

# OVERCOMING INEQUALITY AND STRUCTURAL POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA



**towards inclusive growth  
and development**




isandla  
institute



Report documenting a conference held at Birchwood Conference Centre,  
Ekurhuleni from 20 to 22 September 2010



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## towards inclusive growth and development

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**Disclaimer:** The findings, interpretations and conclusions expressed in this report are entirely those of the authors and can in no way be taken to reflect the views of the Presidency (RSA), the European Union or Ford Foundation, which do not guarantee their accuracy and can accept no responsibility for any consequences of their use.



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The Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) is an international partnership of universities, research institutes and NGOs, which exists to focus attention on chronic poverty. The Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) is based at the University of the Western Cape and a member of the CPRC partnership. In addition to PLAAS, the conference-organising partnership included Isandla Institute, Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute (SPII) and the PSPPD.

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The conference-organising committee included the following people:

- Mirjam van Donk (Isandla Institute)
- Isobel Frye (SPII)
- Ian Goldman (Monitoring and Learning Facility of the PSPPD)
- David Neves (PLAAS)
- Mastoera Sadan (PSPPD)
- Andries du Toit (PLAAS)
- Obiozo Ukpabi (PLAAS)

All members of the conference-organising committee can be contacted directly through their respective organisations. Details and website links to these organisations, as well as full papers, presentations, discussions and photos can be found on the conference website:

<http://www.plaas.org.za/newsevents/povcon2010>

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THE CONFERENCE ORGANISERS

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## Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
AsgiSA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
BBR	Bushbuckridge
BDF	Bokfontein Development Forum
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CSG	Child Support Grant
CPRC	Chronic Poverty Research Centre
CRDP	Comprehensive Rural Development Programme
CWP	Community Work Programme
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
FCG	Foster Child Grant
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy
HBC	Home-Based Care
HDI	Human Development Index
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LED	Local Economic Development
MEC	Minerals Energy Complex
MFP	Massive Food Programme
NREGA	National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
NIDS	National Income Dynamics Study
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OAP	Old Age Pensions
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PLAAS	Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisals
PSPPD	Programme to Support Pro-poor Policy Development
SAIMD	South African Index of Multiple Deprivation
SALDRU	Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit
SERI	Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa
SHG	Self-help group
SMME	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprise
SPII	Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute
TCOE	Trust for Community Outreach and Education
TIPS	Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies
TLGFA	Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act
TPTTP	Taking Parliament to the People
UDF	United Democratic Front



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### Background

The executive summary summarises issues and questions emerging from a conference entitled *Overcoming inequality and structural poverty in South Africa: towards inclusive growth and development*. The conference aimed to draw lessons from national and international practice, research evidence, and policy implementation for economic transformation.



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It was hosted by the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), in partnership with the Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute (SPII), Isandla Institute, the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) and the Programme to Support Pro-poor Policy Development (PSPPD), and took place in Gauteng, South Africa on 20, 21, 22 September 2010. There were 124 participants at the conference, including representatives from government, academia and civil society. The conference was opened with a speech by the Deputy President as recorded on a DVD sent from London.

This executive summary captures golden threads<sup>1</sup> distilled from inputs by presenters and participants in the rich discussions that unfolded during the conference proceedings. The report groups together content issues from the conference relating to the vision and values underpinning South Africa's development trajectory, the dynamics of poverty and inequality, and the policy response, and then looks at cross-cutting issues relating to the nature of the state, services needed, and empowering citizens. In line with conference deliberations, this summary highlights on the one hand actions or interventions that can be pursued now as part of a more coherent and effective response to poverty and inequality, and on the other hand issues that require further exploration, a stronger evidence-base and careful consideration.

### The values of poverty and wealth

The South African Constitution eloquently refers to the need for the country to recognise past injustices and 'establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights'<sup>1</sup>. The injunction is thus to establish a programme of transformation from past patterns of injustice to a society in which all are able to reach their full potential.

However, South Africa is a society that continues to have one of the most unequal patterns of income distribution in the world. Past patterns have not yet been broken. Also, the problem of poverty appears to have become depoliticised. Instead of addressing issues of power differentials and priorities and choices about patterns of distribution, it is easier to view poverty as a neutral question of development and numbers. Citizens become clients, and rights become 'commodified' and subject to budget restraints.

Poverty in South Africa is structural and strongly linked to issues of unemployment, and spatial, racial, gendered and class inequalities. In order to start to dismantle the drivers of poverty, two things are required. A shared vision is needed of what kind of society we are moving towards in terms of access, income differentials, and solidarity; and secondly, a theory of change is needed that will be able to take us successfully to this envisaged country. Only then will it be possible to make progress towards achieving the principles set out in the Constitution which were so hard-won.

### The dimensions of poverty and inequality

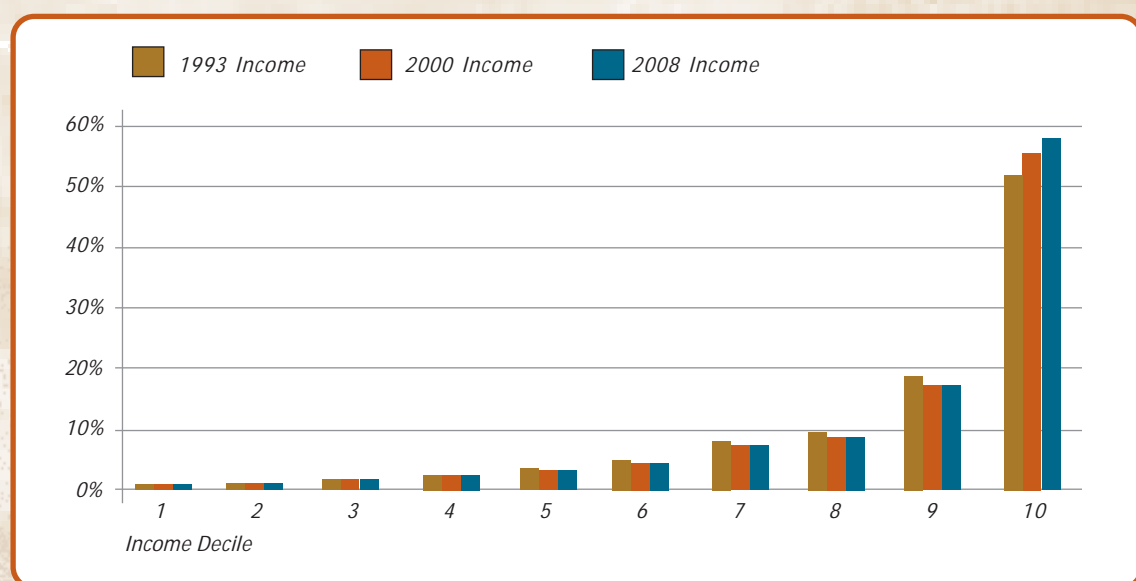


Figure 1: Share of income by decile 1993-2008 (Leibbrandt and Woolard, 2010)

Poverty levels in South Africa have reduced since 1994, mostly due to social grants and the delivery of household infrastructure and basic services, but inequality has worsened. Figure 1, from a presentation

1. From the Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996

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by Murray Leibbrandt and Ingrid Woolard, showed that income has become increasingly concentrated in the top decile. When income was compared between the years 1993 and 2008, the richest 10 per cent accounted for 54 and 58 per cent of total income respectively. The share of income of those in each of deciles 5-9 is lower in 2008 than in 1993. While there has been a very slight improvement in the share of the bottom decile, the cumulative share of income accruing to the first five deciles decreased from 8.4 per cent in 1993 to 7.8 per cent in 2008. This raises serious questions for South Africa's future, for social cohesion and stability, and for investment.

### Defining poverty

The money-metric headcount of poverty that has been the common way of measuring poverty, is useful to monitor trends but has limitations (Wright and Noble presentation, 21 September 2010). Should there be a food poverty line below which no one should fall and an aspirational line, which is democratically/subjectively set? How do we agree on a measure of what constitutes the minimum floor that reflects a socially acceptable standard of living in a middle income country? How do measures reflect people's lived realities and aspirations? Can we better marry subjective measures to technical objective measures?

### Forefronting inequality

The imperative to address poverty is well recognised in policies and studies, as is evident in the current thrust from the government to create jobs. However the issue of inequality has had much less profile. The dominant paradigm is that growth will result in redistribution. Inequality raises awkward questions about the need for redistribution of existing assets and interests. However we will not get the impact of growth on poverty unless inequality reduces. Cross-class coalitions will be essential to change the current patterns of inequalities.

Fundamentally linked to questions of equality and inequality is the notion that some citizens and their interests are more important than others. In order to reshape this and enable the marginalised to be included, the elite need to recognise that greater egalitarianism will benefit everyone. The argument advanced in the book *The Spirit Level* (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010), is that inequality is bad for society as a whole, rich and poor.

Poverty is closely linked to race in that most of the poor are black and most of the rich are white. However, Leibbrandt and Woolard's presentation indicated that inequality among black people is also increasing. There is a risk that the current targeting of policies re-racialises poverty.

## Content areas for policy

### Structure of the formal economy

South Africa's economy is dominated by large formal-sector companies, which are in many cases multinationals. The result is a highly monopolised economy, with considerable obstacles to newcomers breaking into markets. This was well illustrated by Kate Philip's paper on the Second Economy Strategy. Seeraj Mohamed's presentation showed that the small and medium-sized enterprise sector is relatively small in South Africa, which is one of the reasons for the low job creation rate.

There is limited domestic demand due to high levels of income inequality, and the inequalities mean a high demand for imported, expensive products. What will fuel future growth, beyond the credit-based consumption by middle classes? The growth rate of the economy is low and comparable to developed countries, rather than developing countries in Africa and Asia. In contrast, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Rwanda and Mozambique are among the ten fastest growing economies in the last ten years (Economist, 2011).

A critical issue is how to get growth in the informal economy. Should the goal be to formalise the informal economy, and, if so, on whose terms? What support is needed to help the informal and SMME sector to grow, and what intermediaries are needed? Should this support be on a collective or individual basis? These challenges are critical to promoting growth in the informal/SMME sectors.

### Employment policies

South Africa has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world, and a highly cash-based society, which exacerbates the impact of a lack of a wage income on poor households. The skills base is low, and there is insufficient acknowledgement of this problem in sectors that have been identified as growth sectors in the economy. Initiatives such as the Community Work Programme (CWP) and similar ideas can play an important role in breaking down the marginalisation of people from the world of work, but need to be pursued without developing a two-tier employment system that perpetuates



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exclusion. This relates to the debate about 'decent work'. Philip, in her presentation, noted that the social sector is an important employer and social sector workers such as carers should be recognised alongside 'productive workers'.

### Promoting livelihoods

A variety of services were flagged during the conference as key for livelihoods. Some examples included:

#### *Promoting economic livelihoods*

- **Supporting particular sectors** such as agriculture (home gardens, field production, poultry, other livestock...), tourism and retail.
- **Facilitation of market linkages** such as regional products and markets, remediation of intermediation failures in credit markets, value chains.
- **Developing suitable prototypes** such as configuring pro-poor value chains, which small players can access.
- **Making technology accessible** and understandable.

#### *Promoting social services at a local level*

- **Home-based care/early childhood development** – home-based care is an example of a frontline service provided at low cost - a socially necessary public service which is part of government's responsibility.
- **Teacher support** – sorting library books, photocopying, running extra-mural activities, preparing meals.
- **Advice** – such as advice and support to ensure a full take-up of social grants.

#### *Promoting infrastructure at local level*

- **Construction/repair of infrastructure** – canal clearing and repair, maintenance of schools, clinics and community halls, road maintenance, fencing at schools, repair of water piping, constructing pedestrian bridges.

Important to livelihoods are adequate housing and transport, income maintenance, health care, and clearer developmental notions of human capital investment in areas such as early childhood development. Shirin Motala, in her presentation, noted that these are not 'nice to have' but a constitutional and developmental imperative.



CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS ARRIVING

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### Spatial poverty and rural development

Apartheid geography continues and is now reproduced due to economic and class segregation, both in urban/rural relationships, and within urban areas. Wright and Noble showed in their presentation that the former 'bantustans' are still the poorest parts of the country. Alienation is also being reproduced: the causes underpinning this warrant careful scrutiny. Is this an ongoing necessity to perpetuate surplus labour and is it essential for the current growth and accumulation path? What new paths do we need in order to change this?

These spatial challenges affect access to resources, markets and services. There is little coordination between government departments around issues such as migration, transport and budgets. Khulekani Mathe noted in his presentation that the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) and Urban Renewal Programme (URP) from the early 2000s, were initiatives to focus coordinated investment in extremely poor areas, but there is little evidence that these programmes had impact.

An absence of clear strategies in relation to both rural and urban development compounds the problem, as Ruth Hall highlighted in her presentation. The vision for rural development remains unclear, nor is it clear whether the state and local communities share the same goals. The long-awaited Green Paper on Rural Development and Land Reform may address this. It will be the first comprehensive document on rural development since the Rural Development Framework of 1997, which was never adopted.

Agriculture can potentially support accumulation from below if the right services and market conditions were in place, but they are not. Ben Cousins observed in his paper that the lack of coherence on rural issues means that the historical split between land reform and post-settlement support continues.

Similarly, the political reluctance to come to terms with urbanisation and urban realities in South Africa is hampering a coherent response to migration, urban planning and land use management (Khulekani Mathe, 21 September 2010). To address poverty and inequality, spatial inefficiencies need to be addressed and a comprehensive programme pursued, which enhances the inclusion of the poor in both urban and rural economies.

### Sustainability questions

A shift by the state to a more sustainable growth path will affect health, the environment, types of work, transport, the types of services provided and the type of opportunities available. This has implications for national, provincial, urban and rural planning.

## Changing attitudes and behaviour to address inequality

### At the top

The different approaches to poverty include:

- **Mainstream view** – a conservative view that the poor deserve support, but also the stuff of social solidarity
- **Poverty measurement** – focuses on accurate judgements of who is poor and elevating charity to an exact science, but this can be a reductionist approach
- **Radical discourse** – poverty is a symptom of more fundamental ills such as class inequalities or oppression, but this dichotomises the political space.

A number of presenters, such as Andries du Toit and Ben Cousins, emphasised through their presentations that language and framing is important. What are the policy models that are currently dominant? Are they based on concepts of rights, of dependency, the deserving and non-deserving poor, or the assumption that people can easily move out of their marginalisation? The ideology we espouse, consciously or unconsciously, tends to provide the empirical basis for policy making.

In South Africa, the issue of poverty has been depoliticised and delinked from inequality, with a belief that it can be managed and bureaucratised. It is seen as a corollary of not enough growth, but in fact our current growth model is making inequality worse. Currently a false dichotomy is being posed between a welfare model and a developmental state model.

Poor strategy is often due to a poor understanding of economic marginalisation – but wealth and poverty are produced by a common set of processes. Robert van Niekerk's presentation highlighted that social policy entails choices between conflicting political objectives and goals – social welfare, fiscal welfare, occupational welfare and so on.

It is essential to make elite interests dovetail with the interests of the poor, in the way that the apartheid government took working class whites and transformed them into a middle class. At that time, the elite interests of CEOs dovetailed with the needs of the working class as they needed skilled workers



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and unskilled workers, and the power of a convergence of interests was seen during the 2010 World Cup. The elite need to understand that inequality is an illness which poisons society leading to lower growth, lower life expectancy for many, and social problems for all.

South Africa, and the world, has problems of poverty but also problems of wealth and overconsumption. Remuneration dynamics in some sectors set unrealistic standards and create expectations of self-enrichment. Overconsumption is causing the planet to be despoiled. Reversing a process of relentless accumulation requires deepening democracy, a social consensus, a shared national vision, and leadership from the top. The media can be harnessed to communicate powerful social messages, as demonstrated in Lebogang Ramafoko's presentation about Kwanda, a television series focusing on community transformation.

### At the bottom

Historical oppression has created 'being level' disability – a psychological state of hopelessness – and 'doing level' disability – I don't have the skills. The depth of the problem in South Africa is illustrated by levels of anomie and alienation of at least 25 per cent in the very poor ISRDP and URP areas, as reported in research carried out in 2008 (Everatt and Smith, 2008: 71). The importance of addressing self-belief and agency was illustrated in the case study of PRADAN, an NGO in India, presented by Soumen Biswas. Research presented by Judy Scott-Goldman on the promotion of meaningful rural livelihoods made a distinction between *transactional* approaches (such as providing services) and *transformational* processes which address people's psycho-social health ie people are treated not as passive beneficiaries, but as responsible and respected citizens. The final outcome is not just an increase in assets, but the ability of poor people to advocate for what they want, individually and collectively.

A change in values is needed. Can we learn how to create inclusive communities with citizen solidarity, which will be safer and healthier for everyone?

### Strengthening the voice of the poor

**Poor people are not inactive.** Poor people survive in spite of the state. Local initiatives exist in all communities through which people provide services and support for each other. The problem is that poor people don't have power, so elites direct development. There is some acceptance of the need to enable communities to influence decisions and development practices more directly but a lack of clarity as to how. If the state fails to enable positive engagement with citizens, social protests will increase. Adam Habib noted in his presentation that the 1968-71 riots in Malaysia created political uncertainty and provided a space in which poor people started to be taken seriously.

**Collectivity is key.** Through group processes and associations, poor people can develop the confidence, voice and power to influence markets, influence the state, and push for the structural changes that are needed. Strengthening and assisting local groups and local leadership is therefore important, as well as creating access to information and knowledge of rights.

Examples were given at the conference of successful collective and community-based approaches such as the Organisation Workshop, the Community Work Programme (CWP), community-based planning, and advice offices, which indicated that collective and community-based approaches can work. The critical issue is the delivery of such initiatives at scale.

### Role of the state

#### Policy alignment and state capacity

The conference addressed some policy issues of a content nature around poverty and inequality. Social and economic policies need to mesh more effectively. But it is not possible to shift the fundamentals of these without touching macroeconomic policies and orthodoxies, and the ideologies which underlie them, a highly contested area. We need a combination of policy interventions that address immediate, medium and long-term needs, nuanced sufficiently.

Coordination of macro, meso and micro levels is important. The linkage between policy making and implementation, for instance, is often weak. Effective feedback loops from monitoring and evaluation back into policy are needed, and more piloting of programmes to test them out before they are mainstreamed, as took place with the CWP. Experts need to communicate deeply with broad-based civil society to shape a common progressive agenda for responsible and inclusive government.

There is a lack of confidence in the capacity of local government to deliver, and yet local government is crucial as the primary point of contact between people and the state. This is a critical issue.

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### Shaping of state services

The differing circumstances, needs and goals of different target groups need to be understood and different services offered, as appropriate. Examples of categorisations mentioned at the conference are:

- in crisis, stable, safe, thriving – (Masiphula Mbongwa, Director General of the War on Poverty, 22 September 2010)
- resigned poor, coping poor, dynamic poor: PRADAN/Hybrids research (papers by Biswas, Scott-Goldman et al)
- survivalist business people and entrepreneurs (paper by Neves)
- categories of smallholder farmers: semi-subsistence, semi-commercial and commercially orientated, or the typology: supplementary food producers, allotment-holding wage earners, worker peasants, petty commodity producers, small scale capitalist farmers (paper by Cousins).

Cousins argued in his presentation, which was concerned with agrarian structure and rural poverty, for 'appropriately differentiated policies for a differentiated population of producers'. For example, research has indicated that the majority want small plots of land for primary consumption while a minority want larger plots on which to farm for a cash income, and policy frameworks need to respond to these differences in needs.

Another factor in the South African services landscape is the prevalence of dual services – private for the rich, and public for the less well off. This dualism of services undermines solidarity and transformation.

### Frontline services – core roles

Some of the core front-line service roles identified at the conference included:

- **Researching** - appropriate technologies, deciding what to cover in CWP
- **Organising** people around self-help and building a collective sense of agency – eg Organisation Workshop used in the CWP, PRADAN and Siyamandla's work with self-help groups
- **Building people's capabilities**, training, advising, learning-by-doing, educating about human rights, mobilisation and consciousness raising, and social grants
- **Mobilising** mainstream resources
- **Providing Infrastructure** – electricity, water and water storage, toilets
- **Finance** – for economic but also social services.

Some issues to consider are:

- **Transformational relationships** need longer time frames as exemplified by PRADAN which works on a 5-7 year engagement to mobilise people
- **The combination of services** – the hybrid organisations research looked at the types of services which have to be combined and the partnerships that need to be created to support rural livelihoods
- **Formalisation** is appropriate in some places eg Chile, but not in others eg Mexico (Serrano, 21 September 2010); having contracts and rights has advantages, but there is a danger of being overwhelmed by bureaucracy (Habib, 20 September 2010).



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### Improving accountability

At the moment accountability is weak at all levels, and between levels:

- Politicians are not accountable to constituents,
- bureaucrats are not accountable to citizens,
- and politicians and bureaucrats are not accountable to each other.

What kinds of political development need to happen to promote better accountability between politicians and citizens? Would electoral reform help – eg a mixed member system so that MPs are directly accountable? A viable parliamentary opposition is key, as well as a robust civil society – as social protests go up, policies start to go to the left. How do we leverage change in the structures of power to make systems more accountable and responsive? (Habib, 20 September 2010)

### The different roles required

#### Role of intermediaries

The core issue of institutional assets was raised by Claudia Serrano (22 September 2010). Intermediary organisations are important for change, providing the practical support and advocacy that poor and less poor people need. They can be government, private sector (eg accountants), civil society or faith-based organisations. These intermediaries provide space in which individuals and collective structures can develop the confidence and power to operate in the wider environment, compete in the market, and advocate for their rights. An important issue is therefore how to make sure these services are available, and in the right combination.

#### Role of non-governmental organisations

A strong civil society is needed to improve political oversight, promote community participation/organisation, energise ward committees, provide services in communities, build formal and informal collective organisations and promote social innovation.

Civil society can play number of diverse roles, which range from providing alternative policy debates, working alongside grass roots-based organisations to promote development, assisting the poor to form associations that strengthen their voice, and assisting the state to provide services to the poor, to name but a few.

In South Africa, civil society often works on a small scale implementing micro-projects, but in some countries there are NGOs working effectively on a very large scale with great impact. PRADAN has 400 professionals, working with 210,000 households in 6 states of India. (Biswas, 20 September 2010). PRADAN has a 7 year horizon and estimates that 1 trained person can work with 2,000 households over 5-7 years – which over a 20 year career can mean supporting 6000 households. In South Africa, using these ratios, 6,000 trained professionals could support 18 million people over 10 years.

#### Role of the private sector

The private sector provides employment, and also provides many frontline services, both formal and informal. The private sector has a very important potential role in skills development, although skills transfer at present is poor. Innovative ways of engaging business are needed and businesses need to see the advantages of making contributions to society. There is a difference between corporate social investment as an add-on, and firms mobilising their core business to address issues around inequality. An example would be large organisations analysing their entire value chain to identify pro-poor choices that could be made.

#### Role of government

Government in general needs the political will to address inequality. Measures to address poverty have been strongest in the social sector, but often with a weak understanding of the economic system, so that initiatives with good intentions, such as to offer business support or to create income-generating projects, have poor records of success.

The State is often driven by targets and not the quality of services. An institutional champion for 'responsiveness' is required, which can help to manage the interface between state and non-state actors. Consistency of policy is a challenge – government often chases the next big idea. There can also be institutional rivalries within and between spheres of government. Doreen Atkinson argued in her presentation that provinces are locked into only working within their formal boundaries, preventing cross-boundary economic spatial planning in zones such as the Karoo.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### Local government level

The politics of place is very important – especially in a diverse country. Effective services are greatly needed but local government is often the weakest level. Local government has the responsibility for ward level processes, and so should be a key interface between citizens and the state. Local government also plays a key role in land use management.

### Working differently

The Deputy President said in his address to the conference that *'Coordination and integration is not enough unless there is a shared national vision to address poverty – we need coordinated planning with decentralised implementation. We are determined to partner in the fight against poverty'* (Kgalema Motlanthe, 20 September 2010).

Addressing poverty and inequality is an inter-disciplinary endeavour. A holistic, coordinated response is required. There is a problem of a 'silo mentality' at all levels and Government's outcomes approach is attempting to deal with this. The rural outcome, for example, has a specific target around coordination. Doreen Atkinson's paper indicates what can be gained from pro-poor economic regional planning, as opposed to planning on a more micro-level, particularly for recognising the untapped potential in rural areas.

Participatory planning approaches can help poor people define what they need, and how they need it, recognising their multiple objectives and their varied assets and going beyond a deficit model. A number of examples were provided at the conference, including the Community Work Programme with its Organisation Workshop, and community-based planning.

There must be a mix of professional technical work (which can be just transactional) and building agency (a transformational approach).

Gender is an important cross-cutting issue. How can we change entrenched views eg of care giving or of patriarchy? How can we achieve empowerment but avoid emasculation?

Models that can be scaled up are required, prototyping social, institutional as well as technical dimensions of services and approaches. Initiatives need to be piloted, carefully evaluated and then built up to large scale delivery with time. The paradigm that the answer is micro-projects helping small numbers needs to be challenged. The scale of the problem necessitates approaches that reach people at scale.

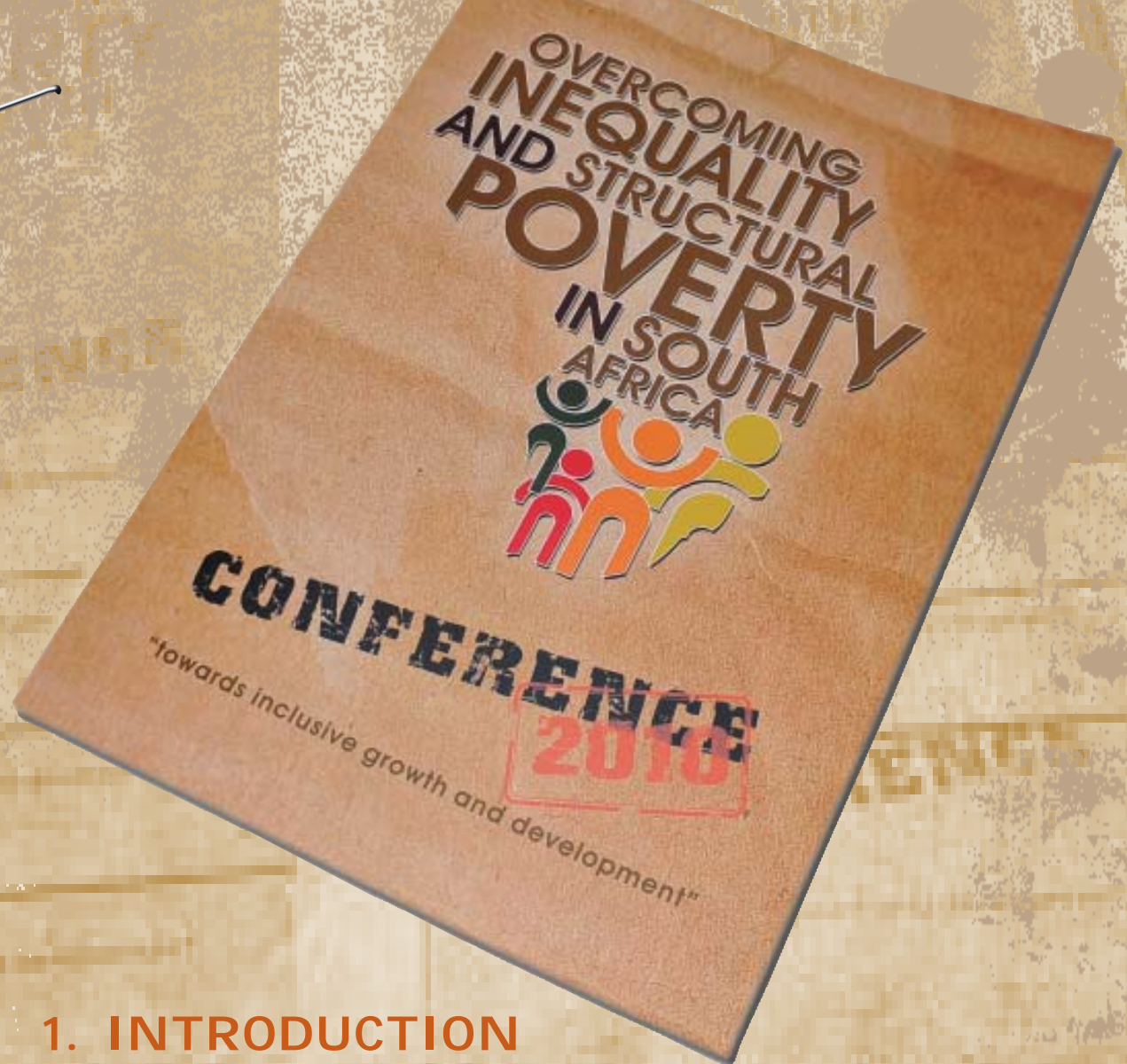
Building poor people's agency is important, but structural change is also a necessity, ie changing the rules of the game to support poor people. Markets, for example, are social constructs: how can we change the rules of the game to change distributional outcomes in the way markets operate.

### Conclusion

Addressing inequality will improve the impact of our moderate growth rates on reducing poverty, reduce many social ills, and increase wellbeing for both the poor and the better-off. But how is it to be achieved? Putting the right policy in place or choosing the right technical solution is only part of the answer. Inequality is about power and interests. A coalition is needed between the elite and poor people, whereby the elite recognise that reducing poverty and inequality will benefit all. Sometimes path dependency – the belief that things have to be that way – means that approaches and outcomes from the past are perpetuated, with a new elite benefiting. The causal chains operating in the system need to be understood so that a theory of change can be developed to reverse inequality.

As reported in the paper from Leibbrandt and Woolard, the rich have got richer post 1994 and most of the poor have become poorer. To address poverty and inequality, new approaches and models are needed. Are elite compacts, eg between business and government already too entrenched, or can they be shaken up? Can accountability by politicians to the electorate be strengthened to avoid narrow class interests being promoted? This may require electoral reform, and a stronger civil society to hold the elite to account. To achieve a stronger civil society, initiatives are required to mobilise the population and create a deeper understanding of civil rights and responsibilities. Perhaps – to answer the challenge from the Deputy President – it is possible to establish a social compact around a progressive transformative vision. But how are we to arrive at this vision, who will drive the process and who has to give what for us to get there? The consensus at the conference was that the process will require structural changes to reduce the stranglehold of the large formal sector organisations on the economy, improved mobilisation and participation by civil society in demanding their rights and exercising their responsibilities, and more integrated and responsive services which add real value, and build agency.





## 1. INTRODUCTION

The challenge that our Deputy President gave to the Conference was:

*'We need to be comprehensive – are there elements missing in our approach; we need to look into the coordination challenge; consider the robustness of our response – are elements adequately resourced; and also the governance challenge – should elements be adjusted. The framework has to pass the social innovation challenge – can these elements be combined in creative ways to address the challenge of poverty and inequality facing the country.'*

KGALEMA MOTLANTHE, (VIDEO PRESENTATION), 20 SEPTEMBER 2010

Data indicates that between 1994 and 2008 poverty in South Africa declined marginally, but that inequality continues to increase, and the full impact of the rise in unemployment following the global financial crisis has yet to be fully quantified. Structural poverty and inequality continue to impact adversely on all people living in South Africa, reinforcing the need for an approach that adequately addresses the interrelated nature of poverty and inequality. With this context in mind, the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), in partnership with the Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute (SPII), Isandla Institute, the Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC) and the Programme to Support Pro-poor Policy Development (PSPPD) proposed a conference that would draw together the extensive experience and research relating to poverty and inequality that has been undertaken in South Africa to date, and which would address the key question: What has more than a decade of research and policy making about chronic and structural poverty in South Africa taught us about poverty and how best to reduce it as swiftly and sustainably as possible?

## INTRODUCTION

The conference *Overcoming inequality and structural poverty in South Africa: towards inclusive growth and development*, was held at the Birchwood Conference Centre in Ekurhuleni from 20 to 22 September 2010. The two and a half day conference brought together scholars, researchers, policy makers, practitioners and civil society actors that have been involved in policy research over the last 25 years, and policy making and implementation for the last 15 years.

The aims of the conference were to:

- bring together the various threads of Southern African poverty studies, from both inside and outside South Africa
- consolidate and reflect on more than two decades of South African poverty studies, including the lessons learned and challenges for the future
- probe the similarities or disjunctures within the sub-region
- facilitate creative and searching dialogue between and among researchers, policy makers and representatives of civil society.<sup>2</sup>

By showcasing research in plenary and parallel sessions, the conference sought to stimulate new thinking on poverty interventions both in South Africa and in the Southern Africa sub-region. The conference provided a platform for consolidating research on structural poverty and inequality. In doing so, the conference further aimed to reflect on the reasons why past policies have failed to address the current poverty and inequality trends in South Africa, as well as to explore possible strategic and effective responses towards addressing the current challenges.

Finally, through bringing together policy makers, practitioners, academics, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs), the conference hoped to create the opportunity to build and rebuild productive relationships across sectors, and to facilitate and promote a way forward in the poverty and inequality debate. In this light, conference organisers emphasised a spirit of openness of engagement at the conference, and particularly in debate about best practice in the poverty and inequality realm. As Mastoera Sadan, Programme Manager of PSPPD, indicated in her welcome address, the conference sought to bridge the divide between research and policy and also focus on future policy interventions.

Against the backdrop of the unacceptably high levels of poverty and inequality in South Africa, the conference sought to focus participants on finding solutions and innovations to address these challenges. Some of the key questions that were considered include: What are the practical requirements for an employment-intensive growth path? What policy choices need to be embraced, and what actions can be undertaken immediately?<sup>3</sup>

The conference opened with an input by Deputy President Kgalema Motlanthe, who recommitted government's support to finding solutions to poverty and inequality. Deputy President Motlanthe recognised the immensity of the challenge that remains in South Africa and called on conference participants to '*...reflect on the efficacy of our approach to fighting poverty and inequality since 1994*'. He acknowledged the need to develop a plan of action to alleviate poverty and inequality in our country and further suggested that the conference be viewed as '*a pragmatic call to action*'.



2. SPII, May 2010 'Overcoming inequality and structural poverty: towards inclusive growth and development', a proposal to the Ford Foundation.

3. Ibid.



## INTRODUCTION

To date, the government has focused various initiatives on its 'war against poverty'. However, Deputy President Motlanthe recognised that the causes of poverty and inequality are interlinked and that a multi-level approach is required, which involves a '*determination to partner up in the fight against poverty*'. The Deputy President suggested that the role of youth in overcoming poverty and inequality has not been sufficiently considered. As he put it, we '*...need to roll up our sleeves and work together with our youth to build a poverty free South Africa*'.

### 1.1 Core conference messages

Firstly there needs to be an accurate definition of the problem – chronic poverty is a symptom of structural poverty and inequality which is rooted in the basic structural make-up of society. This kind of poverty and inequality cannot be addressed by expecting the poor to 'try harder', but by reviewing how poor people are systematically denied opportunities.

Secondly, the cause of the problem needs to be understood – that the persistence of chronic and structural poverty is a result of the kind of growth South Africa experiences and not of a lack of growth. This requires discussion as to what kinds of policy choices would result in a more inclusive growth path.

Thirdly, the notion that poverty in South Africa can be addressed separately from inequality needs to be questioned, and the effect of inequality on South Africa needs to be carefully reviewed. As Mastoera Sadan pointed out:

***The current poverty debate has neglected the issue of inequality. There is a need to make explicit the link between poverty and inequality – and place inequality on the national agenda.***

MASTOERA SADAN, 20 SEPTEMBER 2010

Extreme inequality will not only limit the country's growth objectives but also affect its social fabric, causing instability. Therefore, the conference sought to link thinking about poverty reduction to thinking about inequality and how to reduce it. Conditions that allow for the accumulation of vast wealth amongst poverty need to be problematised as well as poverty.

### 1.2 Structure of the report

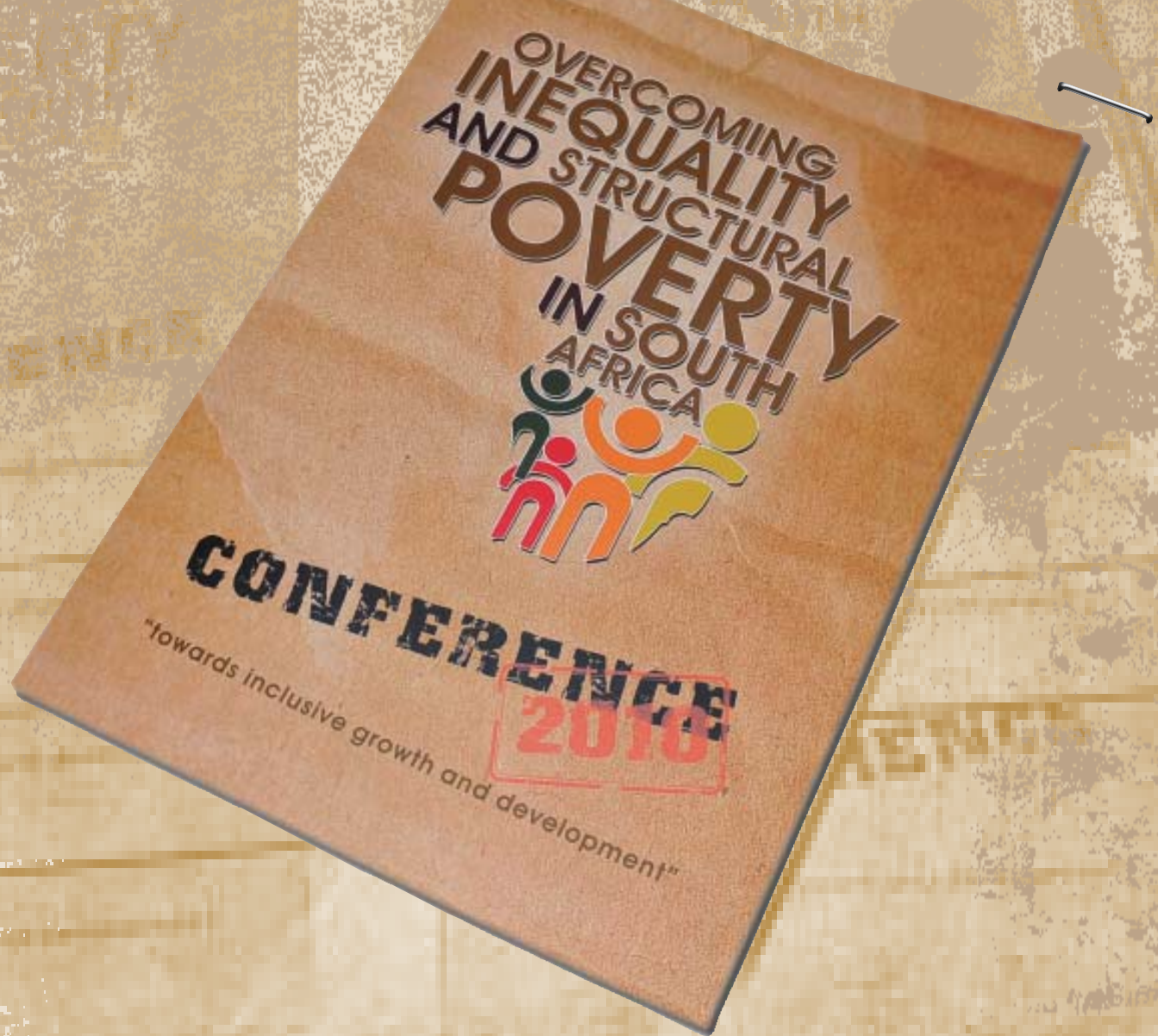
The report closely follows the structure of the conference which comprised both plenary and parallel sessions. Sections two to six of the report focus on the outcomes of the plenary sessions. These sections explore:

- setting the scene for poverty and inequality
- international experiences of poverty and inequality reduction in rural areas
- the importance of foregrounding inequality in seeking solutions to South Africa's challenges
- an analysis of labour market trends and employment as a means to generate growth
- the role of non-state actors in overcoming poverty and inequality.

These sessions set the context for more specific debate in each of the parallel panel sessions, which discussed the dimensions of poverty and inequality according to six different predetermined themes. Each parallel session was framed by one of the following themes:

- social policy and social protection
- employment and industrial strategy
- spatial planning and governance in town and country
- the politics of poverty
- rural development and agrarian reform
- the environment and poverty.

The report also documents current poverty discourses, learnings, reported challenges to reducing poverty and inequality, and the innovative ideas and emerging questions that were raised by conference participants after each plenary or parallel session. In doing so, the report attempts to address the question asked of both participants and presenters – how does South Africa achieve growth and reduce poverty and inequality at the same time?



## 2. POVERTY AND INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA: SETTING THE SCENE

The first plenary session of the conference was dedicated to understanding the current poverty and inequality context in South Africa. A presentation by Murray Leibbrandt and Ingrid Woolard, of the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU), focused on the current trends in poverty and inequality in South Africa that can be discerned from the available data. The second plenary presentation by Adam Habib, Deputy Vice Chancellor of the University of Johannesburg, spoke to the current political context in which development occurs, the implications for poverty and inequality, and the necessary criteria for inclusive development in South Africa.

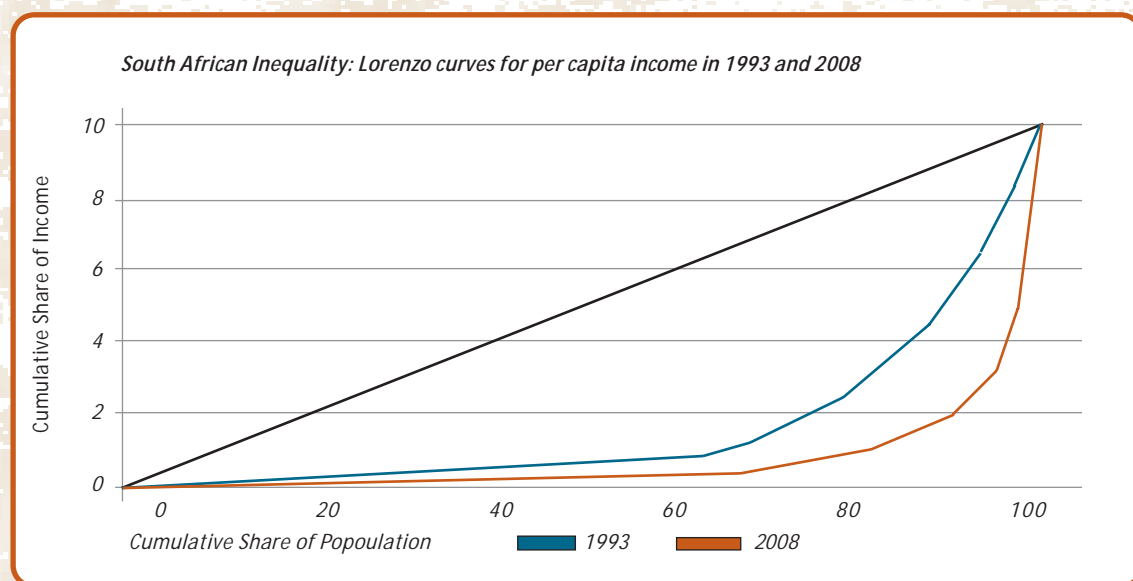


## POVERTY AND INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

### 2.1 Trends in inequality and poverty over the post-apartheid era: what kind of a society is emerging?

Based on an analysis of two national data sets (1993 and 2008), Murray Leibbrandt and Ingrid Woolard's presentation characterised the kind of society that is beginning to emerge in post-apartheid South Africa.

There was a definite increase in inequality between 1993 and 2008, even though poverty decreased slightly. The increase in inequality is evident regardless of the category used to assess it (for example by urban, rural, labour or race categories). Figure 1 demonstrates the increase in inequality in South Africa using Lorenz curves for per capita income in 1993 and 2008. The solid black line represents an equal society and the blue and red lines, representing 1993 and 2008 respectively, reveal the extent to which inequality has increased since 1993.



**Figure 1: South African inequality, presentation by Murray Leibbrandt and Ingrid Woolard, 20 September 2010**

These findings are reinforced by an analysis of the gini coefficient<sup>4</sup>, which indicates that inequality has grown between races and within races, and South Africa has the highest inequality between race groups in the world.

There has been a decrease in poverty since 1993 but this has not been substantial. The biggest reduction in poverty has been within lower income level groups. Leibbrandt and Woolard's analysis suggests that this decrease in poverty can be largely attributed to the provision of social grants, particularly child support grants (CSGs) and old age pensions (OAPs). In quintiles 1 to 5, the percentage of individuals living below a poverty line of R515 per capita per month, decreased from 53.9 per cent to 48 per cent where both these social grants have been added to the family income. Access to services such as water, housing and sanitation has also had an impact on the extent of poverty.

Leibbrandt and Woolard argued that labour market dynamics drive 80 per cent of household inequality in South Africa. While more South Africans are trying to access the labour market, fewer are succeeding in participating in it. Data indicates that when assessing income share by deciles, there has in fact been redistribution from the lower deciles to the top deciles. (The income share of the top deciles increased by 4.2 per cent).

*'We must increase productivity so as to provide real wages and decrease poverty.'*

Murray Leibbrandt, 20 September 2010

And while households with more workers experience less poverty, poverty and inequality levels are not just related to finding employment, but also to the quality of employment retained and real wages.

Leibbrandt and Woolard argued that achieving growth and reducing poverty and inequality is possible. In Brazil, real wages are going up and productivity is increasing at the same time, as a

4. The gini coefficient, which measures inequality on a ratio of 0 to 1, with 0 representing an equal society, shows increasing inequality. The gini coefficient was 0.66 in 1993 and 0.70 in 2008.

## POVERTY AND INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA



result of the focus on improving education. By comparison, in South Africa, the labour market remains a huge problem. Although the provision of social grants is an advance in the fight to decrease poverty, better connections need to be made between grants and other strategies that South Africa employs.

### 2.2 The politics of inclusive development

Adam Habib argued that addressing inequality in South Africa is long overdue and that whilst poverty had been placed on the political agenda as a moral imperative, inequality has become a strategic concession. He suggested that there is an absence of accountability between political elites and citizens and that this is key to understanding the current state of development in South Africa – where *'development is not just about arriving at the right policy, but also about politics and accountability'*.

For this reason, Habib located the debate about inclusive development and inequality at the level of agency. He argued that it is necessary to recognise the structural conditions for political agency and then engage with that structure. One way of doing this is through creating political uncertainty in a context of widespread support for the constitution by the citizenry. By pluralising power through political contestation where elites are forced to contest with each other, they are forced to engage with citizens' concerns and to allow collective organisation to emerge that leads to mass mobilisation.

*'The real dilemma of development is that poor people don't have power. How do you give poor people power?'*

Adam Habib, 20 September 2010

Habib outlined five other types of political development that need to happen to address inclusive development and create a more accountable relationship between politicians and citizens:

- **Electoral reform:** a mixed member proportional system needs to be introduced to ensure accountability between Members of Parliament and political leaders, and which also ensures that MPs are accountable to citizens.
- **The creation of a viable parliamentary opposition:** a break in the tripartite alliance would force the system to the left and enable engagement with development.
- **Corporatist networks:** Polokwane changed the fundamental balance of power in the country, creating a need to please business and multiple stakeholders. There is a need to moderate everyone's expectations, both rich and poor.
- **A robust civil society:** civil society has an important role to play in shifting the dynamics of a more inclusive development agenda.
- **A strategic foreign policy:** there is a need to enhance engagements with the global order and develop an agenda that promotes continental economic markets, as well as strategic trade alliances with other nations.



## POVERTY AND INEQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

### 2.3 Key points from the presentations and discussion on setting the scene

Participants at the conference identified important issues in shifting structural inequality and poverty that emerged from the presentations. These were the need to:

#### **Redress current power imbalances**

If the structural dynamics of inequality have created the current context, then the solution to poverty and inequality must lie in structural reform. One of the questions asked was: how do you create a context for further empowerment?

Taxation of wealthier sections of the economy was seen as one way of creating better redistribution in South Africa. Other suggestions included broadening the tax base through creating more employment. However, if the existing structural problem is the nature of South Africa's growth path and given that the unemployed comprises mainly unskilled and semi-skilled people, then there is a need to grow industrial sectors that absorb a large amount of this type of labour (for example, textiles and tourism). Deregulation of the labour market might also assist in this process. Employment should therefore be a key emphasis in a new framework, but conceptualised differently to current formulations that engage only the existing formal economy.

#### **Improve voice and accountability**

Ways of ensuring accountability of government to marginalised people were discussed. This emerged in two themes. Firstly, how do we get the interests of the elite to dovetail with those of broader society and a developmental agenda? Possible ways of improving voice and accountability included politicians being held directly accountable to their constituencies. Participants also suggested building an ethos of equality in our society.

Secondly, discussion focused on how to build poor people's ability to demand accountability by the state and economic transformation. Suggestions included building impoverished people's social and economic voice, and rights education.

Finally, participants identified that assumptions are made about the poor without the poor being consulted. This is a key problem as it removes people from influencing decisions about their own development.

#### **Use social grants as a basis for further local economic development**

There was largely consensus that although social grants are not a panacea, they remain the most effective mechanism to assist people living in immediate poverty. However, discussions at the conference indicated the need for grants to be linked to local economic development. In this way, social grants would link people to sustainable livelihoods and therefore act as a pathway out of poverty. A core question was whether current structural inequality prevents local communities from using grants in this way.

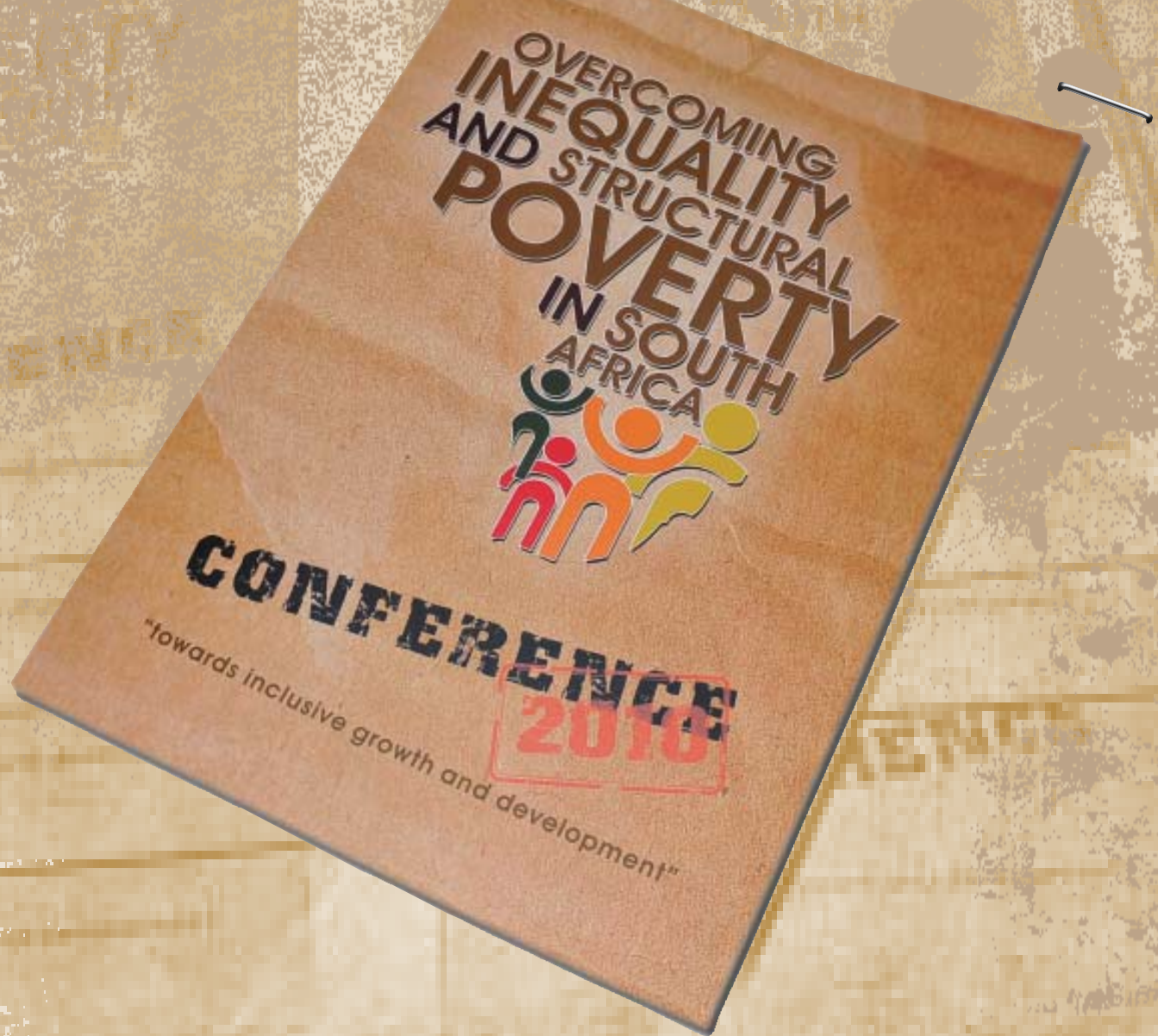
#### **Integrate economic, social and political dimensions**

A clear theme emerged at the conference which emphasised moving beyond the constraints of the current formal sector to focussing on investment in impoverished people in the informal sector. Skewed asset accumulation and distribution is historical. There is a need to integrate economic, social and political spheres to affect current patterns of distribution. This includes considering how assets such as human capital, water supply, grants and land can assist with ensuring that accumulation takes place at the level of poor people rather than rich people.

The roles of women and youth also need to be reconsidered, as both groups remain economically marginalised.

#### **Develop a long-term approach to addressing poverty and inequality**

Any solutions need to be appropriate to existing context and skills. Such programmes need to be long term, because there are no 'quick fix' solutions.

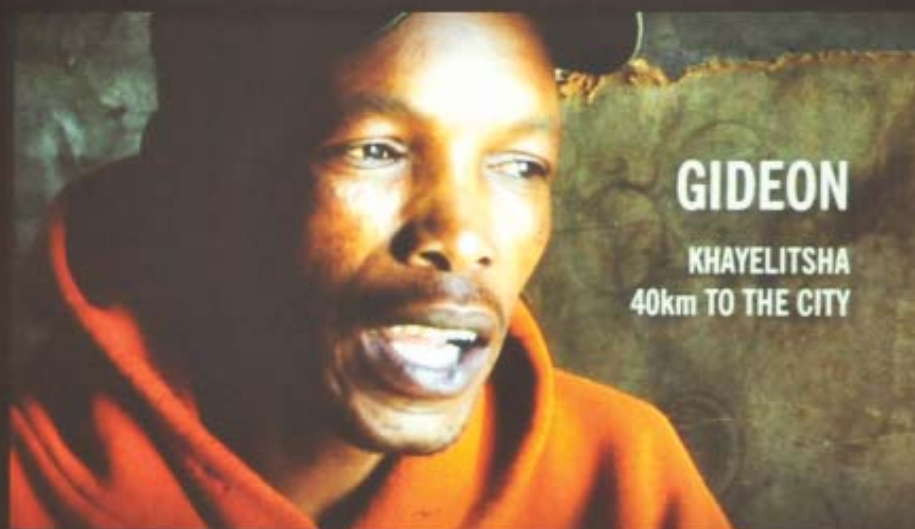


### 3. INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES

The second plenary session began with a showing of a documentary by Isandla Institute, entitled *The Right to the City*. *The Right to the City* illustrates a range of issues, including urban planning, unemployment, housing and service delivery, social exclusion and segregation in urban settlements. While set in Cape Town, South Africa, *The Right to the City* highlights urban realities across the global South. The documentary was followed by presentations from Latin America and India. Claudia Serrano talked about Chile's strategies for addressing poverty and inequality, while Soumen Biswas' presentation focused on the mechanisms employed by PRADAN, an NGO working on a large scale in India to leverage opportunities for poor people.



## INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES



### 3.1 *The Right to the City*

*The Right to the City* follows Gideon, the principal character, through an average day. His daily routine highlights the struggles and inequities faced by the majority of urban residents, who find themselves marginalised and excluded from urban opportunities. Gideon's story and experience is echoed by those of Levina and Phila, making the point that approaches to urban development have yet to prove successful in addressing social inequality, exclusion and injustice.

### 3.2 Latin American experience of growth, poverty and inequality reduction with a rural territorial development focus

Claudia Serrano's presentation indicated that Latin America is looking for answers to poverty and inequality, just like South Africa. Latin America is one of the most unequal continents in the world and faces similar challenges of poverty and social exclusion. However, democratic consolidation has been accompanied by sound fiscal policy and Latin America is meeting its growth targets. (A growth rate of 5.2 per cent is estimated for 2010). However, economic growth is accompanied by high inflation.

Poverty and inequality are a dominant theme on the political agenda in Latin America and public policies focus on growth while also taking cognisance of social issues and social policies. The global orthodoxy that growth is the only way to combat poverty is no longer accepted and there is consensus about the link between growth and poverty.

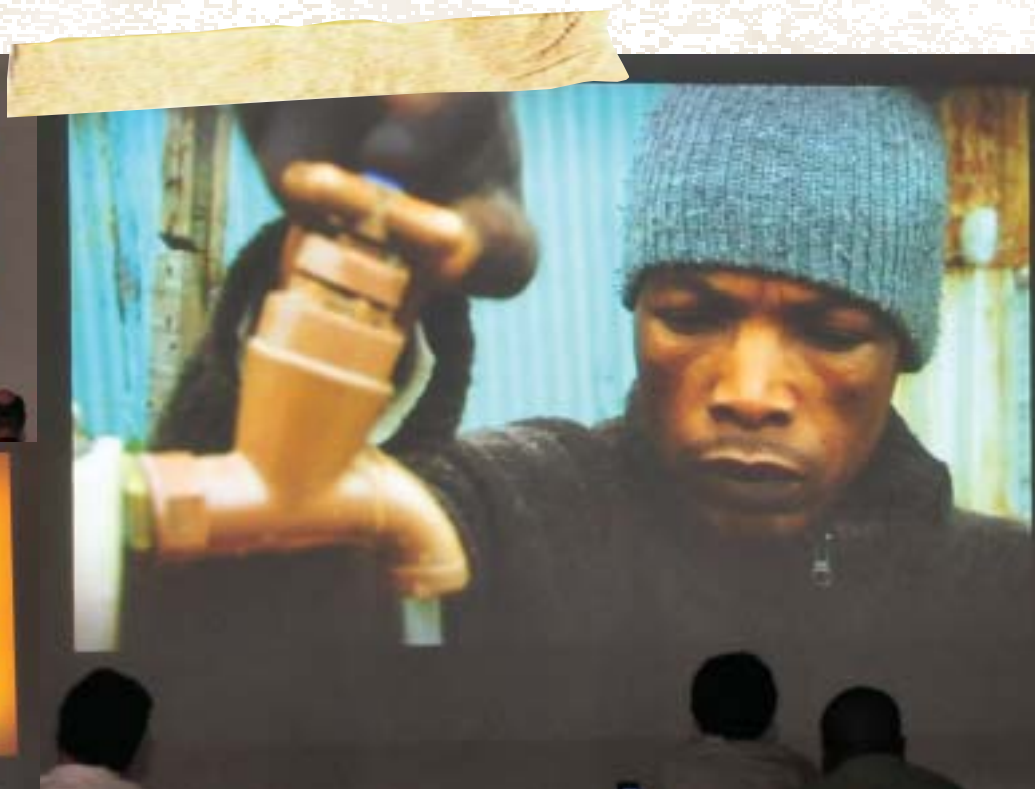
Quality of life is improving in Latin America – between 2002 and 2008, 40 million people (out of 580 million) rose out of poverty. However, the global economic crisis caused poverty to increase again in 2008 and 2009.

Cash transfers have dominated the social protection sector in the region during the past decade. The objective of these transfers is to alleviate poverty in the short term and break inter-generational poverty in the long term. Conditional transfers compel poor households to secure health care and education for children. The transfers also seek to improve the consumption capacity of poor households. Serrano suggested that although cash transfer programmes have been lauded for their success in some areas, they are limited in focus because they exclude the empowerment of communities, which diminishes the impact they can have on family and community welfare.

*'There is nothing to promote the capability of the citizens, only an immediate cash solution.'*

Claudia Serrano, 21 September 2010

## INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES



Serrano argued that the missing link in the poverty and inequality landscape is activities that relate to the labour market. She suggested that attention needs to focus on the labour force as an integral part of the poverty landscape. Overcoming poverty requires paying attention to the challenges of entrepreneurship, competitiveness and productivity. As in South Africa, in Latin America there is a large informal sector. Serrano proposed that people working in the informal sector need to be brought into the formal sector along with the creation of social laws that protect them as workers.

Critical pending issues include how to achieve this through making better use of raw materials generated by Latin America, and, how to increase productivity. Serrano reported that low productivity is a result of almost half of total economic activity occurring in the informal sector, or through short-term employment contracts.

### 3.3 Improving the wellbeing and incomes of India's poorest

Soumen Biswas presented on the work of PRADAN, an NGO which focuses on reducing poverty, hunger and inequality amongst endemically poor communities in India. Similarities between the Indian and South African socio-economic context make it possible to learn from each other about strategies to address structural poverty and inequality. In India there is high economic growth, but a large portion of the population is not participating in this growth. Also, a large percentage of the population comprises unskilled labour, unemployed poor, and people living in rural areas who are affected by poverty and food insecurity.

PRADAN works with over 200,000 households across 38 districts in 8 states in central and eastern India. PRADAN combines a psycho-social approach with technological and economic assistance to empower people living in poor communities to mobilise resources and build assets through developing land resources. PRADAN focuses its attention on areas with a weak or average economy.

Biswas stated that the problem that PRADAN is trying to solve is the sense of hopelessness that people have about moving out of poverty and about their ability to negotiate with key institutions,

*'The solution to poverty and inequality requires enhancing the agency of the community to define the problem and the solution in their own terms.'*

Soumen Biswas, 20 September 2010



## INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES

such as banks or government. PRADAN uses strategies that build confidence within women's self-help groups (SHGs) so that they can start to participate in the economic sector (a sector from which women are traditionally excluded), which eventually leads to engagement in the economy. Facilitating economic linkages is a large part of the strategy.

### PRADAN's strategies include:

- working with socially motivated youth and placing them as workers within grass-roots communities
- building the confidence of poor people through the principles of self-help
- creating or enhancing livelihoods opportunities
- building people's capabilities
- mobilising mainstream resources.

PRADAN focuses on context-specific livelihood strategies through working with people's resources, skills and aspirations, enabling access to technology in a user friendly way, facilitating market linkages, and developing prototypes for configuring pro-poor value chains.

Young professionals are a key part of the process and they have to make a long-term commitment to assisting a particular community. According to Biswas, five to seven years of intense professional engagement enables families to improve food security and increase household incomes from US\$100 per year to US\$1,000 per year. The figure below demonstrates the PRADAN model that moves from survival to raising awareness of opportunities to scaling up livelihood sectors.

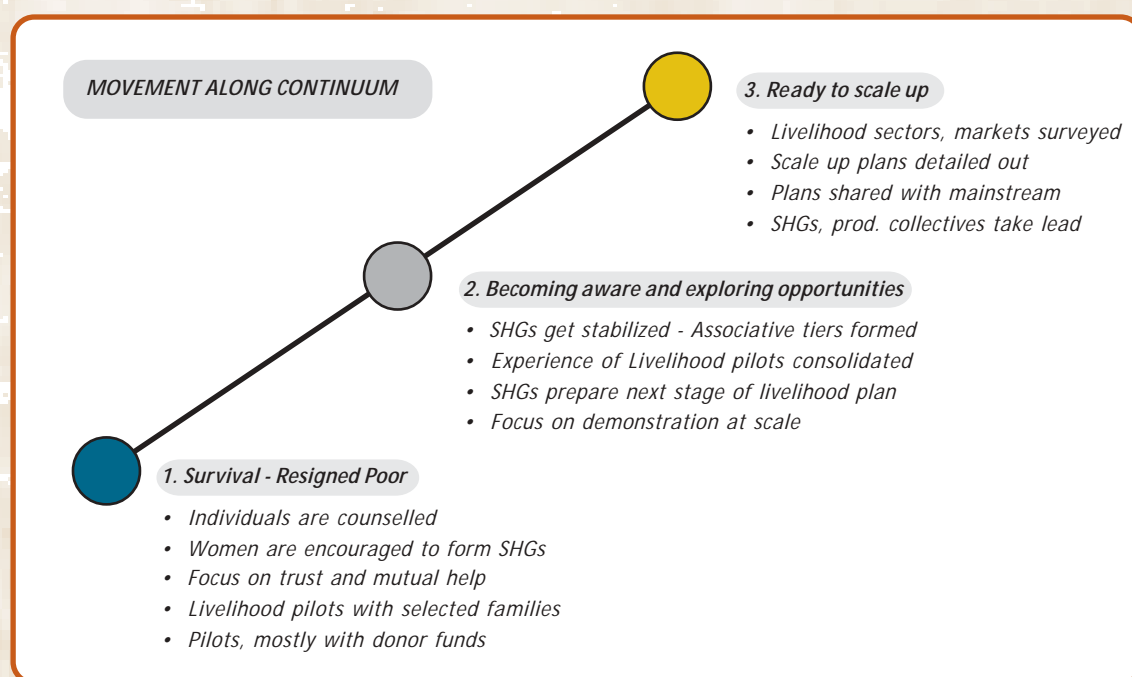


Figure 2: The PRADAN model, presentation by Soumen Biswas, 20 September 2010

### PRADAN's core beliefs

- Secure livelihoods are basic to dignity and wellbeing
- Poor people have the capability to help themselves and other people like them to move out of deprivation
- Removing poverty is a transformative process and begins with a change in people's own belief systems by enhancing **capabilities (being and doing)** and increasing access to **sustainable income-earning opportunities**.
- What is required (besides finance) is knowledge/skills plus empathy/a helping orientation – individuals with knowledge, resources and empathy towards the marginalised must work with them.

## INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCES



### 3.4 Key points from the presentations and discussion on international experiences

#### Working with the informal sector to bring it into the formal

Both presentations emphasised the need to link and integrate the informal sector with the formal sector, and the micro economy with the macro economy. Key questions addressed to Biswas included how to do this in a depressed rural economy and where to generate income from such an economy. Biswas indicated that the key challenge that needs to be addressed in the latter case is combining good production (quantity) with skill (quality). As the agricultural sector typically has low levels of production, there needs to be a concerted and long-term engagement with each rural area (four to five years). Furthermore, based on the PRADAN experience, local markets present better options for rural farmers than large business markets.

Institutional assets were recognised by participants as critically important for linking formal and informal economies. As Serrano pointed out, *'Local government is in an important space to improve social capacity.'* The PRADAN model also promotes interaction with local and provincial government officials. These officials become involved in the project. The working relationship was with bureaucrats and not the political class.

Bringing labour into the formal sector through social laws that protect workers, such as ensuring pensions, was also critical. Serrano suggested that this would generate productivity in the informal sector.

#### Creating agency and transforming the status quo

The presentations suggested that by creating links between the formal and informal economy, agency is created and power relations are shifted.

The PRADAN model combines developing people's agency with strong technical work and has been particularly powerful in developing local economies. Participants suggested that South Africa is not very strong on the latter and needs to focus on using technical and institutional assistance in the right way.

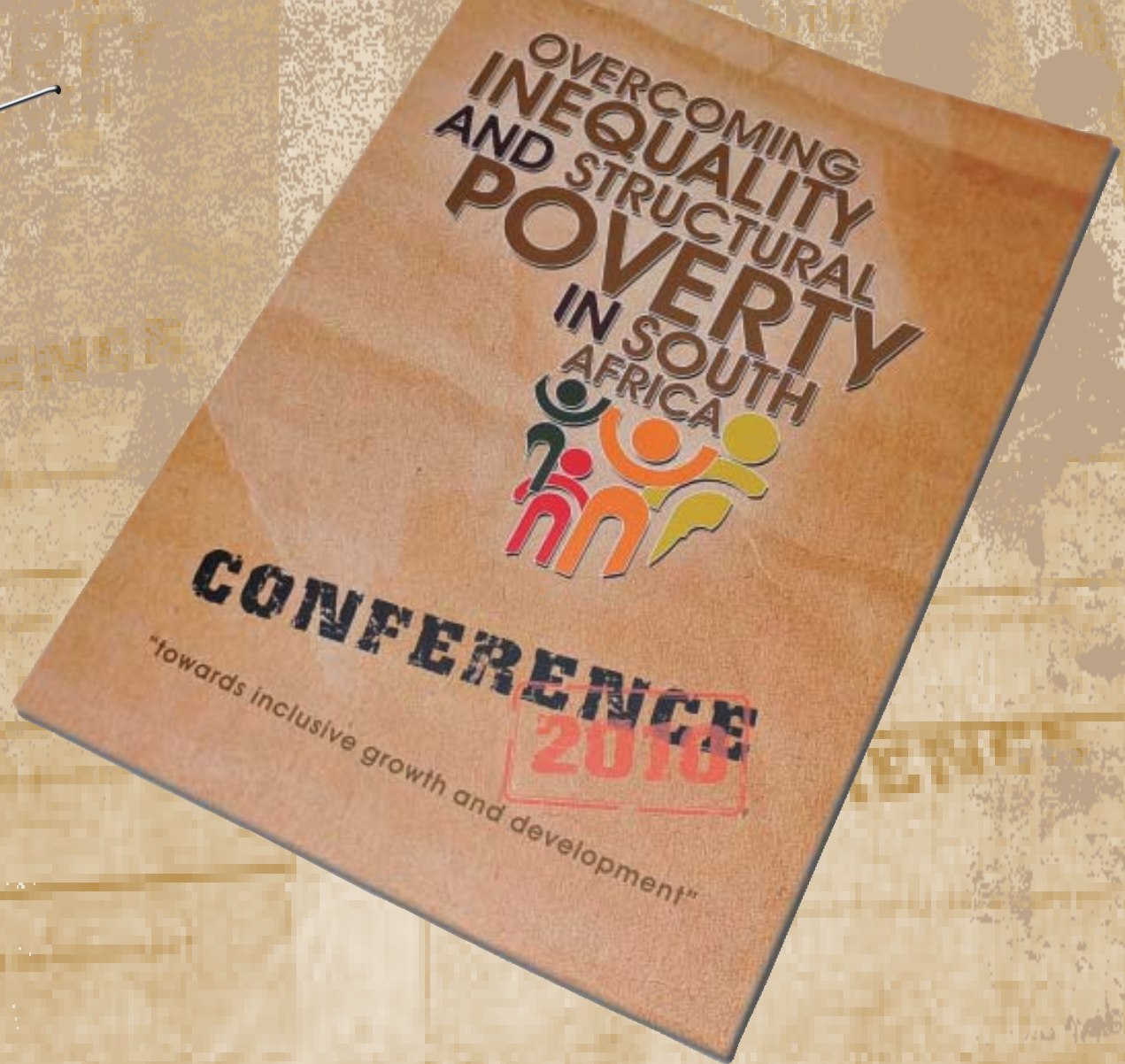
#### Working with communities not individuals

Both the Latin American and Indian experiences suggest that working with communities rather than individuals is beneficial. In part, this is a response to globalisation which has contributed to poverty through both economic and social dynamics. Serrano argued that what is needed is not only action in the labour markets, but also in cultural and institutional assets.

#### Water as a key consideration

While the PRADAN model is instructive, an important consideration in its applicability for South Africa is whether we have sufficient water. India gets enough rainfall to be able to use land as a resource for local economic development, but water scarcity in South Africa is a prevailing concern.





#### 4. FOREGROUNDING INEQUALITY

The fourth plenary session proposed that policy frameworks should focus on inequality and explored what this would mean for current policy. Inequality in South Africa is difficult to resolve because it relates primarily to the current distribution and redistribution of resources. Neva Makgetla, Deputy Director General for Economic Policy in the Economic Development Department, assessed what policy frameworks would look like if they focused on inequality, while Kate Philip, based at Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies (TIPS), talked in her presentation about what types of strategies could address economic marginalization.

## FOREGROUNDING INEQUALITY

### 4.1 Bringing inequality into policy

Neva Makgetla argued that the state has focused most of its policy initiatives on poverty and not on inequality. The policy focus on poverty can be seen in the national anti-poverty strategy and the anti-poverty campaign. However, poverty and inequality have different social and economic consequences, and particularly in the South African context policy cannot focus on poverty alone. As Makgetla pointed out:

*Anti-poverty discourse tends to emphasise improving the conditions of a minority rather than empowering the majority and transforming economic systems.*

NEVA MAKGETLA, 20 SEPTEMBER 2010

Focusing on inequality therefore requires a completely different policy approach, as well as more radical political and economic strategies. As demonstrated in Table 1, an inequality focus is qualitatively different from an anti-poverty focus, in that an anti-poverty policy assumes that the poor is a minority and comprises particularly vulnerable people, while policy with an inequality focus assesses structural patterns and cycles in society.

*Table 1: Implications of a poverty or inequality focus for policy, presentation by Neva Makgetla, 20 September 2010*

POLICY IMPLICATIONS	
ANTI-POVERTY POLICY	INEQUALITY POLICY
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Minority is poor</i></li> <li>• <i>Largely because unable to work due to age, disability, gender, location ('vulnerable')</i></li> <li>• <i>Therefore strategy focuses on transfers and services to improve conditions plus some support for micro enterprise</i></li> <li>• <i>Redistribution through the budget</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Minority captures disproportionate share of national income</i></li> <li>• <i>Economic and social systems concentrate power and wealth</i></li> <li>• <i>Therefore strategy focuses on:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– <i>Improving mobility and controlling conspicuous consumption in the short run</i></li> <li>– <i>Transforming economic systems to create economic opportunities on a mass scale</i></li> <li>– <i>Support for more equitable distribution of education and assets</i></li> </ul> </li> <li>• <i>Requires a profound and systematic transformation of the economy</i></li> </ul>

Makgetla argued there is an urgent need to tease out what the implications would be for policies that are different from those we have now. Although the data on inequality has been contested, there is consensus that South Africa's gini coefficient is one of the worst in the world, with the top 10 per cent of households accounting for between 40 and 50 per cent of consumption and inequality remaining aligned with race, gender and location. Further, data demonstrates that while there has been a decrease of the share of labour in remuneration, the share of profits has tended to grow.

Inequality continues to exist despite anti-poverty initiatives because of the structure of economic assets, settlement patterns and qualitatively different educational outcomes that are a result of the apartheid legacy. Unemployment and joblessness remain a fundamental problem. Furthermore, when the gini coefficient reaches 0.6 then growth drops substantially.

Makgetla also noted that the growing distance between the standard of living of policy makers and the majority results in policy uncertainty. She argued that policy makers need to ask the following questions:

- How do we make society more cohesive and legitimate by reducing inequality?
- What is the vision that we share of an equal South Africa?
- What type of inequality is acceptable?
- If we are talking about incorporating people that are currently marginalised, what are the terms of incorporation?

There is a need to review the economic system and how it generates inequality, and then systematically transform the economy. There is still alignment of race and class which impacts on social conflict and is 'devastating for policy discourse'. The sustainability of current patterns of accumulation and redistribution need to be reassessed.



## FOREGROUNDING INEQUALITY

### 4.2 Addressing inequality and economic marginalisation: a focus on strategy

Kate Philip stated that a review of strategies in marginal areas suggests that the state has made the strongest gains in the social sector, but that economic outcomes remain one of the state's weakest performing areas in relation to addressing inequality and economic marginalisation. Philip suggested that the state's role in markets has remained unclear, especially at a local level, and that there continues to be an over reliance on market responses, such as job creation, to address the dual challenges of inequality and economic marginalisation. In part, the state's response can be attributed to a weak understanding of the levers and instruments that it has available to influence market outcomes or to achieve necessary change in systems and structures. Overall, bad strategy is a reflection of bad economic policy.

Philip argued that inappropriate strategies to deal with inequality and marginalisation are a result of a poor understanding of economic marginalisation, which is rooted in structural inequality and in key legacies of apartheid. Strategies to address economic marginalisation have been informed by a common understanding that South Africa has a dual economy – a first economy which is formal, modern and developed and a second, informal economy servicing poor people. Philip argued that strategies based on this assumption, have focused on fixing the problems associated with the informal economy by linking the dual economies without addressing issues arising from the formal economy. Strategies have therefore failed to recognise the fact that wealth and poverty are produced by common processes in South Africa. As the diagram below indicates, economic marginalisation is a result of the existing and sustained structure of the economy, spatial inequality and inequality in human capital formation.

*'One of the big questions is: what is the role that the state should be playing in relation to markets?'*

Kate Philip, 20 September 2010

#### POOR STRATEGY OFTEN = POOR UNDERSTANDING OF ECONOMIC MARGINALISATION

- The differences between wealth and poverty are so stark in SA that the notion that we have 'two economies' did resonate:  
= A first economy, modern and developed; and a secondary economy - in which poor black people lack access to even basic services.
- But it's a problematic formulation: if the second economy is seen as somehow separate from the 'first': existing in parallel and underdeveloped because it is disconnected from the more developed end of the economy.
- It has informed strategies that try to 'fix' the problems in the former by 'linking it' to the latter - but leaving the latter largely untouched.
- But wealth and poverty are produced by common processes in SA.
- Economic marginalisation is rooted in structural inequality - and in key legacies of apartheid.

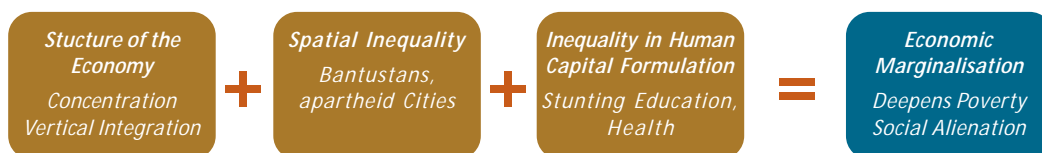


Figure 3: Components that lead to economic marginalisation, diagram from presentation by Kate Philip, 20 September 2010

The impact of this unequal structure on the marginalised in South Africa is particularly problematic. Traditionally, the informal sector is an easy entry point into the economy for SMMEs. However, in South Africa, the economic structure is different from other developing economies – products consumed by poor people are produced by major economic stakeholders who have access to good distribution networks across the country. Therefore, there are limited opportunities for products of small-scale manufacturing

## FOREGROUNDING INEQUALITY

and agro-processing to be sold at a local level because this space is already occupied. As a result, it is difficult for poor people to self-employ their way out of poverty.

The structural constraints are made worse by spatial inequality in South Africa. In developing countries, the small farming sector is a dynamic part of rural local economies, and land-based livelihoods increase food security and provide a safety net function. In South Africa, spatial inequalities that are a result of apartheid land dispossession have stunted rural local economies and employment creation at a micro level, and more specifically, self-employment. This has led to an over reliance on migrancy and social grants in rural areas which cannot act as a safety net.

Therefore, economic marginalisation, and the dependency that goes with it, is deeply structural and *'the constraints are real'*.

What are the implications of all this for strategy? Philip argued that any strategies to address economic marginalisation need to focus on long-term structural change, which includes addressing structural inequality, restructuring the economy and creating a new growth path for South Africa. Strategies need to make a difference at a systemic level and have an explicitly redistributive agenda.

A strategy for long-term structural change needs to be accompanied by strategies that assist marginalised people now by unlocking economic agency at a local level, thus facilitating economic participation where markets are failing to do so. Such strategies include considering an employment guarantee in South Africa similar to that implemented in India, addressing power relations, rethinking access and distribution in value chains and addressing spatial inequality through building inclusive cities.

Opportunities also exist to create an environmental services sector. Figure 4 below shows that the areas of highest potential for job creation in environmental services overlap with the areas of deepest poverty.

*'We have dependency – it's deeply structural, it is not a state of mind. On their own there is very little they can do to change their circumstances'*

Kate Philip, 20 September 2010.

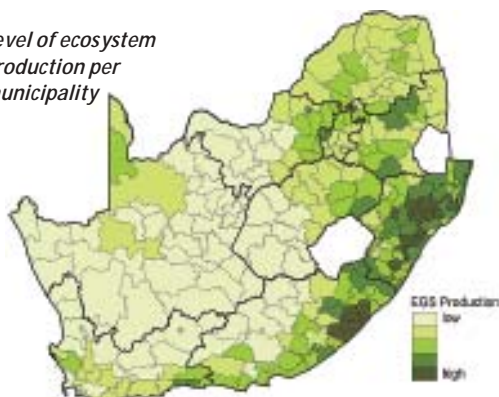
### CHANGING THE VALUE PLACED ON NATURE

**The current spread of costs and benefits of eg water - costs are borne in rural areas, benefits are biased towards urban areas.**

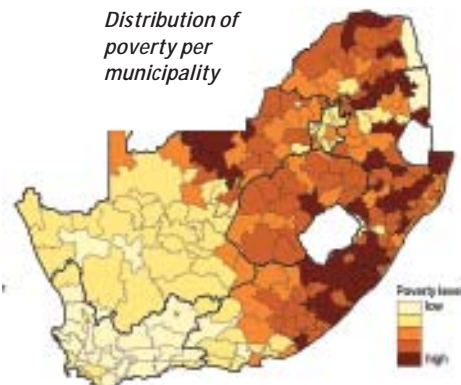
**In remedying this: huge untapped potential to create an environmental services sector - and create sustainable jobs and enhance livelihoods in some of the most marginal rural areas in the economy.**

- The greatest potential is from services related to water supply and climate change. Most needed in the places where water and carbon are produced in nature;
- Action to control erosion, rehabilitate soil, clear invasive aliens, revegetate and manage fire creates significant and measurable improvements in water flow, ground water, water quality and carbon sequestration: enhancing food security and agricultural productivity.

Level of ecosystem production per municipality



Distribution of poverty per municipality



**The areas of highest potential for job creation in environmental services overlap with the areas of deepest poverty**

Figure 4: The potential for environmental service as a job creation strategy, diagram from presentation by Kate Philip, 20 September 2010



## FOREGROUNDING INEQUALITY



*'... poor people in SA [are] unusually dependent on wages, or remittances and/or grants.'*

Kate Philip, 20 September 2010

### 4.3 Key points from the presentations and discussion on foregrounding inequality

#### **Poor people can't 'self-employ' themselves out of structural poverty and inequality**

Given the unequal structure of the economy and the current joblessness, an employment guarantee is a necessary solution. The policy implications are that the state acts as an employer of last resort (which is not dissimilar to the state assisting financial markets when they have failed). Participants at the conference explored 'the right to work' in India, where 55 million people have been given an employment guarantee, and as a result a labour market floor (minimum wage) is beginning to emerge.

#### **Economic policy needs to change to address structural inequality**

A clear consensus emerged from presenters and participants that policy needs to present a different economic growth path if inequality is to be addressed. Black economic empowerment (BEE) is not sufficient to achieve this – changes in ownership associated with BEE are limited to reproducing existing systems that concentrate wealth. Instead, economic policy needs to address the concentration of capital in key sectors of the economy and existing structures of production.

This means addressing the structure of industry as it currently exists. South Africa is dominated by heavy industry and there is a need to consider how to transform production to include small-scale business. Philip argued that South Africa can tackle the spread and distribution of value chains and, in this way, attempt to change the structure of distribution. Markets are also thin because they are dominated by large players who can access good distribution networks. Opportunities need to be created for small-scale producers in the long term in internal and external markets.

#### **Improving social cohesion and eliminating conflict**

A key question is what kind of society we want South Africa to be. Addressing inequality was seen as fundamental to shifting relations in society so that all people have a right to participate in society, and issues such as marginalisation and gender-based violence are addressed. The conference proceedings noted that poverty affects women more, and that in situations where communities are asked to prioritise work, home-based care (HBC) and strategies to address violence against women are some of the critical choices they make.



## 5. TOWARDS EMPLOYMENT-GENERATING GROWTH

Unemployment rates in South Africa remain high and many of the unemployed are characterised by low and underdeveloped skills sets. Creating full employment is often presented as the panacea to South Africa's challenges of poverty and inequality. However, this may be an over-simplified answer that does not consider local and global realities.



## TOWARDS EMPLOYMENT

## 5.1 An analysis of labour market trends

Seeraj Mohamed's presentation focused on an analysis of labour market trends in South Africa to address the question of the shortage of jobs in South Africa. Although a lack of skills and labour market inflexibility tell some of this story, these are simplified economic answers that do not account for the complexity of the labour market in the local context or the global experience.

Current policy on labour markets has been influenced by neo-classical and mainstream thinking based on the theory of supply and demand and the equilibrium of full employment. However, Mohamed argued that an assumption of full employment is an unrealistic expectation in South Africa, and in fact, globally.

In the late 1980s, the apartheid government adopted neo-liberal policies that became entrenched during South Africa's transformation into a democracy, despite political changes and the development of a new Labour Relations Act. The economy developed around a minerals energy complex (MEC), and industries with strong links to these areas developed well and received much investment. The economic transformation also strengthened the financial sector, but kept those sectors without ties to minerals and energy weak, especially the industrial sector.

Currently there is a strong dependence on the MEC sector in the economy while investment in policy and infrastructure that supports non-MEC sectors remains neglected. For example, the only sector that has an industrial policy is the motor vehicle sector, and this is the only industrial sector that has demonstrated growth since the 1970s.

Unemployment is directly related to the structure of the economy. Big business unbundled, restructured, internationalised and sold off businesses when apartheid ended.

Capital's response to new labour policy and democracy was defensive and led to limited investment in the economy and capital flight, alongside threats of further capital flight and what has been called 'capital strike'. South African companies also engaged in corporate restructuring as part of a global phenomenon and moved some operations abroad into the global arena, taking skills, investment and money out of the country.

This was compounded by the new democratic government's adoption of neo-liberal economic policies which:

- did not implement policies to address industrial structural weaknesses, de-industrialisation and industrial job loss
- implemented macroeconomic policies that limited social and infrastructure investment
- liberalised finance and international financial flows, which increased capital speculation, bubbles and macro volatility
- supported the financialisation of the economy.

The reallocation of global markets has led to an entrenched division of labour. South Africa either provides raw material or cheap labour for assembly. International companies control these sectors, extracting larger profit shares.

Mohamed posed the following question: if South Africa does not have an assumption of full employment, how does it move forward as a country? He argued that there is a need to think about growth, investment and employment creation more carefully:

*What we do know is that our current growth path, with an increasing emphasis on finance, needs to be addressed in relation to the current situation that we are sitting with. There are no clear solutions to these questions. We need more serious analysis of the SA economy.*

SEERAJ MOHAMED, 21 SEPTEMBER 2010

South Africa needs to create jobs that will generate a more sustainable and environmentally-conscious growth plan, and these may lie in the services sector.

*'There are many ways of thinking about economic growth and ways of dealing with unemployment in the economy. We need to draw on real stories so as to provide more complex answers to employment problems.'*

Seeraj Mohamed, 21 September 2010

## TOWARDS EMPLOYMENT

### 5.2 Key points from the presentations and discussion on employment-generating growth

#### MEC directly contributes to poverty

Points raised in plenary discussion included that the MEC sector directly contributes to poverty in many ways, including through pollution of the environment. The MEC sector creates high levels of pollution that directly affect poverty-stricken fence-line communities. *'A lot of their growth on paper directly affects poverty on the ground'*. Further, this sector consumes disproportionate amounts of energy and water and has not engaged with issues of climate change which will ultimately affect the food economy and therefore poor communities.

#### The role of industrialisation

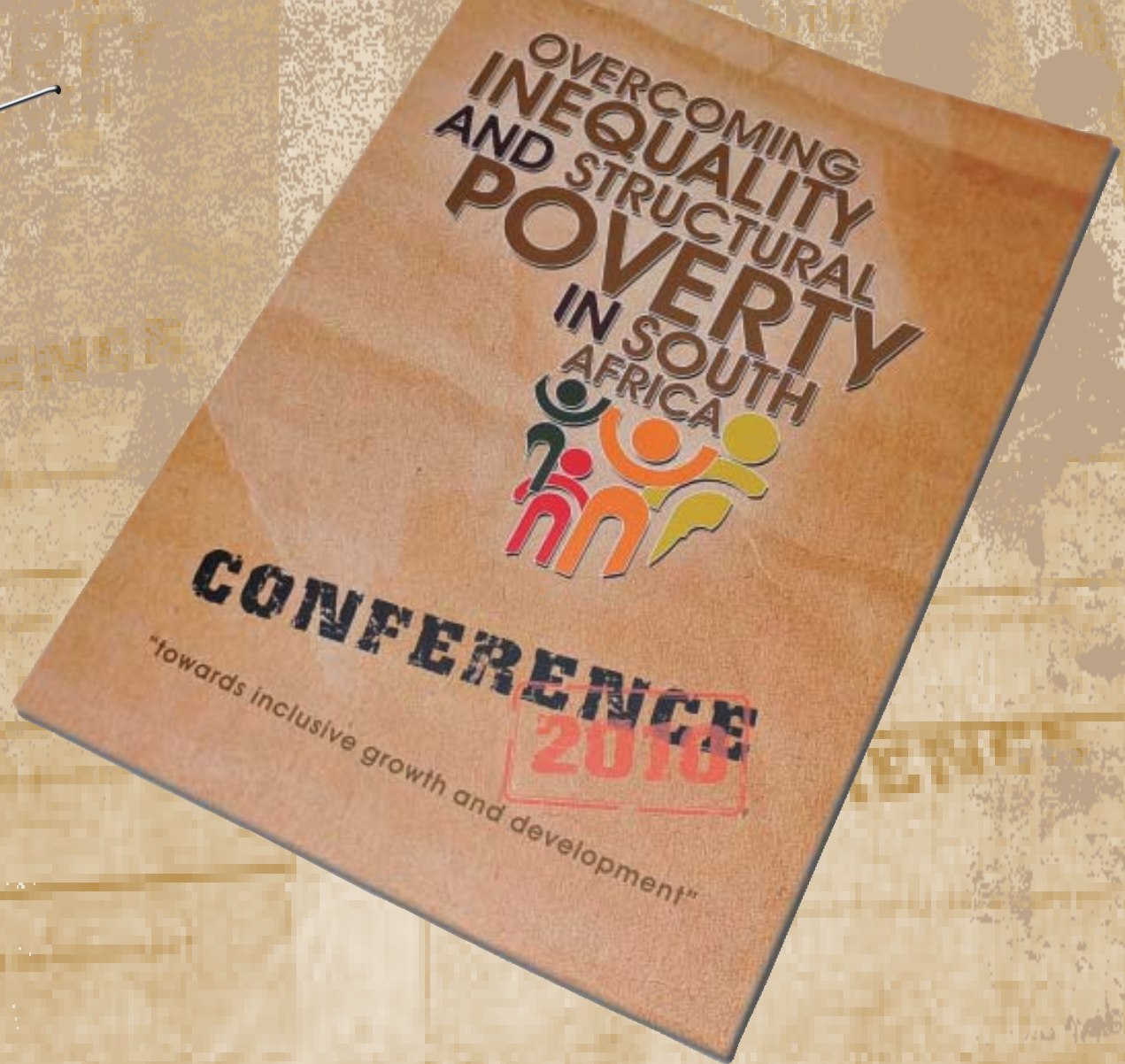
One of the key questions discussed in the plenary was what the role of industrialisation should be in the future. Participants also asked what resources (human capital, energy, and water) would become available for alternative strategies if these were not all locked into the MEC sector.

#### Job creation

There is little evidence that the South African economy has ever tried to address creating full employment. A serious analysis of the South African economy needs to be undertaken and decisions need to be made about points of focus in the economy; does the informal sector provide solutions or should there be a reconsideration of the role of the formal sector in creating inclusive growth and employment?







## 6. THE ROLE OF NON-STATE ACTORS IN OVERCOMING POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

This section of the report presents three case studies concerning the role of non-state actors in overcoming poverty and inequality. A common thread in all three case studies is the use of assets and harnessing of agency at a community level to change the situations that communities are facing.



## THE ROLE OF NON-STATE ACTORS IN OVERCOMING POVERTY AND INEQUALITY



CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

### 6.1 Bushbuckridge Community Work Programme: an example of poverty alleviation

David Cooper presented on the Bushbuckridge pilot project of the Community Work Programme (CWP). At this site, the project sought to create regular work opportunities for 2,200 participants in the Bushbuckridge (BBR) municipality. The project grew out of Teba Development's involvement with promoting economic development within the BBR area. The project design included detailed community participation, managed by a team of facilitators, with technical support. The project was also aligned with local municipal priorities and sought to build on pre-existing interventions and infrastructure.

The Community Work Programme draws on participatory rural appraisal (PRA) techniques in working with communities, in order to identify core needs and role players in each area, which information is fed into work plans. Communities in Bushbuckridge identified four sectors that needed attention and these made up the CWP:

- **Health:** Participants visited vulnerable homes in the community. They assisted people with taking, and understanding how to take their medication, and supported the local clinics and HBC organisations. Participants also assisted by identifying sources of help for people and referring them to appropriate institutions such as Home Affairs, or organisations working with child-headed households and orphaned children.
- **Agriculture:** Participants focused on food security and improving the agricultural economy both through direct assistance and through the maintenance or provision of basic agricultural infrastructure. Projects included creating food gardens in homes, schools and clinics, along with supporting farmers through activities such as clearing irrigation canals.
- **Construction:** In this sector, participants focused on repairs to, and maintenance of, community assets. A list of construction projects was drawn up through the PRA process, and engineering professionals visited the sites and designed plans. Projects included maintenance and renovations at schools, clinics and community halls, road maintenance, fencing and the laying of water pipes.
- **Education:** Participants acted as teacher aids in schools. They assisted teachers in the classroom and with basic administration, including sorting library books, photocopying, overseeing extra-mural activities, preparing meals, working in the school garden, and keeping schools clean and safe.

There have been significant outcomes in each sector for communities at the BBR site, as well as a transfer of skills where CWP participants received relevant training. The success of the project was underpinned by existing land reform initiatives, a large demand for food, and a range of agricultural and farming activities in the area. The local inhabitants received the project well, and participants expressed strong endorsement for income-based work in CWP.



## THE ROLE OF NON-STATE ACTORS IN OVERCOMING POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

### 6.2 The Bokfontein Development Forum: a CWP

King George Mohlala presented a case study of Bokfontein Development Forum which described the functioning of the community work programme. The case study highlighted the importance of community organisation in promoting human dignity and alleviating poverty and inequality.

Bokfontein is an informal settlement in the Northern Province, to which people were forcibly removed even though the area was not prepared for human habitation and infrastructure was lacking. The result was unemployment, poverty and crime. There was also a lack of support from the municipality, with little community leadership. The project catalysed the emergence of a formal leadership structure within the community in the form of a community committee. Facilitated by the Seriti Institute, the Bokfontein Development Forum was created with the aim of ensuring a better life for community members, and has involved the private and public sectors in its efforts.

Through an organised approach, the community was able to secure a number of outcomes in a short period of time, including a new borehole, a food production garden, and a recreation centre. Activities of the CWP included food gardens, improving an unpaved access road, child care and home-based care. The improved access road is particularly noteworthy as the project committee was able to get a local mining and quarrying company to donate waste crushed stone, and with community labour they paved a dirt road. Through employing 800 people weekly to achieve these outcomes, the CWP project has improved the quality of life of people living in the Bokfontein settlement and helped foster a proactive community.

Community members continue to benefit from the organisational skills they have learnt. A food cooperative has been formed and the relationship between the municipality and the CWP is a productive relationship.

Mohlala argued that not only has the community experienced a growing sense of dignity and ownership, but that social cohesion has increased and crime decreased. These social outcomes were demonstrated when the community was untouched by the 2008 xenophobic attacks, despite foreigners comprising almost a third of the community in Bokfontein.

Based on his personal experiences in Bokfontein, community member Mohlala suggested that South Africa can achieve growth and reduce poverty and inequality by providing people with a way to learn how to organise and work together, through a vehicle such as a CWP.

### 6.3 Lessons on how to include communities in finding solutions to their problems

Lebogang Ramafoko, Executive Producer of Kwanda and a senior executive for media at Soul City, presented a case study of a reality TV show called Kwanda that worked with a variety of partners, including the Community Work Programme, to assist communities to improve their own lives. Kwanda is founded on the principle that community development projects are an essential way to improve people's lives, and that these interventions need to go beyond a limited focus on individuals. Ramafoko described how the objective was to '*increase social capital to enable communities to address their own challenges, and engage with government structures more effectively.*'

How do we change the ,  
discourse around grants.  
(gender dimension to discourse)  
Where are grants located  
within the development path?

## THE ROLE OF NON-STATE ACTORS IN OVERCOMING POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

Through careful scripting and a sequence of activities, Soul City's Kwanda used television to communicate a powerful social message: 'Working together we can transform communities to look, feel and work better'. In each episode in the series, the intervention introduced a focal community then went through a participatory process of drawing together local role players, identifying problems, and working to overcome them. This was replicated at a different site, with a different community, facing different problems, in each successive episode. Facilitating a genuine community-based intervention and producing a TV show requires a partnership model. The model drew together members of the focal community, state-based actors, project facilitators with developmental expertise and media practitioners. The process therefore effectively accomplished two tasks: it facilitated, and it filmed a community development initiative.

Kwanda also sought to become a tool for TV audiences to participate, through becoming part of a network or community of people seeking to change and improve their own communities. The 13 episodes tracing this process worked as a 'reality-type' show. The television viewer could vote to decide the winner, and also could apply to have the Kwanda team visit his or her community.

Figure 5 describes the partnership model which drew on government, professional expertise, communities and the media to assist in the Community Work Programme. The Community Work Programme has employed up to 2,000 people in each of the five communities for two days paid work per week for the foreseeable future.

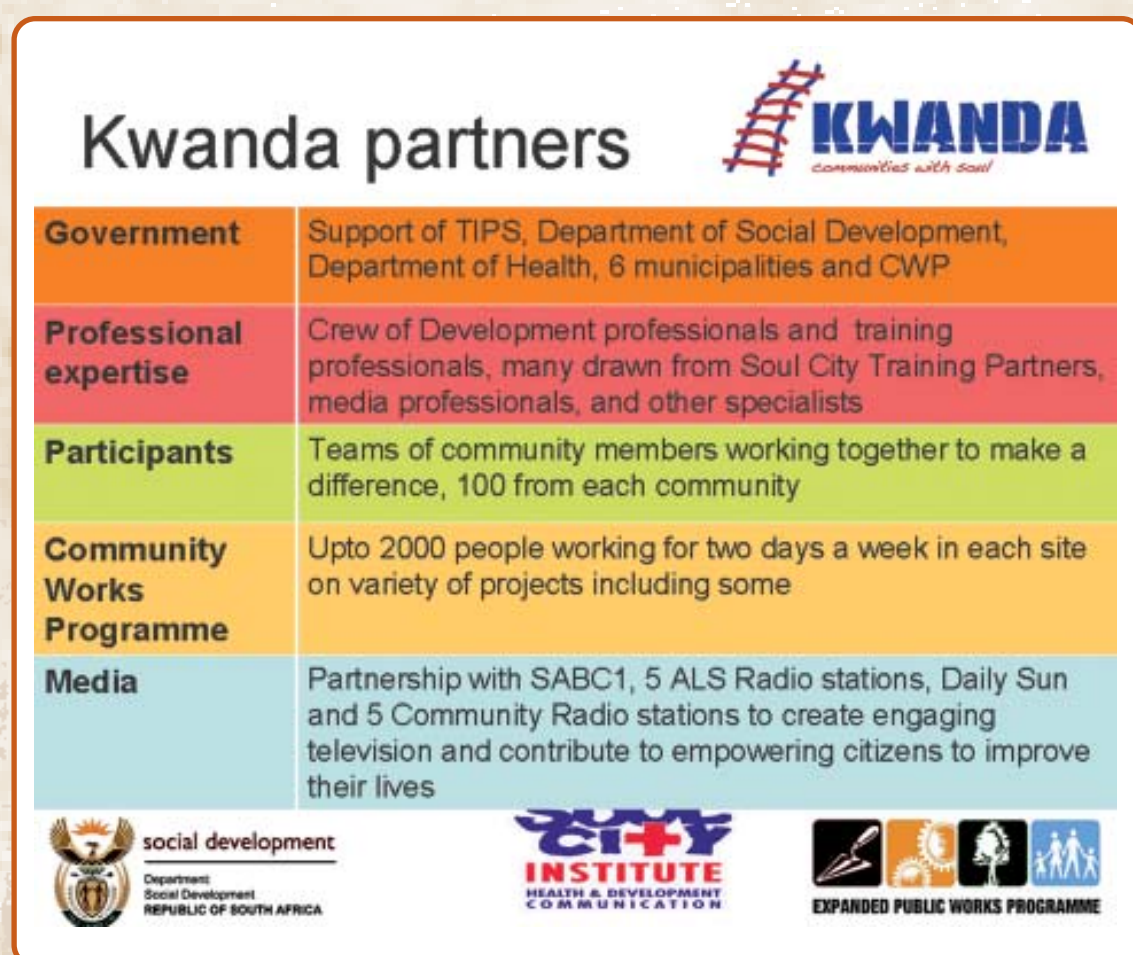


Figure 5: Kwanda partners, presentation by Ramafoko, 21 September 2010

Communities identified both social and economic issues that required action. Social issues included alcohol abuse, violence, and support for the vulnerable (orphans, vulnerable children and the elderly). Economic issues focused on linking poor people with state support and community projects such as chicken farms, sewing groups and food gardens. The programmes inspired audiences to take action in their own communities.



## THE ROLE OF NON-STATE ACTORS IN OVERCOMING POVERTY AND INEQUALITY



CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS ASKING QUESTIONS

As a result of the project, communities have an increased awareness of the value of working as a team. This has, for example, enabled them to link into local structures such as their municipalities. Community members that were in conflict are now working together and there has been a reduction in crime and violence in communities. The communities are reported to look different now, with vegetable farms, parks, etc, evident.

Ramafoko suggested that the Kwanda case study demonstrates that community work programmes are a viable way of addressing inequality. The CWP used a holistic approach to tackle the challenges experienced within each of these poor communities. Furthermore, when communities organised on their own behalf it became easier for government to deliver. However, people need support to be confident about their actions and to feel that they can make a difference. *'The condition for growth in the local economy is autonomous (community-driven) organisation, and the confidence of people to act.'*

### 6.4 Key points from the presentations and discussion on the role of non-state actors

The three CWP case studies demonstrated that people are always organising themselves within communities in the best way they can, and that communities act as an anchor for development. CWPs make the community responsible for managing themselves, and provide wages and support. CWPs also foster self-respect amongst individuals and respect for the community.

#### The role of the municipality and accountability

Bureaucracy remains a huge challenge faced by communities in South Africa, especially when it comes to drawing on support from local municipalities. One participant suggested that where communities are self-organising they tend to be abandoned by the municipality.

In the case of Kwanda, the media ensured the accountability of the relevant municipalities – *'It forced municipalities to "pull their socks up" because they wanted to look good on camera' (Ramafoko, 21 September 2010).*

#### Holistic and ongoing interventions

Effective CWPs come about through the implementing organisation working closely with communities so that communities address their needs through their own agency. However, linking community initiatives to technical and other support, including institutions that can assist them to navigate the provision of support, proved important.





## 7. SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

The second theme of the conference, which guided two parallel panel discussions, was social protection and social policy with a particular emphasis on linking social and economic policy, and highlighting the links between social policy and employment. While it is acknowledged that social protection has assisted in alleviating immediate destitution in South Africa, the question remains as to whether social protection can move beyond its current role and assist with transforming the poverty environment in South Africa.



## SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

### 7.1 Developmental social policies for the poor in South Africa: exploring options to enhance impacts<sup>5</sup>

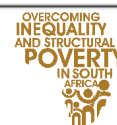
Nonkululeko Ngcobo, researcher at the Centre for Poverty, Employment and Growth housed at the Human Sciences Research Council, explored how a variety of developmental social protection interventions and complementary programmes can multiply the impact of social grants.

South Africa has one of the most comprehensive social security systems when compared with other middle income countries. Social grants appear to be well targeted, focusing on poor and vulnerable households, and there has been a correlated decrease in levels of poverty amongst recipient households as a result. Research has also shown how social grants increase employability, productivity and human capability within recipient households. Ngcobo argued that despite the positive effects of social grants, a better understanding needs to be developed of their potential for long-term developmental impact.

Ngcobo's presentation suggested that the three most common forms of grant transfer – cash transfers, in-kind transfers and vouchers – can assist with achieving different developmental objectives, including targeting smallholder farm production, employment and child development. Figure 6 below demonstrates how different payment options could be used to achieve a range of local economic development (LED) objectives. However, Ngcobo noted that no single grant payment option could achieve all developmental objectives.

*Extending Altman & Boyce (2008) options framework: LED & Vouchers*

			Social Grant Payment Options		
			Cash	In-kind	Vouchers
Local Economic Development Goals	Employment Generation	Public works programmes	X	X	X
		Job search information			X
		Education & training	X		X
		Employer subsidies			X
	Self-employment & small business development				X
	Housing & other socio-economic services				X
	Food & Nutrition Security	Food gardens		X	X
		School Feeding schemes		X	X
		Price subsidies (stamps?)			X
	Resource-poor small farmers	Land reform grants	X		X
		Production inputs	X		X
		Skills training			X
		Credit & insurance			X



*Figure 6: Payment options for achieving LED objectives, presentation by Ngcobo, 21 September 2010*

Ngcobo drew on examples from Brazil, Mexico and India where grants have gone beyond welfare. Based on these models and the framework conceptualised in Figure 6, she suggested that existing grants should be linked to other kinds of grant transfers that assist with employment generation through, for example, early childhood development centres; with enhanced food and nutrition security through the establishment of food gardens; and assist poor smallholder farmers with production inputs through vouchers for fertiliser or crops.

5. This paper was written by Peter Jacobs (lead author), Tim Hart, Nonkululeko Ngcobo and Mompoti Baiphet, Centre for Poverty Employment and Growth at the Human Sciences Research Council.

## SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION



### 7.2 How social security policies and economic transformation affect poverty and inequality: lessons for South Africa

The presentation by Marianne Ulriksen from the Centre for Social Development in Africa, used case studies of Botswana and Mauritius to examine how different social and economic policy frameworks affect poverty and inequality in developing countries. Ulriksen's research suggested that countries that have broad-based social security policies rather than pro-poor policies, and that integrate social and economic policies which promote the transformation of the economy, as opposed to a focus on economic growth, have lower levels of inequality and poverty.

Pro-poor interventions are typically targeted programmes, such as the social security system in South Africa which focuses primarily on children, the elderly and the disabled. This can be attributed to the role of social protection being increasingly accepted politically by the non-poor, but only in terms of catering for the very poor. In this context, social protection, is also distinct and second to economic growth. Pro-poor interventions therefore exclude a large group of people who fall into the low and middle-income groups – groups that are often the drivers of change in the political realm. Targeting stigmatises the poor.

Ulriksen argued that broad-based programmes are actually more pro-poor because they focus on inclusive growth that ensures development benefits for both the poor and the non-poor alike. In Mauritius, both the poor and non-poor benefit from social protection resulting in continued support from the middle class for tax contributions towards social security. Explicitly cross-cutting economic policies have promoted economic transformation and made poor people part of development, not distinct from it.

### 7.3 Overcoming inequality and structural poverty: is social protection a solution for South Africa's women farmworkers?

Stephen Devereux, of the Institute of Development Studies, and Colette Solomon, of the Women on Farms Project, analysed the scope and impact of South Africa's social protection system in relation to the experience of women farm workers. They suggested that women farm workers bear the brunt of both external economic shocks and domestic economic reforms.

Social grants provide crucial income for farm workers who are now increasingly only working seasonally. A failed growth strategy has led to the increasing casualisation of labour on commercial farms in response to rising costs amongst other things. However, the reliance on grants raises bigger questions of whether grants legitimise a set of economic policies that actually disempower the poor.

In addition to this, poor farm workers face challenges such as evictions and lack of access to social justice provisions, including an absence of social insurance schemes that are appropriate to seasonal and atypical work. Women farm workers struggle to access social grants due to distance from service points and limited knowledge of grants. Land reform has also been slow and has negatively affected women farm workers' attempts to develop livelihoods and move beyond wage labour and tenure insecurity.



## SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

The Women on Farms Project has implemented rights education and improved access to social protection and social justice amongst the communities it works with. However, power relations need to be addressed to reduce current inequality and poverty. Devereux and Solomon proposed that labour laws need to acknowledge a new reality of non-permanent employment and existing laws need to be changed to support this type of employment. Land reform needs to be fast tracked for poor people and women in particular, and structural change is required to address the existing neo-liberal framework that continues to make these women vulnerable.

### 7.4 The changing dynamics of child grants in South Africa in the context of high adult mortality

Hayley McEwen and Ingrid Woolard used data from the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) to analyse the fiscal implications of predicted demographic change in South Africa for the existing grant system targeting children. The aim was to highlight the growing crisis of orphaned children in South Africa and the failure to provide support to many orphans.

Demographic projections suggest that between 2008 and 2015 adult mortality will increase in the 25 to 40 years age group, predominantly amongst females. Simultaneously, fertility rates will decrease as will infant mortality. Prior to the recent changes in the means test and the age criteria for accessing the child support grant (CSG), this meant that the number of children receiving the grant in 2015 and 2008 would remain the same. This is no longer the case.

The Foster Child Grant (FCG) remains difficult to access, due to bureaucratic constraints, such as court and social worker capacity, and some resistance to awarding the grant to family members despite the regulations that provide for this. The real problem is the question of how to help orphaned children. Woolard pointed out that the FCG was never designed for this purpose historically and that if it is to become an 'orphan grant' the way of accessing it needs to be changed.

There is a large difference in the value of the CSG and the FCG, with the CSG being R250 per child per month and the FCG being R710 per child per month, as of September 2010.



## SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

The number of orphans is projected to double between 2008 and 2015 to 4.8 million children as a result of increasing maternal mortality. The projected cost of child grants (both CSG and FCG) by 2015 can thus be calculated as being 47 billion rand. Maternal orphans constitute a particularly vulnerable group with 600,000 (73%) not receiving either the FCG or the CSG. It is clear that either the coverage of the CSG needs to be improved or the FCG needs to be changed and turned into a grant targeting not merely children at risk, but orphaned children. The presentation did not seek to make policy recommendations, but to merely sketch the necessity to act to help these children and deal with an ever-growing crisis.

### 7.5 Place and mobility: new possibilities for exploring child poverty dynamics in South Africa

Katharine Hall, senior researcher at the Children's Institute, delivered a presentation on the impact of migration on children in South Africa and the implications for future policy approaches. The historic spatial configuration of families in relation to work opportunities which is a result of apartheid homeland policy, continues to influence child care arrangements. Children are often left in places that are under-resourced and research demonstrates that children remain concentrated in rural areas which are typically poor. However, migration patterns are shifting, impacting on children's living environments and wellbeing. This dimension has been relatively unexplored and policy frameworks need to start considering the implications.

In South Africa, the majority of internal migration is temporary, despite the removal of apartheid laws that controlled people's movements, especially among black Africans. People are migrating to urban centres and increasingly to small towns. Two new trends have emerged. Firstly, more women are migrating to urban centres. In the past, women, children and the elderly remained at their rural homes, while black male labour migrants were channelled into cities. Secondly, there are also indications that permanent migration is increasing. If this is the case, then the child population in cities will also increase. Both of these shifts have implications for children and child-care arrangements, in turn suggesting the need for greater consideration of children in infrastructure planning and urban development.

Hall suggested that a child-centred analysis of the available data is therefore critical. Her preliminary findings on children's living environments, co-residence arrangements and mobility indicate that many children do not live in the same place as their parents, that child migration with parents is not an absolute, and that most children are left behind when parents migrate. In either case, children are affected by migration. In cases of migration, mothers are more likely to take their children with them or children follow their mother. However, for the most part children get left behind.

There is a need to explore what the enablers and constraints are for child migration and what are the consequences of child migration on children and on the households they are or are not staying with. Often, constraints on child mobility exist which prevent mothers and children from choosing the best options for the family. Some of these include the child-unfriendly environment in urban informal settlements that mothers are migrating to; the lack of infrastructural support for children to join their mothers, such as housing subsidies only being made available to mothers once children are present; and the use of grants by mothers as an interim measure for survival until they find work, despite their children remaining elsewhere. Hall noted that in the future the National Income Dynamics Study will enable longitudinal analysis of child mobility patterns and household composition at a national level, and enhance understanding of child poverty dynamics by contributing the additional elements of space and time.

A critical question is whether the constraints on child mobility should be removed. One of the ways to answer this question is to conduct further research on the decision-making process of parents in relation to migration and children. Regardless, it remains clear that the consideration of children and their families in the current context of migration needs to be prioritised.

*'Children are invisible in the economy and in poverty measurement. Policies and programmes to promote economic development focus on adults as participants in the economy, but it is important to keep children in the picture.'*

Katharine Hall, 22 September 2010



## SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL PROTECTION

### 7.6 Key points from the presentations and discussion on social policy and social protection

#### Is the current structure of grants developmental?

Participants suggested that since the current grant system targets children, the aged and the disabled, the grant system is not designed to have people 'graduate off' grants or out of poverty. Despite the national discourse that encourages such thinking, eligible children receive grants until they turn 18, the disabled continue to receive grants until their disability ceases, and pensions cease on the death of the beneficiary. For other family members that benefit from the grant income into the household, is this indirect value meant to support their economic activities? Grant amounts are limited and after basic needs, there is not much money left to support investment in business and enterprises.

A common thread that arose in the discussion was the need for a variety of mechanisms to address poverty and inequality, including the provision of quality work and wages and better labour laws governing the relationship between employers and workers (including seasonal and other atypical workers). Other suggestions included linking land reform and land distribution to skills, although questions were raised about whether young people aspire to work on farms. There was however consensus, on the need for a development strategy that has researched these kinds of questions thoroughly.

Participants suggested that there is still a need for a truly comprehensive social grant system which would assist unemployed adults that do not currently qualify for grants. Participants called for a reconsideration of social policy and asked the question: are grants about alleviating poverty or tackling inequality or providing income security?

#### Creating cross-class solidarity

A few participants suggested that inclusion of the middle class in accessing social grants would assist with social cohesion. Through the middle class, the system would also be improved because of their capacity to engage with and access avenues that can effect change.

#### FCGs and CSGs

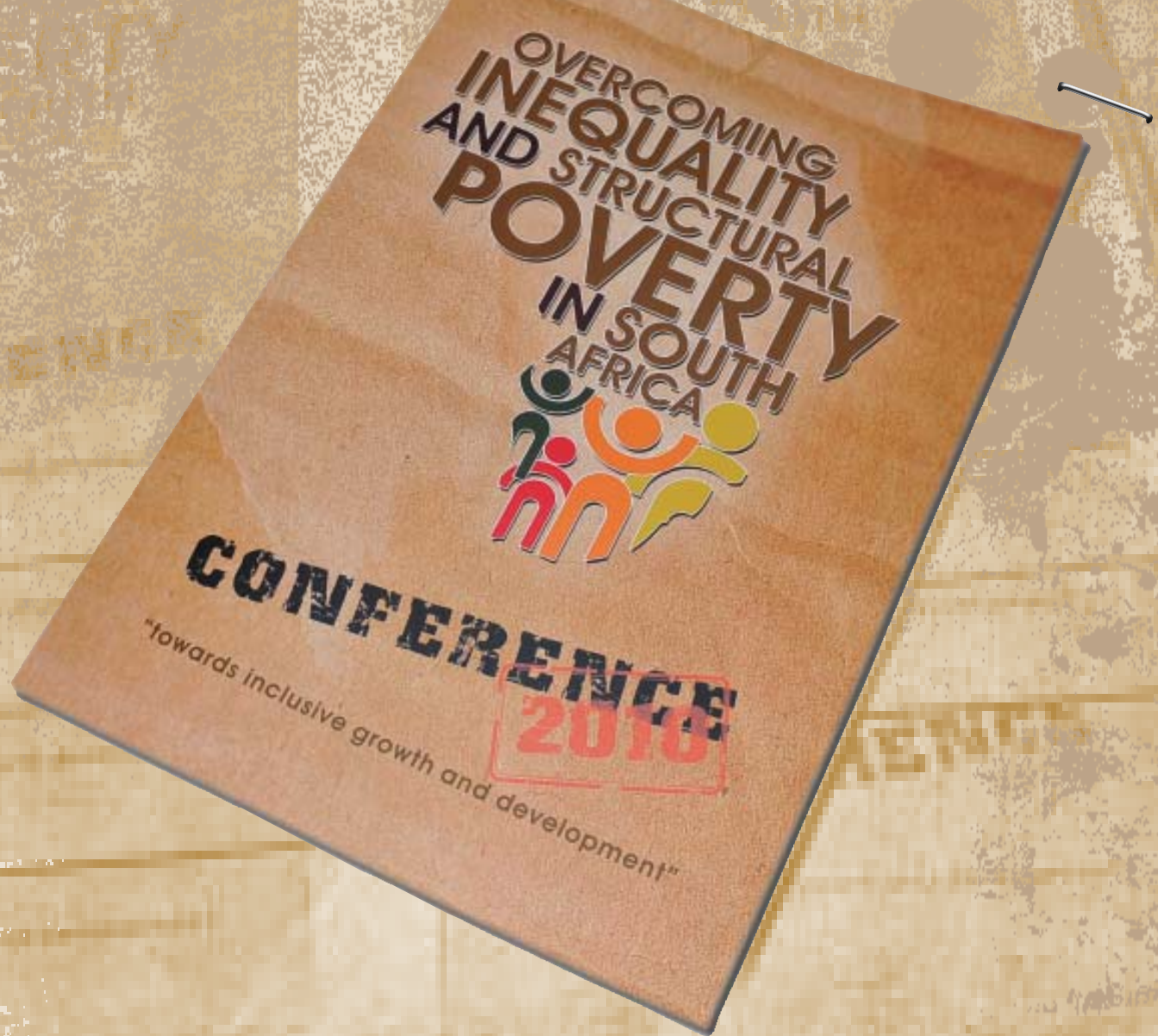
The way the state plans for children has to be based on an understanding of the current situation that children experience and how the types of choices being made by adults affect children. The most appropriate design for the FCG and the CSG needs to be sought. Given the difficulties in accessing a FCG, the grant process may need to be redesigned. Constraints in accessing grants need to be addressed.

#### Changing the discourse around grants

The negative discourse around grants undermines their achievements and their contribution to alleviating poverty in South Africa. Grants are a right, and negative discourses need to be addressed. One way of achieving this is to broaden the social security system through broad-based social policy that accommodates more low-income and middle income households.

#### Research on the impact of migration on child development and policy implications

Rural areas remain the location for the poorest people in South Africa. However, when mothers leave their children behind, this is usually because they think this is the best thing for the child. It is necessary to determine the constraints mothers face when making choices and whether it is better or worse for children to migrate. Policy needs to be informed by such research and by children's rights as guaranteed by the South African Constitution.



## 8. EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY

Chronic and structural poverty in South Africa is closely related to the dynamics of employment and unemployment. Although themes of employment and industrial strategy were referred to throughout the conference, two parallel panel sessions – ‘Employment strategies’ and ‘Changing livelihood strategies and economic agency’ – dealt with these themes specifically. The presentations linked the discussion of poverty policies to discussions about industrial strategy, economic growth and job creation. Presenters reflected on the dynamics of economic marginalization, the ‘second economy’, and the key role of education and training.



## EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY



### 8.1 Expanding employment opportunities in the social sector, particularly for rural and marginalised women

Shirin Motala, project manager for the policy research programme, Scaling up Early Childhood Development Service Delivery, based at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), presented on employment opportunities that exist in the social services sector.

Since 2008, the HSRC has been leading research into scaling up quality early childhood development (ECD) services to children between nought and four years. The project was a continuation of the research, *Employment Scenarios* (2004), which showed that to halve unemployment between 2004 and 2014<sup>6</sup> would require the creation of at least five million net new jobs, and that 1.5 million of these would need to be created through expanded public works programmes (EPWPs). The project therefore responded to two priority government programmes – improving developmental outcomes for children under the age of four, and enabling substantial expansion of employment for marginalised work seekers via EPWPs.

In South Africa, two thirds of approximately 5.2 million children under the age of four years, live in extremely vulnerable situations and are exposed to poverty, disability, chronic illness and the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Furthermore, only up to 29 per cent of these children access some form of ECD in spite of the National Integrated Plan for ECD which obligates the state to create access for children to quality ECD. Using predefined norms and standards to determine ratios of children to ECD practitioner, there is the potential to create 350,000 jobs in this sector in South Africa. This would meet the dual purposes of job creation and delivering on children's rights.

The benefits of implementing EPWPs in the social sector include that:

- There is space for job growth to be scaled up significantly as only limited numbers of jobs have been created to date.
- Length of employment is three times longer (165 days) than traditional EPWPs that focus on infrastructure (51 days).
- EPWPs create critical learning opportunities for poor women.

The HSRC has identified possible innovations which could strengthen and sustain ECD programmes, including employing youth to provide financial and other support over and above care work, which would enhance the quality and functioning of ECD services.

Although the social services sector provides opportunities for employment creation and the implementation of children's rights, Motala cautioned that creating sustainable jobs will require explicit choices that enable quality service delivery, funding dedicated to sustained ECD expansion, appropriate

6. These targets are part of the Millennium Development Goals, which South Africa has agreed to meet.



## EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY



wages and conditions of service, salaried jobs as opposed to volunteerism, innovative models that fast track EPWP opportunities and which are monitored, evaluated and improved, and improved and scaled up skills development and training opportunities.

### 8.2 Towards a right to work: the scope for a minimum employment guarantee in South Africa

Kate Philip discussed the potential for a minimum employment guarantee in South Africa as a response to the structural constraints that exist in the economy which are preventing the creation of sufficient employment. Philip argued that there is scope for an employment guarantee to be implemented, as found in the Community Work Programme, a pilot project that is an initiative of the Presidency's Second Economy Strategy Project.

Philip's argument for an employment guarantee in South Africa recognises that unemployment is a result of apartheid legacies – the structure of the economy, spatial inequality and inequality of access to human capital development. Markets cannot resolve these problems in their current form and they cannot create jobs to the scale required. Therefore, the change required to address unemployment in South Africa needs to be structural and long term in nature.

Given existing levels of unemployment and consequent inequality and poverty, it would be economically and socially untenable to pursue only a long-term agenda. For this reason, an employment safety net in South Africa is an obvious step towards economic change because it will enable economic participation where markets are failing to do so, and provide a minimum level of work to those who need it. The potential of an employment safety net has been developed through the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) which sees the state as an employer of last resort.

Philip argued that CWP's are a viable way for the state to address unemployment as they:

- engage people in community work
- provide a safety net while longer-term solutions are being developed
- offer part time, but regular work and a predictable income throughout the year
- enable communities to decide what work to do based on their needs.

*'... that's the key conundrum: we don't have time. Current levels of unemployment are quite simply socially, economically and politically untenable...'*

Kate Philip, 21 September 2010.



## EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY

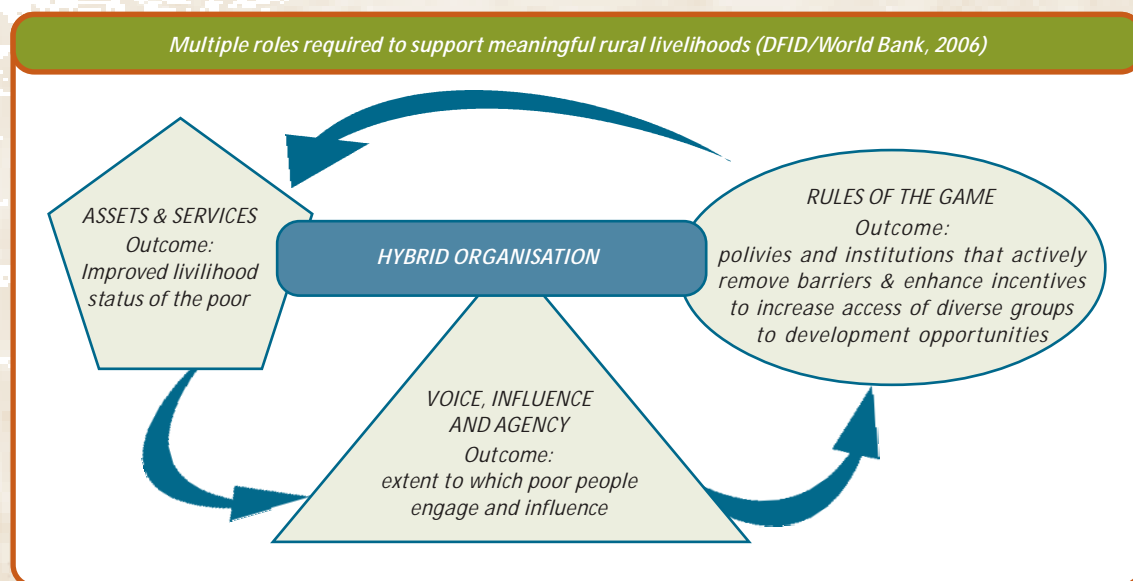
Although CWP need the support of government, they use local community and NGO capacity to function. Philip argued that an employment guarantee of this nature is only a safety net until greater employment solutions are found. They are also different from EPWPs because they provide partial employment which is ongoing rather than the short term, bounded nature of EPWPs, and a CWP programme can be provided at scale and reach poor areas.

### 8.3 Experience of 'hybrid' organisations in promoting meaningful rural livelihoods – lessons from Africa, India, and the Americas

Judy Scott-Goldman, an independent researcher with a poverty and development focus, presented research from 2008/2009 carried out by the Ford Foundation Rural Livelihoods Learning Group. The study involved research into 21 case study organisations spread over India, Africa, North America, Central and South America. The case study organisations were termed 'hybrid organisations' as they used unusual combinations of strategies to promote rural livelihoods.

A common feature of the hybrid organisations studied was that they provided support for livelihoods and/or business development. They used a combination of techniques and services to achieve this, including: research and advocacy; financial services; technology development and transfer; creating business and market linkages; building agency and social capital through support of groups, community associations and organisations; and, using strong ties with government to influence policy. A few organisations also provided services relating to environmental sustainability and conservation.

Figure 7 demonstrates the multiple roles of hybrid organisations and how they work with complexity and provide linkages where necessary.



*Figure 7: Roles of hybrid organisations in supporting rural livelihoods, presentation by Scott-Goldman, 22 September 2010*

The research indicated that over and above organisational strategies that work with the entire value chain, hybrid organisations have a differentiated and dynamic understanding of poverty that responds to the different stages of poverty and the type of support required by the people and communities they work with. Support is concerned not only with building physical or financial assets, but also with building people's agency and voice. The role of group processes and intermediary organisations was seen to be fundamental in creating agency, social capital and systemic transformation on a large scale.

Scott-Goldman suggested that programmes at scale which focus on building agency and social capital from below, as well as on building assets, can alter the structural context that reinforces poverty and inequality and can accordingly achieve systemic transformation.

## EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY



### 8.4 Problem or panacea? Informal self-employment in policy and practice

David Neves, a researcher at PLAAS, presented findings which suggest that assumptions about the informal sector in South Africa are often partial and even flawed, which is problematic as policies are built on these assumptions.

The informal sector in South Africa has been relatively poorly researched to date. In South Africa the sector is comparatively (by developing country standards) small, with its overwhelmingly black African and female workers generating low average earnings. Neves' research suggests that informal self-employment in South Africa is typically reliant on connections with the formal sector. Case studies of successful informal sector activity demonstrate this connection through value chains and transfer of incomes, goods, skills and training. The research also showed the extent to which people engaged in the informal sector had shifting repertoires of activities and combined multiple enterprises, especially where there was sufficient household labour capacity.

The findings question assumptions that are often made about the informal sector. Firstly, people that engage with the informal sector have divergent objectives and maximising income is frequently not the sole or even primary objective. Other objectives include ensuring food security or investing in social networks in a way that positions a person positively in relation to patronage, protection or credit. Secondly, social networks are critical to facilitating business. Thirdly, economic governance is central to the manner in which the sector operates – there are layered systems of governance in which people trade (formal, informal and hybrid) and complex relationships of patronage. Fourthly, the sector is resource poor and therefore credit hungry; however, the demand for credit is double edged. What might appear to be a credit constraint may reflect the harder realities of low profitability.

Policy responses to the informal sector therefore should:

- understand the plurality of objectives of those who work in the sector
- disaggregate survivalists from entrepreneurs and adopt appropriate responses to each
- recognise the often mixed consequences of formalisation
- recognise the role that infrastructure provision can play in the sector (especially basic service provision)
- regulate larger value chains which are concentrated monopolistically in the formal sector
- seek to remedy intermediation failures between those in the informal sector and larger structural bodies by creating and supporting the necessary linkages.



## EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY



### 8.5 Private game farms and the tenure security of farm workers and dwellers: lessons from Cradock

Nomalanga Mkhize, a doctoral candidate at the University of Cape Town, explored current structural changes in agriculture by examining the impact of farm conversions on farm dwellers in Cradock, in the Eastern Cape.

Statistics on the conversion of agricultural farms to game farms are not available. However, debate about farm conversions has been characterised by two opposing arguments. On the one hand, it is argued that game farming has resulted in evictions, job and livelihood losses, tenure insecurity and conflict, and has impacted on the food security in the region. Government officials have gone so far as to suggest that farm conversions are a way for white dominated agriculture to maintain their hegemony in the region. On the other hand, the game sector suggests that through conversions it has increased jobs and wages, re-absorbed former farm workers into game farms, and that game farming assists with bringing much needed tourism and foreign revenue to the Eastern Cape.

Mkhize's research suggested that evictions cannot be identified with game farm conversions alone. Rather there has been a broader restructuring that has seen farms moving away from unprofitable returns associated with traditional farming. Further, the polarised nature of the debate does not take into account how diverse the game sector is, and that there is no single way to assess the impact of game farms on tenure security in the Eastern Cape. For example, in Cradock, game lodges have tripled their employment requirements, whereas hunting farms require fewer employees. Workers have also tended to adapt their skills to suit the emerging gaming sector. Furthermore, the research pointed to an intra-district circulation of labour as farm workers seek better wages in different areas and have closer associations to urbanised areas. Therefore, farm workers or dwellers no longer associate living on a farm with permanency.

Mkhize's research suggested that tenure insecurity is part of a broader restructuring of South African agriculture and, therefore, there is a need to approach the tenure security of farm workers and dwellers with their roles as wage earners in mind.

### 8.6 Key points from the presentations and discussion on employment and industrial strategy

#### Connecting the micro to the macro

It is necessary to find ways to link the micro level (local communities and economies) with the macro level (national policy and economic frameworks). Determining the constraints on bottom-up development should be part of this process and policy interventions should be congruent with bottom-up development. Participants suggested that the formal sector cannot achieve this without serious reconsideration of its operations and assumptions, and equal attention must be given to the role of the informal sector.

## EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY

### Role of intermediaries

The potential exists for marginalised people to become organised and harness their social capital to engage on wider social and economic issues. Intermediary organisations employing holistic strategies, have an essential role to play in supporting sustainable livelihoods, if they can work at scale.

### Linking the social services sector to employment creation

There is the potential to link ECD to EPWPs and so makes resources available for quality care for children. Creating such linkages also starts to address the gendered nature of inequality, particularly as it relates to work opportunities and safe child care. Furthermore, the CWP and community-based ECD initiatives are valuable because they have the potential to act as instruments of service delivery and can be used to strengthen public services in under-resourced areas.

### Developing a new conception of employment

There is a need to change the language used to describe ECD and CWP work so that the value of this work is recognised. Participants suggested a move away from the use of terms like 'unskilled' and 'low skilled' when describing work that impacts on the community. Rather, this work should be conceptualised in relation to its value in terms of an economy of care and providing quality livelihoods.

### CWPs build confidence and hope

CWPs are seen by communities as being about more than income – CWPs are about creating a work ethic and building self-worth and hope within otherwise marginalised communities. However, there is still a need to shift people's roles in CWPs and EPWPs from participators to decision makers.

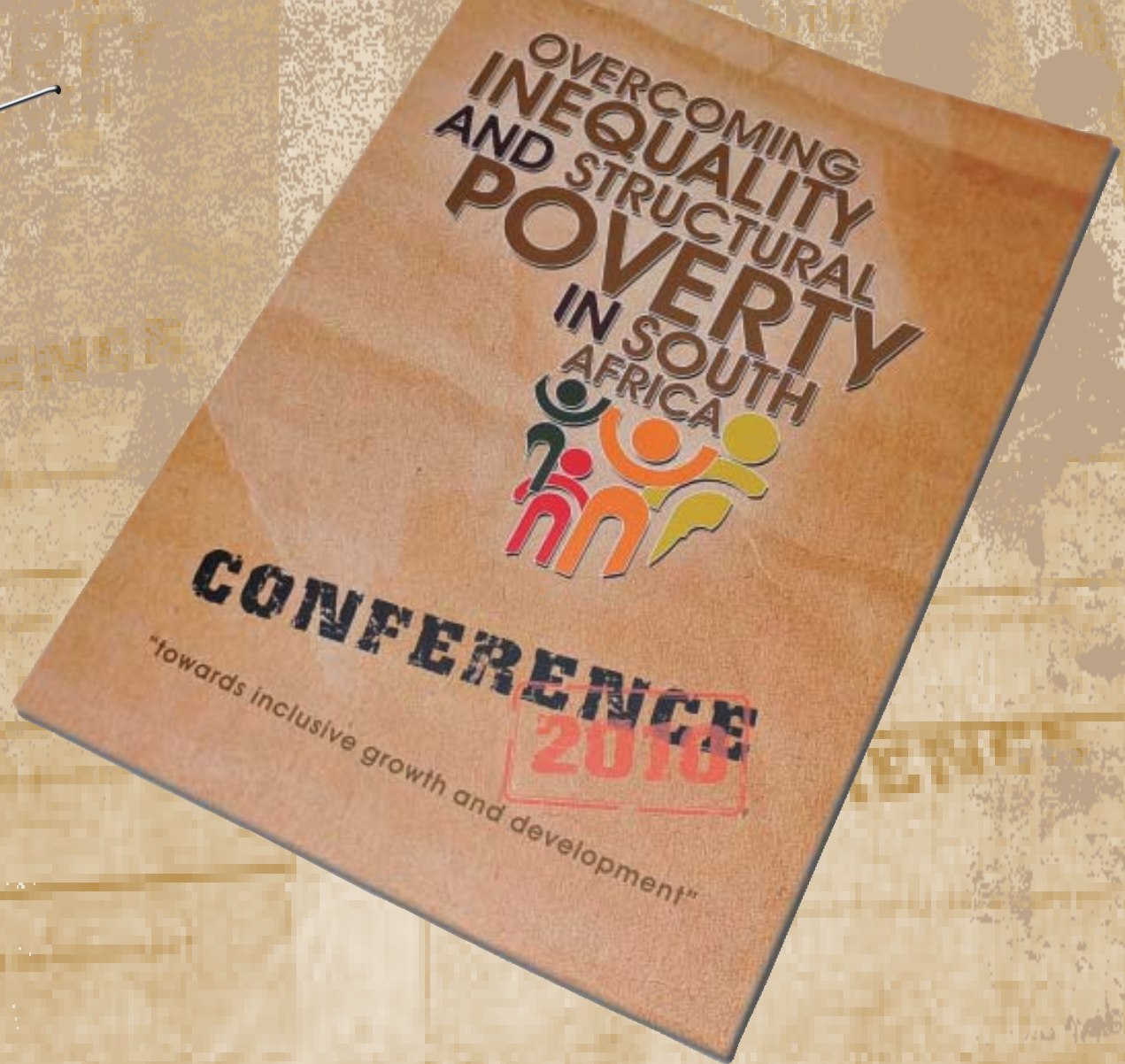
### Accountability of community-based work projects

Questions have arisen about who should be accountable for CWPs – government or community members. The extent to which such programs succeed may rest primarily on the community taking ownership and regulating impact and efficacy internally.

Local government also needs to be kept accountable for the management of resources intended for community upliftment and job creation. Transparency is therefore essential in the creation of CWPs.







## 9. SPATIAL PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

The apartheid legacy has affected spatial planning at various scales. Three parallel sessions talked to the theme of spatial planning and governance in South Africa. The first parallel session touched on spatial planning matters, the second parallel session focused on the spatial distribution of poverty and inequality and the third parallel session was concerned with urban and informal environments. The presentations sought an understanding of the specific dynamics of urban poverty, the role of local government in addressing these issues, and the spatial configuration of wealth and poverty on a national scale.

## SPATIAL PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

### Parallel Session: Spatial Planning

#### 9.1 Improving spatial planning in South Africa's district municipalities

Khulekani Mathe, senior policy analyst at the South African National Planning Commission, gave a presentation on the causes of in-migration from rural to urban areas and from small towns to major metropolitan cities in the country. Approximately 19 per cent of all adult South Africans have changed residence between 2003 and 2008.

Mathe argued that migration is seen as a way out of poverty. Research points to migration from municipalities with low economic activity to municipalities that have a mining economy or higher GDP per capita income. Mathe therefore suggested that the apartheid spatial legacy continues to frame the South African landscape despite democracy. He attributed the maintenance of the status quo to vested interests that persist both in government and the private sector and the failure of government to willingly address apartheid geography.

To improve the current context of poverty and inequality, spatial inefficiencies need to be researched and policy needs to be informed by a deeper understanding of the factors at play. Migration is an effective livelihood strategy for poor people and is likely to continue for many years to come. Rather than stem it, ways must be found to enable migrants to improve their chances of accessing jobs. Recommendations included implementing a comprehensive programme which enhances the inclusion of the poor in urban areas (through spatial planning and appropriate land use management systems) and which will provide rural communities with economic and employment opportunities. Mathe suggested that this would boost municipalities' GDP per capita income in rural areas and reduce the high levels of in-migration to cities.

*'The post-apartheid government has failed to direct settlement planning and land use in a manner that ensures access to economic opportunities, especially for the poor.'*

Khulekani Mathe, 21 September 2010

#### 9.2 Considering the potential of the social function of land to advance an integrated approach to urban land use and spatial planning

Tristan Görgens, policy researcher at Isandla Institute, suggested a fresh approach to urban land use and spatial planning that focuses on the social function of land as opposed to market based approaches. He proposed that a functional land management system is a key element in ensuring greater urban integration, equality and sustainability. Urban environments in South Africa are characterised by spatial inequalities and disparities, increasingly divided urban societies and high environmental costs. There is a need to protect assets, such as cultural heritage, and create social spaces in cities.

Görgens argued that a market based approach to land management has blind spots, which are the most disadvantageous to impoverished people. He suggested that the focus on the market obscures the fact that property rights are about social relations and that land governance is an inherently political enterprise which cements social relations and the distribution of power in society.

Görgens argued for an approach that values the 'social function' of land which would enable transformative, pro-poor decision making and action around land use. Land in the city is essential for housing impoverished people, but it is also necessary for access to transport, services and employment opportunities. Therefore, the debate about urban land has to extend beyond the traditional issues of location, price and tenure and engage with the need for an inclusive and effective urban land use management system.

A single system is required that is responsive to the differing underpinning logics of formal and informal land systems and which enables the state (and social actors) to pursue a transformative agenda in a way that maintains flexibility and inclusion in land use. Such a system should also provide a level of predictability to the formal land sector to encourage greater investment and development. Finally, it is suggested that to achieve this there is a need for strategic vision and regulatory frameworks that can provide teeth to effect this change.

*'What is necessary for establishing a unitary land management system that works for all residents in ways that do not exclude or prejudice the poor?'*

Parnell and Pieterse (2010: 153), in Tristan Görgens' presentation, September 2010.



## SPATIAL PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY



### 9.3 Regional development, innovation and pro-poor development: missing links in the South African planning system

Doreen Atkinson is director of the research cluster for sustainable development and poverty reduction at the University of the Free State and a trustee of the Karoo Development Foundation. Atkinson proposed that the lack of cross-border coordination between provinces and between municipalities means that opportunities for developing the potential in rural areas are not been recognised.

To date, planning is based on the political boundaries of a province, district or local municipality. Also, infrastructure and isolated community projects have remained the focus of development planning with little attention to regional economic development or employment. There are different provincial philosophies and approaches to common problems and an inability to cooperate across borders even where natural assets or biomes are shared. There is also an urban bias in development planning processes because of a limited incentive to develop border areas, and poor understanding of rural opportunities.

Atkinson suggested that government should create and facilitate regional institutions and networks that assist with coherent interventions on a regional scale which are based on local advantages. Rural regions could then determine their competitive advantage and commercialise their assets to promote development. Knowledge sharing would be critical in assisting cross-border collaboration and development. In this way, there could be a coordinated response to poverty and inequality that includes both rural and urban areas.

### 9.4 Key points from the parallel session on spatial planning matters

Efforts to overcome poverty and inequality need to consider spatial planning and land use. Land use management must take into account that land can, and ought to, fulfil a social function and plan accordingly. In general, linkages between land use and development have not been made consistently enough in urban or rural areas. There is also a limited understanding of the challenges and priorities in rural areas concerning rural development.

#### Scale matters

National, regional, provincial, local and intra-urban settings come with different challenges and opportunities. There is a need for bold radical interventions at different scales and for new ways of thinking around land use management.

#### People matter

There is a need to recognize that people make rational choices concerning their livelihoods and where they are situated. Land use management is not merely a technical, technocratic function but is also inherently political; there are opportunities to democratise spatial planning and land use management. Therefore, redressing the apartheid spatial legacy requires planners to rethink their roles constructively and address issues of power and vested interests.

Participants suggested that government is failing to address spatial matters and that part of this can be attributed to post-1994 policies which have failed to promote public participation, particularly by impoverished communities.

## SPATIAL PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

### Parallel Session: Addressing The Spatial Distribution Of Poverty And Inequality

#### 9.5 Boundaries old and new: small-area level deprivation in South Africa

Gemma Wright and Michael Noble from the Centre for the Analysis of South African Social Policy at the University of Oxford delivered a presentation on the spatial distribution of multiple deprivation in South Africa. They used a composite measure of multiple deprivation - the South African Index of Multiple Deprivation (SAIMD) - which had been constructed at sub-ward level using data from the 2001 Census of Population. The SAIMD contains dimensions or 'domains' of deprivation relating to the proportions of a population in an area experiencing income and material deprivation, employment, health, education and living environment deprivation. The sub-ward level geography was especially constructed for the SAIMD as a statistical geography that would enable all areas across South Africa, with an average population size of 2000 people, to be compared in terms of their levels of deprivation. Rather than provincial, municipality or ward level analysis, the datazone-level data enables more than twenty-two thousand areas in South Africa to be compared.

Poverty has a very specific spatial profile in South Africa. Maps of the SAIMD demonstrated that the most deprived areas strikingly coincide with the boundaries of the former homelands. For example, in the Eastern Cape, the most deprived areas are found in the former Transkei and Ciskei.

As one of the outcomes of the research, Wright and Noble flagged that the low levels of spatial inequality that are found in the former Transkei are a result of the datazones in that area being more-or-less 'equally deprived' and that therefore low inequality may not necessarily indicate a lack of deprivation in an area. In debates about the need for a reduction in the level of inequality in South Africa, it was argued that it is important to bear in mind the standards of living which we are striving towards.

#### 9.6 Rural poverty in South Africa: apartheid legacy or consequence of contemporary segregationism?

Ashley Westaway is an Ashoka Fellow and associate of the Border Rural Committee, an NGO. In his presentation, he suggested that one of the most frequently heard assertions in South Africa, which is that its challenges of unemployment, inequality and poverty are a result of the apartheid legacy, may be an oversimplification. He argued that rural poverty cannot be accurately understood as something that exists as a result of apartheid.

Westaway's analysis suggested that rural poverty continues because of the persistence of segregationism in post-1994 South Africa. He argued that South Africa has achieved institutionalised de-racialisation, but not democratisation, particularly in the rural areas. Portions of the country that were





## SPATIAL PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY



reserved for designated African groupings by the 1913 Land Act are still governed distinctly and differently from the rest of (urban) South Africa – by custom, tradition and welfare.

*'In the South African situation, the consequences of selection and non-selection have been dramatic. Coega gets everything, the Ciskei gets nothing.'*

Ashley Westaway, 21 September 2010

Westaway suggests that segregation associated with the apartheid system of governance in rural areas continues and is reinforced in different ways. Firstly, government's economic planning has articulated spaces as high or low priority and has promoted the development of urban areas and the continued underdevelopment of rural areas. This is an expression of contemporary capitalism.

Secondly, governance has been affected by conservatism in rural areas. The 2004 Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act (TLGFA)

stipulates that traditional councils must be established in former Bantustan areas to operate alongside elected municipalities. Significantly, the TLGFA endorsed tribal authorities established through the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act 'as a foundation' for establishing traditional councils. The result is that rights to water and land have been taken away from citizens. Thirdly, land reform operates mostly in previously white areas in South Africa and there is little redistribution or restitution in rural areas.

In the former homelands, citizens have been reduced to domestic tenants, or serfs, who are entirely dependent for survival and shelter on the goodwill of the welfare state and its various custodians of tradition and custom.

### 9.7 Apartheid space and fractured power: vicious cycles of poverty in Cornfields, KwaZulu-Natal

Donna Hornby and Lisa Del Grande presented a case study on Cornfields, a freehold area in rural KwaZulu-Natal. The presentation raised questions about whose responsibility it is to tackle problems related to development in privately owned areas, such as black freeholds, in post-apartheid South Africa.

Cornfields was bought and established by a missionary during apartheid, but it is now owned and inhabited by a black community. The community is divided about issues of land ownership, resource distribution and the development of privately owned land. Different stakeholders include freehold owners, recent migrants to the area, traditional authorities, and a ward councillor. Stakeholders are

## SPATIAL PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

challenging one another from their various institutional bases by trying to control the development of resources and are unable to collaborate sufficiently to harness a sustainable development path. The Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA) has been involved with mediating the internal struggles between local stakeholders. However, no decisions could be made about who the key stakeholders are and what they can contribute to development of the community.

In part, spatial policies have failed to understand the history of certain areas and therefore have been unable to assist with future development. Dominant poverty discourses do not deal with a rural development strategy in the context of a case like Cornfields, which is part of the first economy in terms of land ownership. In this case study, people have access to land, but no rural development strategy has assisted them with rural development, and land ownership has not of itself led to the power to produce commodities and access markets as a way to reduce poverty. The conditions for using land as a commodity no longer exist for Cornfields and the state has not provided the resources (or will) to recreate these conditions.

Although income distribution strategies are focused on inequity related to race and class, and Cornfields' communities fit these profiles, property ownership excludes them from benefiting from redress. Hornby and Del Grande suggested that the basis for inclusion of residents in development strategies needs to be reconsidered. Property ownership does not necessarily translate into a commodity and resources that can be used to create development outcomes. Further, a contradiction exists between tenure relations and government planning frameworks related to poverty. They asked whether it is the responsibility of government, the local community or traditional authorities in the area to address the implications of this contradiction.

### 9.8 Key points from the parallel session on the spatial distribution of poverty and inequality

There is a need to assess inequality at both an individual level and a spatial level. Existing inequality in South Africa is embedded in space and place, with rural areas and former homelands bearing the brunt of this inequality.

#### Former homelands are more equal internally, but poor

Inequality may very well be thought of as a driver of 'change and progress'. However, if the former homelands are internally more equal but also equally poor, the emphasis on the broader goal of equality needs to be thought through more carefully. When comparing the former homelands with urban areas, extreme inequality can be seen, such as an absence of sanitation and clean drinking water. Participants suggested that the argument is not for equality in these areas, but inclusion. A second look also shows that there is inequality in the former homelands and rural areas, but that to see this one must consider the upward social mobility that masks that inequality as people migrate away.

#### Some problems predate industrialisation

Rural realities risk being falsely homogenized. Many of the problems faced in rural areas, such as tradition, predate the general histories of industrialization and have particular origins. The importance of history in poverty and inequality cannot be underestimated.

#### Citizenship in rural areas

Citizenship is more complicated than the urban-rural divide suggests. On the one hand, it could be argued that people living in former homelands do not experience citizenship in the same way as their urban counterparts. On the other hand, there may be a need to understand relationships at a local leadership level between traditional leaders and government leaders.

#### Role of the state in development

Participants questioned the role of the state in rural development and suggested that government has not put sufficient resources into land management in rural and former homeland areas. Furthermore, there is a need to assess the broader issues of global capitalism as these relate to local community decision making and realities.



## SPATIAL PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

### Parallel Session: Urban and Informal Areas

#### 9.9 Reaching the invisible: hidden links of ill health between South Africa's cities and rural areas

Mark Collinson and Jo Veary's presentation considered whether South Africa's health care system would be more effective if it took into consideration urban-rural linkages and the migration of individuals between areas.

Temporary circular migration has become an established part of a livelihood system in South Africa and is critical for the survival of rural households, which are dependent on migrant wages. However, the manner in which migration occurs exposes poor people to serious health risks that need to be addressed, such as living in informal settlements where HIV infection rates are high. HIV/AIDS and TB are the overwhelming causes of death in rural populations. One example in Mpumalanga Province suggests that the deaths from HIV/TB of recently returned migrants have made the sub-district death rates double in less than 10 years. Migrants 'returning home to die' need special attention as they place an extra burden on families and rural health structures.

Collinson and Veary suggested that health structures must take circular migration into account by strengthening the rural health system and implementing a nationwide patient-retained chronic medication card. Further, urban planning needs to provide hygienic, affordable rental accommodation in poor areas with access to health systems and food markets. Finally, they argued that the available census and survey data is insufficient and may even be misleading and that proper information on migration is essential.

#### 9.10 Towards improving access to social safety nets for poor and vulnerable households

Daniel Bailey, researcher at the Built Environment Support Group, analysed the impact of social safety nets in municipalities within the uMgungundlovu District in KwaZulu-Natal. Social safety nets, such as the provision of free basic services, have been implemented to address poverty and inequality at a local level in South Africa. However, despite these safety nets, poverty and inequality continue to grow in a context of local government not being able, or not wanting, to support poor and vulnerable households.

Bailey suggested that challenges of funding, infrastructure, implementation of policy and an absence of monitoring and evaluation of free basic services and other social safety nets continue to plague municipalities in the uMgungundlovu District.

He proposed that in order to genuinely address poverty there must be an increase in government social spending and the implementation of sustainable employment strategies. In particular, an approach is needed that focuses on free basic services as a vehicle for relieving poverty and HIV/AIDS in vulnerable households. He suggested that the EPWP could prioritise infrastructure for basic service delivery especially in rural areas.

Currently, municipalities only access 8.9 per cent of the Equitable Share subsidy while 52.3 per cent is allocated to provincial government and 38.3 per cent is allocated to national government. The Equitable Share allocation to local government needs to be increased because it is earmarked for basic services and basic services are mostly located within municipalities.

Furthermore, Bailey argued that poverty alleviation strategies such as an indigent policy, should be aligned with local economic development (LED) strategies and that an indigent policy must meet the local socio-economic needs of communities. This requires public participation in policy interventions and their implementation.

#### 9.11 *PoCityVity+*: a story of survival and belonging

Stacey-Leigh Joseph presented the documentary *PoCityVity+*: a story of survival and belonging. The documentary tells the story of Khayelitsha through the eyes of young adults, who comment on their day to day lives and physical conditions. Their commentary reveals that HIV/AIDS is inextricably linked to their daily realities and the built environment. The documentary also features the story of a grandmother who is left with six grandchildren following the deaths of three daughters. *PoCityVity+* takes issue with the notion that remaining safe from HIV infection is as simple as ABC, especially for the large proportion of urban dwellers that are living in under-resourced and peripheral communities. In turning attention to urban realities, *PoCityVity+* suggests that building sustainable communities is central in an effective response to HIV/AIDS.

## SPATIAL PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE IN TOWN AND COUNTRY



### 9.12 Key points from the parallel session on urban and informal areas

#### Focus on free basic services

Indigent support should include free basic services and should be reviewed annually to assess whether it is meeting local needs. Mechanisms for increasing access to free basic services must also be found. Examples include using EPWPs to prioritise infrastructure for basic services to poor and vulnerable households.

#### Understanding vulnerability better

The nuances of vulnerability in the South African context need to be better understood. With improved understanding, the government can put in place better response mechanisms for addressing vulnerability. There is a need for a better understanding of the dynamics of circular migration which requires strengthening of the rural health system and more informed urban planning so that it caters for circular migration.

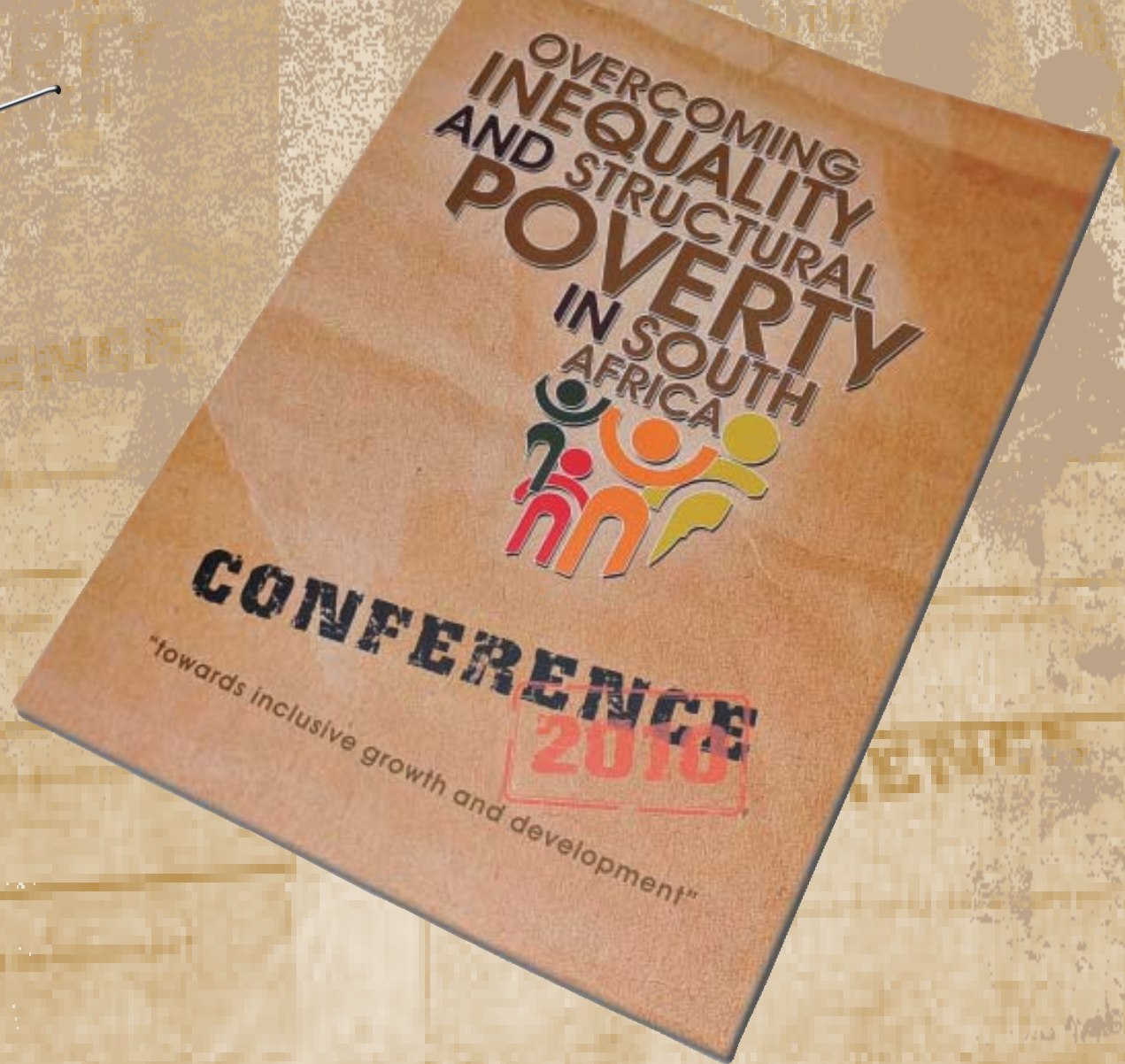
#### Civil society interaction with government helps overcome poverty

Proper mechanisms of engagement need to be established between government (national and provincial, district and local municipalities), civil society, and communities to address poverty and find viable solutions. Monitoring and evaluation can be used as a tool for improving on existing policies and encouraging partnerships between different stakeholders that are focused on finding solutions.

#### Building an effective response to HIV/AIDS

Responses to HIV/AIDS tend to focus on the individual without examining the socio-economic, political, institutional and physical context in which individuals find themselves. Effective strategies for understanding the context include considering urban realities, addressing vulnerabilities stemming from the built environment, and building sustainable communities.





## 10. THE POLITICS OF POVERTY

Two parallel panel sessions were dedicated to the politics of poverty. One parallel session discussed poverty discourses, measurement and the management of poverty. A second parallel session focused on rights. Presentations in these sessions highlighted the political dynamics around structural and chronic poverty, including the role of social movements in civil society and their interactions with government, and lessons about community initiatives and empowerment.

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### 10.1 Beyond the government of poverty: poverty policy, discourse and politics

Andries du Toit, Director of PLAAS, started by highlighting the rift between the cool, calm and rational tone of official managerial discourse about poverty and the adversarial and antagonistic tone of popular mobilisation around service delivery. He highlighted the need to take a step back and look critically at poverty discourse. In addition to understanding the extent of poverty and its causes, we also have to look at dominant assumptions about what poverty is and what it means.

Poverty, he stressed, is not a neutral scientific term with an exact sociological content. Rather, it is a moral and political term. Poverty discourse has heterogeneous roots, drawing on religious, ethical, political and bureaucratic frames of reference. Poverty discourse was also historically framed by patron-client ideologies about the obligations between the wealthy and their dependents, and by discourses of solidarity and civic duty in more recent times.

In South Africa, discourses about poverty have drawn on three main traditions. Firstly, there was a discourse about 'the deserving poor'. This discourse is concerned with the moral consequences of poverty. It is not concerned with making scientific or objective judgements about the nature or depth of poverty: rather, within this discourse, people tend to assume they know poverty when they see it. Its main concern is what kinds of support poor people deserve from others, and about the character of the deserving poor. Discourse about the deserving poor can often be conservative in character, but it is the stuff of social solidarity.

A second discourse is concerned not with the moral consequences of poverty, or with the character of the poor, but focuses on seeing it 'objectively'. In this discourse, poverty is seen as an objective, material and measurable lack. The rise of this discourse is linked closely to the development of the modern bureaucratic state and the need to develop context-independent, 'scientific' and bureaucratic ways of dealing with poverty in populations. It helps poverty reduction move beyond patron-client largesse – but it can often be very reductive, and often confuses *indicators* of poverty (eg whether income is below a certain level) with the state of poverty itself.

A third discourse is not as concerned with the moral consequences of poverty or with the scientific measurement of poverty. Rather, poverty is seen as a symptom of a deeper problem in society. Radical political approaches, for example those influenced by Marxism, are concerned with poverty, but only because it is a symptom of the presence of class-based exploitation. There are also non-Marxist inflections, such as in populist discourse, where the presence of poverty is significant insofar as it is a sign of the oppression and suffering of 'the people'.

There is a high level of social consensus about the existence of poverty in South Africa and the need to eradicate it. What enables this consensus is the depoliticisation of poverty and the tendency to consider it independently from issues of inequality. Du Toit argued that poverty has been constructed as an object of scientific knowledge and impartial management. Rather than seeking to transform society as such, this project has turned into a 'government of poverty' that seeks to make marginal improvements and to prevent the alienation of large masses of poor people. Poverty measurement is key to the government of poverty, as it allows bureaucracies to focus on narrowly defined poverty indicators, and to adopt notions such as that raising people's incomes above a poverty line is equivalent to 'graduating' them out of poverty.

Useful as this approach has been to making poverty 'governable', it has involved some important blind spots. Firstly, it involved an over-reliance on the agency of the state. Secondly, it involved a misunderstanding of the causes of poverty: poverty was seen as a 'residue' – the result of not enough growth – rather than as something that is actively caused by the wrong kind of growth. This meant that anti-poverty policy was not influenced by an accurate causal analysis, and could not be informed by an effective change model.

In recent years, there have been some important shifts. 'Second economy' discourse started to move beyond 'trickle down' approaches, and led to an analysis that much more clearly linked the persistence of poverty to inequality. Thus the second economy headline strategies developed by Trade and Industry Policy Strategies (TIPS) contained some important measures that went well beyond the limitations of GEAR and trickle down:

1. Develop an agenda to address each of the key pillars of structural inequality.
2. Agree a social compact to place employment at the heart of economic policy.
3. Strengthen livelihoods and improve conditions for the working poor – employed or self-employed.
4. Address the development deficit in rural areas.
5. Build efficient and inclusive cities and towns.
6. Target the most marginalised directly.



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Despite this recognition, the current administration demonstrates an impasse – pro-poor rhetoric combined with policy confusion.

Du Toit argued that responses to these limitations from the left of the South African political spectrum have been inadequate. All too often, radical and populist politicians have talked as if change required a return to the militant popular mobilisation of the 1980s and to ‘restart the UDF’. But this involved a misreading of the political terrain of post-apartheid South Africa. The popular mobilisations of the 1980s were about polarising political space, uniting local struggles in a common front against the state, making local settlements ungovernable, and undermining the ground for any collaboration with the instruments of the local state. In post-apartheid South Africa, such strategies are counter-productive. A popular, radical politics for the new century was needed, and it needed to go beyond the strategies that worked in the time of national democratic struggle.

Du Toit argued that to address poverty, South Africa needs to move beyond the government of poverty to a shared project of structural transformation. One important way to achieve this is through political and electoral reform that makes politicians accountable to their constituencies and allows popular politics that links local level autonomy with an agenda for structural transformation. In addition, du Toit suggested a different discourse for radical politics: not a polarising, adversarial one, but a radical discourse of civic solidarity that can cut across class and racial lines.

### 10.2 Smoke and mirrors: the science of poverty measurement and its application

Julian May, professor at the School of Development Studies in KwaZulu-Natal, discussed the possibility of a science of poverty measurement and its uses.

There are many ways of thinking about poverty measurement. Developing a poverty line or threshold is a common approach that is chosen to measure poverty. However, poverty measurement is often subject to debate about thresholds being unacceptably conservative or problematic political choices that determine the level of support impoverished people will receive. In this way there is the potential for poverty measurements to disguise poverty (‘smoke and mirrors’).

May argued that one tangible approach to measuring poverty is assessing the necessary amount of food an individual needs to live. For example, if a person gets less than a certain calorific intake per day that person will die or weaken. However, this approach does not consider a broader developmental perspective that is sensitive to the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. Furthermore poverty measurements also need to demonstrate the structural nature of poverty and possible solutions.

May suggested that in situations where there is lack of clarity, analysis must be used to challenge and unpack problematic issues.

*‘If the world is complex, or if the evidence is uncertain, or if legitimate differences in perspective and framework explain differences in conclusions, analysis must take these on board.’*

Kanbur (2001:16), Julian May’s presentation, 21 September 2010

### 10.3 What state strategy to overcome poverty and inequality? The historical idea of a social democratic welfare state in ANC policy discourse

Robert van Niekerk outlined the history of social policy in South Africa and argued for the need to understand this history in order to move forward to overcome poverty and inequality. He posed the question: what form of state can overcome the legacy of poverty and inequality?

Although the developmental state has been advocated in ANC policy discourse, there are conceptual inconsistencies and conflicting ideas. One of these difficulties surrounds the concept of a developmental state as opposed to a welfare state: where a welfare state is seen as creating dependency within impoverished communities. The ANC conceptualisation of a developmental state sees the state withdrawing from responsibility for its citizens, despite the ANC policy specifically speaking to the need for redistributive mechanisms in the fiscus, comprehensive social security and the social wage – all elements of a social democratic welfare state. This conceptual inconsistency demonstrates an ahistorical approach that has not considered policy lessons on alternative social democratic proposals for social policy reform and the role of the state.

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For example, the discourse of African Claims (1943) and the Freedom Charter (1955) established the primacy of redistributive social policy over economic policy. These both contained an explicitly redistributive social policy agenda. The post-1994 period, however, has been characterised by the rise of fiscal conservatism and the diminishing of social democratic values and principles in policy thinking. The Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) broke decisively with the ANC's preceding social democratic agenda by promoting economic stability and growth as a precondition of social development in the post-apartheid era. In 2006, the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (Asgisa) placed a greater emphasis on infrastructural investment and skills acquisition as a strategy to halve poverty by 2014, but did not return to a social democratic agenda.

Van Niekerk asked whether there is a contested re-emergence of a social democratic agenda post Polokwane and a gradual diminishing of fiscal containment as the primary imperative underpinning government social policy. History suggests that the social democratic welfare state is the best institutional vehicle to overcome poverty and inequality. Although there is a new political climate, the question remains how to translate that into political consensus for policy action.

### 10.4 Poverty, inequality and human development in a post-apartheid South Africa

Vusi Gumede, professor of development studies at the University of Johannesburg, used NIDS to analyse poverty and inequality from a human development perspective.

His analysis suggested that despite high levels of poverty and inequality, the Human Development Index (HDI) for South Africa rose during 2007 and 2008 (from 0.68 to 0.69). Further analysis of the HDI shows, firstly, that interracial differences in human development are larger than differences measured between the richest and poorest proportion of the population. In South Africa, the black population has the lowest HDI, at 0.63, compared to the white population group which has an HDI of 0.91. Secondly, his analysis showed that human poverty and human development differs by location, and that rural provinces in South Africa have the lowest human development indices and highest human poverty indices (which measure life expectancy, child nutrition status, access to improved water sources and income).

The dynamics of poverty and inequality suggest that the answer to these challenges is located in a restructuring of the economy. In addition, Gumede argued that a 'generic' set of interventions needs to be implemented that focuses on broadening economic participation, growing the economy, ensuring that benefits of economic growth are shared equitably, ensuring access to basic services, and protecting the most vulnerable. These are longer-term solutions, and they have a redistributive focus.

### 10.5 Politics of poverty, rural livelihoods and the role of social movements: a case study of the Breede River Winelands Local Municipality

Boyce Tom, researcher for the Trust for Community Outreach and Education (TCOE), presented a case study on the challenges faced by small scale farmers in the Breede River Winelands Municipality, who are trying to build livelihoods through land use. The study suggested that there is continuing inequality between large scale and well-resourced agriculture and subsistence-based small scale agriculture.

The small scale livestock and crop farmers that were studied encountered a number of challenges. Firstly, the livestock farmers did not have access to sufficient grazing land, hindering the growth of their enterprise. The study also indicated that the majority of small scale farmers concentrate their crop production in small backyard plots, and that as a result, their focus is on subsistence rather than commercial farming. This is a consequence of the unavailability of land – most land in the area is owned by commercial farmers even though they are not using it. Secondly, farmers lacked infrastructure and access to water which prevented them from growing their herds. However, huge tracts of lands containing the kind of support and infrastructure that small scale farmers need, such as water holes, have been leased to 'absentee' commercial farmers. These lands are not accessible to small scale farmers in the area. Thirdly, there is limited access to market opportunities which prevents small scale crop farmers from moving out of poverty by selling their produce.

Poverty has been exacerbated by the challenges that small scale farmers face in trying to secure their livelihoods. The study suggested the need for a strategic intervention from the Department of Land Affairs to unlock the potential of small scale farming. This should include a review of the terms of leases to small scale farmers. More attention should also be given to supporting existing practices that



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add value to communities. Commonage is one such mechanism that can address lack of access to land. Finally, Tom suggested that the Department of Land Affairs must assist poor people using the land to promote their livelihoods through equitable and sustainable access to land combined with ongoing administrative, infrastructural and technical support.

### 10.6 Parliament's role in overcoming inequality and structural poverty in South Africa

Sean Whiting and Adam Salmon, researchers at the National Parliament of South Africa, presented research on parliament's role in addressing poverty and inequality in the country through an examination of its current engagement mechanisms. The fourth democratic parliament is moving from amending or repealing apartheid legislation to monitoring and oversight of the executive. One of the key constitutional aspects of the oversight function in relation to overcoming poverty and inequality is to ensure public participation and access to information. Whiting and Salmon's research focused on the extent to which public participation has assisted with addressing poverty, and the challenges and opportunities for parliament in addressing poverty.

There are many challenges in the current public participatory model used by parliament. Parliament is inaccessible to the public and is not perceived by the public as an institution which will take up its concerns or problems. These challenges relate to, firstly, dysfunctional parliamentary constituency offices whose members do not visit their constituencies. Secondly, there is no follow-up on concerns raised by the public during constituency visits by Members of Parliament, disempowering people's voice. Thirdly, parliament has not put in place sufficient monitoring and evaluation systems to monitor the impact of Taking Parliament to the People (TPTTP). To date the TPTTP model has proved to be inactive in addressing the challenges faced by the public in engaging with parliament.

Whiting and Salmon suggested that parliament can assist with alleviating structural poverty by:

- maintaining a balance between economic growth and poverty reduction
- monitoring and evaluating spending, and implementation of government policies and programmes (with a focus on the rural poor, women and youth)



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- restructuring and reviewing current public participatory models
- encouraging and enhancing tools for public participation in a way that improves access and mechanisms for engagement, especially at a provincial and local level
- tracking and monitoring follow up on recommendations by the public.

Finally, the research indicated that parliament needs to recognise the value and contribution of informal social movements that represent poor and disempowered communities.

### 10.7 Making socio-economic rights work: towards a broader conceptualisation of the role of rights mobilisation in challenging urban structural poverty and inequality in South African cities

Kate Tissington is research and advocacy officer at the Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI). She discussed current socio-economic rights discourses and the role of the courts in promoting and ensuring the realisation of these rights.

Socio-economic rights are included in, and protected by, the Constitution, which provides the basis for marginalised people to challenge decisions or omissions that impact on their socio-economic wellbeing. Although the Constitution is not a comprehensive blueprint for social and economic transformation, it does provide a platform for participatory democracy, accountability and empowerment. Tissington argued, however, that in practice there are numerous obstacles to promoting and achieving socio-economic rights which often prevent access to justice by the poor in South Africa. Constitutional Court challenges are costly and long, making the process too expensive and therefore inaccessible to NGOs, communities or individuals.

Engaging government or other institutions 'in their own terrain' and holding them to account requires information, legal assistance and empowerment. The domestication of socio-economic rights needs to be addressed by politicians, courts and also, civil society. Socio-economic rights are both a tactical and political tool that can be used to assist communities and change power relations, and lawyers have a unique role to play in this regard. Suggestions included the need to provide education, the need to ensure that people can exercise their rights practically, improving access to free legal advice and assistance, and making the Constitutional Court more directly accessible to the poor.

### 10.8 Key points from the presentations and discussion on the politics of poverty

#### A shared vision behind which different groups can unite

There is a need for popular politics and a discourse of civic solidarity which links local level autonomy to an agenda for structural transformation through one social democratic project.

#### Need for the development of tools that quantify poverty

There is a high level of social consensus around the need to eradicate poverty but there has been little agreement on a way to measure poverty. This is partly a result of the conceptual inconsistencies in state policy discourse where inequality is often delinked from poverty. Poverty measurements can be useful tools that advocate for different ways of doing things. However, they always need to be used with an awareness of their limitations, and of the political assumptions implicit in the indicators chosen.

#### Restructure the economy

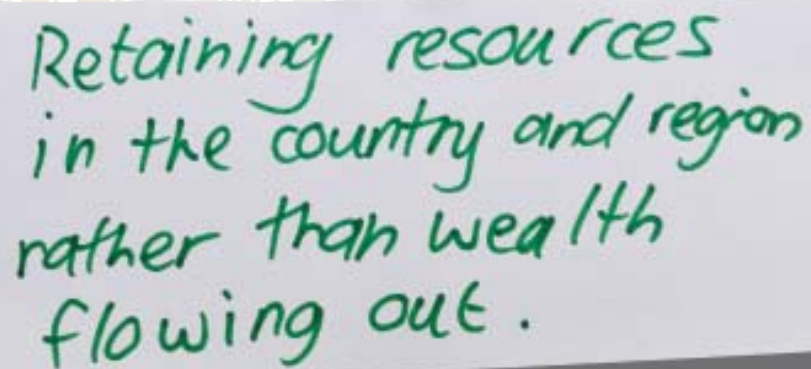
A repeated theme is the need to restructure the economy and questions about how to go about this. Poverty discourse is disabling if it is disconnected from a critical consideration of the fundamental underlying structural sources of inequality. A key issue is that there is no clear change model, while dominant discourses demonstrate blind spots about the causes of poverty and inequality.

#### Creative political moment

There is heightened awareness of issues relating to poverty and inequality in government currently. This awareness creates an opportunity to improve current poverty discourse and practice which should be grasped.



## THE POLITICS OF POVERTY



Retaining resources  
in the country and region  
rather than wealth  
flowing out.

### **Power relations need to be addressed to reduce poverty and inequality**

People's ability to improve their situation rests on changing existing power relations. For example, in the Breede River Winelands, linkages need to be made between the needs of small scale farmers and existing resources that can assist them to scale up their livelihoods. Potential measures include investment in rural farmers, the development of infrastructure and cooperation with local government.

### **Parliament needs to be more accountable**

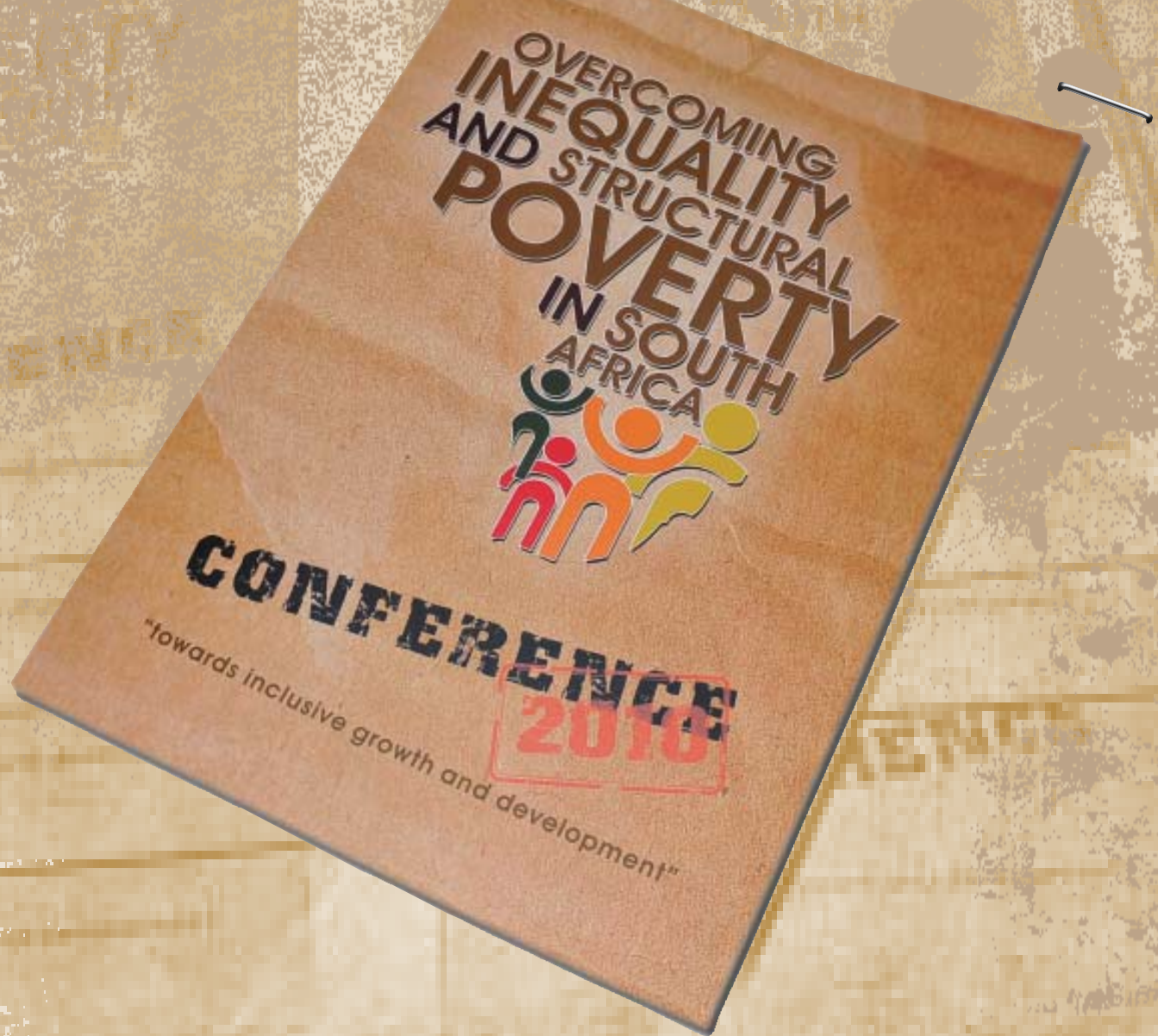
Structures and systems need to be put in place that make parliament more responsive and accessible to impoverished people's needs. The 'pure' form of proportional representation currently in place in parliament cuts MPs off from accountability to their constituencies, and gives too much power to party whips and lists. Monitoring and evaluation of parliamentary officials needs to be improved, especially in relation to work in relevant constituencies.

### **Public participation is key to addressing poverty and inequality**

A better understanding of public participation needs to be developed, which includes conceptions of both formal and informal models of participation. Alternative methods of public participation include parliament engaging with social movements and their concerns, or acknowledging poverty hearing outcomes, where people experiencing poverty have a voice.

### **Greater access to constitutional rights**

The Constitutional Court is an essential component in implementing socio-economic rights and reducing poverty and inequality. Access to the court and legal processes needs to be made less costly for rural communities and civil society movements tackling issues that seek to address poverty and inequality.



## 11. RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND AGRARIAN REFORM

Discussions in parallel panel sessions relating to rural development and agrarian reform focused on developing a coherent understanding of, and effective response to, rural poverty. Rural development and agrarian reform were discussed in three parallel sessions: visions of rural development; poverty and food systems; and small and emerging farmers. Sessions touched on the role of agrarian change and agricultural policy in rural poverty, the dynamics of the South African food system and food insecurity.



## RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND AGRARIAN REFORM



### 11.1 The peasant and the shopping mall: uncovering the thinking behind South Africa's new vision for rural development

Ruth Hall questioned whether the new vision for rural development in South Africa will help to break the pattern of deeply-entrenched rural poverty and under-development.

The ANC's Polokwane conference in 2007 made it clear that a new approach would be developed to address rural development. The Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) has been presented as this new direction and contains three components: agrarian transformation, rural development in the former homelands, and land reform in the commercial farming sectors. The programme has been piloted in 21 wards, and wards act as the entry point for the programme which seeks to meet local needs. However, the CRDP has not achieved its aims and has striking similarities with previous initiatives that have failed – such as former President Mbeki's Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme, which similarly adopted a 'nodal' approach through which public resources were crowded into poor areas. This time, the focus is more micro in scale: on wards rather than districts.

Gaps in the CRDP include that it does not consider the role of markets in rural development. Interventions focus on services and infrastructure in poor areas, many of which are essential for people's lives, but are the proper remit of other government departments, or local government. 'Rural development' is being located as a problem of the 'second economy' and therefore the former homelands. The effect appears to be perpetuating the dualism of rural development for the second economy and agricultural development for the first economy. Furthermore, a ward level approach implies that rural under-development originates from a services deficit and community fragmentation which is therefore addressed through localised interventions.

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Instead, there needs to be a focus on 'rural development' interventions that create infrastructure that is catalytic to new patterns of economic activity and new patterns of accumulation. This requires economic planning at national level. Agricultural value chains similarly need to be reviewed so that they enable market access on equitable terms for small farmers. Hall suggests that in the absence of a clear rural development strategy, rural shopping malls will continue to repatriate social grants back to major economic centres such as Gauteng.

### 11.2 Water for agrarian reform and rural poverty eradication: where is the leak?

Barbara Schreiner, Practice Director of Water Strategy at Pegasys Strategy and Development, demonstrated the potential to use water for agrarian reform and rural poverty eradication.

The presentation argued that access to relatively small amounts of water for productive purposes can make a substantial difference to reducing poverty in rural and peri-urban areas in South Africa. Rural development in many areas of South Africa is hampered by a lack of infrastructure on a large enough scale to mitigate seasonal and annual variability and unpredictability of rainfall and, thus, to improve the year-round productivity of agriculture-based livelihood strategies and small-scale enterprises. Furthermore, water allocation reform has largely failed to provide water to the rural poor for productive purposes. The withdrawal of pre-1994 support to smallholder irrigation schemes by the Department of Agriculture led to widespread partial or full collapse of irrigation schemes and the revitalisation of these schemes is highly problematic. Joint ventures tend to generate a small group of elite 'armchair farmers' at the expense of many more plot holders whose land is taken.

For most rural and peri-urban poor, their own informal initiatives are the major way to obtain access to water for productive uses. In various pockets, such informal water development is vibrant. The paper concluded with the importance of recognizing and building on these informal arrangements, and identified five factors that must be addressed for water to contribute effectively to reducing poverty and inequality in South Africa.

### 11.3 The poverty of restitution? The case of Schmidtsdrift

Land reform and development are often presented as important poverty reduction strategies, and restitution is one aspect of this. However, restitution is a challenging undertaking which is not simple or clear cut. Rick de Satgé presented a case study on Schmidtsdrift, a large restitution case in the Northern Cape, a settled claim with significant resources such as diamonds and irrigation rights.

The case study revealed how a combination of oversimplified notions of 'the community', complex conflicts of interest and values, weak institutions, and the failure to provide appropriate social, institutional, economic and ecological support services has come at a high cost and failed to unlock key assets for the benefit of the poor. Furthermore, the case study illustrated how the internally contested workings of the 'developmental state' have been unable to prevent the elite capture of valuable resources and the marginalisation of poor claimants.

De Satgé makes key recommendations for restitution cases, including the need to:

- abandon the simplifications inherent in the current rhetoric about the community
- understand and engage with the psycho-social legacies of dispossession
- engage theoretically and practically with social differentiation amongst groupings of the dispossessed
- enable wealthier individuals who acquire rights through community claims to access their own land through the land reform programme, thereby ensuring that restored assets are protected for the poor
- replace the fragmented workings of the 'developmental state' with inter-governmental relations frameworks which require and reward collaboration
- abandon the temptation of the 'quick win' – this is becoming a substitution for the development of coherent long-term strategy
- provide the long-term social, institutional, economic, and ecological support systems necessary to support those whose land has been restored
- invest in growing the new professionals who must provide these services
- rethink the current disjunctures between research, policy and practice – encourage applied/action research
- develop approaches which transcend the insularity of disciplines – addressing poverty and inequality is a transdisciplinary endeavour.



## RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND AGRARIAN REFORM

### 11.4 Agrarian structure and accumulation from below: rethinking the role of 'smallholder' farmers in addressing structural poverty in rural South Africa

Ben Cousins is Department of Science and Technology/National Research Foundation Research Chair at the University of the Western Cape. His presentation initiated the parallel session which was dedicated to looking at the case of small and emerging farmers.

South Africa has a highly unequal distribution of agricultural land comprising predominantly small numbers of highly productive white commercial farmers and very large numbers of small scale black farmers. Cousins suggested that the definition of a 'smallholder' farmer is problematic because there is not one uniform notion. In general, petty commodity producers are small productive enterprises using family labour-power to reproduce themselves and they combine the class places of labour and capital (often in a gendered way). Smallholder farmers sell products for cash to supplement their income, or regularly market a surplus after consumption needs have been met, or comprise small scale farmers who produce for the market.

A class-analytic typology of black farming in South Africa divided smallholder farmers into supplementary food producers (engaging in activities such as craft work or petty trading), allotment holding wage earners, worker peasants, petty commodity producers, small scale capitalist farmers, and capitalists whose main income is not from farming but who do farm on a small scale. A class-analytic perspective suggests that acknowledging the existence of class and gender-based tensions and contradictions is essential for effective and well-targeted policies. Using this approach it becomes apparent that only some small scale farmers will ever be able to meet the challenge to expand production and, therefore, agrarian reform is more likely to benefit better-off smallholder farmers.

The policy implications are that petty commodity producers and small scale capitalist farmers should be targeted for redistribution of high potential land. Furthermore, it is not sufficient to talk about agrarian reform that supports food security as a way to defeat poverty and inequality – land and agrarian reform policies should aim to improve prospects for small scale farmers in general. These would see expansion of marketed output and an increase in petty commodity producers.

. About assets - LAND is CRUCIAL - move people out of subsistence - need accumulation.

### 11.5 Agrarian transformation in smallholder agriculture in South Africa: a diagnosis of bottle necks and public policy options

Maxwell Mudhara, director of the Farmer Support Group, gave a presentation on how agriculture can become a driver of rural economic development in South Africa.

Rural areas in general lack economic opportunities and struggle to promote economic growth. Although there is huge spending on social programmes to sustain communities in various forms, Mudhara questioned the extent to which these interventions can lead to sustained poverty reduction. He argued for the need to bring smallholder farmers into the mainstream economy so that their potential to play a significant role in poverty reduction and economic growth can be realised.

Smallholder farmers are resource poor and get little institutional support. They are part of complex household systems and undertake activities to fulfil livelihoods. Current interventions fail to account for the complexity of these household systems, and the inherent innovation that they practice.

Agricultural development programmes are largely premised on commercial agricultural models adjudged to bring benefits such as employment and national food security, accompanied by affordable food prices. Policy interventions are required which foster the participation of smallholder farmers and involve farmers in the development of suitable technologies which address their multiple objectives.

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Mudhara argued that smallholder farmers should be organised to achieve economies of scale. They need access to institutionalised support, especially to gain access to markets and to credit (through local savings and credit schemes) to enable them to increase production.

### 11.6 Replication, risk and reciprocity: emerging class structure and employment relationships in land reform initiatives in the KwaZulu-Natal sugar cane industry

Richard Devey, doctoral student from the University of Manchester, gave a presentation on land reform initiatives in the sugar cane industry in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). Land reform can be driven by economic and/or socio-political motivation (Borras, Kay and Akram-Lodhi, 2007). An underlying economic motivation for land reform is the desire to raise land productivity. Socio-political motivations include the desire of the state to control land ownership or to address ownership inequalities manifest through colonial rule. The South African land reform policy is redistributive in nature and is motivated by both economic (reduce poverty and unemployment) and socio-political (address inequalities in land ownership) factors.

Sugar cane growing and processing is a major contributor to the KZN economy. Although the industry is highly technical and has a strong emphasis on production, as opposed to being socially-oriented, there has been a higher than average rate of redistribution within the sugar cane growing industry in KZN. The higher rate of land transfer can be attributed to the industry taking steps to maintain and improve production levels, a necessity for mills to survive. Further opportunities exist to address the social goals of equality of land ownership and the economic goals of reducing poverty and unemployment, since half of the land used to produce sugar cane is under land restitution claims. The relative 'success' of the sugar industry in transferring land to black owner-farmers represents an opportunity to investigate emerging class structures as well as the character of employment derived through land reform projects.

There are instances where land reform has been successful; these are usually where beneficiaries, medium scale black farmers, have had prior experience working in the industry and access to technical and financial support. Some of the beneficiaries can be classed as new capitalists using the classification of Eric Olin Wright (1997). New medium scale farms appear to replicate the processes and owner-labour structures of the larger commercial farms they have replaced and there remains clear differentiation in wages based on labour roles, migrancy and gender. Labourers working on emerging farms tend to have fewer benefits and less secure employment than their counterparts working for large commercial and corporate farms.

The new beneficiaries are exposed to a high level of risk, including, for example, low production levels because of drought. There is evidence that the corporates involved in the sugar industry are expanding their activities into other African countries where conditions are more favourable for higher production and profit making. A commonly cited reason for moving business elsewhere is the high level of uncertainty over ownership as a result of land being under claim. If development of business interests elsewhere coincides with downscaling of local activity, emerging farmers would be exposed to another form of risk.

A patchwork of relationships and arrangements is developing between owner-farmers, contractors, corporates, the state, and mentors. This is arguably the result of frequent changes in policy on land reform initiatives. Relationships between established and new agriculture generally manifest as the white farmer or mentor assisting the emerging farmer, sometimes in the role of contractor, with some form of compensation. The process of land reform is often viewed as a contested terrain and in a few cases this manifests as a breakdown in the relationship between the mentor or contractor and the emerging farmer. However, other cases demonstrate that land reform can provide a space for reconciliation, particularly when participants from different positions are dedicated to, and share a passion for, sugar cane farming.

It is too early to determine whether emerging sugar cane farmers can maintain production levels similar to those achieved by the farms they have replaced, and improve on them. Land reform initiatives are achieving redistribution but not necessarily growth. Devey noted that the case study suggests that there is local support for area-based development which is viewed by stakeholders as a necessary approach for effective rural development. Furthermore, there is a need to move participants from precarious work towards decent work and this should be made explicit in policy frameworks.



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### 11.7 Land tenure and land administration in smallholder irrigation schemes in South Africa: new directions and policy challenges

Siyabulela Manona and Jonathon Denison's paper proposed a land administration intervention to improve land utilisation and productivity on smallholder irrigation schemes. Currently, irrigation land is under-utilised and, in general, institutions and tools to handle land transactions to improve land utilisation are not available. Interview narratives and literature reinforce the position that people who want land cannot access it. Poorly functioning land exchange markets appear to be one important underlying reason for low use, but it must be noted that successful agricultural enterprise requires a number of critical factors to be addressed, of which land is one.

The Constitution recognises both customary tenure and Western property regimes with complex implications. The privatisation of land holdings is in favour of groups and/or individuals, indicating that the state is clearly ridding itself of its responsibilities for land administration. Manona and Denison asked: how do we get land exchange systems going?

They suggested diversifying the tenure options that plot holders are able to choose from to include a usufruct right that is based on different levels of formalisation. The intervention proposes removing systemic obstacles to land exchange and establishing institutions that enhance tenure security, thereby facilitating practical and locally workable land lease markets. Therefore, the proposed intervention decentralises land administration to local land administration institutions that practice local land management techniques.

### 11.8 Milling within the basic food production sectors: innovative approaches in challenging issues of structural poverty within the South African rural context

The final three presentations that formed part of the rural development and agrarian reform theme discussed the dynamics of the South African food system, food insecurity and poverty.

Jane Higgins, Director of Communications for African Mill Mentors, presented a paper on milling within the basic food production sector. She argued for government and policy makers to recognise the urgent need for the development of a small to medium scale milling sector to alleviate food prices and unemployment crises.

At present, although decentralisation has occurred, the maize milling sector remains highly concentrated and dominated by a few key producers – a white maize milling cartel. At least 17 companies in the industry have been found to practise maize price fixing. Price fixing contributes to structural poverty as it impacts the price of maize products. For example, after 1997, there was a 16 to 20 per cent increase in the mean retail price of maize meal. Elevated pricing of maize affects rural areas more. In January 2008, people in rural areas were paying R3.75 more for a five kilogram bag of maize meal than people in urban areas.

The control of maize production by a few milling companies is a result of small scale millers not being able to access the expensive technology required to produce the most economically viable maize – super maize meal. There is therefore limited competition facing large scale producers who can provide cheaper products. A new entrepreneurial class that has market knowledge and technological expertise is emerging, but obstacles need to be removed to incorporate rural areas into the value chain. Rural areas are traditionally under-served. Higgins suggested that it is both possible and profitable to establish high technology small to medium scale rural milling operations. Incorporating active participation and contribution by all role players (communities, rural maize growers, existing expertise, entrepreneurs and government) makes good business sense as it achieves growth through the creation of win-win scenarios for all players, on all levels. Poverty and inequality would also be addressed through the substantial reduction in rural basic food costs and the provision of skills and long-term employment opportunities.

### 11.9 Food price inflation and its effect on the poor: a call for effective policies to combat food insecurity.

Clive Moses, Northern Cape Provincial Manager for the National Development Agency, examined the role of food price levels which place basic food products beyond the buying power of poor communities.

People with limited levels of income are struggling to buy basic food products, leading to an increase in poor health and perpetuating inequality. Rural areas are more exposed to inflationary increases in food

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prices because of higher transactional and transport costs. Since 2007, rising food prices have affected poor people in rural areas in particular. In 2007, the maize price in rural areas was 38 per cent higher than in urban areas and, to date, there has not been a dramatic reversal in these prices.

A case study of Hopetown demonstrates the current situation faced by many poor households. Household income ranges from no income to R1,300 per month. Those living on social grants make up 32 per cent of the population (60 per cent of these receive the CSG). Households indicated that they no longer bought meat, eggs, cooking oil, vegetables and milk due to high prices. The consequent low and limited food consumption impacts on the productivity of households, children's growth in particular, and the health of the households in general.

Moses argued that government must intervene in food pricing and investigate price fixing. Policy also has to look at finding more creative ways for local production to supplement basic food purchasing.

### 11.10 A ladder to the 'first economy' or reinforcing structural inequalities? Experiences with agricultural development programmes in the Eastern Cape, South Africa

Siv Helen Hesjedal and Zolile Ntshona, employees of the Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council, proposed in their paper that the approach to agricultural development adopted by the Eastern Cape does not address the structural nature of poverty and may actually deepen it.

The main focus areas of the Eastern Cape Government's rural development programme are agricultural programmes which are designed to promote food security and income generation in poor communities. They aim to scale up agricultural development from subsistence to commercial farming. Programmes are characterised by high mechanisation and largely use hybrid or genetically modified seed varieties and other commercial agricultural inputs. Hesjedal and Ntshona argued that these programmes are implemented without sufficient understanding of the structure of the agricultural economy in South Africa, and that they reinforce dual approaches to agriculture by emphasising the notion of a dual economy (informal versus formal).

Hesjedal and Ntshona used the Massive Food Programme (MFP) as one example. The objectives of the MFP are to provide food security through commercial field crop production and address local and provincial food needs. There are a number of problematic assumptions that are an inherent part of the MFP. These assumptions have ignored both political and social contexts. As a result there has been very little graduation from subsistence to commercial farming.

Some of the assumptions are as follows. Firstly, it has been assumed that land is lying fallow in the former homelands. Such an assumption ignores the productivity of communal area farming and the historical reasons for limited land use. Secondly, it is assumed that proper agricultural practice is not applied in these areas. This assumption promotes a top-down approach of expertise from above which disregards traditional agricultural methods and displaces traditional livelihood strategies. Thirdly, it is assumed that there is a need for external input. The introduction of external technologies which local people do not have control over, has created the space for local elites to capture agricultural development processes. Fourthly, it is assumed that increased production will lead to food security and poverty reduction. But in cases where projects have performed poorly, credit taken to develop land has led to debt.

Farmers viewed the programme as the government asking to 'borrow their fields for five years'. The MFP programme is therefore seen as a government farming programme, not one of supporting people to farm. It appears that only those who were employed by the state as contractors and inputs suppliers have benefited.

### 11.11 Key points from the presentations and discussion on rural development and agrarian reform

#### **We should be talking about land and water reform for the rural poor**

Water needs to be brought to the centre of rural development and land reform along with state support for micro-level users and regulation of macro-scale users.

#### **Remember the link between geography, the economy and poverty**

Rural development is being located in the second economy and, therefore, linked to the former homelands. However, this approach ignores the linkages between the macro economy and rural development. Furthermore, questions pertain to which department is, or should be, responsible for rural development.



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### **The restitution process must reconsider the notion of community**

The homogenisation of historical loss when dealing with rural land restitution does not recognise differences among disparate communities who are often lumped together. This disables and complicates the restitution process.

### **The need for coordination**

Coordination in rural development is necessary to facilitate better operating government departments and support systems at different scales that assist the state to respond to issues. Also, there is a need for coherent research, policy and practice that talk to each other and which are based on an interdisciplinary approach to issues of rural development. Civil society can also play a more robust role in policy implementation.

### **South Africa is not learning from past experience**

The current CRDP is repeating past mistakes. The benefits and pitfalls of using the ward system for rural development initiatives need to be considered.

### **A lack of recognition of local initiatives**

Too many top-down solutions are pandering to a 'quick-fix' notion of poverty alleviation. We should rather look for home-grown solutions that are more sustainable.

### **Agrarian reform goes beyond food security**

It is not sufficient to talk about agrarian reform that supports food security as a way to defeat poverty and inequality. Land and agrarian reform policies should aim to improve prospects for small scale farmers in general. This would see expansion of marketed output and an increase in producers.

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### A role for smallholder farmers in rural development

Smallholder farmers have a role to play in economic development, but they need to be organised. It is important to match technological development with their needs and establish institutionalised markets for their produce. A heterogeneous approach to small scale farmers is required to facilitate economic development. Currently, there is not enough finesse in targeting, which is something policy processes must review and address.

### Diversify tenure options

Increased utilisation of land and productivity relies on a diversification of tenure options for plot holders and decentralisation of land administration.

### Importance of addressing existing value chains

Currently there is a developed agri-business sector which is fed by relatively few commercial farmers. These value chains need to be restructured. Agriculture and land reform need to be much more explicitly part of a new growth path.

### The current structure of production and ownership of basic food crops affects the poor

Basic food crops are still produced, owned and controlled by elite white companies. This affects basic food prices, and has a particularly detrimental effect on the rural poor as they have fewer retail choices.

### Rural poor are vulnerable to food poverty

Access to adequate and nutritious food remains an issue for the rural poor, impacting on household health.

### The design of agricultural development programmes needs to be carefully considered

There are many examples of inappropriate and context-insensitive agricultural programmes. The design of rural agricultural development programmes has a great impact on food poverty, on the success of farming enterprises and continuing structural inequality. Research needs to inform these programmes.

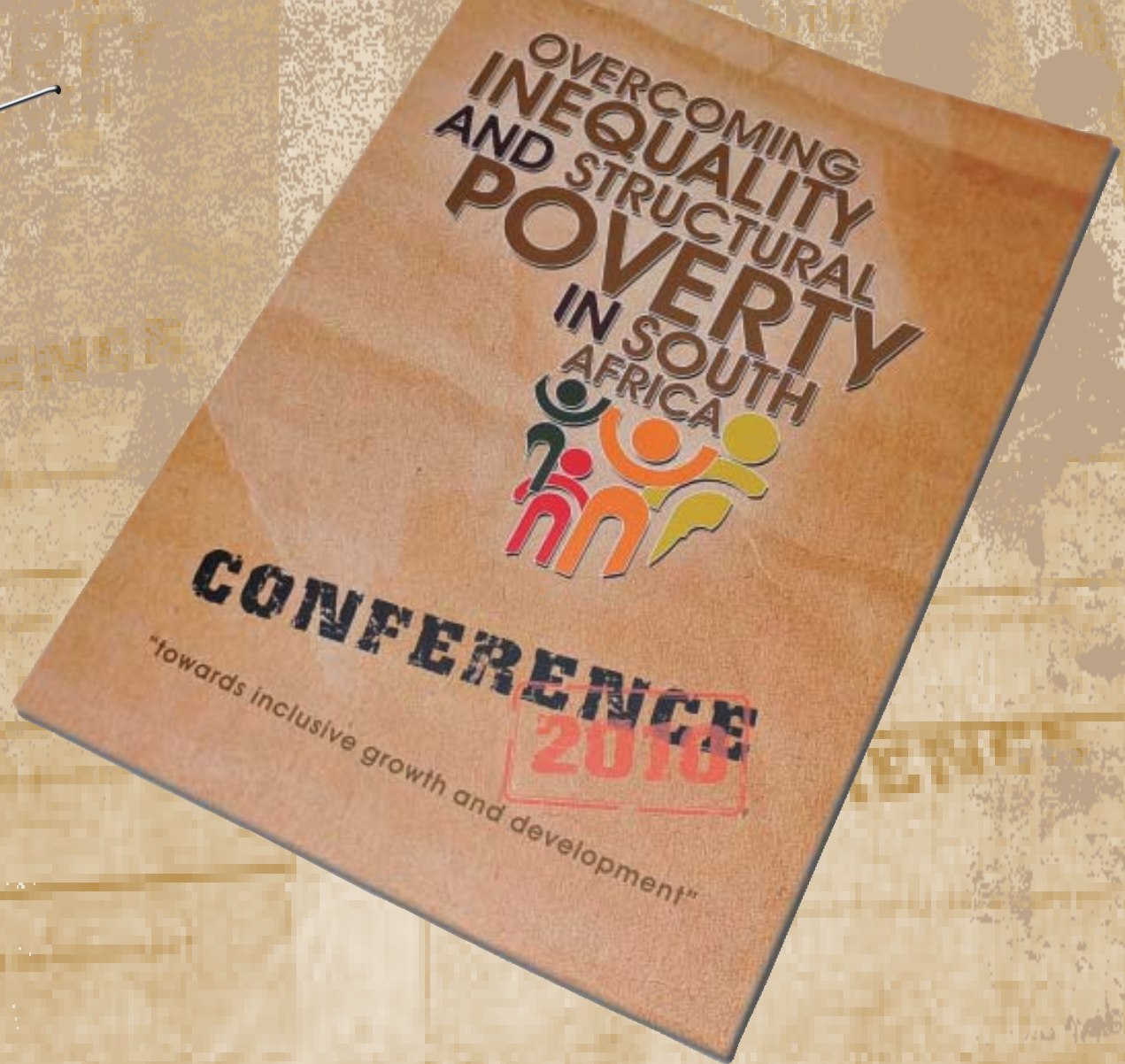
### Absence of bottom-up rural development work

A chronic problem is an absence of people to work with communities on an ongoing basis, but at scale. Rural outreach departments lack funds and staff. There needs to be a specific task force who are accountable for rural development work.

OVERCOMING  
INEQUALITY  
AND STRUCTURAL  
POVERTY  
IN SOUTH  
AMERICA







## 12. NEW FRONTIERS – THE ENVIRONMENT AND POVERTY

The final theme, the environment, is a cross-cutting theme and was referred to throughout the conference proceedings. The parallel sessions, grouped under the title 'New frontiers', examined the link between the environment and poverty and inequality, and drew attention to missed opportunities to find solutions to these challenges.

## NEW FRONTIERS

### 12.1 City energy poverty in the informal sector: the role for local government

Peta Wolpe and Yachika Reddy, from Sustainable Energy Africa, discussed the role of local government in alleviating urban poverty in the informal sector through energy provision.

Energy is crucial to meeting basic human needs. In South Africa, the poor tend to use both unsafe and unhealthy forms of energy because they are cheaper. Also, poor households spend up to 20 per cent of their household budget on these energies.

Changes at local government level can address some of these challenges through identifying blockages and redistributing resources to communities. Case studies exist relating to the provision of free basic alternative energy to households which cannot afford traditional energy supplies. However, in reality, a change in patterns of energy access needs to occur at a macro level through strong leadership from national government. To date, intergovernmental coordination and support is lacking for this to happen. Wolpe and Reddy argued that there is a disjuncture between the two spheres of government and that local and national are failing to work together to alleviate this problem.

Municipalities obtain their revenue through payments, but impoverished people cannot afford to pay for services. This demonstrates that existing policies are not aligned with the development agenda and the lived experience of the poor. As such, transformation and improved living conditions for those living in urban informal settlements will only be effective if shifts take place at both a micro and macro level.

### 12.2 Inertia, equity and ingenuity: mapping opportunities in South Africa's green economy

Anton Cartwright proposed that South Africa should move towards a full green economy as a poverty alleviation strategy. The opportunities created within a green economy include that it is more prosperous, more labour intensive, more sustainable, more equal than traditional economies, and that it has fewer people trapped in poverty as a result of environmental degradation.

The green economy is evolving on a global scale. With increasing exposure to environmental levies and increases in the price of unsustainable energy sources such as coal, Cartwright proposed that the economy requires sustainable energy, and that this is especially important for the poor. Wind and solar investment is growing considerably on a global level, but South Africa is not a part of this. There is massive investment in renewable energy that South Africa has not captured to date.

Renewable energy can be used to assist with poverty alleviation, and projects do exist that contribute to this and to a green economy; however, policy is needed to implement this on a wide scale.

### 12.3 Resilience and response-ability: towards just water service provision in the context of climate change

Jessica Wilson, from the Environmental Monitoring Group, discussed the effect of climate change on access to water and on poverty. Research shows that water cycles will change as a result of climate change and that water scarcity will be exacerbated by this. It is difficult to predict the scale, variability and locations of this change; however, it is essential to build resilience to its effects and effective responses.

In South Africa, the level of water service one receives is determined by one's wealth. Impoverished people are exposed to water and sanitation service backlogs; technologies which limit access; expensive tariffs; and, in general, do not access sufficient water. The situation is compounded by a lack of meaningful participation by impoverished people in addressing these issues.

Although policy rhetoric refers to climate change issues, municipalities have not been able to make changes in budgets, operational strategies, planning or implementation. For example, water demand management strategies still target those who cannot pay rather than water wastage.

Wilson suggested that it is possible for government to start building resilience to water scarcity, by changing municipal budgets and tariff, introducing rationing during water-scarce periods as opposed to relying on tariffs to limit use, through dialogue, and by ensuring the state addresses system failures and assists poor households.



## NEW FRONTIERS

### 12.4 Poverty governance with special reference to the water sector in South Africa

Sagie Narsiah, research associate with the Democracy and Development Programme at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, questioned the minor changes to poverty levels in South Africa since 1994. He argued that sustained high poverty levels indicate the failure of policy reforms, particularly apparent in the water sector. Narsiah used two case studies – from Durban and Johannesburg – to demonstrate the failure of the current macroeconomic approach to address issues of poverty and inequality. One of the manifestations of the current approach is New Public Management, which has incorporated neo-liberalism at a public policy level. Narsiah argued that a fundamental assumption is that human beings are governed by economic factors. As a result, poor people's rights are governed by the market and they get services accordingly. Instead, policy needs to urgently consider alternative methods of service delivery in the water sector, as well as the geography of the poor, when implementing these services.

### 12.5 Key points from the presentations and discussion on the environment and poverty

#### **Making climate change part of common discourse**

Participants argued for the need to make climate change relevant to common discourses in a way that removes its elitist association.

The poor are often closely affected by environmental issues and carry disproportionately the costs of environmental degradation. Avenues for impoverished households to engage with, and participate in, issues of the environment need to be established.

#### **Innovative approaches to solving poverty and inequality**

The challenge is to re-evaluate the way we respond to the environment in striving to decrease poverty and inequality at the macro and micro level. An innovative approach is required; we need a green economy that is not a subsidiary economy, but the main economy.

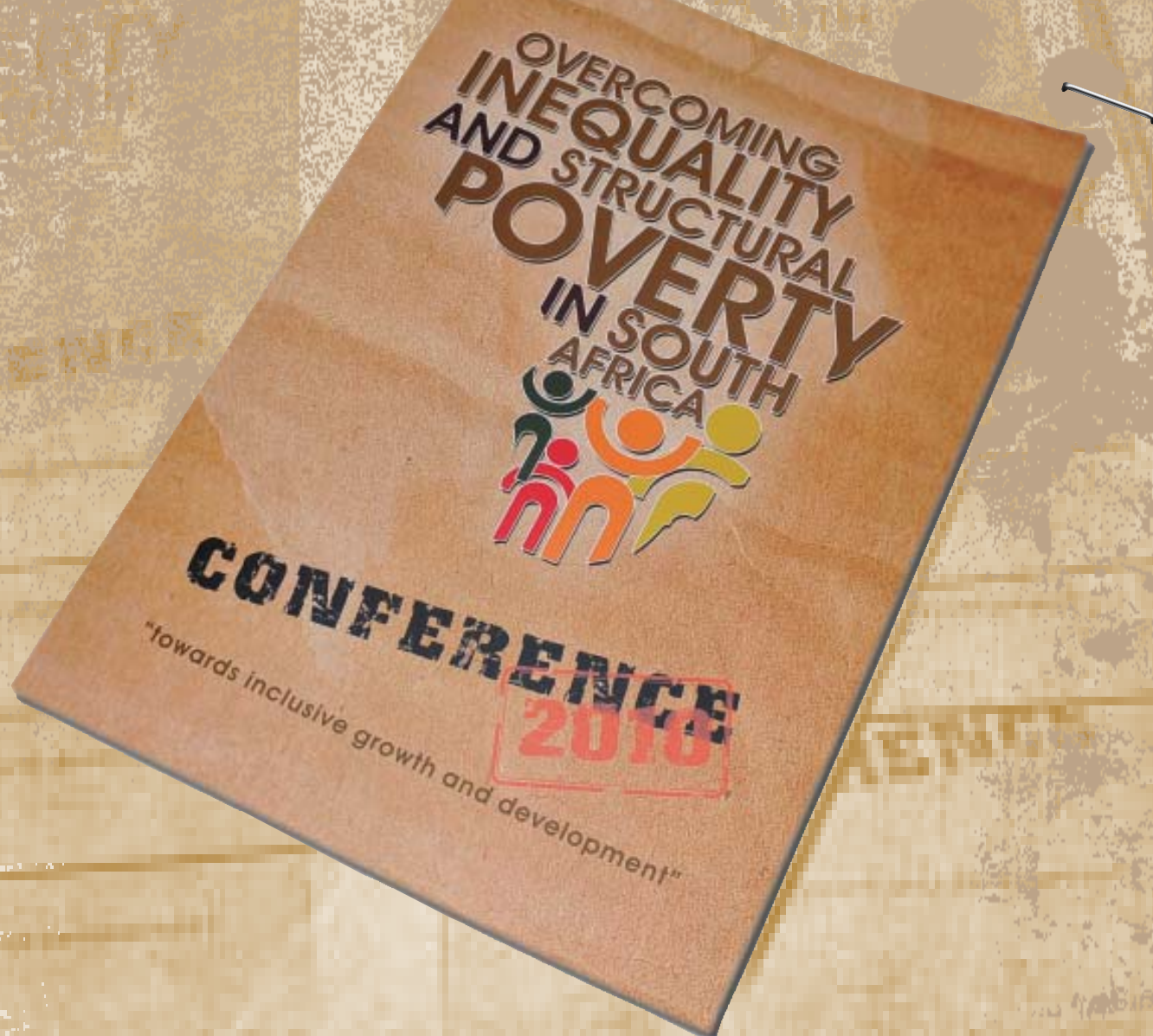
South Africa needs to keep abreast of global renewable energy developments and to explore the potential of renewable energy to simultaneously provide solutions to issues of poverty and inequality.

#### **Public participation**

Poor people need to be acknowledged as citizens and be given the chance to participate in a way that is supported by policy processes at a local and national level so that they can contribute to resolving socio-environmental issues.

#### **Equal access to water**

There is still unequal access to water in South Africa. Water can be seen as an arbitrator of basic human rights. Water restrictions force impoverished people into health crises, and limit their capacity for income generation and basic subsistence farming. Water needs to be reconsidered as an instrument that people can use to move out of poverty, and not just as a basic service.



### 13. CONCLUSION

The two and a half day conference, *Overcoming inequality and structural poverty in South Africa*, achieved its aim of bringing together practitioners, academics and policy-makers alike. Research, discussion and the presentation of evidence-based findings at the conference clearly indicated the need to place the issues of structural poverty and inequality on the current anti-poverty agenda. Through the conference outcomes, it became clear that current policy approaches need to engage in a much deeper way with the complexities of poverty and inequality in South Africa in order to understand the environment in which these problems continue, and to counteract them more successfully.



## CONCLUSION



The nature of continued poverty and inequality in South Africa is fundamentally structural, and measures to address these challenges need to reflect this. The conference proceedings demonstrated that the current economic growth path chosen by the government does not reflect sufficiently the history or process of poverty and does not create the space for impoverished people to access the means to assist themselves. Policy approaches are therefore often misplaced because they are based on questionable assumptions about economic growth and the capacity of the economy to create employment. Insufficient attention is paid to evaluating the mechanisms by which the benefits of growth can be enjoyed by the marginalised, or revisiting job creation assumptions have not been met. Moving beyond these assumptions, South Africa has to look at a more detailed and comprehensive approach to poverty than buying off destitution through the provision of social protection schemes by the state.

Social protection is important in that it provides immediate relief to the most vulnerable households and has led to a slight drop in poverty levels amongst the poorest quintiles. However, it does not provide the necessary structural, transformative solutions to poverty and inequality. This is demonstrated by the fact that inequality is rising in South Africa. Therefore, any mechanisms set up to alleviate poverty need to engage with the causes of inequality in South Africa.

The conference proceedings raised a number of issues. Firstly, addressing structural poverty and inequality requires supporting the agency of impoverished people by including their voice in determining the right policy choices for South Africa and addressing existing power imbalances.

Secondly, linkages between social and economic policies and between macro and micro levels need to be made and/or improved through a combination of policy interventions that address immediate, medium and long-term needs.

Thirdly, state services need to be shaped so that they are responsive to developmental approaches and are not based on parallel services which cater separately for the rich and the poor. Services need to incorporate the developmental notion of human capital investment and need to vary appropriately for different contexts (eg responding to rural and urban nuances).

Fourthly, the manner in which spatial and rural development is reinforcing apartheid and, therefore, poverty and inequality, needs to be understood by policy makers and addressed. Rural development policy must create better access to resources, markets and services through a consideration of spatial planning and the types of services provided to different areas. For example, the former homelands continue to suffer the worst poverty and reinforce surplus labour systems established during apartheid.

## CONCLUSION

Rural development policy and initiatives need to focus on coordination within government in a number of areas, including migration, transport, health care and budget prioritisation. The state also needs to clarify its vision for rural development which has to date failed to take into account the need to create linkages between the macro and micro levels of the economy in a way that allows access to value chains by small scale farmers.

Fifthly, environmental issues need to be reconsidered not only to prevent the impact of environmental degradation on impoverished people and communities but because of the potential to create jobs and assist communities. Growth and accumulation paths should therefore be reconsidered to realise this. Experts also need to communicate better with broad based civil society to shape a common progressive agenda within a responsible and inclusive state.

Sixthly, employment creation strategies need to be thought through. At the conference, the value of initiatives such as CWPs were considered, which simultaneously create employment, facilitate community development and create linkages between communities and government services. The potential to use environmental targets and care work to create employment in the poorest areas in South Africa also exists. A key question is how to use employment strategies to create sustained or decent work.

The current structure of the economy and the current growth path cannot be altered without demonstrable political will to focus on genuine redistribution in South Africa. Part of ensuring that there is sufficient political will to address structural poverty and inequality is to acknowledge that existing poverty discourses need to change and to acknowledge the close connections between ideology and policy making. It is important to understand what the underlying ideology is and then examine its appropriateness to solving South African challenges of poverty, unemployment, inequality and power. Another part of focusing political will is to ensure that there is more accountability to the electorate and greater inclusion of the voice of currently marginalised impoverished people. A key question was posed: is it possible to build a broad social compact around a progressive transformative vision for South Africa?

The conference sought to go beyond the limits and assumptions of mainstream poverty conferences. It sought to link scholarly research to the lessons of experience, and brought together activists, practitioners, policymakers and academics to consider what they could learn from one another. Furthermore, it tried to show that a coherent anti-poverty strategy needs to address inequality.

Dominant approaches to poverty often approach it narrowly, as if the aim is to lift the incomes of a certain section of society above the poverty line. Such approaches miss the fact that poverty in South Africa is not 'residual' in nature: it is not the problem of a small minority of the population, and neither does it result from there not being enough growth. Rather, the persistence of chronic poverty and inequality is caused by the kind of growth South Africa experiences. Our economy is a poverty and inequality machine, allowing the enrichment of a small minority while failing to generate the kinds of employment opportunities needed by the majority of the working-age population.

Many of the presentations at the conference explored the ramifications of this problem. Neva Makgetla's and Seeraj Mohammed's presentations showed how mass unemployment was linked to the capital-intensive and highly concentrated nature of the core economy, the disproportionately important role of the mining and heavy manufacturing sectors, and the distorting incentives created by the provision of artificially cheap energy to these sectors.

Kate Phillip showed the negative impact of this on rural development: the overdeveloped, highly centralised core dominates the entire economy, crowding rural entrepreneurs out of niches that could otherwise be used to kick start rural employment. Vusi Gumede showed the deep racial disparities in human development created by this growth path. Adam Habib traced the links between the marginalisation of the poor and the disabling effects of the electoral system, which renders parliamentarians accountable to party whips, not constituents.

Is a different, employment-intensive growth path possible, one that would benefit millions of South Africans that are currently marginalised by the nature of our core economy? From the discussions at the conference, it became clear that there are no easy answers. Some of the more optimistic presentations focused on the potential of expanded public works initiatives like the Community Work Programme. If these are scaled up to make possible a South African variant of India's employment guarantee scheme, they would indeed be a big step towards addressing the holes in our social protection system. But without inclusive growth in the core economy, they can only function as a limited band-aid.

Meeting this challenge is in part a technical question: by what means can the economy be restructured so as to encourage growth in directions that will absorb more labour. Government has at its disposal the ability to change the environment, and remove many of the incentives that encourage capital-intensive growth.



## CONCLUSION

Many of the presentations at the conference emphasised the importance of rural development and suggested that smallholder farming and agro-processing have the potential to create the right kinds of jobs in the right places.

Certainly, an urban bias in economic thinking has emphasised the importance of an efficient agricultural sector and cheap food – and has indirectly destroyed many thousands of livelihoods as a result. But fresh thinking is needed about rural development: as Ruth Hall pointed out, current approaches are not guided by any coherent vision of what is possible or needed in rural areas.

But the biggest challenge is political. Even if viable and practical regulatory and policy changes can be proposed, implementing them will require trade-offs. Powerful vested interests have a stake in perpetuating an environment that has encouraged our current growth path. That does not mean change is impossible. As many of the presentations and contributions at the conference attested, the desire for and interest in creating a better South Africa still runs deep in many parts of society.

But a vision is needed that can tap into that goodwill; a vision that can unite enough South Africans across race and class boundaries behind an inclusive project for equitable social change.

### 13.1 Way forward

The need to build a more equitable society and economy in South Africa is obvious, and the conference went some way to suggest relevant approaches that can be taken forward.

Specific outcomes of the conference include, firstly, the synthesis and dissemination of the discussions, insights and research in the form of this report and other media, to key government stakeholders, conference participants and the public.

Secondly, the conference proceedings will form the basis of engagement with key stakeholders, including the Office of the Deputy President, the National Planning Commission, the Performance Monitoring and Evaluation Department, and a civil society round table. An immediate outcome is the proposal by Neva Makgetla to develop an official discussion paper on inequality in South Africa.

Thirdly, conference partner organisations will pick up conference themes and insights in their ongoing work. The Programme to Support Pro-Poor Policy Development will hold a workshop with Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies and the OECD on inequality and the National Income Dynamics Study. The Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) will host a seminar on employment intensive growth. Isandla Institute is continuing with its *The Right to the City* project. The Studies in Poverty and Inequality Institute (SPII) is developing a special issue of *Development Southern Africa* to be published in March 2012. In April 2011 SPII has, in collaboration with Isandla Institute and PLAAS, coordinated a workshop with civil society to further disseminate and debate these findings. The outcomes and a list of participants of this workshop, as well as other materials coming out of the conference such as papers, presentations, discussions and photos can be found on the conference website:

<http://www.plaas.org.za/newsevents/povcon2010>

The conference called on the participants from a wide range of organisations to use the information from the conference to mobilise around issues of structural poverty and inequality.

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## Appendix A:

### List of conference presentations

#### PRESENTATIONS FROM THE PLENARY SESSIONS

- Biswas, S.* Impacting livelihoods of the very poor: PRADAN's story from India  
*Cooper, D.* The Community Work Programme  
*Habib, A.* The politics of inclusive development  
*Leibbrandt, M. and Woolard, I.* Trends on inequality and poverty: what kind of society is, or societies are, emerging  
*Makgetla, N.* Bringing inequality into policy  
*Mohamed, S.* An analysis of labour market trends  
*Mohlala, K.G.* The Bokfontein Development Forum  
*Phillip, K.* Addressing inequality and economic marginalisation: a focus on strategy  
*Ramafoko, L.* Soul City and Kwanda  
*Serrano, C.* Latin American experience on growth, poverty and inequality reduction with a rural territorial development focus  
*Van Donk, M.* The Right to the City (documentary)

#### PARALLEL PANEL SESSION A: EMPLOYMENT STRATEGIES

- Motala, S.* Expanding employment opportunities in the social sector, particularly for rural and marginalised women  
*Phillip, K.* Towards a right to work: the scope for a minimum employment guarantee in South Africa

#### PARALLEL PANEL SESSION B: SOCIAL PROTECTION (I)

- Devereux, S. and Solomon, C.* Overcoming inequality and structural poverty: is social protection a solution for South Africa's women farm workers?  
*Ngcobo, N.* Developmental social policies for the poor in South Africa: exploring options to enhance impacts  
*Ulriksen, M.* The role of social policies and economic modernisation for poverty reduction: lessons for South Africa

#### PARALLEL PANEL SESSION C: VISIONS OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

- De Satgé, R.* The poverty of restitution? The case of Schmidtsdrift  
*Hall, R.* The peasant and the shopping mall: uncovering the thinking behind South Africa's new vision for rural development  
*Schreiner, B.* Water for agrarian reform and rural poverty eradication: where is the leak?

#### PARALLEL PANEL SESSION D: SPATIAL PLANNING MATTERS

- Atkinson, D.* Regional development, innovation and pro-poor development: missing links in the South African planning system  
*Görgens, T.* Considering the potential of the social function of land to advance an integrated approach to urban land use and spatial planning  
*Mathe, K.* Improving spatial planning in South Africa's district municipalities

#### PARALLEL PANEL SESSION E: CHANGING LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES AND ECONOMIC AGENCY

- Mkhize, N.* Private game farms and the tenure security of farm workers and dwellers: lessons from Cradock, Eastern Cape  
*Neves, D.* Problem or panacea? Informal self-employment in policy and practice  
*Scott-Goldman, J.* The experience of 'hybrid' organisations in promoting meaningful rural livelihoods – lessons from Africa, India, and the Americas

#### PARALLEL PANEL SESSION F: THE POLITICS OF POVERTY (I) - DISCOURSE, MEASUREMENT AND MANAGEMENT

- Du Toit, A.* The government of poverty and the limits of managerialism in planning, politics and paradox in South African poverty discourse  
*Gumede, V.* Poverty, inequality and human development in a post-apartheid South Africa  
*May, J.* Smoke and Mirrors: the science of poverty measurement and its application  
*Van Niekerk, R.* Social policy, social citizenship and the historical idea of a welfare state in South Africa

#### PARALLEL PANEL SESSION G: NEW FRONTIERS

- Cartwright, A.* Inertia, equity and ingenuity: mapping opportunities in South Africa's green economy  
*Narsiah, S.* Poverty governance with special reference to the water sector in South Africa  
*Reddy, Y. and Wolpe, P.* City energy poverty in the informal sector: the role for local government  
*Wilson, J.* Resilience and response-ability: towards just water service provision in the context of climate change



## APPENDICES

### **PARALLEL PANEL SESSION H: ADDRESSING THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY AND INEQUALITY**

*Del Grande, L. and Hornby, D.* Apartheid space and fractured power: vicious cycles of poverty in Cornfields, KwaZulu-Natal

*Westaway, A.* Rural poverty in South Africa: legacy of apartheid or consequence of contemporary segregationism?

*Wright, G. and Noble, M.* Boundaries old and new: small area level deprivation in South Africa

### **PARALLEL PANEL SESSION I: URBAN AND INFORMAL**

*Bailey, D.* Towards improving access to free basic services to poor and vulnerable households

*Collinson, M. and Vearey, J.* Reaching the invisible: hidden links of ill health between South Africa's cities and rural areas

*Joseph, S.* *PoCityVity+*: a story of survival and belonging

### **PARALLEL PANEL SESSION J: SMALL AND EMERGING FARMERS**

*Cousins, B.* Agrarian structure and accumulation from below: re-thinking the role of 'smallholder farmers' in addressing structural poverty in rural South Africa

*Devey, R.* Replication, risk and reciprocity: emerging class structure and employment relationships in land reform initiatives in the KwaZulu-Natal sugar cane industry

*Manona, S. and Denison, J.* Land tenure and land administration in smallholder irrigation schemes in South Africa: new directions and policy challenges

*Mudhara, M.* Agrarian transformation in smallholder agriculture in South Africa: a diagnosis of bottlenecks and public policy options

### **PARALLEL PANEL SESSION K: THE POLITICS OF POVERTY (II) - RIGHTS**

*Tissington, K.* Making socio-economic rights work: towards a broader conceptualisation of the role of rights mobilisation in challenging urban structural poverty and inequality in South African cities

*Tom, B.* Politics of poverty, rural livelihoods and the role of social movements in two rural municipalities of the Western Cape

*Whiting, S. and Salmon, A.* Parliament's role in overcoming inequality and structural poverty in South Africa

### **PARALLEL PANEL SESSION L: POVERTY AND FOOD SYSTEMS**

*Hesjedal S. and Ntshona, Z.* A ladder to the 'first economy' or reinforcing structural inequalities? Experiences with agricultural development programmes in the Eastern Cape, South Africa

*Higgins, J.* Milling within the basic food production sectors - innovative approaches in challenging issues of structural poverty within the South African rural context

*Moses, C.* Food price inflation and its effect on the poor: a call for effective policies to combat food insecurity – a case study of Hopetown in the Northern Cape Province

### **PARALLEL PANEL SESSION M: SOCIAL PROTECTION (II)**

*Hall, K.* Place and mobility: new possibilities for exploring child poverty dynamics in South Africa

*McEwen, H. and Woolard, I.* The changing dynamics of child grants in South Africa in the context of high adult mortality

## APPENDICES

### Appendix B: Biographies

*Gavin Andersson is Director of the Seriti Institute, in Johannesburg, a professional training and coaching organisation whose mission is to strengthen community organisation for social health and local economic development. He was one of the partners in creating Kwanda, a reality TV show on community transformation.*

*Doreen Atkinson is Director of the Research Cluster for Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction at the University of the Free State and Visiting Professor for the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER) at Rhodes University.*

*Daniel Bailey is a researcher for the Built Environment Support Group (BESG). His most recent focus has been on issues around free basic services and indigent policy. He has also been involved in a national project where indigent policy was utilised as a means to alleviate the impact of HIV/AIDS on poor and vulnerable households.*

*Soumen Biswas is currently the Executive Director of PRADAN. PRADAN is an NGO that works with poor and marginalised communities in the endemically poor regions of India.*

*Anton Cartwright has Masters Degrees in Development Economics and Environmental Change and Management from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar. Since 1998 he has worked in his own consultancy, Econologic, for a wide range of local and international clients.*

*Mark Collinson is a Senior Research Officer in the Health and Population Division of the Medical Research Council/ Wits University Rural Public Health and Health Transitions Research Unit, School of Public Health, Faculty of Health Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa. He is responsible for the Agincourt Health and Demographic Surveillance System (HDSS).*

*David Cooper is managing director of Teba Development, a consultancy based in Johannesburg, South Africa.*

*Ben Cousins holds a Department of Science and Technology/National Research Foundation Research Chair at the University of the Western Cape, and is based at the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS). His main research interests are common property management, land tenure reform, livestock production and communal rangeland dynamics, rural social differentiation and poverty, and the politics of land and agrarian reform.*

*Lisa Del Grande has focused her work and studies on rural development planning over the last 15 years. Her particular focus areas have been on farm dwellers' land rights and access to justice, communal tenure systems, community-driven land use planning and management, and a more recent focus on food security and food sovereignty issues.*

*Jonathan Denison has 20 years professional experience predominantly in the field of agricultural water. He has led major international feasibility studies and implementation projects in eight African countries, and is currently a leading contributor to policy development for smallholder irrigation in South Africa.*

*Rick de Satgé works at Phuhlisani, a consultancy based in Cape Town. He is a land, livelihoods and capacity development specialist with comprehensive experience spanning land reform, land rights management, sustainable livelihoods, rural and urban development, adult learning and capacity development.*

*Stephen Devereux is a Research Fellow at the UK Institute of Development Studies, and an Honorary Research Fellow at the School of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal. His research interests include food security, rural poverty and social protection.*

*Richard Devey is a doctoral student at the Institute of Development and Policy Management, School of Environment and Development, University of Manchester. His PhD research focuses on land reform and employment in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.*

*Andries du Toit is Director of the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) at the University of the Western Cape. He focuses on the political economy of poverty and policy discourses in South Africa. He leads the qualitative component of the National Income Dynamics Study.*

*Isobel Frye is the Director of Studies in the Poverty and Inequality Institute, SPII. Her research focuses on social security and policies to reduce poverty and inequality.*

*Ian Goldman is team leader of the Monitoring and Learning Facility of the Programme to Support Pro-Poor Policy Development (PSPPD), and also in the Department of Performance Monitoring and Evaluation of the Presidency. He has worked extensively across Africa on issues of community-driven development, rural development, sustainable livelihoods approaches and local economic development.*

*Tristan Görgens is a policy researcher at Isandla Institute in its Urban Land Programme. He is concerned with a range of issues including social justice, youth development and diversity.*

*Vusi Gumede is currently an associate professor of development studies at the University of Johannesburg. He is an editor of the Journal of African Studies and Development and a trustee of the Southern Africa Trust.*

*Adam Habib is Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Research, Innovation and Advancement at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa. Habib's research interests include democratisation and development, contemporary social movements, giving and solidarity, institutional reform, race, redress and citizenship, and South Africa's role in Africa and beyond.*

*Katharine Hall is a senior researcher at the Children's Institute, University of Cape Town. Her interests are in child poverty and socio-economic rights.*

*Ruth Hall is a senior researcher at the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), in the School of Government at the University of the Western Cape, where she conducts research into the progress and problems of land reform in South Africa and elsewhere.*



## APPENDICES

**Siv Helen Hesjedal** works for the Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council (ECSECC) in East London. Her main responsibilities at ECSECC are research and information, facilitation and strategic planning.

**Jane Higgins** was appointed Communications Manager for African Micro Mills in 2006 and, more recently, Director of Communications for African Mill Mentors. Both companies specialise in the facilitation of sustainable solutions in the value-added staple foods businesses in Southern Africa. Jane is also a freelance writer specialising in the agro processing industries; milling in particular.

**Donna Hornby** has worked on rural issues for about 20 years as a researcher and development practitioner.

**Stacey-Leigh Joseph** has been a policy researcher in Isandla Institute's HIV/AIDS in the City programme since 2006. Her interests involve research on HIV/AIDS as a development issue and she specifically focuses on HIV/AIDS within an urban context.

**Murray Leibbrandt** is a professor in the Department of Economics at the University of Cape Town and Director of the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) since 2001. He is one of the investigators of the National Income Dynamics Study and holds the NRF/DSD research chair in poverty and inequality research.

**Neva Makgetla** is Deputy Director General for Economic Policy in the Economic Development Department (EDD), which she joined in July 2010. Before joining EDD, Makgetla was lead economist for the Development Planning Division at the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) from 2008.

**Siyabulela Manona** has 19 years experience in the field of rural development, particularly land tenure and land reform in South Africa. He has made significant contributions to national policy processes in the sectors of land reform, water allocation reform and smallholder agriculture.

**Khulekani Mathe** is a Senior Policy Analyst at the South African National Planning Commission in the Presidency.

**Julian May** is a professor in the School of Development Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and a research associate at the Brooks World Poverty Institute, the Comparative Research Programme on Poverty, the Department of Social Policy at Oxford University and the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU).

**Nomalanga Mkhize** has an MA in History from Rhodes University and is currently studying towards a PhD at the University of Cape Town. She is part of a broader research group looking at the socio-economic consequences of farm conversions for farm workers and dwellers.

**Seeraj Mohamed** is the director of the Corporate Strategy and Industrial Development Research Programme in the School of Economic and Business Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand.

**King George Mohlala** works with the Bokfontein Development Forum in the Northern Province, South Africa.

**Clive Moses** is employed by the National Development Agency as provincial manager for the Northern Cape Province. His primary role is to provide strategic direction in the province for the NDA's mandate.

**Shirin Motala** is a Senior Research Manager in the Centre for Poverty, Growth and Employment of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). She holds a Masters degree in Development from the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

**Maxwell Mudhara** is director of the Farmer Support Group, a community development, outreach and research unit of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. His current fields of interest are sustainable land management and water harvesting, farmer innovation in agriculture, evaluation and analysis of projects and programmes, and participatory development approaches.

**Sagie Narsiah** is a geographer and a research associate with the Democracy Development Programme (DDP), who teaches at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. His area of expertise is in the political economy of water services.

**David Neves** is a researcher at the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), at the University of the Western Cape. He holds a Masters degree from Rhodes University, and is enrolled for a PhD at the University of Cape Town.

**Nonkululeko Ngcobo** is a junior researcher in the EPD unit within the HSRC. She is currently studying towards her Masters in Political Science, Philosophy and Economics.

**Michael Noble** is Professor of Social Policy at Oxford, Director of the Centre for the Analysis of South African Social Policy (CASASP) and the Social Disadvantage Research Centre (SDRC) at the Department of Social Policy and Social Work.

**Zolile Ntshona** joined the Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Consultative Council in 2008. He has research interests in natural resources management, rural livelihoods and land and agrarian reform.

**Kate Philip** led a strategy process on inequality and economic marginalisation commissioned by the Presidency and hosted in Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies from 2007-2009. A key recommendation from this process was that South Africa should adapt the concept of a minimum employment guarantee.

**Lebogang Ramafoko** is Executive Producer of the Kwanda Production Team and a senior executive for media at Soul City. She is responsible for the development of the various Soul City media vehicles (television, radio and print).

**Yachika Reddy** is a Project Manager at Sustainable Energy Africa. She has worked across a spectrum of projects focused on rooting sustainable energy approaches and practices in urban development planning and management processes across South Africa.

**Mastoera Sadan** is programme manager of the Programme to Support Pro-poor Policy Development housed in the Presidency, South Africa. She has extensive experience in social policy and the social services sector.

**Adam Salmon** has been employed at Parliament as a researcher for the Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs since 2007, where he advises on the performance, legislative changes and processes of the Department of Home Affairs (DHA).

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**Barbara Schreiner** is Practice Director of Water Strategy at Pegasys Strategy and Development. She has 15 years experience in the water sector - experience that includes 12 years in the South African Department of Water Affairs and Forestry.

**Judy Scott-Goldman** is currently a freelance researcher and editor. She is currently working on strengthening community institutions in anticipation of climate change impact on water availability. Her fields of interest are adult education, development and poverty alleviation.

**Claudia Serrano** has had a high profile career in the government of Chile, and since 1995 was a professor in the Institute of Sociology at the Catholic University of Chile. She is currently executive director of the 'Centro Latinoamericano Para el Desarrollo Rural' (RIMISP).

**Colette Solomon** is deputy director of the Women on Farms Project, based in Stellenbosch, South Africa.

**Kate Tissington** is Research and Advocacy Officer at a new NGO called the Socio-Economic Rights Institute for South Africa (SERI), which provides assistance on socio-economic rights to individuals, communities and social movements in South Africa.

**Boyce Tom** is a researcher at the Trust for Community Outreach and Education. He is currently working in the Breede River Winelands and Swellendam municipalities helping small scale producers to self-organise and to lobby the government for support for their livelihood strategies.

**Marianne S. Ulriksen** is a post-doctoral researcher at the Centre for Social Development in Africa at the University of Johannesburg. Ms Ulriksen's research centres on explaining the causes and consequences of welfare policy expansion in Southern Africa.

**Mirjam van Donk** is the Director of Isandla Institute, an urban policy and planning NGO based in Cape Town. Her research interests include urban governance, civil society and urban vulnerability and resilience.

**Robert van Niekerk** is an associate professor in social policy at Rhodes University and is based at the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER). His areas of research and teaching interest include institutional history, ideologies, and understandings of social policy and social change in South Africa.

**Jo Vearey** is a researcher with the Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of the Witwatersrand, where she focuses on health and migration, designing and coordinating research programmes, and teaching and supervising graduate students.

**Ashley Westaway** recently took up an Ashoka Fellowship during which he will pioneer innovative approaches to integrated rural development in the Keiskammahoek area of the former Ciskei Bantustan.

**Sean Whiting** has been employed in parliament as a researcher for the Select Committee on Social Services, since April 2010. His portfolio includes advising the Committee on legislative and content issues relating to the Departments of Social Development, Health and Home Affairs.

**Jessica Wilson** is an environmental activist. Most recently her work has focused on water services, climate change and citizen action to help build a vibrant engaged participatory democracy for current and future generations. She has spent the past ten years working at Environmental Monitoring Group, an NGO based in Cape Town.

**Peta Wolpe** is the managing director of Sustainable Energy Africa. Her key responsibilities lie in managing and developing the organisation as well as engagement in project work. This has included assisting Gauteng Province develop an energy strategy and implementation plan, a poverty and informality project, a low carbon economy workshop and work on climate change projects.

**Ingrid Woolard** is an associate professor in the School of Economics at the University of Cape Town, and a research associate of the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU). Her areas of interest include labour market analysis, social assistance, programme evaluation and the measurement of poverty.

**Gemma Wright** is a senior research fellow at the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of Oxford, Deputy Director of the Centre for the Analysis of South African Social Policy, and a senior research associate at the Department of Sociology and the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University.



## APPENDICES

## Appendix C: List of conference papers

- Atkinson, D.* Regional development, innovation and pro-poor development: missing links in the South African planning system
- Bailey, D.* Towards improving access to social safety nets for poor and vulnerable households
- Biswas, S.* Impacting livelihoods of the very poor: PRADAN's story from India
- Cartwright, A.* Inertia, equity and ingenuity: mapping opportunities in South Africa's green economy
- Collinson, M., Vearey, J., Bocquier, P., Drimie, S., Quinlan, T., Twine, W.* Reaching the invisible: hidden links of ill health between South Africa's cities and rural areas
- Cousins, B.* Agrarian structure and accumulation from below: re-thinking the role of 'smallholder farmers' in addressing structural poverty in rural South Africa
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- Leibbrandt, M. and Woolard, I.* Trends on inequality and poverty: what kind of society is, or societies are, emerging
- Makgetla, N.* Bringing inequality into policy
- Manona, S., Denison, J., van Averbek, W., Masiya, T.* Proposed land tenure and land administration interventions to increase productivity on smallholder irrigation schemes in South Africa
- Mathe, K.* Improving spatial planning in South African district municipalities: towards inclusive growth and development
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- Scott-Goldman, J., Rubambey, G., Asiago, J., Kingman, A., Goldman, I.* Experience of 'hybrid' organisations in promoting meaningful rural livelihoods: lessons from Africa, India and the Americas

## APPENDICES

*Serrano, C.* Latin American experience on growth, poverty and inequality reduction with a rural territorial development focus

*Tissington, K.* Making socio-economic rights work: towards a broader conceptualization of the role of rights mobilization in challenging poverty and inequality in South Africa

*Tom, B.* Politics of poverty, rural livelihoods and the role of social movements in two rural municipalities of the Western Cape: a case study report of the Swellendam Local Municipality

*Ulriksen, M.* How social security policies and economic transformation affect poverty and inequality: lessons for South Africa

*Van Niekerk, R.* Social policy, social citizenship and the historical idea of a welfare state in South Africa

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OVERCOMING  
INEQUALITY  
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# OVERCOMING INEQUALITY AND STRUCTURAL POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA



Report documenting a conference held at Birchwood Conference Centre,  
Ekurhuleni from 20 to 22 September 2010



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