access to formal finance, especially those with no personal savings. The Fund provides low interest loans to women who are in business and those who lead households) www.dti.gov.za/isivande/main.htm, accessed 12/01/2009). Through this Fund, the DTI seeks to increase the economic empowerment and participation of women by making available to them finance that is accessible, functional, and inexpensive.

5.2.3 The Department of Education (DoE)

The DoE does not view poverty as something that begins and ends at school. Its systemic

approach is mainly to ensure greater access to educational facilities and programmes whilst

providing the best quality education, as evident in the following programmes:

5.2.3.1 School nutrition

About 5,6 million learners in over 17000 schools were supported through the National School

Nutrition Programme by March 2009. The cost of this programme is r1,50 per child per day.

To enhance sustainability, the programme has been given additional 4billion in the 2009/10

financial year (http://info.gov.za/aboutsa/education.htm, accessed 7/01/2010).

5.2.3.2 No fee schools

Currently 60% of learners nationally attend No Fee Schools which constitute 64% of schools.

These schools do not charge fees but receive larger allocations per learner than other schools

and also get gigher allocations for non-personnel and non-capital expenditure

(http://info.gov.za/aboutsa/education.htm, accessed 7/01/2010).

5.2.3.3 Safe schools project

This is a national initiative to prtomote schools'safety, particularly in high-risk, crime areas.

This initiative involves increasing security measures and pupil and community involvement

(http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=vn20080910122109772C566

164, accessed 7/01/2010).

5.2.3.4 Inclusive education

Inclusive Education is concerned with the creation of learning environments that promote the full development (personal, academic and professional) of all learners in the country, irrespective of their source/s of difference. It seeks to address all learners' educational needs in learning environments that are non-threatening and supportive. http://curriculum.wcape.school.za/site/40/page/view/, accessed 7/01/2010).

5.2.3.5 Introduction of Reception Year

Attendance of this class is not compulsory but parents are encouraged to enlist their children in these classes. The DoE is hoping to have 800 000 pupils enrolled in Grade R classes by 2010 (http://info.gov.za/aboutsa/education.htm, accessed 7/01/2010).

5.2.3.6 National Students' Fund

This Fund has been set up to increase students' access to higher education. It is designed to impact on South Africa`s historically skewed student, diplomate and graduate populations by providing a sustainable financial aid system to enable those students who are academically deserving and financially needy to meet their own and South Africa`s development needs. (https://www.nsfas.org.za/web/view/general/general_home/generalhome, accessed 7/01/2010).

In terms of targeting women and girls, the DoE's main business is children and youth hence the bulk of their programmes directly benefit children and indirectly their caregivers. The waiver of school fees and provision of meals means that children from indigent families are no longer deprived access to education and are encouraged to attend because one of their basic needs is met at school. Inclusive education and safe schools mean that the school

environment (inside and outside the classroom) is not only accessible but safe, supportive, welcoming and promotes participation in the learning process. The introduction of Reception Year and the provision of funding ensure that no child is disadvantaged by lack of opportunities to learn. All these programmes are intended to improve children's quality of life by ensuring that barriers are removed and opportunities to succeed are extended to all.

5.2.4 The Department of Health (DoH)

The DoH has developed and is implementing several programmes aimed at addressing the needs of poor South Africans. Programmes targeting women and children have also been introduced.

5.2.4.1 Free healthcare for women and children under the age of 6 years

Pregnant women and nursing mothers and their children enjoy free access to health services in South Africa. However, there are concerns that maternal and infant mortality rates continue to rise, which makes the country's chances of reaching the Millennium Development Goals on maternal and child health increasingly remote.

A recent study has confirmed that HIV/AIDS is the biggest cause of maternal deaths, and that it accounts for 35 percent of young children's deaths (0 to 5years). The study also cites the poor quality of health care, low immunization rates and misguided infant feeding practices as other causes of poor health among pregnant women and children in South Africa (http://www.plusnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=89128, accessed 7/01/2010).

5.2.4.2 Free ARVs at accredited public health facilities

South Africa is the worst affected by HIV/AIDS and therefore has the largest ARV programme in the world (estimates place it at over 500 000 participants) although access to treatment is still low. At the end of 2007, it was estimated that only 28% of infected people were receiving treatment for HIV (http://www.avert.org/aidssouthafrica.ht, 7/01/2010).

The provision of free ARVs is not limited to women only although the provision of free healthcare to pregnant women, nursing mothers and children younger than 5years targets women and children. Research has shown that biologically and that in traditional cultures, women are more at risk of getting infected than men, and that children of infected parents are affected the worst when they become orphaned. Research has also shown that poverty has a woman's face, that women tend to be the main caregivers within families, and that the number of female headed households has increased tremendously, leaving women as sole providers for their children. Therefore, the provision of free ARVs and free healthcare does benefit women and children directly, thereby reducing their vulnerability.

5.2.5 The Department of Labour (DoL)

Several programmes fall under Public Works, like the Community Based Public Works Programme, Working for Water Programme and Land Care, have been amalgamated under the umbrella Expanded Public Works Programme.

5.2.5.1 The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)

The EPWP is a short term measure initiated in 2004 to address chronic unemployment and poverty over a five year period. It covers all spheres of government and state-owned enterprises, and seeks to use public sector budgets to lessen unemployment. Some of the

programmes included under EPWP are Land Redistribution, Income Generating Projects, and Individual Services & Social Development. EPWP targets mainly those who have no skills and the unemployed with the intention to give them education and skills, enable them to earn an income, draw them into productive work, and ultimately enable them to become employed or become entrepreneurs. The overarching goal of the EPWP is to assuage unemployment for a minimum of one million people, 40% of which will be women, 30% youth and 2% disabled, between 2004 and 2009 (PSC, 2007).

5.2.5.2 Income generating Projects (IGPs)

IGPs are spread out among different government departments and are meant to support people move towards economic independence (PSC, 2007). In these projects the government provides a start-up capital for a person or group to set up a small enterprise or business that will produce and/or sell a product or service with the intention to generate a stream of income. Income generating projects are usually group-based and often initiated by government or other agencies. It is estimated that there are close to 2000 income generating poverty reduction projects (involving approximately 100 000 individual beneficiaries) that presently receive government support. There are numerous such projects supported by different government departments through diverse programmes in many sectors (PSC, 2007).

None of the programmes run by this department are exclusively for women but women do benefit because there is a national quota on women, youth and the disabled as the country pushes for equity.

5.2.6 Challenges of programme implementation

Although evidence points to improvements in women's quality of life since 1994, some government programmes aimed at promoting their empowerment and reducing the impact of poverty have failed to deliver due to lack of adequate resources. For example, the cluster system which was aimed at national coordination and planning between sectors and programmes, is reported not to have succeeded. Institutionally, several challenges are demonstrated in how programmes do not get implemented in the way they were planned due to various factors, e.g. Social development is responsible for children up to 5 years whilst Education is responsible for children of school-going age. Health is responsible for all children's health needs. Then there are the different provincial programmes, to cater for the geographical differences. Thus there are contextual factors that need to be taken into account including spatial and political.

Another challenge reported within the institutional context is the failure of the Gender machinery within the overall state machinery and policy framework. One of the factors contributing towards it was in inability for the gender desks to influence the various sectors despite it being positioned within the premier's desk.

Finally, the country's approach to eradicating extreme poverty and hunger is comprehensive, seeking to address both the monetary aspects of poverty whilst also attending to basic needs. The analysis of the programmatic work carried out in the selected government departments shows that there is an attempt to improve the quality of life of the vulnerable and marginalized citizens, particularly women and children. However, there is still a need to intensify the drive, particularly in deep rural areas which tend to remain untouched by all the developments taking place in our country. Whilst this exercise has shed some light on what is being done to eradicate or reduce poverty, it has also made it clear that some of the

programmatic work is not sustainable in the long term as it has potential to create dependency. Therefore, the only way to improve women's quality of life is through social transformation that is underpinned by basic economic change.

5.3 Preliminary Overview: Conceptual underpinnings of poverty reduction in South Africa

It appears that the understanding of poverty in South Africa is still undergoing a process of evolution from a material asset based approach towards understanding focused on agency and capabilities. The understanding of poverty intervention is gradually moving away from the provision of social services to a more developmental approach. Grants are targeted with the perspective of Government changing from a system which excludes as many people as possible towards a model that provides a service towards people. Social grants, in the form of child support grants remain the most popular strategy to combat poverty over the years, with a positive impact on improving the lives of women and children, as demonstrated through the improved nutritional status of children who receive this form of state aid. While the take-up rates were slow in the initial phase of its roll-out, a spurt in growth in the numbers of grant beneficiaries is reported to be because of relaxing the eligibility criteria (now 15 years) and increase in the actual amount. Although the eligibility criteria include all caregivers, both mothers or fathers and other extended members of the family, women remain the largest recipients of cash transfers.

A major obstacle influencing the take-up rate is the lack of access to a bar-coded Identity Document for being a South African citizen. This begins to impact negatively on the efficiency between sectors in impacting on poverty reduction.

5.4 The conceptualisation and engendering of poverty reduction strategies

The section focuses, first, on challenges that have faced the various departments in their efforts at implementing poverty reduction interventions generally, and especially those that integrate gender equality. The section then reports on key Informant interviews on how these departments conceptualize and respond to the challenges of poverty and how their responses target gender.

5.4.1 Institutional Challenges in rolling out poverty reduction programmes

First, at a general level, the cluster system, which was aimed at national coordination and planning between sectors and programmes, is reported not to have succeeded. Institutionally, several challenges are demonstrated in respect of how programmes do not get implemented in the way they were planned due to various factors. For example, social development is responsible for children up to 5 years, while Basic Education is responsible for children of school-going age; and Health is responsible for all children's health needs. Then there are the different provincial programmes, to cater for the geographical differences. Thus there are contextual factors (spatial and political) that impact on the implementation of programmes. As one key informant explained:

> *[…] now it's all these layers, it's the different departments. Just to explain the complexity, its nine provinces multiplied by 4 departments in each province. It is institutionally very difficult and very complex. And I think in government we don't often appreciate the complexity of some of these things. We just get frustrated when things don't work [.…] what we're beginning to understand is that context matters. (Key informant interview)*

Second, within the institutional context, there is the failure of the Gender machinery within the overall state machinery and policy framework. One of the contributing factors is in inability of the gender desks to influence the various sectors despite it being positioned within the premier's desk.

Third, while there may be a positive bias towards women in targeted anti-poverty programmes, and that South Africa has very good legislation as well as programmes in place, the roll-out of these programmes to impact on women directly, is negatively influenced by lack of adequate resources. For example, the situation of ARV rollout within the public sector is another challenge demonstrated within the health sector where the right to health care is compromised by the availability of adequate resources. In addition, when the provision of grants is seen as a successful anti-poverty strategy, it requires other sectors to provide adequately with regard to other basic services. Supporting research is reported to show that the recipients of grants are using the money to pay for private health care and school fees, rather than improving the nutritional status of the children who are in need of nutritional intervention at an early age for adequate cognitive development.

Fourth, the EPWP is reported to be an important poverty reduction initiative by government because:

> *[…] it kind of survives in various models and iteration [and] starts out almost as the community based public works programme… (and) survives over time (Key Informant)*

The development of the EPWP programme probably reflects an evolved understanding of poverty. In the mid 1990's the programme emphasized infrastructure development, and then it included another sub-division under the environmental sector. The 'Expanded' public works programme introduced in 2004 included the economic sector with an emphasis on increasing labour participation by women and more recently the social sector, including community-based care and Early Childhood Development. These are areas recognised as 'women's work' which need to be addressed if women are the face of poverty. However the EPWP programme is reported to also have some serious limitations because, *"You know EPWP doesn't provide jobs, it provides work opportunities" (Key Informant).*

Since it also involves various government departments (the Department of Social Development is in charge of ECD and Community Programmes, while the DTI is required to roll-out a women's entrepreneurial programme, etc.) there is a need to develop synergy between the different government departments. It is currently regarded as a small scale intervention to address a growing problem of unemployment, especially amongst women who are running a household.

In the following sections a close description of a few departments are offered. The next section presents findings based on Key Informant interviews on how these departments conceptualize and respond to the challenges of poverty and how their responses target gender.

5.4.2 The Engendering of poverty reduction strategies in selected government departments

This section reports on interviews with key informants in the government departments reviewed above. Again, a series of broad questions were used to guide these interviews:

- What is the social impact of the National Government's programmatic work in the broad area of poverty reduction?

- How are marginalized and vulnerable groupings (particularly women and children) targeted within programmatic work (and policy)?

- How do programmes directly target such groupings?

- How is poverty conceptualized within such programmatic work and policy?

5.4.2.1 Department of Social Development (DSD)

As stated earlier in the report, poverty is inter-generational and runs deep in social structures, particularly the economic, political and social systems. To eradicate poverty, it will be necessary to address its core by confronting and dealing with its structural dimensions. It was in this vein that in 2000, the Department of Social Development, after consultation with stakeholders, identified ten priorities that needed addressing:

- violence against women and children;

- older persons and other vulnerable groups;

- an integrated poverty eradication strategy; a comprehensive social security system;

- accessibility of social welfare services; HIV/AIDS;

- youth development;

- service to people with disabilities;

- commitment to co-operative governance; and

- to train, educate, re-deploy and employ a new category of workers in social development (Department of Social Development, 2009).

Some of these priorities are in line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and have been translated into programmes. Programmes within the DSD that target gender and poverty reduction are discussed below.

a) Social assistance grant programmes

The DSD is concerned with the welfare of those marginalized or disadvantaged by poverty. As such, it provides social assistance grants which are a major source of poverty reduction for many in South Africa (Triegaardt, 2006). It is reported that just over 12 million people were recipients of social assistance grants by April 2007, and these were the categories, foster-care, care-dependency, war-veterans, old-age, disability, child-support, and grant-in-aid. The

largest grouping (7 910 748) are in receipt of the child-support grant
(www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com, accessed 9/29/2009).

The old age pension: This is the oldest social grant. It is a monthly grant paid out to senior citizens who have limited financial means of survival (www.services.gov.za, accessed 9/30/2009). In many households, this is the only source of income.

The Child Support Grant (CSG): The CSG was introduced in 1998 as a poverty alleviation strategy "to address the financial need aspect of the burden felt by women with young children" (Budlender, 2005:33). This is reportedly the state's largest social assistance programme targeting caregivers of young children aged 15 years and younger who live in extreme poverty through cash transfers (UNICEF, 2008). Budlender (2005) reports that by March 2004 there were over four million children in receipt of the CSG, and of these, less than 1.5% had a male primary caregiver which highlights two things: that (1) the responsibility of childcare falls mostly on women; (2) that women are more affected by poverty than men.

The disability grant: This grant is usually given to people who are over 18 years old and, because of physical or mental disabilities are unable to work. People with AIDS also qualify for disability grants if they are medically declared unfit to work. This grant is usually given for short periods and is renewable, depending on the status of the applicant, but can be given for longer periods where the disability is clearly of a permanent nature (www.aidsbuzz.org/social-grants/the-disability-grant.html, accessed 9/30/2009).

Social relief of distress: This is a grant in the form of food parcels, given to beneficiaries of the other grants when their grants are suspended or have not yet been renewed to tide them over for periods not exceeding six months (www.pprotect.org/report%20No%2027%20of%202008-2009/New.pdf, accessed 9/30/2009).

b) Partnering with the National Development Agency (NDA)

All these grants are invaluable in the department's fight against poverty and they continue to improve the quality of recipients' lives, particularly women but they are not fully empowering. To address this shortcoming, the NDA, a statutory body, has been established to contribute towards eradicating poverty and its causes. Its core business is the eradication of poverty and it undertakes to accomplish this by facilitating development through targeted grant funding, research and strategic partnerships (NDA, 2009). The pillars of its strategic plan for 2009 to 2012 are the promotion of sustainable development, promotion of organisational sustainability, promotion of interface between civil society organisations, research institutions, development practitioners and government on development matters and to facilitate research that informs funding decisions, procedures and policies in development (NDA, 2009: 17-21).

5.4.2.2   Department of Trade and Industry

The DTI is also conscious of the marginalization of women, youth and people with disabilities in terms of access to finance. As such, the DTI has initiated several programmes aimed at improving the lives of women. Among these is the South African Women

Entrepreneurs' Network (SAWEN). This is a networking forum for women entrepreneurs and aspirant entrepreneurs established in response to women's frustrations in initiating, developing and sustaining their business ventures. SAWEN brings together individuals and organisations committed to supporting the progress of women in business whilst promoting their access to information, resources and business opportunities. Its focus is on facilitating and monitoring women entrepreneurs' socio-economic advancement, their contribution to the country's economy as well as tackling the challenges they face (www.thedti.gov.za/sawen/sawenmain.htm, accessed 1/21/2009).

> *SAWEN is responsible for mobilizing women entrepreneurs, those who are aspiring to be business women just to bring them under one roof, for them to network and share business ideas […] we use SAWEN to implement some of our interventions[…] we just say SAWEN here is the proposal, can you assist us in implementing this..(*Mr M, Key Informant, DTI)

Another initiative, the Isivande Women's Fund (IWF) launched in February 2008, was prompted by the existence of gender bias within financial institutions. It seeks to eradicate poverty by increasing women's access to formal finance, especially those with no personal savings. The Fund provides low interest loans to women who are in business and those who lead households (www.dti.gov.za/isivande/main.htm, accessed 1/21/2009). Through this Fund, the DTI seeks to increase the economic empowerment and participation of women by making available to them finance that is accessible, functional, and inexpensive.

Although there may seem to be differences in how the DTI and the IWF conceptualise and measure poverty, there seems to be consensus on the realization that there are more women living in poverty than men.

The DTI conceptualizes poverty as an absence of opportunities:

*The primary objective is to make sure that these women are economically empowered […]. to make sure that the lives of women improve […] to make them economically emancipated (so) they do not rely too much on government grants or their husbands' salaries (*Mr M, Key Informant, DTI).

Regarding the lack of access to services and/or resources:

*[…] the recently established Isivande Women's Fund target women entrepreneurs, the SMMEs and small and micro enterprises. This is a loan at a very, very low interest rate, prime less 5, which you'll never get from any commercial bank (*Mr M, DTI).

The DTI promotes the establishment of cooperatives among communities, ensuring that communities, particularly women understand what these are and how they can benefit from them:

*We make sure that the members of the community, those who are not aware of what cooperatives are, know what their benefits are and we encourage them to form these. Through cooperatives they can alleviate poverty (*Ms K, Key Informant, DTI).

Through the establishment of Isivande Women's Fund, the DTI seeks to eradicate poverty by improving the lives of women in business and those leading households:

*The recently established IWF is a loan at very, very low interest, prime less 5 […] The DTI has developed a strategic framework on gender and women's empowerment, the main objective is to ensure that women are economically empowered (*Mr M, Key Informant, DTI).

Through this fund, the department makes finance more accessible to women, thereby accelerating their economic empowerment. There is built in support and empowerment to ensure that applicants do not fall through the cracks:

*When you submit the first time and they (IMF) find that you have left out something, they cannot throw it (application) away and say this one does not meet the requirements. They call you or write a letter and tell you to take note of 1, 2, 3 and resubmit. When you resubmit (and you have addressed the queries) they approve (*Ms K, Key Informant, DTI).

The following perspective is provided on identifying and harnessing existing skills and developing this further:

[…] most of the women do have entrepreneurial skills but do it socially. I mean people are doing farming…. But now we want to make that a bit commercial. As much as the

*farming scale is so small, they can generate income from that and that can contribute to poverty reduction (*Mr M, Key Informant, DTI*).*

The DSD, on the other hand, prioritizes community involvement:

*Before we were asking for food parcels, but this time around our approach is one of ensuring that when we define a project scope, it is done with the community. There is adequate participation, there is adequate determination in terms of what sort of inputs are required to see a particular community rising above its mediocrity, poverty (*Mr C, Key Informant, DSD).

The DTI has also forged partnerships in its bid to promote and support women's participation

in business:

We do depend more on the office of the Deputy Minister in as far as women's empowerment issues are concerned. The Department of Agriculture assists us in terms of training these women, making sure that they know the dynamics of how to conduct business in the agri-business. So we sometimes depend on other sister departments to implement some of our interventions (Mr M, Key Informant, DTI)

In addition, there are established partnerships with sister departments as well as with internal

agencies, as confirmed by some DTI and DSD employees:

We do provide capacity...for cooperatives through SEDA (Ms K, Key Informant, DTI)

We are working with...department of agriculture, its women in rural development. Those women are involved in agricultural cooperatives (Ms K, Key Informant, DTI)

Those who cannot read and write we refer to SEDA where they sit down with them and they can explain to the consultant in their vernacular that this is what I'm aiming to do....then they (consultants) put it in the required format and submit (Mr M, Key Informant, DTI)

The global food banking network is comprised of some partners locally: Agriculture, Water Affairs and ourselves. We are trying to develop food banks across the country. Food banking outlets ensure that we can then facilitate the transportation of food from retail outlets to poor communities (Mr C, DSD)

Challenges are also evident with regard to location. The idea is that location might be an

impediment. That DTI (CIPRO particularly) is based in Pretoria with no provincial offices

seems to be a huge barrier, especially for people in rural areas:

> *My recommendation is that the registration of cooperatives be decentralized, that people be in a position to register cooperatives in their provinces and not come to Pretoria. …Sometimes people from rural areas come here and the form is not filled in properly, maybe some of the directors did not sign and they have to go back to get those signatures. At least if it was done in provinces.* (Ms K, Key Informant, DTI)

> *We are quite aware that there is a high rate of illiteracy amongst women, and when most of them come here, they know nothing about developing business plans* (Mr, M, Key Informant, DTI)

Within the DSD, challenges around implementation are also present:

> *What needs to be improved is implementation. If there are programmes that have been suggested for implementation in the policies, those are the things that we need to concentrate on* (Ms S, Key Informant, DSD)

More so, bureaucracy seems to be a challenge in both departments:

> *Unfortunately I think within the department there isn't any legal framework […] that guides the department. Maybe that is one shortcoming that we have .you establish a particular unit but there is no founding document* (Ms S, Key Informant, DSD)

> *People out there […] .they depend on us to make sure their things are being processed and you'll find that this is beyond our control. It has to go through this process – must get 8 signatures for the application to be approved, so there is nothing to do with this red tape* (Mr M, Key Informant, DTI)

> *We need to concentrate on the popularization of the policies so that people know that we have these policies in place and how they can use them, Because most of the time we have them writing, but it does not help much* (Ms S, Key Informant, DSD)

Business partnerships are also critical for the DSD to increase both capacity and to maximise

financial returns to eradicate poverty:

> *The biggest challenge for us is business. Business must become involved and join us in this fight against poverty, that is where lies the gap* (Mr C, Key Informant, DSD)

If we can get ourselves into a legal, binding agreement, then I think we can address poverty in an integrated fashion. Currently, it is dislocated, there is a sense that it is of no value at all. ..at this stage it is piecemeal (Mr C, Key Informant, DSD)

Whether these interventions are adequately addressing the needs of poor South Africans generally and those of women and girls in particular can only be established through targeted evaluative studies.

The section below focuses on the strategies adopted by the Department of Education.

5.4.2.3 Department of Basic Education[16]

The DoBE does not view poverty as something that begins and ends when you enter the school or when you access school. Their systemic approach is mainly to ensure greater access and that learners receive quality education, while also addressing social and poverty related problems that impact on learner's success and access to education. In one of the examples cited, poverty impacts negatively on leaners' attendance in school. To illustrate, in some schools the enrolment rates may be high but the absenteeism of learners may be particularly acute because of learners accessing a variety of social grants at pay points. These include children who are orphans and have particular responsibilities in relation to their families that often prevent them from accessing education effectively.

Specifically, several poverty reduction strategies have been implemented. These are discussed below.

As noted in the Key Informant interview below, the programme of intervention in the DoBE is based on three pillars: 1) School feeding, 2) Food gardens and 3) Nutritional education. For

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[16] Since this study was initiated, the former DoE has been separated into two: Department of Higher Education and Training and the Department of Basic Education. The programmes reviewed in this study fall under the DoBE

the purpose of this programme, the department encourages women to take an active role in these pillars by giving   preference to them through cooperatives. The department also organises capacity building workshops, where they train food handlers (mostly women). The department also invites volunteer food handlers (usually unemployed mothers) and these are then employed by schools to prepare and cook food for the learners. During such capacity building workshops, mothers undergo training in food safety, health as well as in general hygiene. In a discussion about the programme, a key informant from the department responded in the following way:

> *Well it's a programme within programme in itself. Because we do have, you know we encourage women for example, to take active role; or rather we give preference to women, the cooperatives. There are some provinces that have done successfully in cooperatives there are provinces that have actually taken a position. The preferential procurement process is giving priority to women. So we do give preference to women as such. So for me, like I say, it's a programme within a programme. We also have capacity building workshops, where we train the food handlers. We call them volunteer food handlers. Those are the mothers, the unemployed mothers that are employed as schools that actually prepare and cook for learners. Now, they undergo training in food safety, health and hygiene, you know, just to be aware of certain things that are important, so that we give quality service to learners. So we give them, we provide them with training workshops on these issues and we encourage them to have improved service delivery.* (Mrs X, Key Informant, Department of Education)

When probed about whether all of the above applies to women only, she noted that the majority of such people are women and that neither she nor her colleagues came across any men.

One other strategy used to curb poverty by this department is that of scholar transport. In brief, all nine provinces have some form of school transport strategy; it however, differs from province to province. Almost all the provinces supply transport to ensure that children do get to schools. According to the informant, some schools are beginning to create hostels or utilize schools where they've had hostels in the past to provide easier access to education for children from rural areas.

Interviewees were also probed on issues of collaboration with other sectors within government departments. In her response, the official noted that they do work with a number of departments including the Departments of Agriculture, as well as Health, Water Affairs and others. She noted that all the sister departments play their role in assisting them to execute the aim of the existing programme. She responded as follows:

> *I indicated, the department of agriculture is one of them and the department of Health. Now the department of Health because they are ones that originally conceptualized or rather they started to manage the programme when it was conceptualized in 1994. They are ones that have provided us with guidance to many options. So the main option, we are still in collaboration with them. We consult with them on issues of food quantities, what nutrition information and products that must be made available at school level are. We also consult them if there are challenges or problems regarding food contamination. We are still in contact with them when we do training for food quality or rather food specifications – let me put it that way. Ja, we still consult them quite regularly. The department of Water Affairs, or rather let me rather say within the social sector cluster, we do have Agriculture, we do have Health, we do have Social development. Water Affairs mot as great extent. But we do meet at some point, where if the school doesn't have water in order to develop the school garden, then we will need to talk to them at some point; or municipality for that matter. So we do have quite a wide variety of sister departments that we collaborate with. National Treasury, too, because that is where the funds come from* (Mrs X, Key Informant, Department of Education)

It was also noted that the department has a partnership with the Social development Department which provides school uniforms for needy children.

When probed about the school level implementation of the School Nutrition policy, the interviewee noted that the programme initially targeted primary schools (Grades R-7), but that since April 2009, it was extended to secondary schools. She concluded by indicating that the National Treasury provided them with a budget allocation to enable phasing in the quintile 1-3 over the next three years. As she noted they have started with quintile 1 schools, and in 2010 they will implement in quintile 2 schools and in 2011 they will implement in the remaining quintile schools.

When asked about the legislative framework which guides this programme the interviewee

noted that the constitution is the framework that drives this programme:

> *Well the constitution itself says a lot. I mean we have section 28 of the constitution, which says basic education is embedded in a whole of things, isn't it. You have to provide the child with health; you have to provide the child with nutrition in order for the child to have basic education. You know, they go together. So the constitution is the pinnacle of what drives this programme. And number 2, we do have the division of revenue act. It talks about the conditional grants and it stipulates as to what you should do with conditional grant. You are aware that conditional grants are ring-fenced for a certain purpose. So this one is for poverty alleviation or whatever term you may use. So it somewhat regulates as to how provinces should spends that money. So they are not supposed to spend that money for any other purpose, except for giving children meals at schools. So it somewhat governs the manner in which we do our work. But the one other, I wouldn't say it's policy document, but it's a decision by cabinet, in 2002, when they decided that the programme should be transferred to the department of education also sort of governs us, because it was a cabinet decision.* (Mrs X, Key Informant, Department of Education)

In discussion the interviewee also noted that with the three Education departments (national

provincial and the district), the *latter* is responsible for the schools. And, in her view, the

strengths and weaknesses of the programme, she highlighted the following as strengths

(summarised as): *"ring-fenced, provinces know that they are not supposed to do anything but

provide meals"* and that the model cascades with policies filtering from the national down to

districts. With regard to weaknesses, she pointed out that there were:

> *reports of non-feeding in other provinces because there are provincial financial challenges, [such as] service providers are not paid on time and no adequate capacity for human resources.*

Based on the preceding case study of a few selected government departments, several lessons

can be deduced. First, there is evidence of some tools within departments aimed at alleviating

poverty, culminating in a variety of schemes and programmes across departments but there is

a lack of an over-arching gendered focus in these measures, resulting in programmes

prioritising mainly women. Second, there is a lack of an over-arching contextual framework

from which the Anti-Poverty Strategy is embedded, but mainly from a gendered perspective.

Third, the departments are far from equal and their approaches to poverty reduction are even

more unequal. Such degrees of differences occur between the National, Provincial and District Levels. Fourth, a shift in an understanding about poverty is evident within departments: there is a move from a material asset approach that focuses on agency and capabilities toward one addressing social services. Fifth, a significant strategy for poverty alleviation appears to be social grants (notably those provided by the Department of Social Development). However, evidence shows, given the multidimensionality of poverty, that such grants are also used for health care and school fees, leaving very little for recipients to ensure basic survival. Some strategies, such as the EPWP, while addressing poverty, provide opportunities and not jobs. Partnering with agencies such as the NDA, the DTI attempts to strengthen civil society, government and private partnerships. Sixth, an important impediment to access appears to be the availability of Bar Coded Identity Documents. Lastly, the cluster system, aimed at coordinating efforts between and among various departments, and ensuring a poverty filter that is applied to all aspects of strategic planning, has not succeeded.

The above points offer opportunities to reflect on the possible lessons and implications for policy recommendations which will be taken up in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 6 - KEY FINIDNGS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1   Introduction

This study examined the gendered aspects of poverty and their implications for poverty reduction interventions in South Africa. It reviewed understandings of poverty and conceptualisations of poverty reduction strategies in local and international literature. The study then identified and analysed integrated approaches to understanding and addressing poverty in selected government departments in South Africa. Lastly, it explored poverty reduction strategies and their relation to gender equality in three countries: Chile, Brazil and India. From these, the report will develop a set of recommendations for developing integrated approaches to understanding and addressing poverty for South Africa. This chapter aims to summarise key findings from the study, including the literature review and empirical research. The chapter will conclude with a set of recommendations informed by these findings.

6.2 Key Findings

Because poverty reduction is both vexing and urgent with respect to people's lives, it is difficult to offer an authoritative summary of key findings and emergent lessons from this study. On one hand, findings from the report point to the importance of macro-level policies and micro-level realities, as well as the relevance of macro- and micro-economic research. On the other, the diversity of communities continues to pose particular challenges in the interpretation and understanding of the complexity of poverty. Similarly, while *poverty* is sometimes discussed explicitly or implicitly in the chapters in this report, the term has been used as part of a larger configuration of meaning to foreground its relational aspects (cf. Chant, 2003a). These following sub-sections aim to summarise and discuss key findings in relation to these aspects including the literature review and empirical research.

6.2.1 Understandings of poverty and its links to gender inequality

Literature reviewed in this study suggests that poverty, like many concepts, is understood and defined differently by diverse scholars, policy makers and service providers on one hand, and by those most affected by (poor men and women) on the other. To illustrate, some measure poverty in monetary terms, while others conceptualise it in terms of the ability/inability of individuals and families to meet their basic needs and to participate meaningfully in their communities. Measures of poverty usually classify people as poor if they live in households or settings where the per capita income is less than a predetermined threshold (absolute poverty). This measure determines what has become known as the 'poverty line' which quantifies a population's lack of such resources as housing, food, education and health. Yet others define poverty in a more holistic way, emphasizing its multidimensionality, including the lack, or inadequacy of such needs as adequate education, housing, health, water, sanitation, and electricity.

The definition and measurement of poverty have often been criticised by feminists for being gender blind (see for example, Cornwall *et al*, 2007; Chant, 2006a; Sweetman, 2003; Razavi, 2000). These scholars often highlight the experiential differences between men and women (and boys and girls) in living with and in poverty. For example, they argue that, due to unequal power relations, there are gender differences in the ways in which these resources are distributed between men and women (and boys and girls) within communities and households. Unless these differences are taken into consideration in developing policies and interventions, such efforts will remain largely ineffective. However, available literature also suggests that poverty might not be feminized in all instances, and that it might even be limiting to reduce poverty simply to feminisation. In this report, we utilise a gender

perspective as it goes beyond a descriptive analysis to look at the causes of poverty, approaching it as a process (and gives it a more dynamic perspective), contributing to the design of policies and interventions that target the most vulnerable (in this case, poor women and girls) (Desarrolo, 2004).

Thus, this study is premised on the belief that while women are disproportionately affected by poverty, and scholars and practitioners have agreed that they must be considered major actors in combating poverty, too many poverty reduction interventions still render them invisible, disregarding their needs, interests and tacit knowledge about the challenges that face them and the solutions that might work to address them. To address this silencing and marginalisation, the project aimed to utilise three methodological concepts and processes: Voice, dialogue, and targeting. First, our understanding and use of *voice* in this report refers to broad principles directed toward challenging silence; listening to the disenfranchised (in this case, while not ignoring the voices of poor men, those of poor women are given priority) and recognising the citizenship of individuals. Second, *dialogue* has to do with opening up conversations between and among various stakeholders (and rights holders) and agents (those tasked with implementing policies and programmes aimed at addressing poverty) to ensure that multiple voices are heard in analysing poverty and its feminisation and in finding strategies for addressing it. In this regard, the this study has not solicited the voices of service providers in selected government departments, thus leaving a gap in terms of the voices of the poor, particularly women in relation to their understandings and experiences of poverty and poverty reduction. Third, *targeting* refers to developing policies and programmes (interventions) that specifically target women or girls to address their socio-economic needs. This is based on the belief that such targeting can address the needs of this group more efficiently and with greater cost-effectiveness than general policy measures. One of the

limitations of the current study is that in this report we only present a cursory view of targeting. From this we identify areas for investigations in future studies focusing on this issue.

6.2.2 Poverty reduction strategies and gender equality in Chile, Brazil and India

There are significant political, cultural, and historical differences between Chile, Brazil and India. Their encounters with the legacies of different colonialisms, militarisms and dictatorship, conflict, engagement with models of social analysis, the impact of different religions, and the realities of interactions between land, peoples, and the meaning of 'nationhood' within a rapidly changing global order make comparison a tentative business. As such, this study profiled three countries with similar or slightly higher Human Development Index (HDI) indices as South Africa (Brazil, India and Chile) in terms of their anti-poverty policies and/or strategies and their consideration of gender equality. From these, the study draws implications for South Africa's poverty reduction policies and programmes and their gender equality measures. Drawing from the profiles of Chilean, Brazilian and Indian efforts to integrate commitments to gender equality into poverty reduction policies and programmes, four lessons emerge.

First, in Chile and Brazil, constitutional commitments to gender equality are connected to strong women's movements which contributed to struggles against militarism and dictatorship. The same is true for South Africa, but as in Chile and Brazil, legacies of oppressive regimes coupled with pressures to 'internationalize' economies in neoliberal terms have led to entrenched and uneven poverty. While there is general analytic agreement that gender inequalities do make conditions of poverty 'worse for women', there is debate about the concrete link between achieving gender equality and ensuring economic growth along

neoliberal lines. For example, is it possible (or even desirable) to develop policies which seek to attract people into the labour market through job creation and encouragement of entrepreneurship and at the same time, reward women who prioritize the welfare of their families, or does economic growth depend on women for unpaid care work? Is it possible to create opportunities for entrance into the labour market for both men and women as well as gender equality in terms of sharing the necessary care work both within and beyond the family? What this means is that future scenario-building for job creation in relation to gendered poverty reduction efforts must involve quantifying care work, and sharing it equally between men and women.

Second, the review in this study suggests that in Chile and Brazil, the 'family' has been the focus of social spending and of many welfare initiatives among the poor. The 'female-headed household' has emerged as one in particular need of support, despite challenges to the image of 'the broken, or father-less' home' from feminists. Two lessons emerge from this analysis. The first is that taking state responsibility for improving the quality of life for those who are poor is essential, as this operates at the level of most basic needs: healthcare, electricity, food security, and access to basic education, requiring subsidisation in the form of social grants. So, while neoliberal policy discourages welfare approaches to the alleviation of poverty, and encourages cut-backs in social spending, no credible engagement in poverty alleviation can afford not to invest heavily in the lives and environments of the poor. The second and related lesson involves the understanding that on one hand, gender dynamics 'on the ground' can guarantee that competition between boys/men and girls/women is fostered by ideologies of inequality, violence towards women, and that the burden of unpaid care work turns women into 'welfare dependents'. On the other hand, such gender dynamics can ensure that such

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investments (social grants) actually deliver better health, education, and nourishment for the poor.

Third, the review suggests that in India and Brazil, co-ordination of policy planning and implementation at the micro-level has been recognised as essential for poverty reduction efforts. To illustrate, although the Five Year Plans set out projects in which gender responsive budgeting could be taken seriously, these tend to devolve into projects and programmes taken up very unevenly at local levels. This makes any national evaluation of their impact difficult. In Brazil, the multi-municipal consortiums –while problematic at some administrative levels – have had more demonstrable impact on hunger eradication, access to electricity and clean water, and access to resources at the family-level. The consortiums have arguably created very valuable 'institutional spaces' from which to support and manage welfare initiatives, and in some cases, progress across cities or even small states is clear. The lesson for South Africa is strong. Ours is a country of great geographical, cultural, and political diversity, and the success of any poverty reduction strategies will lie in the evenness and substantiality of their implementation at micro-community level. This is also the level from which the most valuable feedback from the affected women and men can be gathered.

The fourth lesson involves the impact of trade liberalization, and the fact that in Chile, Brazil, India, and South Africa, women are moving rapidly into the labour market as paid workers, albeit in largely semi-skilled jobs. Such jobs are often contract labour, part-time, and 'casual' in terms of seasonal flows of work, and this means less pay than for men in full-time employment. This means that while there are more women moving into the labour market (and even though there are fewer men, especially in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs), women's economic burdens have not lessened.

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The above lessons offer important entry points for considering recommendations, arising out of a comparative assessment of gender and poverty reduction is countries with a similar or slightly higher HDI. These recommendations are summarised in the last section below.

6.2.3 South Africa's poverty reduction policies and their integration of gender

From the review of South African policies aimed at poverty reduction in this study, key issues emerge. These include, first, that national poverty reduction strategies are linked only weakly to strategies for economic growth and stability. This weakness includes a failure to consider gender as relevant to the country's macroeconomic strategy, creating a conceptual gap concerning unpaid reproductive labour at the highest level of planning for South African economic productivity and stability. Such a gap has the power to influence the design of all other levels of planning. The overwhelming lack of attention to gender dynamics, and to (mostly) women, in state reviews of progress in terms of poverty and inequity needs to be addressed if interventions are to be successful.

Second, the review suggests that there is no cohesively articulated programme of poverty reduction strategies, through which departments can organize their own relationship to national strategies in detail, alongside monitoring and evaluation. This makes it difficult to assess the impact of programmes overall, and leaves analysts vulnerable to volatile, politically driven debates on 'progress' or 'increased poverty' which are not anchored on a comprehensive, widely and well developed, programme of action. There are gender implications of this weakness – although it may be possible to see women through social assistance grants and (some) employment generation and training programmes, women in

different provinces are clearly differently placed (as are men) in relation both to the experience of poverty and to the national programmes available for assistance of different kinds. More sophisticated gender analysis is needed to really understand discrepancies and differences of gender equality (for example, young men in the Eastern Cape may be much worse off, in terms of access to employment, social assistance and national poverty relief project opportunities, than 25-35 year old women in Gauteng).

Third, social assistance grants and old age pensions are the most effective current form of poverty alleviation, and have been found to positively impact women's quality of life. The current trend to move away from these 'hand outs' into the 'dignity of work' (underlying the EPWP and others) ignores the gendered dimension of this level of social assistance, and might be immature.

Fourth, analyses which identify factors beyond income as contributing to poverty in households and communities are profoundly gendered. This is because they concern the body (beyond reproduction) – security, sexuality, and relationships between people. To illustrate, it would seem obvious that women better protected from violence would contribute more productively to the economy. Similar comments could be made about the value of linking poverty and gender in areas beyond employment, social assistance, and capacity building.

Fifth, available statistics in key areas (life expectancy, unemployment, HIV infection, discouraged work seekers, mismatch between secondary school skilling and access to employment) suggest not only that African women are the worst off in the country, but that those in the Eastern Cape, Limpopo, and KwaZulu-Natal are worse off that women in other provinces. Young women in poverty are also likely to be the most profoundly trapped.

Young African men in poverty are similarly faced with bleak prospects for employment. This opens up serious questions about the need for poverty relief programmes which address the connection between secondary schooling and income generation, and simultaneously, offer opportunities to restructure gender norms so that unpaid reproductive work could be more evenly distributed.

From the research presented it is evident gender mainstreaming is a key instrument that can be used in helping policy makers understand the importance of gender and how it can be implemented in all poverty reduction policies. However, integrating gender into poverty reduction policies continues to be a struggle for many policy makers. This has implications for capacity development across all levels and sectors.

6.3.4 Government's approaches to understanding and addressing poverty

South Africa's approach to eradicating extreme poverty and hunger is comprehensive, seeking to address both the monetary aspects of poverty whilst also attending to its multidimensionality and individuals' basic needs. The analysis of the programmatic work carried out in selected government departments (Departments of Social Development, Education, Health, Trade and Industry, and Labour) shows that there is an attempt to improve the quality of life of the vulnerable and marginalized citizens, particularly women and children. However, there is still a need to intensify the drive, particularly in deep rural areas which tend to remain largely untouched by all the developments taking place in our country. Whilst this exercise has shed some light on what is being done to eradicate or reduce poverty, it has also made it clear that some of the programmatic work is not sustainable in the long term as it has potential to create dependency. Therefore, the only way to improve women's quality of life is through social transformation that is underpinned by basic economic change.

From the review of these government departments' programmes, several lessons can be deduced. First, there is evidence of some tools within departments aimed at alleviating poverty, culminating in a variety of schemes and programmes across departments. However, there is a lack of an over-arching gendered focus in these measures, resulting in programmes prioritising mainly women. Second, there is a lack of an over-arching contextual framework from which the Anti-Poverty Strategy is embedded, mainly from a gendered perspective. Third, the departments are far from equal and their approaches to poverty reduction are even more unequal. Such degrees of differences occur between the National, Provincial and District Levels. Fourth, a shift in an understanding about poverty is evident within departments: there is a move from a material asset approach that focuses on agency and capabilities toward one addressing social services. Fifth, a significant strategy for poverty alleviation appears to be social grants (notably those provided by the Department of Social Development). However, evidence shows, given the multidimensionality of poverty, that such grants are also used for health care and school fees, leaving very little for recipients to ensure basic survival. Some strategies, such as the EPWP, while addressing poverty, provide opportunities and not jobs. Partnering with agencies such as the NDA, the DTI attempts to strengthen civil society, government and private partnerships. Sixth, an important impediment to access appears to be the availability of Bar Coded Identity Documents. Lastly, the cluster system, aimed at coordinating efforts between and among various departments, and ensuring a poverty filter that is applied to all aspects of strategic planning, while necessary, has not succeeded.

6.3 Key Recommendations

While this study intended to focus on aspects of voice, dialogue and targeting in relation to gender and poverty reduction, it has only done so in exploratory terms, and these issues still warrant more comprehensive investigation in future studies. As such, whatever the solutions might be, this report is designed to provoke further debate in human and social science research that centres on descriptive and analytical approaches to poverty and gender, as well as debate and action within policymaking and activism. As indicated, these should direct us to both new knowledge and appropriate strategies to ensure that the gap between the rich and poor is not only reduced and ultimately eradicated, but that its gendered dimensions are also addressed. More importantly, such an understanding should keep in check the lived, material and political realities of localised understanding and meanings of gender and poverty.

In addition, the report raises a number of concerns and questions that remain to be answered. For example, prospects for strengthening policy in its relation to gender, the balance between demand and supply; civil society and participation, and the match between existing policies and their implementation are some of the issues that still warrant conceptual and empirical investigation. These are likely to be important components of a future research agenda, with much application for advocacy, programming and policy development. Specifically, the sub-sections below highlight key recommendations related to policy development; programming and research.

6.3.1 Research

Several recommendations for future research to further understandings of the gendered aspects of poverty and poverty reduction emerge from this study. First, the study confirms findings from previous studies there is a lack of gender-disaggregated data regarding who is

poor, where and to what extent, as well as who benefits from interventions, to what extent and how. Therefore, to avoid the specific gender needs and interests of women will be given less attention or could be ignored completely, data are needed that enable differences between and among men and women to be clearly established.

Second, while this study explored programmatic work in selected government departments, particular departmental strategies deserve much more careful analysis. What is needed is a fuller sense of how departments interpret, and develop programmes which include gender as a component of their work, and subsequently a route to integrating different perspectives, looking for gaps, and synthesizing approaches. There is a need to understand better the impact of the various interventions beyond who it is (men and/or women) who receives them, but how they play out in terms of sustaining individuals and households.

Third, as Beneria and Bisnath (1996:1) assert:

> The engendering of poverty eradication requires careful documentation of women and men's different lived experiences. Qualitative dimensions of poverty, such as stress, self-esteem and autonomy largely elude quantification but need to be included in poverty eradication measures. Working directly with poor women and men is thus a critical strategy. Engaging with their reality means recognising the limitations of the functionalist approach to engendering poverty eradication, whereby women are regarded as necessary but neglected partners in maximising the wealth of nations.

Such qualitative studies would not only aim to unearth the voices of such women, they would also enter into dialogue with them and from these engagements, develop targeted strategies for alleviating their poverty and ultimately eradicating it.

6.3.2 Policy development and programming

Findings from this study also suggest several policies and interventions for poverty reduction that integrate gender. A few of these illustrate. First, greater policy coherence, co-ordination

and targeting is required between government ministries. These include co-ordination between National, Provincial and District level departments. Hence, the cluster system also requires re-visiting for better, effective co-ordination of poverty alleviation efforts. Given the diversity of women and men in the country, and the contextually shifting shape of poverty, without co-ordination, a very uneven picture of 'what has been achieved' emerges. Furthermore, efforts by government departments regarding partnering with civil society organisations, business and multilateral organisations exists, and these partnerships should be reinforced in efforts to curb poverty.

Second, integrating gender into analyses of poverty as well as into policies (and programmes) aimed at addressing it is essential. However, gender mainstreaming in the design and implementation of poverty eradication policies continue to come up against a series of challenges. One such challenge is the lack of appropriate experience and analytical abilities with gender issues among officials (Sadie and Loots, 1998). Therefore, gender-awareness and gender-mainstreaming skills training should t be promoted at all levels of government, including among those directly involved in poverty reduction projects. This training should include the integration of gender issues into policy, planning and implementation.

Third, findings from this study indicate that government's largest job creation programme, the Extended Public Works Programme, does not offer long-term employment. The bulk of social spending goes towards grant making (the Child Support Grant and the disability grant are widely recognized as making the difference between starvation and subsistence for poor families). There is also provincial unevenness in terms of state expenditure on welfare programmes, and the collapsing education sector, especially at secondary level, is fuelling poverty and gender inequalities. Therefore, what is needed is the continuity of social grants as

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a way of ensuring survival of individuals and households. In Chile and Brazil, the concentration on 'the family' as the unit through which to focus social spending has raised a number of concerns about the ways in which women are able to access these funds, as 'independent' citizens, regardless of their status as wives and mothers, and regardless of their relationships with the men in their family lives. At the moment, the Childcare grant is accessible to the caregiver, rather than to the family, and this has in fact enabled millions of South African poor women to develop short-term credit systems, control family budgets, and – in some instances –support children not biologically their own. While this continues to locate women as 'caregivers', the impact of this on poverty alleviation (not necessarily reduction) is impressive. However, unpaid care work continues to form a large proportion of women's time, especially in poor communities, and systematic programmes targeting the need for men to share unpaid labour are fundamental to poverty reduction. Policy work here would seek to reward men for participation in good childcare and/or care of the elderly, and to reward companies and organizations for participation in programmes which allow men as well as women to access good childcare, while they are occupied in wage labour.

Fourth, research suggests that poverty is not only gendered, it is also geographic, with rural areas being more negatively impacted than urban areas. As such, while rural poverty continues to dominate much policy discussion on poverty reduction, South Africa, like other countries, faces difficulties in terms of where, and how, poor women are drawn into the paid economy. This tends to be uneven, to involve casualisation of labour, and increased exposure to violence for women. For example, domestic work remains the widest form of employment for poor black women in urban areas. This is a very difficult area in which to enact and implement policy (because of the nature of the highly privatized employment, and the weakness of union work). However, a state committed to the integration of gender equality

and poverty reduction would review this area very carefully, seeking to ensure that wages were at the prescribed levels, that transport systems were safe, that childcare options were available and subsidized in the neighbourhoods in which the domestic workers live, and that pension plans were in place. Furthermore, a state committed to the integration of gender equality and poverty reduction would also explore the Basic Income Grant, as a means to begin addressing the number of poor men, unemployed, in urban areas. Their under-employment has a direct relationship to issues of gender inequality (and gender-based violence) within homes and communities. Security issues overall impact heavily on the shape of poverty, especially for women and children. The alleviation of poverty thus entails much more rigorous and well educated policing, stronger resources for women, men, and children who are victims of violence (especially domestic violence), and the recognition that poverty reduction entails the provision of secure working and living environments.

Fifth, the commitment to trade liberalization is not compatible, in the broadest sense, with equality of employment opportunities. The past decade has seen the collapse of many domestic industries (which used to be protected through tariff regulation). There needs to be a better imagined effort to both honour the principles of ASGISA and to focus on strengthening domestic industries which support the income of poorer men and women. In all three countries surveyed, similar tensions between trade liberalization and equality of employment exist. Brazil has made the most progress, especially through its willingness to develop local/national products more cheaply than those (similar) available elsewhere. This has had a positive impact in a number of areas, especially manufacturing and pharmaceuticals.

Sixth, gender budgeting remains a very useful tool in helping state actors to actually understand the practical links between activities, budgets, and gender impacts. Both Brazil

and India draw on this tool (as do many other countries), but South African gender-budgeting has not been as widely drawn upon in the past 10 years as it was in the years 1994-2000. We would recommend state department retraining on this technique as a priority for actually managing the integration of poverty reduction plans with gender equality goals.

Seventh, it is in countries with a strong civil society in which robust debate on the complexities of national policy-making, gender equality, and poverty-reduction exists that the most progress has been made. This can be seen in Chile, and also in some areas of India. In South Africa, civil society engagement with poverty reduction debates is fairly lively, but often split in the detail from concerns around gender equality. There are numerous reasons for this, but state policy development should be aware of the ways in which 'gender debates" may be segregated from others, and seek active engagement from all stakeholders (regardless of whether or not they work with one another).

REFERENCES

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APPENDICES