

Socio-Economic transformation: Are we going backwards?

TERESA GUTHRIE¹ writes, on behalf of the Children's Institute, UCT, on 'Child Poverty in South Africa: Social Assistance as a Response to Need.'²

Poverty in South Africa is critically linked to the labour market', states the Taylor Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive Social Security System (2002:70). The evidence provided by the Labour Force Surveys indicates that the unemployment rates are rising: from 33.0% in 1996 to 37.0% in February 2001, and again to 41.8% in September 2002¹ (using an expanded definition of unemployment²). So it may be assumed that the number of people experiencing dire poverty is also increasing. The committee found that in 2000 at least 45% of the South African population lived in absolute poverty, that is, on less than US\$2 per day³. The results of the Income and Expenditure Survey (IES) of 2000 (published in 2002⁴) show that average annual household income and expenditure have decreased between 1995 and 2000 (see table below).

The Committee of Inquiry (2002:32) warns:

Existing levels of poverty have reached unsustainable levels, and left unattended have the potential to reverse the democratic gains achieved since 1994. The urgent need to address deepening social exclusion and alienation of those households living in destitution cannot be ignored.

Terreblanche (2002⁵) argues that while South Africa experienced a remarkable political transformation in 1994, there has been no parallel socio-economic transformation. If we consider the latest IES (2000) results, it would appear that we have in fact gone backwards!

Within this context, the situation for South African children appears to be worsening, with both increasing rates and depth of child poverty. With the impact of

the HIV/AIDS pandemic being felt at every level of society, children are experiencing even greater hardship than before⁶.

This article presents the most recent analysis of child poverty rates and gives some attention to the social assistance grants as government's primary response.

What is poverty?

Poverty is the 'inability of individuals, households or communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living'¹⁰.

However, poverty is more than merely income insufficiency. It also includes lack of opportunities, lack of access to assets and credit, as well as social exclusion. Poverty is complex, multi-faceted and fluctuates in depth and duration.

Some of the contributing factors that may cause or exacerbate poverty are:

- chronic structural unemployment;
- interrupted income cycles due to social contingencies such as unemployment, sickness or disability;
- the death of the breadwinner due to HIV/AIDS;
- lack of access to assets, services, opportunities, and credit;
- lack of capability;
- the Apartheid legacy of inequality; and institutional failure in providing basic services to citizens.

A thorough analysis of the contributing factors is beyond the scope of this paper, but would be required to design appropriate interventions and responses.

Understanding the experience of poverty as perceived by poor people¹¹ and children themselves, is important. Some children who participated in research projects

conducted by the Children's Institute and ACCESS, described poverty as follows:

"...waking up with nothing to eat. You go to school hungry." (Boy 16-years, Western Cape).

"For my side the biggest problem is food. Sometimes we end up not getting any food at home and don't know what to do...The other problem is to have school shoes." (Boy, 15-years, Limpopo)¹².

"We need water. We get clean water once a month if the truck of water ever comes. I will be happy if we can get clean water next to our home." (Douglas, 17-years).

"I do not have parents. They are chasing us away where we are staying... we do not have food or money for rent." (Tsakane, 10-years)¹³.

"I need clothes, shoes, food, money, education, love and health." (Vincent, 13-years)¹⁴.

Children's socio-economic rights - The right to be free from poverty and need

The Constitution of South Africa gives children 'the right to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services, and social services' (Section 28(1)(c)). This means that no child should go without their basic needs being met due to poverty.

Again, the Convention of the Rights of the Child, ratified by South Africa in 1995, states that 'Every child has the right to a standard of living adequate for his/her development' (Article 27). This means that the state has committed itself to trying to provide this standard of living.

The jurisprudence regarding socio-economic rights that is gradually being developed, through such actions as the *Grootboom* and *TAC* Constitutional Court Cases, will further the promotion of children's rights.

Measuring poverty in South Africa - Sources of data

Poverty measurement and analysis rely heavily upon the quality of available data. In South Africa, the results of the Income and Expenditure Survey (IES) of 2000 (reported in 2002¹⁵) show that average annual household incomes and expenditure

have decreased between 1995 and 2000 (see the table below). IDASA plans to undertake an updated analysis of childhood income poverty using the IES 2000. In the absence of such an update, we use previous analysis based on earlier sources.

Poverty can be measured in different ways, which produce different quantities and perspectives. Measures of depth and duration of poverty are also important in order to characterise and understand the experience of poverty.

Relative poverty income measures

Child and family poverty can be measured in relative terms, as compared with other families and children. Thus people are ranked according to per capita or total household income in quintiles (groups of 20% of the population), with the poorest being found in the bottom two quintiles i.e. the poorest 40% of the population.

Absolute poverty income measures

Alternatively, poverty can be measured in absolute terms, calculated on the minimum income that would be required to provide for basic needs, survival and a healthy life. Thus, the poorest children are identified as those in households with incomes below the poverty line. A household, or per capita, poverty line can be used, and the value of the poverty line can be calculated in different ways, giving different amounts.

Deprivation indices

Since poverty is not merely a lack of income, researchers¹⁶ have created multi-dimensional measures of poverty and deprivation, which consider access to goods and services (such as shelter, health, education, or sanitation), physical safety or vulnerability and social inclusion, as well as income, expenditure and income variability.

We also consider other socio-economic indicators, such as health (death rates, infant mortality, malnourishment, etc), educational levels and access to services, which provide a picture of the overall degree of development in a country. The Human Development Index (HDI) uses a combination of the life expectancy index, the education index and the GDP index. Each of these indices, in turn, is composed of two to three measures. In 2000, South Africa's HDI was measured at 0.695, and

Existing levels of poverty have reached unsustainable levels, and left unattended have the potential to reverse the democratic gains achieved since 1994. The urgent need to address deepening social exclusion and alienation of those households living in destitution cannot be ignored.

we were ranked 107 out of 173 countries¹⁷, dropping from 103 in 1996.

National income and expenditure estimates

The Income and Expenditure Report for 2000 indicates that average annual household income dropped to R45 000 in 2000, from R51 000 in 1995 (adjusted for inflation, and reported in 2000 Rands).

Similarly, household average annual expenditure dropped from R51 000 in 1995 to R40 000 in 2000 (inflation-adjusted).

Average, annual per capita income and expenditure also decreased between 1995 and 2000:

- Individual income - R12 135 in 1995 -> R11 755 in 2000.
- Individual expenditure - R12 282 in 1995 -> R10 463 in 2000.

Because poorer households tend to have more members, the percentage of people living in poverty is larger than the quintiles might suggest. Thus the Poverty and Inequality Report of 1998 found that almost 50% of the population live in the poorest 40% of households and are poor. 27% of the population are 'ultra-poor' in the lowest 20% of households. (May J [ed]. 1998).

National socio-economic indicators

- 10% of black South Africans are malnourished (National Nutritional Survey 1999)
- Life Expectancy at birth was 52.2 years, in 2000 compared to 57.0 years in 1996 (SAHR2002)
- Adult literacy rate 85.3%, 2000 (UNDP 2002).
- Gini co-efficient: 0.56 in 1995, 0.57 in 2000 (IES 2000). This is high in comparison to Brazil & Ecuador.
- GDP growth of 2.7% per year between 1994 & 1999 (UNDP Report 2000) (not available for 2000).
- Expanded Unemployment rate: 33% in 1996 to 37% in 2001 to 41.8% in 2002 (IFS, 2002)
- 60% of the poor get no social security transfers (COI 2002). 73% of households in 2000 were living in formal dwellings (increase from 66% in 1995) (IES 2000).
- 83% of households had access to clean piped water in 2000 (from 79% in 1995) (IES 2000).
- 72% of households used electricity for lighting in 2000 (IES 2000).
- 57% of households had access to flush

or chemical toilets in 2000 (same as in 1995), with an increase in those using places such as river or bush (11% from 8% in 1995) (IES 2000).

- There was an increase in the use of public health-care facilities between 1995 & 2000, and a gradual decrease in the use of private facilities (IES 2000).

Provincial, geographical, racial and gender inequalities

Inequalities continue:

- In both 1995 and 2000 African-headed households had the lowest annual average income and expenditure (IES 2000).
- In both 1995 & 2000 African, female-headed households were generally earning and spending less than African male-headed households (IES 2000).
- White, male-headed households were the most affluent in both 1995 & 2000. (IES 2000).
- Non-urban households tended to earn and spend less than urban households do both 1995 & 2000 (IES 2000).
- Provincial disparities: Eastern Cape and Limpopo were the poorest provinces in 2000, Western Cape and Gauteng having the fewest poor households (IES 2000).

However, Gauteng average annual income and expenditure had decreased significantly since 1995 (IES 2000).

Childhood poverty in South Africa

Children under 18-years of age form a large proportion of the South African population. According to the 1996 Census data there were 17.9 million children (44.1% of the total population), of whom 6.5 million were under 6-years of age, and 13.8 million under 14-years. KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, Limpopo and Gauteng have the largest share of the child population.

Various indicators can be used to indicate children's well-being, such as their health status, nutritional status, educational achievements, and their access to services. Presented below are some socio-economic indicators that imply underdevelopment, poor living conditions, poor health and poor access to services for children in South Africa.

Childhood socio-economic indicators

- Infant Mortality Rate = 55 per 1000 live births in 2000 (UNDP 2002). IMR reported to have increased to 59 in 2002 (SAHR 2002), with large provincial differences. Western Cape = 30, Eastern Cape = 72.
- Under-five Mortality Rate = 70 per 1000 live births in 2000. (UNDP 2002). USMR increased to 100 in 2002 (HST - SAHR 2002), with large provincial differences. Western Cape = 46, KwaZulu-Natal = 124.

The National Food Consumption Survey (1999) found:

- 21.6% of children aged 1-9-years suffered from stunting
- 10% were underweight
- 4% were wasted.

Educational access: more than 94% of child ren (7 to 15-years) attend school (IES 2000).

Child income analyses

The latest analysis of childhood poverty is that undertaken by Ingrid Woolard for IDASA (2001¹⁸ and 2002¹⁹), using the October Household Survey (OHS) 1999 data (awaiting analysis of IES 2000). The 1999 OHS has been criticised for underestimating income levels, and therefore overestimating poverty levels. Nonetheless, the IDASA analysis is the only recent focused data available on childhood income poverty.

Using an absolute poverty line of R400²⁰ per month, IDASA found that 75% of children were living in poverty, approximately 14 million children under the age of 18-years, and 5 million under the age of 7-years.

TABLE 1: IDASA's provincial child poverty rates, 2002 estimates of poor children and child poverty shares (based on OHS 1999 and an absolute poverty line of R400/month per capita)²¹

Province	Child poverty rate in 1999 (%)	Estimated number of children in 2002	Estimated number of poor children in 2002 ²²	Child poverty share in 2002 (%) ²³
WC	46.8	1 518 692	712 114	5
EC	88.4	3 462 084	3 060 483	21
NC	72.9	3 653 358	2 665 565	2
FS	77.2	1 146 368	885 913	6
KZN	80.0	4 106 547	3 286 470	23
NW	78.7	1 521 258	1 197 230	8
GAUT	55.4	2 465 114	1 366 659	10
MPA	78.7	1 377 413	1 084 438	8
L	84.3	2 965 484	2 500 200	17
RSA	75.8	18 928 319	14 360 072	100

Source: Using R400/mth (adjusted to R490 in real terms), October Household Survey (OHS) (1999), analysis conducted by Woolard, reported in Steak 2002.

Increasing child income poverty rates between 1995 and 1999

Table 2 below presents Woolard's child poverty rate findings based on the OHS 1995 and OHS 1999. It can be seen that the child poverty rates (in each province) reported for 1995 are lower than those produced by the analysis of OHS 1999. This indicates that the child poverty rates have increased between 1995 and 1999.

TABLE 2: IDASA's Child poverty rates according to the OHS 1995 and OHS 1999 (using a poverty line of R400 per month per capita)

	1995	1999
WC	46.8	1 518 692
EC	88.4	3 462 084
NC	72.9	3 653 358
FS	77.2	1 146 368
KZN	80.0	4 106 547
NW	78.7	1 521 258
GAUT	55.4	2 465 114
MPA	78.7	1 377 413
L	84.3	2 965 484
RSA	75.8	18 928 319

Source: October Household Survey (1995&1999), analysis conducted by Woolard, reported in Steak 2002

While these increases may be partly due to the under-reporting of household income in the OHS survey conducted in 1999, the data nevertheless reflects that child poverty rates have probably increased, most likely due to the increasing unemployment and the impact of HIV/AIDS on breadwinners in households. It may also be assumed that

While South Africa experienced a remarkable political transformation in 1994, there has been no parallel socio-economic transformation...it would appear we have in fact gone backwards!

the childhood poverty rates have probably increased further since 1999 due to these same factors. Certainly, the IES 2000 indicates increasing general poverty levels, which would imply increasing child poverty levels.

The government's response - social assistance grants

The government has acknowledged the challenges of a 'persistent structural unemployment problem and associated household poverty' (Herzenberg, 2003) and has therefore initiated efforts to alleviate poverty. Some of these are specific 'poverty-alleviating projects', while others aim more broadly at general development. There are macro-economic policies to influence investment, productivity and employment creation, while there are also many service delivery interventions, aimed at improving people's quality of life. Social security cash transfers are a direct response by government to alleviate dire poverty and can directly benefit children and their families²⁴. South Africa does not have a national integrated poverty reduction strategy; hence all these efforts appear fragmented and unco-ordinated.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to examine the range of interventions mentioned above²⁵. In addition, there has been very little analysis of the impact of many of these on the actual well-being of children, or on general poverty levels. Many of the outcomes are difficult to quantify, to track and to attribute to specific interventions. Since there has been some analysis of the impact of the social assistance grants on children, this paper will briefly present an examination of the coverage of the Child Support Grant (CSG).

Social security as a response to social need

There are differing theoretical perspectives on the response to societal need. These may be viewed, along a continuum, either in terms of the degree of support for a collective commitment to welfare and social security provision, through the state, on the basis of need, or support for a market-based society that maximises the scope of the individual choice and relegates the state to a minimal 'safety net' role (Williams 1989:18-22). Generally, social security interventions are attempts

by the state and society to protect members from the loss of income and the extra costs due to social contingencies, or risks, such as unemployment, disability or pregnancy. The South African White Paper for Social Welfare describes the domains of social security as '...poverty prevention, poverty alleviation, social compensation and income distribution.' (1997: 45).

The South African social security system has been described as generous, redistributive and as being exceptional in the world for a country of South Africa's level of development (Seekings 2002:1). At the same time, the system is fragmented and non-comprehensive, with many vulnerable groups falling through the cracks. In addition, the existing provisioning is plagued with administrative problems and other barriers to accessibility. From a human rights perspective, and considering South Africa's international and constitutional obligations (with regard to children in particular), it would appear that, while the current grant system is an important poverty alleviating mechanism, it is not being freely accessed by all those in need.

The impact of social security cash transfers on children

The impact of cash transfers on the well-being of children has been quantified to some extent.

For example, the State Old Age Pension is reportedly a very important source of income for poor households. In April 2003, 2 million elderly persons were receiving the grant. Ardington and Lund (1994:19) identified the general benefits of pensions:

- they comprise 'a significant source of income, with definite redistributive effects;
- they are a reliable source of income which leads to household security;
- they are the basis of credit facilities in local markets, further contributing to food security;
- they deliver cash into remote areas where no other institution do;
- they are gender sensitive towards women; and
- they reach rural areas as few other services do'.

Case (2001), in the Integrated Family Survey conducted in Langeberg, found that

'in households that pool the income, the pension protects the health of all household members, working in part to protect the nutritional status of household members... to improve living conditions'. More specifically, in households with a pensioner, children were approximately 5cm taller, which is roughly equal to a half-year's growth for young African and Coloured children. The pensioners frequently reported that they used the grant to buy food, especially for children, as well as to upgrade household facilities and sanitation, thereby contributing to improved health status.

An initial evaluation of the implementation of the new CSG was undertaken by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) in 1999 (Kola *et al* 1999). They found that three-quarters of the primary caregivers in the survey said that they relied mainly on the CSG to support the child, and 79% asserted that the CSG had improved their ability to take care of the child, particularly by allowing them to obtain food and other basic necessities for the child. Those in rural areas generally relied to a greater extent on the grant than those in the urban areas.

The analysis of the impact of the phasing out of the State Maintenance Grant (SMG), undertaken by Stellenbosch University, provided useful evidence of the importance of the grant (Voster *et al* 2000). Respondents said that with the loss of the grant, many of their children had begun to rely on lunch from feeding schemes at primary schools, as food could no longer be purchased. Nearly all participants in the focus groups referred to the extra burden of school fees. They struggled to pay their children's school fees and related expenses. Voster *et al* concluded that the SMG had probably also reduced poverty in this specific group of households much more than any development projects would do in

the near future.

Since the SMG was abolished, the National Department of Social Development has in recent years rapidly increased the numbers of children receiving the CSG (2.6million in April 2003), and has extended the age category to 14-years, to be rolled out gradually over the next three years. While this extension is welcome, it is regrettable that it was not done with immediate effect for under 14-year-olds, with the next second phase being to children under the age of 18-years. Civil society movements are calling for universal benefits for children (i.e. removing the means test), based on children's socio-economic rights enshrined in the constitution, the high poverty levels, and on the evidence that the means test process excludes the very poorest and most in need, due to the administrative requirements and hurdles. (ACCESS 2002).

Increasing national allocations to social security

The National Treasury reported in their 2003 Estimates of National Expenditure:

'Because of the stubbornly high levels of deprivation and poverty, in particular amongst children, and the fact that social grants are proven to be effective at alleviating poverty, government has decided to extend the Child Support Grant'. (2003:417).

The table below shows the actual and projected increases between 2003/03 and 2005/06 to the 'Grant Administration' Sub-Programme of the Social Development Vote. The enormous increases reflect the phased extension of the grant to children under 14-years.

The table shows the large increase in the allocation in 2001/02, which was for the rollout and administration of the CSG. Another large increase can be seen for 2003/04 for the extended age category for

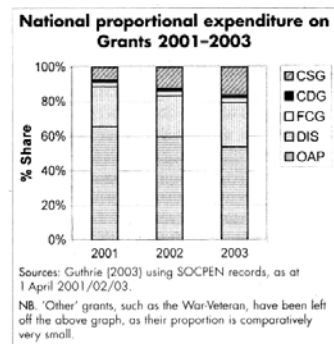
While the current grant system is an important poverty alleviating mechanism, it is not being freely accessed by all those in need.

	Audited in 1999 (%)	Audited in 2002	Prelim Outcome	Rev Estimate	MTEF	MTEF	MTEF
	1999/00	2000/02	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06
Sub-programme Grant Admin R'000	80623	123685	2082537	55941	1119078	3419321	6420482
Nom % Change		53.41	1583.74	-97.31	1900.46	205.55	87.77
Real Amounts R'000	103363	145512	2313930	55941	1054739	3066350	5478311
Real % Change		40.78	1490.20	-97.58	1785.45	190.72	78.66

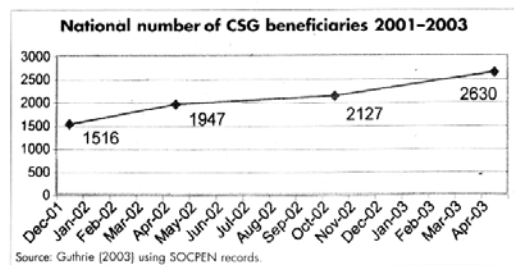
Source: Estimate of National Expenditure 2003, P.424. Own calculations.
NB. The real amounts are calculated for the MTEF period, using 2002/03 as the base year and using the CPI as reported in the IFGR (2003).

the same grant. Over the MTEF period, the allocation to the grants will increase in real terms by an average 685%.

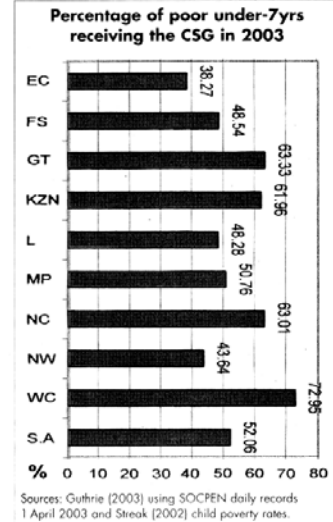
The graph below compares the proportional social security expenditure on each grant for the period 2001/3, where it can be clearly seen that CSG proportion has been steadily increasing even before the change in age eligibility.



- Key points:**
- The proportion of expenditure going to the three child grants (CSG, FCG and CDG) increased from 11% in April 2001 to 21% in April 2003.
 - The CSG share of the grant expenditure has doubled from 8% to 16% in the same period, and the FCG share has increased from 2% to 3%. The CDG share has also doubled from 1% to 2%.
 - Looking at the nominal allocations, the CSG experienced the largest increase of 250% over the two-year period; the CDG the next largest increase of 117%, which would indicate improved access to children with disabilities.
- The increase in the numbers of child CSG beneficiaries is shown graphically below.



While the increased numbers of children benefiting is welcomed, when we consider the numbers of children in need, i.e. in poverty (using Woolard's R400 per month measure²⁶), we find that the CSG was only reaching 50% of those under 7-years (in April 2003), with large variations between provincial access, shown clearly in the graph below.



The under-performance in the under-resourced provinces, namely those with the greater child poverty shares, must be addressed in order to improve the living conditions of children in those provinces. In addition, the low level of the grant (currently R160) must be reviewed considering the costs of meeting the basic needs of a child.

As Bredenkamp (1999:238) concludes: '...the child support grant is set at too low a level and offered for too limited a duration to have as great an effect on poverty alleviation in recipient families as the old state maintenance grant did. However, its design is such that it can potentially do far more to alleviate poverty among families with children... The biggest challenge now is to increase take-up rates so that the positive impact of these design elements can be felt'.

Problems with the Means Test - moving towards universal provisioning

While means-testing of applicants enables 'targeting' of the poorest quintiles, in practice it is rarely used correctly, is administratively demanding, and has been reported as demeaning. There are three different means tests for each of the child grants, with different threshold incomes²⁷. The threshold incomes have not been increased in line with inflation for several years, thus reducing the number of eligible people. The current threshold amounts are very low and exclude many low-income households with children living in poverty. The means test acts as a perverse incentive and discourages applicants and recipients from seeking employment or other sources of income, for fear of losing the grant. The means test often excludes those most in need, due to the administrative criteria that poor people cannot usually meet. Sometimes the extra expenses incurred by tighter targeting mechanisms cannot be justified and make the programmes unsustainable. The costs of administering the means test could be better directed into providing a universal grant to more recipients.

The call for the removal of the means test is based on the socio-economic rights of children enshrined in the South African Constitution and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Specific action required for children experiencing poverty

There is a consensus in the children's sector²⁸ regarding a number of interventions that could bring immediate poverty relief to children. These would include:

- Some form of income support for everybody in South Africa. A universal grant, such as a BIG, would be easier to administer than any means-tested benefit and could be 'targeted' by being reclaimed through the income tax system (Samson 2002), or the VAT system (le Roux 2002).
- Extension of the CSG to all children up to the age of 18-years, with the removal of the means test.
- Indirect package of services, including:
 - Free health care services for children (extended to 18-years)

- Free ARVs to persons infected with HIV/AIDS
- Free assistive devices for children with disabilities
- Access to National Health Insurance
- Free primary and secondary education (or LSEN/ special schooling where required)
- Food security and nutritional programmes
- Free water and sanitation, and electricity
- Subsidised transport.
- Emergency relief including:
 - Social Relief Grant
 - Food parcels/vouchers/supplements
 - Transport vouchers.

The government is providing many of the above, but there are problems in accessibility, administration and impact.

Conclusion

'There continues to be an urgent need to reduce child poverty and deliver children their socio-economic rights in South Africa'. (Cassiem and Streak, 2001).

The increasing child poverty rates in South Africa, as well as the constitutional obligations and evolving jurisprudence regarding children's socio-economic rights, make poverty alleviation and the provision of social assistance an imperative for the government. Concerted efforts must be made at alleviating poverty and providing minimum income support measures. Additional improvements to the existing grants are required, with additional measures to cover the current gaps.

As Bredenkamp's (1999:238) evaluation of the social security system in South Africa found: 'Social transfers, such as the child support grants, foster care grants and care dependency grants, seem to provide an effective safety net... (however) it is merely a safety net that is provided, though'.

In addition to social security measures, a comprehensive, co-ordinated and multi-faceted strategy is required to deal with the many causes and symptoms of poverty. However, South Africa does not have an integrated national poverty reduction strategy; so the interventions appear to be unco-ordinated and fragmented. There has

The costs of administering the means test could be better directed into providing a universal grant to more recipients.

been limited systematic evaluation of the interventions to determine their level of impact and to improve their effectiveness. Contributing to this failure is the lack of reliable, accurate and routinely collected indicators of child well-being.

As the Taylor Committee into a Comprehensive Social Security System (2002: 61) concludes:

It is the constitutional and international obligation of the state to provide social security to children. Through providing social assistance, and with the concurrent development of services and development programmes, the state can and must attempt to improve the standard of living for children. ■

While the current grant system is an important poverty alleviating mechanism, it is not being freely accessed by all those in need.

Footnotes

1. Grateful acknowledgements to Judith Streak and Shamela Cassiem of IDASA, and Debbie Budlender, of CASE (Community Development Agency for Social Enquiry) for their assistance in this article.
2. This article is an adaptation of Guthrie T. 2002. "Family Social Security Benefits in South Africa" in *Journal of Social Dynamics*, Vol 28(2):122-145.
3. Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive Social Security System, 2002. Transforming the present, Protecting the Future: Consolidated report.
4. Labour Force Survey, Sept 2002. Stats South Africa, www.statssa.gov.za
5. The official unemployment rate in Sept 2002 was 30.5%.
6. Col. *Ibid.*, p16.

Figure varies between 45% and 55% depending on the poverty line and measure used. Sourced from the South Africa Human Development Report, 2000.

7. StatsSA, 2002. Earning and Spending in South Africa: selected findings and comparisons from the IES of October 1995 & 2000. www.statssa.gov.za
8. Terreblanche S. 2003. "Public Debate on the Growth and Development Summit", May 2003. IDASA.
9. Giese S, Meintjies H, Croke R, Chamberlain R. 2003. Health and Social Services to Address the Needs of Orphans and other Vulnerable Children in the Context of HIV/Aids. Research Report and Recommendations made to the

National Department of Health, Children's Institute, UCT.

10. May 2000. Col. *Ibid.* 2002:15.
11. The South Africa Participatory Poverty Research (SA-PPR 1998) provides invaluable insight.
12. ACCESS, 2002. Children speak out on Poverty: Report on the ACCESS Child Participation Process.
13. CI. 2002. National children's Forum on HIV/AIDS.
14. CI. 2002. National children's Forum on HIV/AIDS.
15. StatsSA. 2002. Earning and Spending in South Africa: selected findings and comparisons from the IES of October 1995 & 2000. www.statssa.gov.za
16. Such as Haarmann 1999 & 2000. Kneebone 2002.
17. UNDP. Human Development Report, 2002. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.
18. Cassiem S & Streak J. 2001. Budgeting for Child Socio-Economic Rights: Government's Obligations and the Child's Right to Social Security and Education. IDASA.
19. Streak J. 2002. Child Poverty Monitor, No.1. IDASA.
20. On the basis that the Committee of Inquiry used R400 per month as a poverty line.
21. The R400 was adjusted for inflation for the 2002 calculations.

22. These estimates were arrived at in two steps. First, by using the provincial population growth rates implied by SSA's mid-year estimates of the number of people in provinces to inflate the number of children counted by the OHS 1999 and estimate the total number of children in each province in 2002. Second, by applying Woolard's child poverty rate estimates to arrive at the estimates of the number of poor children in each province in 2002.

23. These estimates were arrived at using the estimates of numbers of poor children in the provinces presented in column four.
24. Many of the social assistance grants were available to a small proportion of the population during the apartheid era, and have been expanded by the democratically elected government.
25. For an overview of various interventions refer to May J (ed). 1998. Several other documents evaluate specific programmes.
26. This is a rough estimate of the number of children in poverty, not a calculation of the number of eligible children, which

would be based on the threshold income used for the means test.

27. The CSG and CDG means tests use the caregiver and spouse's income but differing amounts, the FCG means test uses the child's income, which in most cases is non-existent so is usually ignored in applications.
28. Alliance for Children's Entitlement to Social Security (ACCESS). "Package of Benefits".

References

- ACCESS. (2002) *Children Speak out on Poverty: Report on the ACCESS Child Participation Process*.
- Alderman, H. et al. (2001) "Combining census and survey data to construct a poverty map of South Africa", in STATSSA, *Measuring Poverty in South Africa*.
- Ardington, L. Lund, F. (1994) *Pensions and development: the social security systems as a complementary track to programs of reconstruction and development*, Centre for Social and Development Studies, Univ. of Natal.
- Bredenkamp C. (1999) *Falling through the Cracks? Income Security and the South African Social Security System*. Masters Thesis, Stellenbosch Univ.
- Case, A. (2001) *Does Money Protect Health Status?* Evidence from South African Pensions. Princeton University & NBER.
- Cassiem, S. and Streak, J. (2001) *Budgeting for Child Socio-Economic Rights: Government's Obligations and the Child's Right to Social Security and Education*. IDASA.
- Central Statistics Service (now Stats SA). (1995a.) *The Income & Expenditure Survey*.
- Central Statistics Service. (1995b & 1999) *The October Household Survey*.
- Chafel, J. (ed). *Child Poverty and Public Policy*. The Urban Institute: Washington DC, 1993.
- Children's Institute. (2002) *National Children's Forum on HIV/AIDS*.
- Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive Social Security System (2002) *Transforming the present, Protecting the Future: Consolidated report*. Dept of Social Development, RSA.
- Financial and Fiscal Commission. (1997) *Public Expenditure on Basic Social Services in South Africa. Report for UNICEF & UNDP*. Pretoria.
- Guthrie, T. et al. (2002) *Submission on the Committee of Inquiry's Report: Comprehensive Social Security for Children. Comment made to the Department on the Report of the Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive Social Security System for South Africa*. Children's Institute.
- Guthrie, T. (2002) *Assessing the Impact of the Child Support Grant on the Well-being of Children in South Africa: a summary of available evidence*. Children's Institute Working Document.
- Guthrie, T. (2002) 'Family Social Security Benefits in South Africa', in *Journal of Social Dynamics*, Vol 28(2):122-145.
- Guthrie, T. *Analysis Of The Child Grant Uptake Rates As Of 1st April 2003*. Children's Institute, UCT. Pending.
- Haarmann, D. (1999) 'The Living Condition of South Africa's Children'. AFReC Res. Monologue No. 9.
- Haarmann, C. (2000) *Social Assistance in South Africa: its Potential Impact on Poverty*. Unpublished thesis, UWC, 2000.
- Herzenberg, C. (2003) *Growth and Development Summit Agreement: Analysis of Outcomes*. PIMS, Working Document. Idasa.
- HST. South African Health Review 2002. 'Restructuring the Health Care System - Progress to Date'. www.hst.org.za
- IDASA. (2000) *Child Poverty and the Budget 2000 - Are Poor Children Put First?*
- IDASA (2003) *Public Debate on the Growth and Development Summit*.
- Kneebone, P. (2002) *The State of Social Security in South Africa and its Potential Impact on Poverty*. Unpublished thesis, UP.
- Kola, S., Braehmer, S., Kanyane, M., Morake, R., Kimmie, Z. (1999) *Phasing in the Child Support Grant: a social impact study*. CASE.
- Labadarios, D. (2000) *National Food Consumption Survey in Children 1-9yrs: South Africa 1999, 2*.
- Le Roux, P. (2002) 'Financing a Universal Income Grant in South Africa in Social Dynamics Journal', 28(2):98-121.
- May, J. (ed) (1998) *Poverty & Inequality in South Africa: meeting the challenges*. David Phillip & Zed, Durban.
- McCord, A. (2002) *Public Works as a Response to Labour Market Failure in South Africa*. CSSR Working Paper no.19. UCT. www.uct.ac.za/depts/cssr/pubs.html
- NIEP. (1996) *Children, Poverty and Disparity Reduction: Towards Fulfilling the Rights of South Africa's Children*. World Bank & RDP Office.
- Robinson, S. (2003) *Children First in the Poverty Battle! A Review of PRSPs in the Southern African Region - from a Child Rights Perspective*. Save the Children Sweden. www.rb.se
- Samson, M. et al. (2002) 'The social, economic and fiscal impact of a basic income grant for South Africa'. Paper presented to EPRI & ILO Workshop: Social Security Reform and the Basic Income Grant. Cape Town.
- SA-PPA. (1998) *The Experience and Perceptions of Poverty: the South African Participatory Poverty Assessment*. Data Research Africa report: Durban.
- Seekings, J. (2002) 'The Broader Importance of Welfare Reform in South Africa', in *Journal of Social Dynamics*, Vol 28, No.2, p1-38.
- Statistics South Africa (SSA). (1999) *October Household Survey 1996*. (Statistical Release P0317). Pretoria.
- Statistics South Africa & World Bank. (2001) *Measuring Poverty in South Africa*.
- Statistics South Africa. (2002) *Earning and Spending in South Africa: selected findings and comparisons from the IES of October 1995 & 2000*. www.statssa.gov.za
- Streak, J. (2002) *Child Poverty Monitor*, No.1. IDASA.
- Vorster, J. H., Rossouw, H.M. & Muller, G.J. (2000) *Phasing out the State Maintenance Grant within the context of Developmental Social Welfare*. Commissioned research for the national Department of Social Development.
- Woolard, L. (2001) Unpublished paper on child poverty rates, based on OHS 1999 and OHS 1995. Conducted for Idasa's Children's Budget Project.