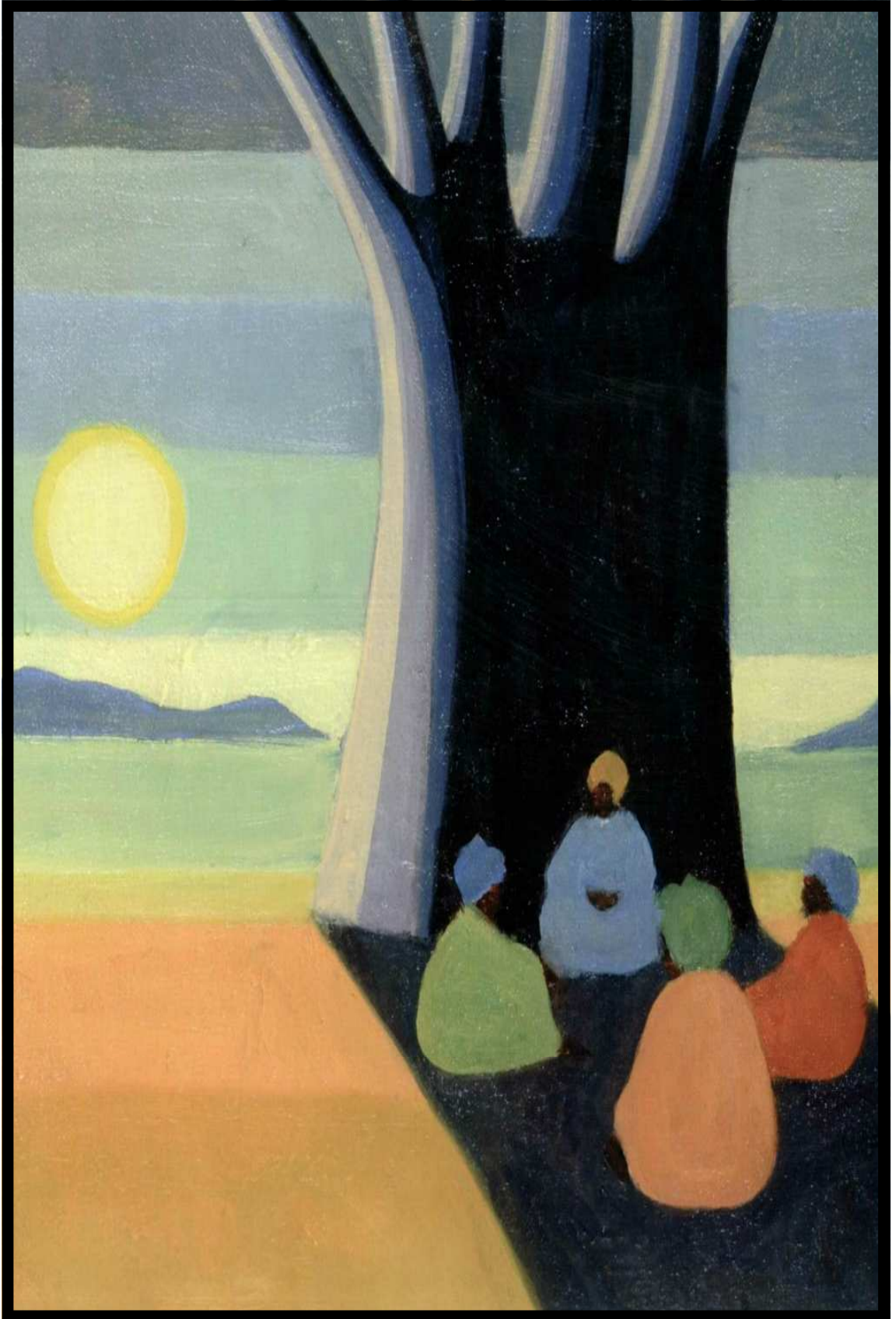


THE DEVELOPMENT STATUS OF WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA: PATTERNS, PROGRESS AND PROFILES

Annelize Booysen-Wolthers

July 2007



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THE DEVELOPMENT STATUS OF WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA: PATTERNS, PROGRESS AND PROFILES

by

Annelize Booysen-Wolthers

Thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis, which is submitted to the University of the Free State for the degree Philosophiae Doctor, is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me to another university or faculty. I hereby cede the copyright of the thesis to the University of the Free State.

Annelize Booysen-Wolthers

Date

To the women at the fish market in Neelankarai

Thank you

To Gideon, for taking me to India, and for understanding,
To Lucius, for taking me out of India and keeping me on the road,
To Frederick, for walking with me on my long journey – through four continents and
an island – to self discovery,
and
To God and the angels, for all the gifts along the way.

*Because I walk, it becomes a path
If I don't, weeds will grow
- Mitsuo Aida*

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LIST OF ACRONYMNS

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
AISR	Australian Institute for Social Research
ANC	African National Congress
ASSA	Actuarial Society of South Africa
AU	African Union
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CIESIN	Centre for International Earth Science Information Network
CGE	Commission on Gender Equality
CGSDI	Consultative Group on Sustainable Development Indicators
CPM	Capability Poverty Measure
CSW	(United Nations) Commission on the Status of Women
DAW	Division for the Advancement of Women
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
DESA	Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat
DHS	Demographic and Household Survey
DMI	Decision-Making Index
DOE	Department of Education
DOH	Department of Health
EAP	Economically Active Population
EAW	Economic Aspects of Welfare
EPI	Environmental Performance Index
ESI	Environmental Sustainability Index
FHDI	Female-specific Human Development Index
FGT	Foster-Greer-Thorbecke
GAD	Gender and Development
GDI	Gender Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

GEI	Gender Equality Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GHS	General Household Survey
GID	General Index of Development
GIM	Gender Inequality Measure
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GNP	Gross National Product
GPI	Genuine Progress Indicator
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HPI	Human Poverty Index
HPI-1	Human Poverty Index: developing countries
HPI-2	Human Poverty Index: developed countries
HRDI	Human Resource Development Index
HSI	Human Suffering Index
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IISD	International Institute for Sustainable Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ISEW	Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare
ISI	International Statistical Institute
ISP	Index of Social Progress
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MDP	Measure of Domestic Progress
MEW	Measure of Economic Welfare
MHDI	Male Human Development Index
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Economic Development
NGM	National Gender Machinery

NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NRF	National Research Foundation
OHS	October Household Survey
OSW	Office on the Status of Women
PCAS	Policy Coordinator and Advisory Services
PFA	Platform for Action
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisals
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategies
PQLI	Physical Quality of Life Index
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisals
RSI	Relative Suffering Index
RSW	Relative Status of Women
SADHS	South African Demographic and Health Survey
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Policies
SARPN	South African Regional Poverty Network
SDI	Service Deprivation Index
SGE	Societal Gender Equality
SL	Sustainable Livelihoods
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
STATSSA	Statistics South Africa
TMWS	Threshold Measure of Women's Status
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
WBI	Women's Budget Initiative
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAD	Women and Development
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WDSP	Women's Development Status Profile
WEF	World Economic Forum
WID	Women in Development
QoL	Parliamentary Joint Monitoring Committee on the Quality of Life and Status of Women
YCELP	Yale Centre for Environmental Law and Policy



*I*NTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

The development status of women in context: changing realities, paradigms and measures

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1. Introduction

A universal picture to be found in any developing country is of women selling some product at a local market or on a street corner to earn something to hold the family together. They do it day after day, until days turn into a lifetime. Weak incomes reflect either poor education and/or weak opportunities and lead to weak existences. Yet, it is fitting to ask why these existences are still so prevalent among women around the world (DAW, 2000; Dulansey & Austin, 1991:110; Govind & Nathan, 2005:3; UNDP, 2001:24; UNDP, 2005a:61; UNDP, 2006c:3)¹.

The development status of women is a rich and complex theme that has gained increasing importance in development theory over the years. However, the manner in which women have featured in development thinking and efforts and the measurement thereof, show no clear linear progression, nor were the changes always universally embraced. Before we however focus on the role of women in development, it is prudent to take a brief look at development thought over the years, so as to better place the role of women within this process.

2. Development thinking over the years

The earliest development policies have their roots in the days of European colonialism, when growth and modernisation were implicitly seen as the prevailing answer to development challenges. To a large extent administrations simply applied the essence of the 19th century's European Poor Laws, namely that social needs were to be taken care of within the free market while governments busied themselves with maintaining law and order (Moser, 1993). In practice this meant that charities tended to pick up where the limited government assistance failed. In many cases this policy continued even after colonial independence.

¹ Klasen expresses surprise at the claims made (by the UN, amongst others) that 70 per cent of the income poor are women, arguing that there is no possibility to determine intrahousehold distribution in income or consumption accurately. This is only possible if distinctions are drawn between types of households, distinguished through varying gender compositions (Klasen 2004:14).

2.1 The forties and beyond: economic growth and modernisation

World War II marked the beginning of a new phase in development. The period following the war was a time for reflection, re-evaluation and reconstruction. A new awareness that poverty does not have to be a permanent feature of society, the Cold War (with the First and the Second worlds vying for the attention of the Third World²), the strain of the population explosion on resources, and the rapid rate with which erstwhile colonies gained independence, were all reasons for a growing interest in development economics (Streeten, 1979). This led, in large part, to development emerging as an independent field of study, with poverty reduction becoming a growth industry, so to speak. President Truman's inaugural speech is generally viewed as the seed from which development planning sprouted (Morse, 2004; Willis, 2005). He argued that poverty was a global concern and that

[I believe that] we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life...What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing... (Truman, 1949 as quoted in Willis, 2005)

During these early years solutions to poverty and underdevelopment were sought in the area of economic growth. Although this is historically viewed as a single paradigm, Streeten (1979) points out that this period was a heady time when optimism reigned and ideas and criticisms proliferated. Factor price equalisation, equilibrating forces, economic growth, capital/output and savings ratios, capital accumulation, propensity to save, balanced and unbalanced growth, growth poles, the big push, critical minimum effort, linear-stages theory, take-off and structural change models became the vocabulary of the day, with names like Hirschman, Prebisch, Harrod, Domar, Nurkse, Rosenstein-Rodan, Singer, Baran, Kuznets, Schumpeter, Schultz, Lewis and Rostow (amongst others) leading debates in the field (Streeten, 1979:24, Willis, 2005). Industrialisation and the creation of a modern society were seen as both the panacea

² After World War II a distinction was drawn between the group of countries that were industrialised and that embraced capitalism, known as the First World, while the Second World represented the countries choosing to follow a socialist route. The term Third World referred to those countries that had emerged from the post-colonial era and that chose to follow neither capitalism nor socialism, but to forge their own 'third way' (Sachs, 2005:47)

for poverty and the fulfilment of the stewardship notion of the Empire by preparing the 'locals' for taking over the reins from the colonisers (Morse, 2004, Streeten, 1979). This was done by means of a transfer of technology and skills and by encouraging commodity trade (Willis, 2005). The assumptions were 1) that economic growth would lead to an increased demand for labour and to increased income, which, in turn, would trickle down to the lowest levels of society, thereby lifting the standard of living for all, or 2) that government could be relied upon to facilitate an appropriate distribution, or 3) that, after the initial inequality, the rich would create a substantial productive basis from which poverty could be eradicated and inequality addressed (Streeten, 1979). The result of this modernisation approach – apart from the wave of countries that gained independence (102 between 1949 and 1979 (Streeten, 1979:22)) – was economic growth, but without the anticipated gain in widespread prosperity. This phase of development, with its focus on economic growth and its top-down style of implementation, is known as the modernisation era that lasted until the end of the 1960s (Coetzee, 2001), which was also the end of what the United Nations declared to be the Development Decade (Burkey, 1993:26).

2.2 The fifties and the Structuralist School

Whereas modernisation theory was based on European experiences, the Structuralist approach, which also originated in the fifties, was the product of the Latin American Structuralist School, with Prebisch, Furtado and Sunkel as its main proponents (Martinussen, 1997). Although it supported the concept of development through economic growth, it argued that free trade was not the answer, since the erstwhile global environment prevailing during European industrialisation, and on which the modernisation theory was based, had changed – or differed from that of many of the developing countries. Underdevelopment was not regarded as a linear phase en route to development, but rather as a permanent structural characteristic. The permanence of this structure implied that changes would take time and be expensive (Furtado, 1980; Martinussen, 1997). This school also questioned the appropriateness and wisdom of the *type* of technology being transferred to the developing world, pointing to the close relationship between such technology and the social structures of their countries of origin (Furtado, 1980). Its proponents were in favour of import-substitution

industrialisation (ISI), which entailed protection of local industries through tariff barriers, combined with industrial planning, land reforms to alleviate inequalities in land distribution and external financial assistance as the path to development, i.e. for Latin America at least (Martinussen, 1997; Willis, 2005). This school, which distinguished between the centre and the periphery in as early as 1950s, is seen as the forerunner of the Dependency School (Martinussen, 1997).

2.3 The sixties on to the seventies: dependency theory and world-systems theory

In direct contrast to modernisation theory, which proposes capitalism as the panacea for underdevelopment, dependency theory and its successor, world-systems theory, maintained that capitalism caused underdevelopment. Whilst modernisation theory is rooted in neo-classical economics, the other two theoretical approaches mentioned above draw on Marxism (Graaff, 2001). Together these three schools formed the historical foundation of development studies (Graaf & Venter, 2001). Both dependency theory (introduced in 1969 by a group known as the 'dependistas', inspired by Baran and the Structuralist School and including, amongst others, Frank, Prebisch, Samir Amin, Cardoso and Emmanuel) and world-systems theory (introduced in 1974 by Wallerstein) hold to the basic principles that the world is one unit, rather than a set of separate countries (Wallerstein, 1979:199 & 1999:193) and that capitalism causes underdevelopment through the exploitation of the Third World by the First World.

The thrust of dependency theory was that the erstwhile Empire-colonial power relations had merely been replaced by core-periphery power relations of the capital system and that unequal exchange was still the reason for underdevelopment. As per André Gunder Frank, with his 'development of underdevelopment' notion (Chew & Denemark, 1996:3), underdevelopment in peripheral countries and development in core countries were two sides of the same coin (Frank, 1969; Graaff & Venter, 2001), thus implying that the rich were the cause of the poor. This analysis was applied on both a national and an international level. It was maintained that on a national level,

the urban areas developed at the expense of the rural areas³, while internationally, through unequal terms of trade the capitalist world conspired to keep the developing world underdeveloped by means of exploitation and the withdrawal of resources and skilled labour to the developed world (Davids, Theron & Maphunye, 2005). The solution (i.e. development) was presented as being the deconstruction of these power relationships by cultivating self-sufficiency, industrialisation through import substitution, isolation from the international system by 'delinking', and the promotion of regional integration and socialist self-sufficiency (Burkey, 1993; Davids et al., 2005; Frank, 1996; Morse, 2004; Streeten, 1979; Willis, 2005).

This theory nevertheless garnered only limited support due to fundamental flaws (Burkey, 1993; Sachs, 2005) and it lasted only into the seventies. Yet, it brought focus to the prevailing power relations and their negative externalities in the developing world. For example, the so-called 'dependency thinking' mindset of many in developing countries, whereby governments or aid agencies are expected to develop society, is considered one of the social causes of poverty, even decades after the end of colonialism and the attainment of independence (Burkey, 1993).

World-systems theory expanded on dependency theory by adding one more (vertical) layer to international relations, namely semi-periphery that serves as a buffer between the core and the periphery (Wallerstein, 1979:201). It moreover identified a horizontal distinction between countries, indicating that there were intercountry differences too within each of the vertical layers. Whereas dependency theory offered only one solution out of the prevailing power relations, namely moving out, world-systems theory offered one more option, namely moving up or down the hierarchy within the prevailing world system. This theory also attracted much criticism, yet it is seen as a more sophisticated version of dependency theory (Graaff & Venter, 2001), highlighting the long-term futility of imbalances in the world system (Wallerstein, 1979:207).

³ Lipton, although not a *dependista*, maintained a similar notion in his urban bias theory (see Martinussen, 1997:136-138).

2.4 The seventies: basic needs, global interdependence and the regulationists

The seventies brought renewed perspectives on the nature and causes of poverty, together with a realisation that the assumptions on which modernisation theory was based had proved to be incorrect. The dualistic nature of underdeveloped economies, where a modern (advanced) sector existed alongside a traditional (backward) sector, also became abundantly clear (Burkey, 1993). The focus shifted towards rural development and employment as a poverty-reduction strategy, but it was soon discovered that unemployment was a Western concept, thereby making it inappropriate for analysing poverty in the developing world. It was noted that 'the truly poor cannot afford unemployment' (Streeten, 1980:183), thus indicating that under-remuneration and unproductive work were rather at issue. The 'informal sector', a term coined at this time, was recognised as a potentially productive labour force, rather than merely another name for unemployment, thus leading to a renewed focus on the 'working poor' and how their incomes and productivity could be increased (Streeten, 1979 & 1980). This, in turn, highlighted the links between growth and redistribution and resulted in a new strategy focussing on conditions under which 'redistribution with growth' could be achieved. This redistribution approach, found to be wanting in terms of poverty eradication, soon made way for a focus on the needs of those living in absolute poverty.

This signalled a distinct departure from the hitherto narrow income-based definition of poverty to a view that poverty is also a lack of access to resources such as the basic necessities of life (food, shelter and water), access to public services (education, health care and transport), differentiated and continued employment, as well as non-material needs like self-determination, dignity and participation in decision-making processes (Streeten, 1979). The basic needs approach, as this paradigm was termed, was part of a new school, termed 'Another Development' or 'Alternative Development' that embraced normative concepts of development, i.e. how development *should* take place, as opposed to the positivist approaches of the modernisation and the dependency theories, which limited theories to how development *actually* transpires

(Burkey, 1993). Social inequality also featured as a strong theme in the theories of this school (Martinussen, 1997).

In concentrating on the specific needs of deprived groups and thereby placing them in the centre of the development process (Streeten, 1980), the basic needs approach focussed on the end, rather than the means to eradicate poverty. It advocated greater focus on agricultural and informal sector production development, while simultaneously urging for increased public service provision, specifically with the needs of the poor in mind (Willis, 2005). The International Labour Organisation (ILO) actively promoted the basic needs approach as a more appropriate solution to underdevelopment, presenting its tenets at the 1976 ILO World Conference on 'Employment, Income Distribution and Social Progress and the International Division of Labour' (Minhas, 1979). The World Bank and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) likewise embraced the basic needs approach, which laid the groundwork for development to evolve from economic development to human development (Burkey, 1993; Denuelin, 2004).

The seventies also initiated ideas on global interdependence, driven especially by the 1973 oil crisis and a growing concern about the depletion of resources (Burkey, 1993; Streeten, 1979). It was argued that this interdependency could assume one of three forms, namely demand dependence (also called asymmetrical dependence), supply dependence, and welfare dependence based on comparative advantage. The basic premise of the global interdependence strategy was the transfer of vast amounts of resources to the developing world to stimulate economic growth, which would in turn stimulate demand for the products from industrial countries (Martinussen, 1997). One of the products of this era was the demand for a new international economic order which would rebalance international relations in favour of the developing world. The Brandt Commission Report, proposing substantial transfers of financial resources to the Third World, was another development strategy of the time – a strategy regarded by some to have instigated the eventual world debt crisis (Burkey, 1993; Sachs, 2005).

A further product of the seventies was the Marxist-oriented French 'Régulation' School. The basic tenet of this school is that capitalism is not a force unto itself, but

that it is maintained by a set of social relations and structures that keeps it functioning (Klerck, 2001). The focus thus moved away from the concept of determinism in the market structure to an understanding of the mechanisms that keep capitalism intact. According to the regulationists, the 'mode of development' is a function of a regime of accumulation, an industrial paradigm, and of a mode of regulation. They argued that accumulation takes place within a milieu of social norms, the content of these being determined by civil society and institutionalised by the government. The contribution of the Regulationist School lies in its identification of the social conditions within which growth, or expanded accumulation, takes place (Klerck, 2001).

2.5 The eighties: neo-liberalism, sustainable development and capabilities theory

Whilst these debates continued, the period between 1950 and 1980 saw a drop in living standards for most of Africa, Asia and South America with the result that this period came to be known as a 'development tragedy' (Davids et al., 2005). The eighties nevertheless provided fertile soil for development thought. The scope of development widened and became increasingly multidisciplinary and integrated, the latter due in part to projects focussing on infrastructure building. Perspectives on what development entails were thus expanded (Morse, 2004).

After an era of so-called Keynesian-based development approaches, i.e. development approaches embracing top-down strategies, the eighties also brought renewed perspectives on the role of the state, accountability and the free market. This led to yet another paradigm shift in the field of development (and economics in general), known as neo-liberalism (Willis, 2005). Top-down management of development became passé, with micro-intervention, 'people-centred development' and participation becoming the mantra of the day (Davids et al., 2005; Morse, 2004). It was during this time that a myriad of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), viewed as the 'answer to all development issues' due to their grass-roots nature, came into existence (Willis, 2005). Women and gender inequality also started to feature prominently as a development issue (see Section 3 below for further discussion).

Two major strands of development thought stemmed from this time. The first group, admittedly with a rather limited audience, was the so-called neo-populist approach (Morse, 2004) which included, amongst others, the actor-oriented theory and the Anti-development, or Post-development School. These essentially criticised the hitherto top-down approaches and moved to promote local participation in all levels of development. The Anti-development School views development as being a 'North-based' product, forged on what is considered to be a correct form of development imposed on local communities without regard for local context. The result of this is destruction of both local cultures and the local environment (Willis, 2005). It argues for grass-roots involvement and assigning priority to views of local communities in development programmes so as to ensure local thinking as opposed to global thinking. Although this paradigm has never gained much foothold and has been criticised on many levels, its value lies in its highlighting of the manner in which prevailing power relations have influenced development approaches over time (Willis, 2005: 207).

The other neo-liberal line of thought was the paradigm of sustainable development that highlighted the need for a symbiotic relationship between the economy, society and the environment (Martinussen, 1997). The forerunner of this approach was the 1987 Brundtland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), which was commissioned by the United Nations (UN) to assess the environmental and developmental problems of the world and to suggest possible solutions (Willis, 2005). According to this approach development is presented as taking care of human needs within the context of a global-village responsibility to future generations, to replace the paradigm of development being a desired achievement, attained by some and aspired to by others. It argues for a standard of consumption that lies within the reach of all people, while also lying within the limits of ecological sustainability (Martinussen, 1997). This approach championed the importance of the individual in the development process, while reflecting development as a multidimensional and multidisciplinary process which merges poverty alleviation with environmental protection. This school of thought has resulted in the hosting of two international Earth Summits where action plans were formulated to engage all nations – yet not very successfully – in sustainable development (Martinussen, 1997; Sachs, 2005:219).

Criticism of the 'one-strategy-fits-all' nature of the sustainable development paradigm in part led to the rise of one more of the Alternative Development School's fledglings, the Ecodevelopment School. The proponents of this school argue for the creation of separate and specific development strategies for each ecological region, taking local culture, social and ecological environment and the community needs into consideration. This implies that there is no international benchmark of what a state of development would entail; rather, societies would each decide that for themselves, according to their specific cultures and ecology (Martinussen, 1997). As Burkey (1993:32) points out, this school recognises the outer boundaries for economic growth and environmental exploitation, while the basic needs paradigm development sets the inner boundaries of what is acceptable at a minimum level.

The eighties also brought Sen's introduction of his concept of 'development as freedom' and his capability approach, which marked a true watershed in the thinking on development. His paradigm, which can be categorised as part of the alternative development perspective mentioned earlier, takes a broad view on development as being the process of expanding human freedoms. In order to attain development, the 'unfreedoms' from which people suffer must be removed from society (Sen, 1999). The freedoms to which he refers include both processes and opportunities, and these include political freedom, economic freedom, social opportunity, transparency guarantees and protective security (Sen, 1999). These freedoms enhance the basic capabilities that people have to lead the life they value, and have reason to value (Sen, 1999:18). Apart from the intrinsic value of freedoms, such freedoms also have an instrumental role as a means to development. The value of this approach lies in the central role it assigns to people in the development process: people are given the opportunity (capabilities) to shape their own future instead of being mere recipients of development programmes (Sen, 1999:53). Growth and income are therefore neither rejected nor dismissed, but rather supplemented with the concept of freedom (Martinussen, 1997).

2.6 The nineties: human development and social capital

Drawing on Sen's capability approach and earlier alternative development theories, the concept of *human development* was introduced, under the leadership of Mahbub ul Haq, in the 1990 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Report. It was argued that economic growth implies the expansion of only one choice, namely income, while human development promotes the enlargement of all human choices pertaining to the economic, social, cultural and political dimensions of life (Martinussen, 1997). It still supported the expansion of income, but it questioned the efficacy of the market mechanism to take care of the needs of the poor, and as such, suggested that public policy was required to create a link between increased human development and increased income (Martinussen, 1997). The original concept of human development proposed enhancement in the areas of longevity, attainment of knowledge and standard of living, but this has since been expanded also to include aspects of gender equality and empowerment (UNDP, 1995:12) (see Section 4.5 below).

The nineties brought the concept of 'social-capital' to the fore. Although it did not constitute a new paradigm, it did add another dimension to the prevailing views on development since social capital can be viewed as both an asset of society and as a 'resource of persons' on which claims can be placed (Burger & Booysen, 2006:2). The World Bank even went so far as to declare social capital the 'missing link' of development (Willis, 2005).

2.7 A new agenda for a new millennium

The Millennium Declaration of the United Nations, adopted by 189 nations in 2000, drew upon the rich history in development thinking to set up a global development agenda that binds its member states, and, by implication, the international community, to halve global poverty by 2015 (UNDP, 2006b). It aims to do so through the achievement of eight development goals, known as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The agenda calls for the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger,

the achievement of universal primary education, attainment of gender equality and empowerment of women, a reduction in child mortality, improved maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability and the development of a global partnership for development. Judged from this proposed international cooperation it is clear that development thinking has made fundamental progress over time: the eradication of human poverty now stands on a par with the acknowledgement of human rights as part of a development strategy (UNDP, 2005b).

This concludes this overview of leading thoughts⁴ on development from a Western-inspired perspective (Martinussen, 1997). With full acknowledgement of the significant body of Third World-based writings on this topic, which will not be covered in this study, it is nevertheless clear that until such time as the countries of the world are on a more or less equal footing in terms of relative prosperity, new theories on development will continue to proliferate.

The topic of the next section is finding the position assigned to and claimed by women within these many development paradigms.

3. Development and women⁵

Identifying how women featured in development approaches over time is not a case of weaving women into the story of changing development paradigms. It is rather a case of exploring a separate history with only indirect links. Whereas development paradigms followed each other in a more or less linear fashion, approaches on development-and-women often coexisted and overlapped, making it difficult to identify a clear timeline that can be linked to the development of general development thinking. General development theory had poverty elimination as goal; development-and-women approaches had the elimination of poverty *and* gender inequality as goals

⁴ Other perspectives not covered here touch on the importance of participation, distribution of the benefits of development, social transformation, autonomy, and the central role of personal development (Burkey, 1993).

⁵ This section draws extensively on the work of Moser (1993).

and they evolved rather as a protest against (the failures of) general development theory, than because of it. Yet, in some instances these approaches also drew on existing general development theory to find reasons for the subordination of women. Over a period of about fifty years women progressed from the fringes of general development theory to the core, yet the 'struggle' for inclusion, recognition and equality in human development is not over.

Ensuring development progress for women is a dual process requiring success both in the political arena, and the translation of this political will into reality. The incorporation of women in development thinking ensured that women's issues were tabled and recognised. Yet, addressing these issues satisfactorily is the second part of the equation that will determine the extent to which the lives of women have benefited from the political struggle.

3.1 Development for women: the welfare approach

The development strategies of the early years had one common element, namely that development was a predominantly 'male' subject: development planning was essentially done by male planners, for the male population of the Developing World, based on a male Western ideology (Charlton, 1984: 22; Moser, 1993: 15; Tinker, 1976:32). This ideology viewed men as the heads of households, and as such, they were considered the representatives of families. This in turn fuelled the belief that to know men, was to know the needs of women and children – assuming that if men would benefit from development efforts, so would women through the spill-over effect (Papanek, 1976:54).

The initial approach to dealing with women in development, namely the welfare approach, was born in the colonial era with its limited state involvement in the area of welfare. This approach reached its zenith after World War II, when economic assistance was provided to the developing world to bring about reconstruction. Relief aid from the First World (notably by private relief institutions) soon followed and it was these relief organisations that were the first to target women as the recipients of aid

(Moser, 1993). Low-income women were targeted for their role within families and households, which would in turn ensure the improvement of family welfare.

The welfare approach is based on three premises (Moser, 1993:59):

- women are not participants in the development process, but rather passive recipients;
- women's most important role in society is centred around motherhood; and,
- economic development can best be served through women's role in child-rearing and taking care of household members.

Only the reproductive role of women is therefore acknowledged, with the productive role being reserved exclusively as a male domain. It depicts women with their children as a vulnerable group requiring to be taken care of, this often resulting in top-down handout-type programmes. This results in creating dependency rather than facilitating growth and independence in beneficiaries, while simultaneously excluding women from participating in major development programmes. The welfare approach endorsed the socially accepted roles of women in society, and, because it was and is non-threatening to the prevailing social norms, it is still a very popular policy approach in many Third World countries today (Momsen, 1991:101; Moser, 1993:58).

A renewed insight emerging during the seventies was that women were in fact separate development entities to men, with their own unique needs – and that men were not necessarily the benefactors of families, and neither necessarily the breadwinners. It was furthermore understood that development is not gender neutral and that it had worked to the detriment of women in many instances (Momsen, 1991:1; Tinker, 1976). A large part of this shift can be ascribed to Boserup's groundbreaking work (1970) in which she brought the role of women to the fore by expounding the human element in development processes, as well as highlighting policy concerns evoked by development projects executed during the 1960s (Pearson, 2005).

In this environment of disillusionment and concern about the damaging effects of ignoring women during the first development decade, the 1973 Percy Amendment was made to the US Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. It aimed to ensure that women were

given a fair share of development assistance by stipulating that US bilateral assistance must involve women in the economies of developing countries by regarding them as contributors and agents of economic development, as well as beneficiaries (Overholt, Anderson, Cloud & Austin, 1991:11; Pearson, 2005). The policies of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) were subsequently adapted to take on a WID character that required that all programmes and reports to involve women, identify obstacles to their participation, establish sex-disaggregated measures whereby the involvement and benefits to women could be ascertained, and, oblige all USAID contractors to adhere to these gendered stipulations (Momsen, 1991; Tinker in Pearson, 2005).

The devastating effect of the introduction of modern machinery in agriculture on women came to the fore at the 1974 United Nations Population Conference (Mead, 1976:9). Criticism against the existing development approaches culminated in the 1975 United Nations First World Conference of the International Women's Year, where women were for the first time formally recognised as a separate development concern and placed on the agenda (UN, 2006: 9). This served as an impetus for a growing number of women's organisations, including the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), to provide a voice for women in the developing world (UN, 1975). This conference was a watershed for women. It not only provided a set of guidelines through which the status of women could be enhanced, but also kicked off the 'United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace', proclaimed by the UN upon recommendation of the World Conference. It was during this decade that the women's movement gained legitimacy and women's issues started to feature on world agendas (Momsen, 1991:3; UN, 2006).

3.2 Including women in development: WID – the equity approach

The Women's Decade (1975 to 1985) was the incubator period for various new development approaches to women, notably the Women in Development (WID) approach. The first and true WID strategy was the so-called equity approach. Whereas the modernisation theory of development, with which WID has indirect links, emphasised the dichotomy of tradition versus modern society, WID equated traditional

society with male domination and authoritarianism juxtaposed to modern society with democracy, egalitarianism and the emancipation of women (Serote, Mager & Budlender, 2001). Women's poverty was perceived as the result of underdevelopment of the Third World (Pearson, 2005). The WID equity approach was, by definition, a movement towards equity for women as active participants in the development process.

Dissatisfaction with the welfare approach set the stage for studies that showed that, although women quite often were the major contributors to production output in their communities (Østergaard, 1992), such productivity was not only invisible in national statistics, but it was also not incorporated in development planning or the implementation of projects (Papanek, 1976; Tinker, 1976). Within the WID approach women were no longer viewed as passive recipients, but rather as active participants in the development process, and with a right to equality (Momsen, 1991:101). It targeted individuals rather than groups as agents of change (Serote et al., 2001) and its strategies focussed on efficiency and gender equality. It maintained that women's participation in development would be enhanced through access to employment and the marketplace, and as such, underscored women's right to earn a livelihood (Moser, 1993; Pearson, 2005).

The equity approach encompassed a wider scope than simply development issues. It addressed inequality between men and women in general and sought an answer to the subordination of women not only within the realms of the family, but also in the marketplace. The argument was that women had hitherto been short-changed and that any further development should give women a greater advantage than it did men, so as to facilitate the reduction of the inequality. Growth would still take place, but the relative distribution and sharing of the benefits would be changed (Buvinic in Moser, 1993). Legal reforms played a major role in the strategy of this approach (Serote et al., 2001).

By virtue of its aim to address gender inequality and female subordination, this approach was somewhat controversial and, as such, unpopular with development agencies and governments alike. The gendered 'redistribution of power' was politically unpalatable. Aid agencies were also in the unenviable position, if they chose to

endorse the equity approach, of having to interfere in local traditions and norms. Another more practical problem was the absence of a single 'status' indicator as well as baseline data, which made it impossible to track any progress (Moser, 1993). The relevance of Western-flavoured feminism (with its focus on equity) to Third World women was also justifiably questioned (Pretorius, 2004:9). It was furthermore criticised for assuming a 'universal womenhood' to the exclusion of race, class and culture, and for not questioning the wisdom of the modernisation approach in terms of gender relations (Serote et al., 2001). Despite the seeming failure of the WID equity approach, the concept of equity, particularly the goal of the legal equality of women, retained its priority status on the women's issues agenda.

The second UN World Conference on Women was held in Copenhagen in 1980 with a theme of equality, development and peace, set against a backdrop of international inequalities and imperialism (Pearson, 2005). This conference highlighted issues on domestic violence and violence against women that ultimately led to changes in the content of the UN Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993 and to the recognition that violence against women is a severe violation of rights (UNDP, 2006d). The Conference on Women also produced a plan of action for the second half of the Women's Decade, paving the way for the action plans developed at the next World Conference held in Nairobi in 1985 (Pearson, 2005). Yet, arguably the most important contribution of the Women's Conference was that the UN secretariat took steps, in preparation for the conference, to gather statistical information through public sources about the living conditions of women from around the world – thereby compiling, for the first time, a global picture on the well-being of women (Østergaard, 1992). This highlighted the stark gender inequalities that prevailed on various levels of society. It was also in this year (1980) that the British Commonwealth established its Women and Development Programme in all member countries (Momsen, 1991).

3.2 Including women in development: WID – the anti-poverty approach

Ever-increasing recognition of the general failure of modernisation development theory (Section 2.1 above), together with the unwillingness of development agencies to become involved in the issue of traditional male-female relationships in communities,

gave rise to a second version of the WID equity approach. In this approach the subordination of women was ascribed to poverty and, as a result, income inequality was to blame (Momsen, 1991:101). It had links with the basic needs approach in that low-income women were targeted for development assistance in recognition of the central role women play in supplying the basic needs of families, and also to address previous development planning failures. Women's acute level of poverty – by extension, gender inequality – was ascribed to a lack of access to capital and private ownership of land, as well as to discrimination in the labour market (Moser, 1993). It criticised development policies for their failure (and inefficiency) to mobilise women's productive potential and, by extension, their failure to enhance the standard of living of the poor (Pearson, 2005). Better access to productive resources for women to facilitate employment and income-generating opportunities, especially for low-income women, was the new focal point of development policy and the so-called WID equity Mark II approach, or the anti-poverty approach as it is also known (Momsen, 1991; Willis, 2005).

Yet, this approach was also not without problems. Fear that employment programmes for low-income women would erode the total amount of money available to low-income groups led to reluctance amongst governments of developing countries to allocate money specifically to women (Moser, 1993). Income-generating projects – rarely planned with the input of women – also focused on the informal sector, which limited long-term growth, while also failing to equip women with the skills to enter the formal (urban) sector. The almost exclusive focus on the productive role of women without the creation of any support systems to aid them in their reproductive responsibilities furthermore resulted in increased burdens for women (Moser, 1993). Cultural practices regarding property rights also limited the potential for expansion of women's businesses (Moser, 1993). Women's income therefore did not translate into either decision-making power or increased autonomy.

3.3 Including women in development: WID – the efficiency approach

The international economic downswing after the mid-seventies led to weakening economic conditions in the Third World. Many national governments implemented

International Monetary Fund (IMF)- and World Bank-designed economic stabilisation and adjustment policies. In contrast to the early modernisation years, the key objectives of these structural adjustment policies (SAPs) were increased efficiency and productivity towards both restoring a healthy balance of payments, and pushing back the reach of the state (Morse, 2004:26).

It was during this time that an almost imperceptible shift in the development approach towards women occurred. Following the lead of the so-called Washington Consensus⁶, WID also became preoccupied with efficiency, driven by the belief that increased economic participation of the women of the developing world would automatically imply increased equity, while furthermore recognising the inefficiency of underutilising fifty per cent of the workforce (Pearson, 2005). Equity and efficiency, through greater participation of women in the economy, became the new mantra of the WID approach (now Mark III).

The harsh consequences of the SAPs in terms of cutbacks in government social expenditure and subsidies (particularly food subsidies) and a (disputable⁷) decline in income levels are well known. Elson (in Moser, 1993) suggests an inherent male bias in the SAPs in that they assume that the unpaid reproductive work of women, also termed the 'care economy' (UNDP, 2006c:9) which is pivotal in maintaining human resources, will continue indefinitely regardless of any SAP-induced reallocation of resources. The SAPs furthermore do not recognise gender barriers to labour reallocation, this often leading to male unemployment in that non-tradable activities are lost in favour of the export-oriented manufacturing sector, which tends to employ more females (Momsen, 1991:55). Not only does this increase household conflict (Narayan, Patel, Schafft, Rademacher & Koch-Schulte, 2000), but time limitations of women can also impact negatively on child nutrition.

⁶ The Washington Consensus refers to the coordinated effort during the eighties and nineties by the IMF, the World Bank, the Federal Reserve Board, the US Treasury Department, various Washington-based groups funded by large corporations and banks, and some conservative university economics departments, to promote neo-liberal ideology (Bond, 2001).

⁷ A vast number of studies have focussed on the effect of SAPs on economic growth, but have yielded contrasting results (Barro & Lee, 2002; Dicks-Mireaux, Mecagni & Schadler, 2000; Easterly, 2001; Hutchison, 2001; Khan, 1990), emphasising the difficulty in determining causality.

The detrimental effect of the SAPs has had a gender-specific impact in that women and girls, owing to cultural norms, are most affected by a reduction in the household's quality and quantity of food intake stemming from reduced government subsidies and social expenditure. A 1986 UNICEF study on the rising prevalence of child malnutrition suggested that the undernourished would in all probability be girls (Momsen, 1991). The same cultural male bias would affect the health care and education of women and girls. With the implementation of an IMF-supervised adjustment programme in Bangladesh in 1985, for example, the ratio of girls to boys in primary education fell from 77 to 67 girls per 100 boys between 1984 and 1985. Similar effects were found in Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Jamaica, while Indonesia, Jamaica, Nigeria, the Philippines and the Sudan reported decreased female secondary enrolment (Momsen, 1991). Willis (2005) also argues that the SAPs resulted in increased cost of living⁸ and that, combined with reduced state support, they forced many women into the labour market, causing health problems, stress and domestic problems as women tried to combine their reproductive and productive roles. The appropriateness of the efficiency basis of the SAPs was ultimately questioned, leading to increased pressure to adjust the SAPs to have 'a human face'. The World Bank and the IMF yielded to this pressure and reshaped the SAPs in the late nineties by recognising the needs of the poorest and allowing for country-specific differences in their programme designs. The SAPs were also renamed and are now known as Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS) (Sachs, 2005; Willis, 2005).

3.4 Milestones, and Women and Development

Another milestone for women was achieved when the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) pushed for the development of an international standard for the legal rights of women. This campaign, which started in 1965, finally culminated in the 1979 adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), in time for the mid-decade World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women (DAW, 2006a). This brought forth the first comprehensive

⁸ Although Willis does not expand on this statement, it is presumed to imply that the cost of living increased as a result of the removal of a number of subsidies on basic foodstuffs. Studies have, however, found no significant link between SAPs and increased inflation (Khan, 1990).

definition of gender discrimination, while also securing, for the first time, an internationally binding legal foundation for women's equality (United Nations, 2006). To date, 184 countries have ratified this 'women's bill of rights', as CEDAW is also known (DAW, 2006b). These countries are obliged to present progress reports to the CEDAW Committee every four years, with NGOs having an open invitation to provide shadow reports, making CEDAW a lobbying instrument inside and outside of government (Serote et al., 2001).

The 1985 World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace in Nairobi set yet another milestone for women. It reviewed the progress made during the UN Decade for Women towards equality, while paying particular attention to the obstacles encountered in achieving the goals. The conference participants produced the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women – a set of goals for the advancement of women to be achieved by 2000 – as well as guidelines on overcoming the obstacles encountered during the Women's Decade (UN, 1986). Although numerous factors were addressed, attention was specifically directed to the areas of employment, education and health, since advancement in these areas was viewed as paramount for progress in the overall goals of equality, development and peace (UN, 1986:par. 15).

Running parallel to this conference was an 'alternative' conference called the Forum, where close to 16,000 women convened in Nairobi to discuss women's conditions as perceived from various academic disciplines. This conference was the culmination of years of grass-roots discussions and cooperation between researchers and politicians on women's issues, and it proved valuable not only in establishing awareness, but also in influencing the future research strategies of women's studies (Østergaard, 1992:5).

Between the late seventies and the late eighties the Women and Development (WAD) school of thought emerged. Having its roots in Marxism and drawing from the dependency theory of development, it argued that gender oppression had intensified with the spread of capitalism in the colonised world. The modernisation development theory proved detrimental to women in that it favoured sophisticated technology and

new agricultural methods which were then taught only to men. Women thus lost their stake in traditional production, their income, and as such, the status and power which they had in the traditional system (Mead, 1976; Momsen, 1991; Serote et al., 2001). The benefits of modernisation were not trickling down to benefit women; on the contrary, it marginalised them and only served to increase gender inequality. The remedies were sought in structural changes to society to escape from capitalism's oppressive practices. This approach drew criticism on a number of levels, not the least of which was the exclusion of those not employed in the formal sector and the failure to recognise the value of legal reforms as a mode of change (Serote et al., 2001).

3.5 Gender and development: GAD – the empowerment approach

A major paradigm shift in terms of women in development took place in the early nineties when the focus turned away from targeting women in an effort to incorporate them into development processes, to the perception that the social relationships between genders, the power relations that these relationships entail and the reasons for women's subordination are key to the development process (Serote et al., 2001). Although not directly related to the sustainable development paradigm, the wider perspective on development brought about by this school of thought in the late eighties undoubtedly also instigated wider thought about women and their position in development. Social relationships were perceived to be socially constructed and thus a function of ideology, history, religion, economics and culture (Moser, 1993; Østergaard, 1992; Willis, 2005). The empowerment of women therefore moved to centre stage. The Gender and Development approach (GAD), as the new approach was dubbed, replaced the Women in Development approach (WID) as the prevailing ideology.

The GAD approach aimed at empowering women, yet it sought not so much to define power in terms of domination, but rather in terms of the ability of women to increase their self-reliance (Moser, 1993:74). This meant that in some instances men were also incorporated in development projects to facilitate mutual cooperation in addressing gender problems, instead of focussing efforts solely on women (Willis, 2005), while government was lobbied to play an active role in assisting in the reproductive

responsibilities of women through the provision of child and health care facilities (Serote et al., 2001). The best-known champion of the empowerment approach is the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), formed as a forum of individual women and women's organisations before the 1985 World Conference of Women in Nairobi. This forum proposed empowerment strategies ranging from ambitious measures to absolve structural inequalities between genders, classes and nations, to strategies dealing with current crisis situations (Moser, 1993; Pearson, 2005).

Unlike the WID equity approach(es), the GAD empowerment approach is based on the understanding that change is only imminent if gender issues are actively promoted by grass-roots organisations, making gendered participatory planning key to this approach. To facilitate this, gender awareness is promoted not only on a legal front, but also through political mobilisation, education and the raising of general consciousness (Moser, 1993; Serote et al., 2001).

Another distinctive feature of this empowerment approach lies in its 'subtle' pursuit of strategic gender needs. Unlike the equity approach with its direct confrontation through legislative means, the GAD empowerment approach uses practical gender needs as a forum from which strategic gender needs are pursued⁹ (Moser, 1993:77). So, for example, did the feminist group in India, the 'Forum against Oppression of Women', start their drive in Bombay in 1979 as a vehicle of protest against rape and bride-burning. The lack of housing soon presented itself as a more pressing issue and the focus of the Forum turned to the provision of women's hostels. This practical need

⁹ Moser (1993) adapted the distinction between practical and strategic gender interests from that proposed by Molyneux (see Pearson, 2005:161; White, 1994:100). Women's practical gender interests refer to changes to improve their position within the existing system, whilst strategic interests imply changing the system itself (Momsen, 1991:102; Willis, 2005). Practical needs are those needs women identify within their socially accepted roles and tend not to challenge. Strategic needs, on the other hand, are needs identified by women as a direct result of their subordinate position to men in society, and include issues like legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their own bodies. Women are empowered by fulfilling strategic needs. To this Moser (1993) added her perception of women's triple role, distinguishing between productive, reproductive and community management roles (Pearson, 2005).

stemmed from a culture where women have no housing rights outside a marriage, which meant that divorce or domestic violence thus frequently led to the homelessness of women. The campaigning on practical housing needs raised awareness of the prevailing housing rights, as well as of patriarchal inheritance rights and has since succeeded in placing the issues on the political agenda (Moser, 1993).

Even though the GAD empowerment approach, unlike the WID equity approach, was a product of the Third World (Momsen, 1991:102), the emancipation agenda, according to Moser (1993) did not prove popular with policy makers or aid agencies either. As a result of this, empowerment efforts are funded mainly by a few international NGOs and First World governments who support their cause, with the unpaid and voluntary labour of women playing a prominent role.

3.6 Development through women

No review of women in development would be complete without mention of the influence of Sen and his capability theory. Although it did not ignite a new paradigm within the women and development debate, the inclusion of women and gender inequality in his theory reiterated the fundamental role that women play in development. Sen (1999), as mentioned, views development as the freedom to live the life one values, and has reason to value. Freedom fosters capabilities through and by which people can enhance their lives. Capabilities in turn, provide agency, which is the ability not only to bring about change in their own lives, but also in society at large.

Sen notes the importance and urgency of addressing women's agency, or lack thereof, in addition to striving to achieve improved well-being for women. He argues that empowerment of women is one of the key issues in the development process and that the changing agency of women is one of the 'major mediators of social and economic change' (Sen, 1999:202). A number of factors impact on the agency of women, notably education, employment opportunities, ownership patterns, the structure of the labour market, employment arrangements, familial and societal attitudes to the work of women, and the economic and social circumstances that determine change in these attitudes (Chen, 1995; Sen, 1999). This agency, in turn,

has an impact not only the well-being of women, but also has a wider impact through improved child survival and reduced fertility (Sachs, 2005; Sen, 1999), thus enhancing general achievements. Gender inequality is regarded as a fundamental unfreedom that hampers capability. Nussbaum (1995:88) adds that 'human capabilities exert a moral claim that they be developed', therefore making the case for gender equality, and capability-equality up to a minimum threshold, as a moral duty. Sen's capability theory therefore placed women's agency and – by definition – their capability at the centre of the development process.

The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing identified women's rights as human rights, noting that most of the goals of the Nairobi Strategies had not been reached (DAW, 1996: para 42). It drew from various theoretical paradigms and produced a Declaration and Platform for Action, whereby participating governments were engaged in the process of fostering gender equality by identifying five areas requiring specific action to accelerate the advancement of women. These included, amongst others, women's rights to control their own bodies and to have equal access to land and housing (Serote et al., 2001). This conference, with its theme of 'Action for Equality, Development and Peace' has been the standard against which progress in the rights and the well-being of women has been evaluated since 1995. Equality still featured as part of the primary theme of this conference, yet empowerment formed an integral part of the solution process. The conference therefore served as a melting pot for contending ideologies on the role of women in development in order to produce an action plan for improving the well-being of women.

The exact nature of women's role in development has, as yet, neither been clarified nor agreed upon, but a paradigm shift is already clearly visible. The policy approaches of the leading development institutions of our time reflect these shifts, with women forming an increasingly integral part of development efforts. Gender issues, the relationship between women and men and the effect it has on growth and poverty, for example, became the focal point of World Bank policies in the nineties (World Bank, 1994) as reflected by the fact that already in 1995, they were lending an average of \$5 billion per annum to projects aimed specifically at 'enhancing women's contributions to development' (Wolfensohn, 1995; World Bank, 1994:3).

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has similarly reflected the prevailing shift in perception. Efforts to measure the progress of development are a case in point: indices reflecting gender imbalances in society now form part of the suite of human development indicators published annually by the UNDP. This emphasises the growing importance assigned to women in development processes. The following warning articulates this sentiment:

Human development, if not engendered, is endangered. (UNDP, 1995:1)

The recent United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) document is a further case in point in that it mirrors the current view on women and development. 'Gender equality and the empowerment of women' is stated as Goal Number Three of the MDGs (UNDP, 2006b). Not only have so-called 'women's issues' been placed on the international agenda on a par with other core development goals like the eradication of extreme poverty, but gender equality and the empowerment of women are also recognised as basic human rights (UNDP, 2001:36; UNDP, 2005b) and as a means through which sustainable development is to be achieved (UNDP, 2006c:3):

[Goal:] To promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable (UNDP, 2001:24).

The MDG gender equality goal and its indicators have however, been criticised on technical grounds (UNDP, 2005b) and also for not being representative of the far-reaching commitments set out by CEDAW, the Beijing Platform of Action and other internationally agreed upon commitments, with calls to enlarge the national targets to encompass more wide-ranging gender equality goals (UNIFEM, 2004). How successful this ambitious global development agenda will be and how it will impact on the women of the world, remains to be seen, given the fact that the five-year review of progress on the MDGs has shown that the first gender-equity target of obtaining gender parity in primary and secondary school education by 2005, was not achieved by most countries, thereby placing the achievement of the gender equality goal by 2015 at risk (UNDP, 2005b; UNDP, 2005c). Progress on the other indicators – adult literacy gender parity, women as wage earners in the non-agricultural sector and female representation in government – was similarly slow (UNDP, 2005c). A significant goal has nevertheless already been accomplished: 'women in development'

as a theme has come of age, and 'women's issues' have finally graduated to being 'development issues'.

4. Measuring development

Development is a process, and though shrouded in complexity and uncertainty, as noted by Davids et al. (2005), it requires a method by which it can be monitored and assessed. The evolution of development measures is an intrinsic part of the history of development and women.

The measurement of development is inextricably linked to the reigning perception regarding development, what it entails, and, what the root causes of underdevelopment and poverty are. The history of development measures therefore runs parallel to the history of development thinking and paradigms, as described in Section 2 above. As with the history of 'development and women', however, it is difficult to find a linear progression from one indicator to the next. Measures were not developed and discarded as new development paradigms came into vogue, but some measures were instead modified to reflect new insights, while others were freshly minted to fit new perceptions or concerns. What has become apparent over the years is that, although indicators are developed to simplify reality (Booyesen, 2002; Morse, 2004), the veracity of poverty and under-development can scarcely be mirrored by a single indicator. Grappling with multidimensionality has therefore been a fundamental part of assessing development progress, be this through the use of indices combining a number of indicators or through the use of a number of indicators alongside each other within a framework. Although a handful of development indicators can be considered mainstream, this being due, in large part, to the concerted promotion efforts of international agencies like the UNDP (Morse, 2004) and the World Bank, a myriad of indicators exist. In the interest of time and space we shall, however, touch on only a few of the more familiar indicators.

4.1 Measures of economic growth

During the early years, when development was perceived as an effort to modernise the Third World, income (or consumption) per person was viewed as an appropriate measure. Real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita (usually adjusted for Purchasing Power Parity (PPP\$)¹⁰), as a measure of economic growth and a proxy for income per person, was (and is) the indicator of choice and quoted extensively. Criticism against the GDP as a development indicator has been lodged on various levels: it does not reflect environmental damage, thus making development stemming from such growth unsustainable; it does not reflect inequality in the distribution of the wealth created through this growth (Morse, 2004; Nussbaum, 1995), thus painting a skewed picture of well-being. Furthermore, neither goods not exchanged on the market, nor unpaid labour are included in the indicator, thereby rendering it an inadequate measure of production (Serote et al., 2001).

As the scope of the concept of development broadened, attempts were made to adjust the 'gold standard' indicator of economic development to reflect these changes. One such example is Nordhaus and Tobin's Measure of Economic Welfare (MEW) developed in the seventies to reflect growth in economic welfare or standard of living, based on the premise that GDP is not an adequate measure since it is a measure of production, whereas economic welfare is the outcome of consumption. The measure adjusts GDP by subtracting the costs of negative externalities, excluding certain services not representing economic welfare and by adding imputed values of services not included in the national accounts to reflect consumption that implies increased economic welfare (Stewart, 1974).

Zolotas expanded on the work of Nordhaus and Tobin by factoring in environmental and resource effects into an adjusted GDP measure to create his Economic Aspects of Welfare (EAW) measure in the early eighties (Jackson, McBride & Marks, 2006).

¹⁰ Purchasing Power Parity (PPP\$) indicates the purchasing power of a country's currency. It refers to the number of units of the particular currency in question, which is necessary to purchase an equivalent basket of goods and services that one US \$ will be able to buy in the USA. The US\$ is used as a reference currency in this case (UNDP, 1997).

The Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare (ISEW), developed by Daly and Cobb in the late eighties, and revised by Cobb and Cobb in the nineties, took this 'greening of the GDP' one step further to take account of unpaid household labour, 'defensive' social costs, environmental damage and depletion, changes in sustainability of the capital base, and of income distribution (Stockhammer, Hochreiter, Obermayr & Steiner, 1997). The ISEW estimates for the USA lie well below GDP values for the period 1950 to 1990 (Jackson et al., 2006:7).

The Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI) of the nineties is an updated version of the ISEW. It takes note also of the social cost of crime, unemployment and divorce in its calculations, thereby revealing that the GDP overestimated economic gains between January 2000 and January 2003 by 2.52 percentage points, while overstating economic progress by \$7 trillion in 2002 – a massive 70 per cent of the 2001 GDP¹¹ (Jackson et al., 2006; Venetoulis & Cobb, 2004:8 & 21).

The ISEW was once again updated and repackaged in 2004, through the introduction of the New Economics Foundation's Measure of Domestic Progress (MDP). Its aim was a closer link with sustainable development by aligning the various components of the measure with the components of sustainable development – economic, social and environmental (Jackson et al., 2006:8).

The World Standard Distance Scales aim to measure the difference between poorer and wealthier nations (Ginsberg, Osborn & Blank, 1986:2) and are born of a view that GNP/capita is inadequate to reflect the complex nature of relative prosperity, which requires a variety of indicators for assessment. By means of factor analysis five groups or perspectives on development are created, using 66 variables. From this the scales are calculated by creating a world standard as the average of the 17 countries with the highest scores in Factor 1, the economic development per capita perspective. Each country's score is expressed as a percentage of the World Standard, resulting in values lying between zero and 100. A Composite Index and a Growth Potential Index are derived from this method to show the distance of 163 countries from the World

¹¹ The 2001 GDP for the USA was estimated at \$10,065.3 billion (UNDP, 2003:278)

Standard (42 indicators), and the potential for growth for 174 countries (22 indicators) (Ginsberg et al., 1984:59-65).

Despite this proliferation of alternatives to the GDP, the standard GDP is still quoted as an important indicator of economic development (having been held up as one of the key indicators of the UNDP development measures since 1990), but stands alongside other indicators of human development, thereby reflecting the multidimensionality of development.

4.2 Measures of poverty

Poverty alleviation is a goal of development (Morse, 2004; Streeten, 1995), which implies that the level of poverty is an indicator whereby progress in development can be assessed. Poverty can be viewed in a number of ways: it can be defined as a lack of means to sustain life – measured either by income or by expenditure (Townsend, 1962); it results in a negative externality on society (Rein, 1970); it can be ascribed to an inequality in the distribution of income and resources (Townsend, 1962; UNDP, 1997); and, it is the product of an interlocking multidimensional social malaise that includes lack of security, self-respect and independence (Burkey, 1993; Narayan et al., 2000; Streeten, 1995). Each of these dimensions additionally reflects the evolution of development thinking. Lack of income stems from the earliest definitions of the 19th century (Townsend, 1962), yet is just as at home in the modernisation period. The basic needs paradigm of the seventies expanded on the inequality definition of poverty by including access to what could be considered *basic needs*, like clean water, health care, sanitation, education, etc. The sustainable development paradigm brought forth the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) to poverty with its focus on capability, equity and sustainability as both ends and means to livelihoods, and the vulnerability context of marginalised people (Carney, 1998; Chambers & Conway, 1991:5). Measures of poverty can thus be broadly divided into income measures, access measures and attainment measures.

Under income (or expenditure) measures of poverty, we find a number of measures employing a Poverty Line. Amongst them, the Headcount ratio – part of the family of

Foster-Greer-Thorbecke (FGT) decomposable measures – identifies the incidence of poverty in society, defined as the proportion of the population living below the poverty line. The Income Gap ratio determines the depth of poverty, or how far below the poverty line the poor lie. The Poverty Gap ratio – also part of the FGT group – is the sum of a population's income gaps weighted by the population size, highlighting variation in the depth of poverty (World Bank, 2004). Sen's Poverty Index (Morse, 2004; Sen, 1983) combines the Income Gap ratio with the Gini Coefficient as a measure of income distribution inequality to obtain a broad-ranging composite income-based poverty measure. The Foster-Greer-Thorbecke Index – the square of the Poverty Gap – measures the severity of poverty and assigns greater weight to the poorest by including a poverty aversion parameter (Bhorat, Leibbrandt, Maziya, van der Berg & Woolard, 2001; Streeten, 1995).

Further income (expenditure) measures include calories per adult equivalent relative to calorie requirements, and the proportion of income spent on food. A measure of the standard of living of the poorest of the poor, for example, is adequate access to food – 80 per cent of their income is spent on food and this proportion will only decline once they are lifted out of ultra-poverty (Streeten, 1995).

The basic needs paradigm makes use of a range of basic indicators to reflect poverty as deprivation of access to basic human requirements of life and essential services. The basic requirements include adequate food (e.g. calories per day), potable water (e.g. litres per day), shelter (e.g. square metres per person), clothing and basic household equipment, while essential services are sanitation, public transport, health and educational services (Burkey, 1993; Ghai, 1977). Anthropometric measures reflecting, amongst others, the mass for age, height for age, mass for height and arm circumference, are additional alternative measures for health and nutrition (Streeten, 1995).

As an alternative to multiple basic indicators of basic needs, the Physical Quality of Life Index (PQLI) was developed to reflect to what extent basic needs have been met (Slottje, 1991). Although many variations have been proposed on how to compile it, it usually comprises the equally weighted indices of life expectancy at one year, infant mortality and literacy (Slottje, 1991; Streeten, 1995). The arbitrariness of these

weights and the averaging of achievements through aggregation, together with its reflection of the quantity rather than the quality of life, have been criticised (Streeten, 1995).

The Index of Social Progress (ISP), developed by Estes, was aimed at measuring world social welfare development and in particular, changes in the ability of nations to provide in the basic needs of their populations (Estes, 1984:17). It is a composite index encompassing social, political and cultural aspects, and comprises 44 equally weighted indicators divided into 11 sub-indices, including a section on women's status, covering issues of education, literacy and women's suffrage. The average standardised Z-scores of the 107 countries included in the study (a value of 100), as well as for the sub-indices (a value of 9.1) are used as a reference point to which the actual ISP scores (also standardised Z-scores) per country can be compared (Estes, 1984:68). The same procedure is followed to compare groups of nations, as well as absolute and relative changes over time. Changes in the sub-indices feature as a crucial part of the analysis.

The Service Deprivation Index (SDI) of Adelzadeh (2003:47-50), developed specifically for South Africa, has its roots in basic needs as a poverty concept. It measures the percentage of households that are deprived of good-quality basic services – housing, energy for cooking, energy for lighting, energy for heating, water, toilet facilities and refuse removal. Apart from being a basic headcount measure, it also calculates depth of deprivation and variance in deprivation, stratified along provincial, racial and gender lines, to provide a comprehensive measure of changes in service deprivation over time.

Not only did Sen's (1983) capability theory of poverty question the premises of the inequality approach to poverty by distinguishing between absolute and relative poverty, it also introduced the concept of poverty as being an absence of those basic opportunities and capabilities that enable a person to function. This approach was significant in that it heralded a new era in the measuring of development.

The UNDP's Capability Poverty Measure (CPM) clearly draws on Sen's theory of poverty. It is a measure of failure in capabilities and includes the indicators

'percentage of children under five who are undernourished', 'the percentage of births attended by trained health personnel', and 'the percentage of women aged 15 years and older who are illiterate'. The CPM is the unweighted arithmetic mean of these percentages expressed as the percentage of the population with capability shortfalls in foundational capabilities (UNDP, 1996:109 -110)¹².

The quest for finding an indicator to reflect the multidimensionality of poverty led to, amongst others, the creation of the UNDP's Human Poverty Index (HPI). It incorporates aspects of Sen's capability perspective and focuses on the state of being of the poorest section of the community. The UNDP has distinguished between the poverty of developed countries and that of developing countries by creating the HPI-1 for developing countries, and the HPI-2 for developed nations. The HPI-1 is a measure of material deprivation and includes aspects of longevity, knowledge and non-monetary standard of living, while the HPI-2 includes these same aspects but replaces standard of living with indicators of income deprivation (UNDP, 2002:254).

The Sustainable Development paradigm redirected development efforts from its previous top-down planning and implementing approach to microlevel involvement and the inclusion of communities in the assessment of poverty. The Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) method was a product of this paradigm, promoted by the World Bank (Morse, 2004). The richer quality of information garnered through the PPA added depth to the understanding of poverty, and underscored the perspective that poverty is a complex, integrated, multi-layered problem that requires wide-ranging efforts to ensure a measure of success (Narayan et al., 2000).

The measurement of sustainable livelihoods (SL) poses a problem in that social sustainability is, amongst other things, difficult to quantify. Rapid Rural Appraisals (RRA) and Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA) have been suggested as appropriate methods of measuring the extent of sustainable livelihoods (Chambers & Conway, 1991:21).

¹² South Africa ranked 46th of 101 countries, with 30.4 per cent of its population estimated to have been capability poor for the period 1983 to 1995 (UNDP, 1996:111).

Despite a broadening in the understanding and definition of poverty as being more than deprivation of income, income-based poverty measures (perhaps by definition) still feature strongly in profiles assessing levels of poverty. Non-monetary poverty measures are nevertheless used as complements to rather than replacements of monetary measures to provide varied, multiple perspectives on poverty.

4.3 Measures of human development

A distinction must be made between development measures and measures of poverty: human development is the attempt to enlarge the choices available to people, while poverty implies a lack of choices and opportunities that could enable a person to live a long, healthy and fulfilling life. Poverty measures thus follow the 'deprivational perspective' and contrast with the 'conglomerate perspective' of human development indicators (UNDP, 1997:15) that measure the advances made within a community as a whole, including both the rich and the poor.

The need for a multidimensional, integrated measure to capture the various dimensions of human development and to replace the narrow and rather mechanical GDP measure became more apparent over time. The Combined Consumption Level Index of Bennet (1951) is arguably one of the earliest attempts in this regard. Although it had consumption as its focus, which would intuitively lead one to classify it as a poverty measure, the indicators included in this index could be interpreted as human development indicators. These included 16 non-monetary indicators from main segments of consumption (ranging from basic consumption of food and clothing to infant mortalities and availability of basic modern infrastructure) and three 'balancing' indicators to equalise for differences in climate, livestock assets and manufacturing energy consumption (Bennet, 1951: 638) to arrive at an unweighted, aggregated index with a maximum possible score of 1900. The aim of this index was to find the relative approximate consumption levels of goods and services by different populations during a given period of time. It was not meant as a comparative measure of differences in country consumption levels, levels of living, or stages of development (Bennet, 1951:633).

Harbison & Myers (1964:31) created a Human Resource Development Index (HRDI) consisting of the arithmetic total of secondary education and tertiary education gross enrolment ratios by which they classified countries as underdeveloped, partially developed, semi-advanced and advanced.

Beckerman & Bacon (1966) combined seven of the non-metric indicators suggested by Bennet (1951) – six reflecting infrastructure and one reflecting food consumption – through regression coefficient weighting into three classes of equations by means of which the real private consumption per capita of 80 countries could be estimated. These estimates were indexed with the real consumption per capita level of the United Kingdom serving as point of reference (100) to create the Real Index of Consumption. No causality is implied through the indicators and the index serves mainly as a relative ranking measure.

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) General Index of Development (GID) used 18 core weighted indicators from the social, economic and structural fields, combined into an index as a measure of the characteristics that distinguish more developed from less developed countries (McGranahan, Richard-Proust, Sovani & Subramanian, 1972:138).

The Quality of Life Rankings aims to reflect the multidimensionality of quality of life as comprehensively as possible, given the data available (Slottje, 1991:685). It uses 20 indicators covering a wide socio-economic field, from political rights to energy consumption, life expectancy, infant mortality rates and literacy. These are combined into indices by means of relative ranking of economic well-being, regression or component analysis, or variations thereof to form six separate ranking indices. These ranking values are then averaged, to assign the countries their final ranking positions.

The Relative Suffering Index (RSI) expresses the ratio of the required per capita GDP to maintain an infant mortality ratio of 50 per 1000 live births, to the actual per capita GDP, adjusted to a scale of 100 (Goldstein in Hess, 1989). Values higher than 100 indicate low socio-economic development.

The UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI) is perhaps the most widely known attempt at measuring human development. The Human Development Reports of the UNDP were created under the leadership of the Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq, but the Human Development Index used in these reports drew extensively from Sen's (1999) capability theory (Morse, 2004). Whereas the concept of human development is based on utilitarian theory and emphasises achievement, Sen emphasises that what is important is not the achievement itself, but the actual freedom to achieve. The HDI measures the average achievement within three capability areas of human development, namely life expectancy, knowledge and standard of living¹³. It is a composite index and comprises indicators of life expectancy, adult literacy and combined primary, secondary and tertiary enrolment, as well as PPP\$ GDP per capita as a proxy for disposable income.

The HDI was created not only with the aim of replacing the widely used GDP as a measure of development, but (as claimed by some) also for its usefulness as a political instrument (Booyesen, 2002; Dijkstra & Hanmer, 2000; Streeten, 1995:25) giving it the potential to influence policy makers. Its 'naming and shaming' league tables which are rumoured to encourage healthy competition, arguably form a significant part of such usefulness (Morse, 2004). The magnitude of the influence of these indices on actual policy making is open to debate, however. This measure has been criticised, inter alia, for failing to reflect income inequality (Serote et al., 2001), failure to include other elements essential to quality of life (Lind in Booyesen, 2002:139), the equal weighting (Morse, 2004:108), for data errors, biases and incomparability (Ogwang in Booyesen, 2002:140) and for its lack of usefulness as a policy guide (Rao in Booyesen, 2002:141).

An alternative human development indicator suggested by Stone and Seers uses a single indicator as a composite measure (Streeten, 1995). Life expectancy would be divided into lifetime profiles indicating how many life years were spent in specific blocks of activity, like schooling, employment, unemployment, holidays, retirement,

¹³ This is in contrast to the Capability Poverty Measure (section 4.2 above) which is a measure of *failure* in capabilities (UNDP, 1996:109).

being ill, being single, being married, and so forth. These could then be compared across countries to determine differences in living standards.

The Human Suffering Index (HSI) aims to denote the extent of human suffering as a composite index consisting of 10 socioeconomic indicators ranging from daily calorie supply and infant mortality rate, to the average annual growth rate of the labour force and a measure of personal freedom (Camp & Speidel in Hess, 1989). These are all scaled to values lying between zero and ten, with the cumulative score providing an HSI value of between zero and 100 – with anything over 75 denoting extreme human suffering.

A myriad of attempts have therefore clearly been made to capture the range, extent and complexity of human development. Nevertheless, the HDI remains one of the more robust and popular measures of human development and is widely used, and quoted, in UNDP and other contexts.

4.4 Indicators of sustainable development

The sustainable development paradigm not only focussed attention on grass-roots participation, it also called for the inclusion of indicators of environmental sustainability in development measures. This is, however, not easily achieved as there are a large number of factors to include.

The Environmental Sustainability Index (ESI), developed in a collaboration between the World Economic Forum, and Yale and Columbia Universities, is one such an indicator that serves as a proxy of environmental health. Unlike the HDI, with simplicity and transparency in its favour (Booyesen, 2002), this index is a complex composite of 76 variables that feed into 21 indicators within five component areas that are ultimately combined into a single figure with values between zero and 100. It covers five areas of performance deemed conducive to environmental sustainability – environmental systems, reducing environmental stresses, reducing human vulnerability to environmental stresses, social and institutional capacity, and global stewardship (YCELP & CIESIN, 2005). Since the calculation requires imputations due to the

unavailability of relevant data for all countries involved in the study, the actual quality of the data is a weakness of this index (Morse, 2004). It is nevertheless a notable effort to incorporate environmental cost in a measure of human development.

Other measures of sustainable development include the Ecological Footprint of Wackernagel, the Well-being Index of Prescott-Allen, the set of indicators of the Consultative Group on Sustainable Development Indicators (CGSDI) and the Dashboard of Sustainability from the International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD) – all attempting to indicate growth in well-being discounted for environmental sustainability (IISD, 2006; YCELP & CIESIN, 2005).

Perhaps the most ambitious attempt to gauge human development within a framework of sustainability is the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the UNDP. It does not attempt to capture development progress in a single index, but rather adopts a wide-ranging framework of measurement. The MDG agenda consists of eight goals, which are subdivided into 18 quantifiable targets which, in turn, are measured by 48 different indicators (UNDP, 2006b). This enables the United Nations – and the international community by extension – to keep track of progress (UNDP, 2005c) on each individual goal, thus promoting transparency and flexibility while holding nations accountable for commitments entered into in 2000.

Sachs (2005) proposes not so much a measurement framework as a new methodology for making development assessments on which to base policy recommendations. He calls it 'clinical economics', drawing an analogy between development economics and clinical medicine. The principles of this approach are: the recognition that economies are complex systems; the need for economists to make differentiated diagnoses and refrain from making blanket evaluations across countries; the recognition of global interdependence and its effects; the need for monitoring and evaluation with specific attention to a comparison of goals with outputs rather than concentrating on policy inputs; and, an ethical commitment on the part of the economist to look beyond superficial answers. The differentiated diagnosis includes a wide range of subjects to ensure that a broad-based background is obtained within which a country's particular problems can be assessed. This, he proposes, is the

starting point to finding sustainable answers to the poverty problems the world is still facing.

Building on the ESI, the Environmental Performance Index (EPI) measures how well countries do in terms of absolute benchmarks in environmental health and ecosystem vitality. It makes use of 16 indicators divided into six categories (environmental health, air quality, water resources, biodiversity and habitat, productive natural resources and sustainable energy) to reach a 'proximity-to-target' value lying between zero and 100 (YCELP & CIESIN, 2006).

The increased availability of economic, social and environmental data has facilitated the development of a number of the measures of development discounted for environmental cost. The search for a measure – perhaps a single composite value – that could perform similar functions to those of the GDP in respect of economic growth and of the HDI in respect of human development, is nevertheless ongoing.

4.5 Gendered measures of development

The integration of gender, or the development status of women, into the measurement of human development – the main focus of this thesis – was part of the drive for multidimensionality in development measures that started during the 1980s. Still, despite the long 'struggle' to integrate women into development thinking (see Section 3 above), remarkably few gendered development indicators have actually been developed.

Gendered measures of development are not only subject to the usual limitations of any statistical indicator, but they also have to deal with a further complication: apart from having to cover a number of areas where gender differentiation manifests itself, they have to contend with the fact that differences in social settings will change the texture and severity of gender inequality in these areas. For indicators to be of real value, they therefore have to differentiate not only between-gender, but also within-gender to capture both these elements of gender disparity (Evans, 1992).

Unterhalter (2005) suggests that gender inequality evaluation methods can be classified in one of four ways, depending on its definition of gender. The resourcist approach, which deems gender to be a 'transliteration of social differences into biological differences', suggests that gender equality is achievable by providing resources necessary for equal opportunities and outcomes (Unterhalter, 2005:4). This school, stemming from the Women in Development (WID) movement, typically uses equal representation data as indicators of gender equality. The second is the structuralist approach, where gender is interpreted as a social construct feeding from social relations, institutions and culture. To attain gender equality this school advocates the removal of the institutional and cultural barriers reinforcing gender discrimination. This approach is the product of the Gender and Development (GAD) movement and the concept of gender mainstreaming¹⁴ is part of the strategy of this school of thought. A third approach to gender evaluation is the Post-structuralist School. It considers gender as 'constructed and performed identities' (Unterhalter, 2005:4) and argues that gender differences are of more importance than gender equality, thus criticising the notion that men and women can be viewed as equal subjects. The last approach is the capability approach where not only achievements but also aspirations are valued as part of human development. It argues that any measure should include indicators of actual achievement as well as proxies for capabilities and freedoms in society, which would allow capabilities to develop. It views gender inequality as a form of 'denial of capability' and argues that gender equality is achievable only through an understanding of differences in capabilities and the institutions that support it. (The UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI), although not gendered, draws on this school of thought.) Although hybrids of the above approaches are often used, Unterhalter maintains that the resourcist approach is most prevalent in comparisons of gendered achievements because these comparisons are the easiest to compile, given the limited extent of gender-stratified data available in most parts of the world.

¹⁴ The term 'gender mainstreaming' was defined by the United Nations Economic and Social Council as 'a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of...the policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality' (UNDP, 2006c: 2).

Klasen (2004) adds to this classification of gendered measures by distinguishing between gender-sensitive and gender-disaggregated measures. The former reflects the impact of gender inequality on overall achievement, while the latter distinguishes between, and compares the achievements of women and men.

In an attempt to set baseline standards, a UNESCO research group proposed that the information relayed by gendered indicators has to, at the minimum, include information on structural factors affecting women's participation in development, women's contribution to development; and benefits gained by women through employment (Evans, 1992). This guideline serves perhaps more as a reflection of a view of how women feature in development, than as a binding international standard.

Leaving classification of indicators aside, we turn to the more commonly known gendered indicators. Although the HDI is a valuable instrument to gauge human development over time, it does not disclose anything about possible differences in the rate of development between men and women within a country. Anand and Sen (1995:1) note that:

[men and women] share many aspects of living together, collaborate with each other in complex and ubiquitous ways, and yet end up – often enough – with very different rewards and deprivations.

With this in mind, they developed a measure aimed at capturing gender differences in society as part of a development measure. The Gender Development Index (GDI), introduced by the UNDP in 1995 as part of the gendered development theme of that year (UNDP, 1995), was based on this measure.

This was, however, not the first attempt at integrating gender into the measurement of human development. The UNDP calculated a separate male- and female-HDI in its first (1990) Human Development Report (HDR) by using gender-specific achievements in each of the HDI component areas (UNDP, 1990:110), showing – for the first time – a clear difference in gendered human development levels. Subsequent to this, a 'gender-disparity-adjusted HDI' was developed (UNDP, 1991:92). This calculated female achievement as a ratio of male achievement in each of the three HDI components, with the gender-disparity-adjusted HDI being the average of these three ratios (UNDP, 1995:73). Another attempt made use of the ratio of a separately

calculated female-HDI to a male-HDI to adjust the HDI to a 'gender-sensitive HDI' (UNDP, 1992:92).

The GDI is closely related to the HDI, but takes cognisance of inequalities in achievement between the genders (UNDP, 2003:343). It does this in three ways, namely by adjusting index parameters to reflect gender realities, by taking wage inequalities into consideration and by using a weighted formula to calculate an equal distribution of achievements. The weight reflects society's concern with equality: with a weight of zero, society has no concern with inequality and the HDI and GDI will have exactly the same value. Should society have a great concern for inequality, the weight will increase towards infinity. This will mean that the lower achiever, usually female achievement, will carry more weight in determining the development index than the higher achiever and will ultimately adjust the average achievement downwards¹⁵. Gender inequalities therefore result in lower-measured levels of overall achievement.

Klasen (2004) views the income component of the GDI as problematic, in that it renders the GDI an unreliable measure of well-being. He points out that the fundamental source of gender inequality reflected through this indicator, stems from differences in income. Income is intended to reflect differences in consumption; but, he argues, intra-household distribution is not taken into account and as such it is not a

¹⁵ The GDI simply extends the basic calculations of the HDI by adding a final step, which equalises the gender-specific indices (achievements) into an equally distributed index. A weighting factor, ϵ is used to construct this equally distributed index:

$$\text{Equally distributed index} = \left\{ \left[\text{female population share}(\text{female index}^{1-\epsilon}) \right] + \left[\text{male population share}(\text{male index}^{1-\epsilon}) \right] \right\}^{1/1-\epsilon}$$

The size of ϵ reflects society's concern with inequality. The higher the weight, the more the society is penalised for gender inequality. The UNDP GDI uses a weighting factor of 2, reflecting a moderate aversion to gender inequality. This value gives us a harmonic mean of the male and female index values (UNDP 1995: 129):

$$X_{\text{ede}}(2) = 2[(1/X_f) + (1/X_m)]^{-1}$$

with X_{ede} = equally distributed equivalent achievement

The ratio between the harmonic mean (of the GDI) and the geometric mean (of the HDI), reflects the degree of gender equity. For more information on the technical aspects of the GDI, see UNDP, 2003:344 and UNDP, 1995: 130-133.

good proxy of gendered differences in access to basics like nutrition, housing, food, etc. He questions the UNDP's stance that gender gaps in income also represent gender gaps in agency, while also criticising the assumption that equality in labour force participation and equal wage rate are ideals sought by all societies. Not acknowledging either household production or the effect of the double burden of productive and reproductive duties on the well-being of women in the income component, further diminishes the usefulness of the GDI. He also cites unreliable data as a hindrance and suggests, as an alternative measure, using an average for the income component and concentrating on gender differences in the longevity and knowledge components.

Dijkstra and Hanmer (2000) objected to the combination of an absolute indicator of well-being with a relative gender equality measure, within the single GDI indicator. According to them a high ranking in relative equality will be usurped by a low ranking in absolute development, thereby clouding the transparency and readability of the indicator. They argue that for gender inequality per se to be reflected, the indicator has to be extracted from the absolute development component of the GDI. Serote et al. (2001) point out that this drawback makes the GDI a weak instrument for policy analysis. Dijkstra & Hanmer furthermore found a strong correlation between the GDI and the per capita income and criticised the GDI as not offering much new information to that of the HDI (2000:47). The choice of indicators also proved unacceptable to them in that it excluded gender differences in rural wages, informal sector participation and intra-household distribution, while also failing to reflect quality of education. They consequently developed a gendered development indicator that is effectively a gender parity ratio of the same variables included in the HDI, while replacing the income variable with a measure reflecting the return-to-labour time of women and men respectively (Dijkstra & Hanmer, 2000:12). This index, called the Relative Status of Women (RSW), provides a means of isolating gender inequality, with a value less than one indicating gender discrimination against women and a value greater than one indicating gender discrimination against men. The RSW does however have the drawback, that it is only a relative measure. Its extraction from any absolute measure renders it vulnerable to interpretation: a ratio that moves towards parity over time could be viewed as an improvement in gender equality, whereas it might be entirely due to a deterioration in the position of men. It does thus not provide an indication of

the absolute level of well-being. Dijkstra and Hanmer acknowledge this drawback (2000:56) and they reiterate that the RSW has to be used in conjunction with other measures for it to be useful as an indicator of the development status of women.

Dijkstra & Hanmer (2000) also suggested a framework of indicators from which gender inequality could be assessed, which included the variables income, time use, health (using food intake as a proxy), land, physical asset ownership, monetary savings and education.

The Gender Equality Index (GEI), developed with the backing of the International Statistical Institute (ISI), comprises not a single measure, but a panel of 18 indicators divided into eight areas linked to specific aspects of the lives of women. These range from autonomy of the body and political power to time use and gender identity (Wieringa, 1999: 45). Although the comprehensive nature of this measure is admirable, it does however require a sophisticated, gender-disaggregated data basis, not freely available in most nations of the world (DESA, 2006:iv), and therefore limiting the applicability of this measure (UNFPA, 2000).

The second measure introduced by the UNDP in 1995 was the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), which reflects the relative levels of political and economic empowerment within a society. It is a composite index that gauges economic participation and decision-making powers to yield the average achievement in empowerment of a society, given the level of gender inequality and moderate aversion to inequality. Klasen (2004) points out that there is evidence that empowerment is instrumental in facilitating well-being, but sounds a note of caution about the use of an empowerment measure to reflect well-being *per se*. Although there is evidence to suggest that greater female political representation leads to increased public-policy focus on the well-being of women, he questions whether low political presentation necessarily implies a loss in respect of capability (Klasen, 2004:8).

Klasen (2004:21) suggests a move away from the HDI, the GDI and the GEM as measures of human development and gender inequality because of their crude nature, to rather concentrate on gender inequality in lesser-known areas such as time use,

work in the home and issues at the household level like power over decisions and division of labour.

An alternative measure of empowerment was suggested by Goetz and Sen Gupta (in Pearson, 2005) in 1996. They proposed to measure the extent to which women, rather than their husbands, managed and operated the businesses for which micro-loans had been obtained. This notion was criticised on the grounds of evidence found in a study showing that the management of a business does not necessarily imply greater benefit to women, and, that the well-being of women is more closely linked to the prosperity of the household (Kabeer in Pearson, 2005).

The Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS) is a further composite measure attempting to gauge the well-being of women. It draws from the data contained in the Demographic and Household Surveys undertaken worldwide, and focuses on factors influencing women's ability to contribute to decisions affecting their own lives (Kishor & Neitzel, 1997). The TMWS concentrates on achievements of women in six areas – income and poverty, female household headship, education, employment, marriage and childbirth, and inter-spousal differences. It provides a threshold considered to be the minimum desirable (not to be confused with an ideal) status of women (Kishor & Neitzel, 1997:398). Despite the large amount of data required for this index, it is more accessible since it uses data from the widely-used Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), which are usually conducted every five years in over 75 countries (MeasureDHS, 2006). Intrahousehold dynamics, which could adversely affect women because of their lack of decision-making powers (Baden, Hassim & Meintjes, 1999; Sen, 1999; Serote et al., 2001; Unterhalter, 2005), are however, not reflected in this index, (UNFPA, 2000:45), while the long time-lag of the DHS data owing to decoding and processing can result in outdated data by the time such data are calculated into this index.

Smith, Ramakrishnan, Ndiaye, Haddad & Martorell (2003) also made innovative use of DHS data to construct two measures to indicate the status of women. The first, the Decision-Making Index (DMI) reflects the degree to which women would be inclined or enabled to participate in household decisions that impact on their lives. The other measure, the Societal Gender Equality Measure (SGE), gives a general appraisal of

how highly women are regarded in society in general. These measures provide insight into the status of women on different levels of society, with the original goal of Smith's study having been to ascertain how women's status impacts on the nutritional level of children.

As an alternative to aggregated measures, the concept of 'indicator frameworks' has gained popularity as such frameworks have greater potential to reflect the multidimensionality of development. Several examples can be found. The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) selected a number of demographic, household and programme indicators, including some gendered goal indicators, to capture the gender dimensions of country programmes (UNFPA, 2000:46). The United Nations (UNIFEM, 2000:66) set up a similar framework, the Common Country Assessment Indicators, that covers 11 gender-stratified development- and poverty-related areas (including a section measuring gender equality and women's empowerment). The World Bank recently identified eight indicators from which gender profiles of countries may be created (World Bank, 2006). The Population Council, a US-based international NGO specialising in public health research, commissioned a study to ascertain the relationship between women's status and that of men, and the processes of development. This study used a set of socio-economic indicators divided into four categories concerning various permutations of the relationship between women's and men's status and also economic and social indicators for the period 1970 to 1980 (Evans, 1992). Lastly, a group of Caribbean researchers developed a framework, called the Massiah framework that focuses on the equity aspects of various socio-economic and political indicators. It includes both quantitative and qualitative indicators regarding three main areas related to the lives of women, namely resources, the status of women and legal provisions. It covers a wide range of concerns – from basic human information to aspects of social mobility, emotional support, power and authority, and legislation (Evans, 1992).

The increasing number of gender-stratified measures of development appears to indicate that this is becoming a new growth area of development theory and practice. With women's issues gaining a higher profile on the international development stage, the need for gendered information, whereby progress in the achievement of gender-

related goals can be monitored, has over time become apparent. The Nairobi Strategies called for governments to

help collect statistics and make periodic assessment ...in measuring progress in the elimination of inequities (UN, 1986: para 58),

while the Beijing Platform required its signatories to

generate and disseminate gender-disaggregated data and information for planning and evaluation (DAW, 1996: para 206).

More recently, the monitoring of the MDG's has also highlighted the need for high quality gender-stratified information.

Consequently, the statistical field has undergone a transition, as is apparent from the significant number of gendered statistics initiatives:

- the UN's Gender Statistics Programme for Arab States (since 1997);
- the UN's statistical division's publication of 'A Handbook for Producing National Statistical Reports on Women and Men' (1997) and 'The World's Women' (1991, 1995, 2001 and 2005), which focused on the status of women in terms of trends and statistics;
- UNIFEM's 'Progress of the World's Women' (from the mid-eighties to the late nineties), published in 2000;
- the Food and Agricultural Organisation's 'Gender Specific Statistics for Agricultural Development', dealing with methodological issues;
- the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) gender-equality databases for many countries and its publishing of 'Qualitative and Quantitative Indicators for the Monitoring and Evaluation of the ILO Gender Mainstreaming Strategy';
- as well as various country-specific programmes (AISR, 2006; DESA, 2006; UNIFEM, 2005).

If judged by the 2005 World's Women report on progress in gendered statistics, the success of this transition is, however, neither resounding nor complete. It indicates that, although some progress has been made, much still needs to be done (DESA, 2006). As the quality and quantity of gendered information increases, so will the ability to monitor progress improve, which raises hopes that the quest for human

development will soon be supported by solid information and sound analysis on the well-being of women.

As noted earlier, the measures of development discussed here are but a sample of the indicators and indices that exist and, as such, omission of certain indicators should not be interpreted as a value judgement on the part of the author. Finding ways in which to reflect the complexities of development, and specifically of the development of women, is a relatively new and ongoing process that needs to draw on a variety of inputs. It is therefore best to view the development of any measure as an interim phase on which further work in the area can build.

The dearth of measures in respect specifically of the development status of women indicates that there is still scope for further creative thinking in this particular area, with country-specific contexts, structures and data availability dictating the range of possibilities.

5. Development and women: the situation and context in South Africa

In South Africa the 1995 October Household Survey and Income and Expenditure Survey revealed that households headed by women were more likely to be poor, with 60 per cent of female-headed households falling below the poverty line, as compared with 35 per cent of male-headed households (Bhorat et al., 2001; May, 1998). Rural African women tend to be the poorest of the poor¹⁶: in 1996, 26 per cent of rural female-headed households fell into this category, compared with 25 per cent of their male-headed counterparts. Similarly, 14 per cent of urban female-headed households were classified as the poorest, in contrast with 9 per cent of urban male-headed households, (Hirschowitz, Orkin & Alberts, 2000:65). Sixty per cent of the self-

¹⁶ Defined as households that fall within the lowest 20 per cent of household expenditure, with such expenditure being less than R600 per month (Hirschowitz et al., 2000:59). A further measure of the standard of living of the poorest of the poor is adequate access to food – 80 per cent of their income is spent on food and this proportion only declines once they are lifted out of ultrapovertry (Streeten, 1995).

employed, earning less than the Supplemental Living Level poverty line of R220.10 per month, were women, as were 56 per cent of the unemployed in the poorest quintile in 1995 (May, 1998). Census figures indicate that 18.4 per cent of female-headed households had no income in 1996, as opposed to 11.71 per cent of male-headed households in the same year. By 2001, these figures were 27.7 per cent and 19.96 per cent for female- and male-headed households respectively (StatsSA, 1998 & 2003).

Gender imbalances have been an integral part of South Africa's history, with women being subjected to a variety of patriarchies dating as far back as the pre-colonial era. It is difficult to pinpoint the origin of the struggle for gender equality, specifically because it was historically intertwined with a racial and class struggle (Walker, 1990). The role of women as active participants in the fight against racial inequality, with recorded female-dominated resistance against discriminatory laws dating back to 1913 (Wells, 1994), is key to understanding the gender struggle. It underscores the emergence of women as an independent force with their own aspirations for equality, in terms of both race and gender.

With the passing of the apartheid era, gender equality emerged from behind the previously overpowering racial agenda as an independent quest, this time under the banner of democracy and human rights (Pretorius, 2004). Although the ANC Women's League, since its inception, accorded high visibility to these aspirations, women – specifically under the leadership of Frene Ginwala – joined forces across political (and racial) divides to ensure that women's rights were placed on the political agenda. Women's struggle for equality ultimately culminated in the Women's National Coalition (comprising 60 national organisations and four regional coalitions) and the subsequent drafting of the 1994 Women's Charter of Effective Equality. It recognised that women's subordination had multiple origins stemming from patriarchy, custom and tradition, colonialism, racism and apartheid, thus stressing the need for institutional reforms to ensure that women's status and their quality of life would be enhanced (Serote et al., 2001). This Charter, which was used as an instrument to lobby legislators, ensured a rightful place for women's rights in the emerging new political structures (Baden et al., 1999) 'beyond the ritualistic commitment to equality ...[laying] the basis for effective gender equality' (Meintjies as cited in Serote et al., 2001).

With the adoption of the new Constitution, South Africa took major strides in the effort to eradicate gender inequality and to empower women. Women's rights were recognised as basic human rights and structures were put in place to ensure that gender took a prominent place on the political agenda. The Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the law formed a strong framework through which gender equality could be promoted (Serote et al., 2001). Rather than opt for a separate Ministry for Women's Affairs, a National Gender Machinery (NGM) was institutionalised, this providing not only legislative avenues for women's issues through the Parliamentary Joint Monitoring Committee on the Quality of Life and Status of Women (QoL), but also ensuring that gender would take a prominent place in policy design, implementation and delivery. The Office on the Status of Women (OSW) was created within the Office of the President to promote 'gender mainstreaming'¹⁷ within government and to ensure that it is featured strongly in all policy design and implementation, while the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) was appointed as a watchdog and educator to ensure that the attainment of gender equality received deference and due attention from government and from all civil society bodies (Baden et al., 1999; OSW, 2000). Based on the Beijing Platform for Action the South African government prioritised five areas for action, namely women and violence, women and poverty, women's health, women and education, and economic empowerment (Serote et al., 2001).

These measures have, either wholly or in part, resulted in a number of gender public-policy and institutional achievements¹⁸, namely

- the passing of the General Law Fourth Amendment of 1993, thereby repealing any prior discriminatory laws based on sex;
- the inclusion of a broad empowerment programme for women in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) designed by the ruling African National Congress (ANC) Party;
- the adoption of the Public Service Act of 1994, removing gender discrimination from benefits in the public sector;

¹⁷ According to Serote et al. (2001), the gender mainstreaming efforts of South Africa draws extensively from the GAD approach (Section 3.5 above).

¹⁸ Information on gendered achievements were gleaned from Baden et al., 1999; Booysen, 2001; Burger, 2001; Makgetla, 2004; NRF, 2006; Serote et al., 2001; Sachs, 2005; and Valodia, 2000.

- the implementation of the Labour Relations Act of 1995, protecting workers from unfair discrimination based on, amongst other things, gender, extended to include also farm labourers and domestic workers;
- the passing of the Choice on Termination of Pregnancy Act of 1996, thereby affording women freedom of reproductive choice;
- the adoption of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997, thereby extending protection to farm labourers and domestic workers, and including specifications on the rights of pregnant, lactating and disabled women;
- the adoption of the Employment Equity Act of 1998;
- the passing of the Domestic Violence Act of 1999 to address abuse within romantic relationships;
- the passing of the Recognition of Customary Marriage Act of 1999 through which African marriages were brought under the auspices of Civil Law, thereby repealing the 1927 Black Administration Act and the Natal Civil Code whereby African marriages were only recognised under Customary Law and not under Civil Law¹⁹;
- the replacement of the State Maintenance Grant by the Child Support Grant, and thus easing the burden of the (mainly female) caregivers;
- the National Skills strategy to (amongst other things) enhance the training of black women;
- the targeting of black women as part of the Broad-based Black Empowerment Act;
- efforts by the Land Reform Programme to address the (especially tenure) needs of women;
- the Maintenance Act (although flawed), which assigns equal responsibility to both parents for the upbringing of children;
- the establishment of a court of law to deal exclusively with sexual offences;
- the introduction of free health care for women who are pregnant or breastfeeding, and young children;
- an expansion of the provision of potable water to thousands of households, which benefits women and girls in particular in that it cuts down on time spent by them in fetching water for household use;

¹⁹ Customary Law is still a bone of contention as it strips women of any property and inheritance rights by rendering married women legal minors and denying single persons these same rights. As such, it contradicts the Constitution's stance on gender equality. See Serote et al., 2001: 164.

- alleviating poverty in the short-term through so-called 'indigent policies', most notably the Municipal Basic-services Transfer (S-grant) that ensures that essential basic services are extended to all households by subsidising basic service delivery to the poor;
- the introduction of the Department of Welfare's Flagship Programme, thereby targeting unemployed women with young children under five years of age;
- the launching of public works programmes to provide infrastructure in poor rural areas in an effort to provide both employment for the poor (women constitute 40 per cent of those employed up to 1999) and add assets to communities (women draw particular benefit from this);
- the launch of the '16 Days of Activism on Gender Violence' campaign in 2004, which has been observed annually and which heightens awareness of gender violence;
- the compilation of the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality document;
- the establishment of the Gender Working Group, the Parliamentary Women's Group and the Women's Empowerment Group to train councillors in integrating gender into planning and policy processes, and to support women at the various levels of government;
- the establishment of the Gender Equity Unit in the Department of Education, to focus on gender-specific issues in the area of education;
- the establishment of a network of gender desks throughout governmental departments;
- the establishment of eight Gender Studies Departments at institutions of higher learning; and last but not least
- the establishment of a crèche at Parliament for the children of parliamentarians and parliamentary workers.

Female representation in top government structures is already admirably high: South Africa's female representation in parliament is approximately 33 per cent, compared with the world average of 16 per cent (UNDP, 2005a; UNDP, 2005c). The country also boasts a Women's Budget Initiative that monitors the annual budget in order to promote the attainment of long-term goals, like gender equality, paying particular

attention to the needs of poor women (Baden et al., 1999; Serote et al., 2001). South Africa has even hosted a study tour for Sri Lankan female legislators to learn more about the local structures and institutions for promoting gender equality and female representation in government (UNDP, 2006a). Internationally, South Africa was an active participant in the fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing held in 1995, and also adopted its Platform for Action (PFA) as a framework for the attainment of gender equality in South Africa (Serote et al., 2001). It has furthermore ratified the Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which legally binds the government to the terms of this international document. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that South Africa is a leader in the field of mainstreaming gender and of forging it as part of the political agenda.

In 2001 Africa took its development in its own hands by establishing the New Partnership for Africa's Economic Development (NEPAD), and with South Africa playing a key role. The aim of the initiative is to promote the development of Africa through a partnership between African states, the private sector and donors, by allowing for trade liberalisation and the channelling of funds through national budgets (Willis, 2005). An Office on Gender and Civil Society was added to the structure three years later following criticism by gender activists on the strategy's weak commitment to the needs and concerns of women and gender equality, as well as accusations that its strategies may have a negative effect on women (Fouke-Mpoyo, 2003; Longwe, 2002; Pheko, 2002; SARPN, 2005). Women's movements have also actively lobbied the African Union (AU), of which South Africa is a member, for the inclusion of binding agreements to enhance the lives of women. This has resulted in the adoption of the Durban Declaration by the AU, which binds all member states to adhere to CEDAW, the Beijing Declaration and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, which ensured equal access to basic rights and services and protection from discrimination. The 2002 AU Durban Summit furthermore led to an agreement that 50 per cent of the commissioners would be women, that a Gender Promotion directorate would be created and that the gender parity would be upheld in all senior staff recruitment. The 2003 AU Maputo Summit moved for equitable treatment and access for women to various levels of society, including: access to education, training and employment; equal remuneration; punishment of sexual harassment; participation in governance; the removal of discriminatory legislation and practices harmful to women; the

protection of the productive rights of women; and conflict prevention (SARPN, 2005). More member states however need to ratify this proposal before it can enter into effect. NEPAD, as the socio-economic arm of the AU, is seen as key in translating the specifications of this proposal into its strategies (SARPN, 2005). South Africa's potential role in this regard is not negligible.

6. Scope of the study

Gender equality is desirable – this is so not only from a human rights perspective. Also, women are pivotal to poverty alleviation and sustainable development (UNDP, 2006:3). Gauging the well-being and development status of women is a challenge, however – not only does capturing the complexity of a gendered development process pose problems, but the choice of the most appropriate indicator is equally challenging.

This study measures the development status and progress of women in South Africa in the period 1996-2003, thereby assessing the effectiveness of gender-based development policies and practices in South Africa, as follows:

- First, it develops a gender-disaggregated HDI-based indicator whereby one can, contrary to current common practice, distinguish between the pace of development of women and men.
- This indicator is applied to national-level data to enable, for the first time since 1990²⁰, a clear distinction between the development progress of women in South Africa as opposed to that of men. The study then extends this calculation to a provincial level, thereby adding to the currently limited information on the development status of women in the provinces.
- In addition to the relatively standard (though modified) HDI-based indicators, measures of gender inequality with regard to 'capabilities' and 'empowerment' are calculated, at both the national and the provincial level, so as to facilitate insight into improvements in inequality and empowerment over time.

²⁰ The methodology of the UNDP-calculated male- and female-HDI values for South Africa in 1990 differs from the one used in this study. The values are therefore not comparable.

- This is followed by a calculation of what is termed the 'power status' of women, which reflects both the relative intrahousehold and the societal power of South African women over decisions impacting on their lives, both on a national and a provincial level.
- In acknowledgment of the multidimensionality of the development process, it is proposed that the development status of women be gauged by combining a selection of gendered development measures into a 'measurement framework' which is called a Women's Development Status Profile (WDSP). The proposed measure is calculated for South Africa and the nine provinces for the periods 1996/1998 and 2001/2003, and then compared with a benchmark.

This study is intended as a contribution towards the ongoing debate on the measurement of the development status of women; it acknowledges that finding an appropriate or 'best' development measure to support the analysis and promotion of sustainable development is and remains a work in progress. As Diewert (in Slottje, 1991:685) noted, an ideal index that captures the social welfare and economic well-being of people does not exist; the best to be hoped for is an index that will reflect as much information as possible of the issue under discussion, and the results of which are interpreted with a clear understanding of the assumptions on which the index is based.

In addition to this introduction and overview above, the study is presented as five separate papers in which analyses of the progress and patterns in the development status of women in South Africa, and the measurement thereof, are presented. Since the five papers all revolve around the central theme of measuring the well-being of women, some repetition necessarily occurs in the introductory discussions on background and context. Each of the papers nevertheless offers a quite different perspective on the measurement of the development status of women in South Africa.

Paper I examines progress in the development status of women in South Africa between 1996 and 2001, on a national level. It develops a new *gender-specific* HDI and applies it to South African census data to calculate an independent development status for women, as well as to find whether there were differences in their pace of progress compared with that of men.

Paper II applies the methodology of Paper I to provincial data. Using the gender-specific HDI, it explores whether the national trend, observed in Paper I, is prevalent throughout the provinces, and whether any patterns can be discerned in the level of, and the changes in the measured provincial development status of women.

Paper III focuses on identifying individual HDI component areas where female development status is particularly low or weak, or where it weakened significantly between 1996 and 2001, at both the national and the provincial level. This facilitates the flagging of human development areas in urgent need of scrutiny and remedy, particularly with the UNDP's Millennium Development Goals in mind.

Paper IV broadens the scope of analysis by calculating two additional gender-related development indicators, namely the GDI and the GEM. This is done on both a national and provincial level. In addition, DHS data are employed to calculate two different measures of what is called the 'power status of women', also on a national and a provincial level. This paper therefore probes the development status of women by using alternative indicators of various facets of the well-being of women – a first for South Africa.

Paper V proposes an even broader, alternative measure/framework of gendered human development, namely a 'Women's Development Status Profile' (WDSP). The indicators of Paper IV are integrated into one framework to generate a multidimensional, symbiotic development profile of women. WDSPs are constructed for South Africa and for each of the nine provinces to determine whether any patterns and progress are discernable between 1996 and 2003. It is argued that such a Women's Development Status Profile enables a more holistic interpretation of the well-being of women, which in turn could enhance efforts towards understanding and monitoring poverty alleviation and sustainable development.

As far back as 1976, Irene Tinker remarked that the argument is not that development never helps women; rather, 'compared to men, women almost universally lost as development proceeded' (Tinker, 1976:24). By moving closer to finding an appropriate measure (or measures) with which to monitor the gendered development process, and

by also regularly applying such measures, we have a better chance of ensuring that the development process not only does not harm women, but provides the means by which the poorest of the poor can step onto the first rung of the development ladder.

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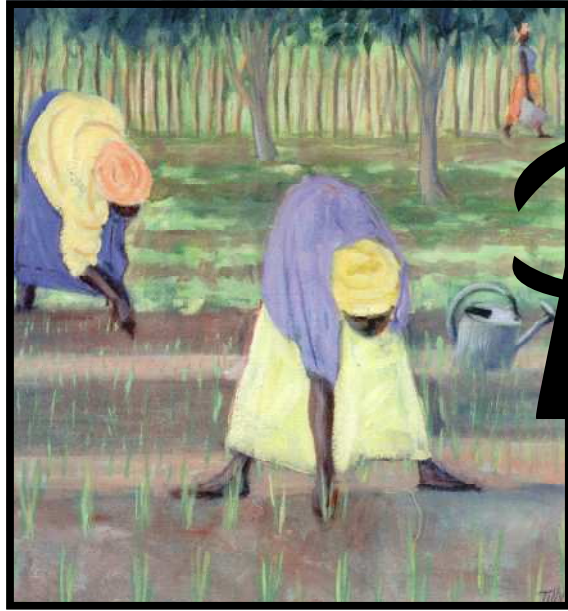
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PAPER I

Changes in the development status of women in South Africa from 1996 to 2001: for the better or for the worse?

[Referenced as Booysen-Wolthers, 2007a]

Changes in the development status of women in South Africa from 1996 to 2001: for the better or for the worse?

Abstract

The adoption of the 1996 Constitution mainstreamed women's issues in South Africa, but despite the commendable progress in this sphere over the past ten years, success is only discernible if it translates into the betterment of women's lives. This paper aims to ascertain whether the development status of women improved or deteriorated between 1996 and 2001 by employing a gender-adjusted Human Development Index (HDI). To offset the limitations of an aggregate measure, while compensating for the potentially distorting effects of HIV/AIDS on an aggregate human development indicator, a framework of supporting measures of well-being is also analysed to augment and validate the findings of the gender-specific HDI. The study finds that between 1996 and 2001 the development status of women in South Africa regressed, in both absolute and (especially) relative terms.

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1. Introduction

Gender imbalances have been an integral part of South Africa's history, with women being subjected to a variety of patriarchies dating back to the pre-colonial era. It is difficult to pinpoint the origin of the struggle for gender equality, specifically because it was historically intertwined with a racial and class struggle (Walker, 1990). Over the years women nevertheless emerged as an independent opposition force with their own aspirations for equality, ultimately culminating in the Women's National Coalition and the subsequent drafting of the 1994 Women's Charter to ensure a prominent place for women's rights in the emerging new political structures.

The new 1996 Constitution for South Africa acknowledged that women's rights are human rights. With one-third of legislative seats reserved for women, and policies and strategies in place at all levels of government to protect women's interests, South Africa is ostensibly a model country in terms of mainstreaming women's issues. Given this, plus expanded opportunities and a growing economy, one would expect the development status of South African women to have improved over time (in absolute terms and/or relative to men). This paper presents empirical evidence on this question.

Measuring human development on a gender basis is a complex issue. Development – and the inclusion of women within that concept – has been at issue since World War II. The need for multidimensional, non-monetary measures to capture the various dimensions of well-being and replace the mechanistic Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product (GNP) measures led to the creation of, amongst others, the Human Development Index (HDI). However, as an average measure the HDI discloses nothing about possible differences in the rate of development between men and women.

Having observed that men and women – despite sharing and collaborating in many ubiquitous and complex ways – differed markedly in respect of their rewards and deprivations, Anand and Sen (1995: 1) designed a framework for gender-equity-sensitive indicators. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1995) based its Gender(-related) Development Index (GDI), which corrects the HDI for gender inequality, on this framework. South Africa, for example, has a GDI of 0.678

(UNDP, 2003a: 312) compared with an HDI of 0.6871¹ for 2001 (UNDP, 2003b: 282), indicating a lower level of overall achievement because of gender inequalities. The UNDP (1995) also introduced the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) to reflect the relative levels of political and economic empowerment within a society, yet this has no obvious correlation to the HDI or the GDI (Kabeer, 2003: 4–5).

Although the GDI and the GEM aim to address the HDI's lack of a gender dimension, they still indicate average achievement, albeit adjusted for gender inequalities. In this sense, the GDI and the GEM both incorporate gender disparities as an indiscernible element of the level of achievement. Dijkstra and Hanmer (2000) also conclude that the GDI provides only limited new information because of its close correlation to the HDI, and in turn, to per capita GDP. They developed an alternative measure, the Relative Status of Women (RSW) that is independent of the GDP and provides an unencumbered measure of gender inequality.

The point of interest of this paper is gender inequality in the pace of human development. While the RSW is a valuable aid, it is only a relative measure with no reference to an absolute level of well-being, which renders it vulnerable to multiple interpretations – an issue its creators acknowledge (Dijkstra & Hanmer, 2000: 55). This drawback furthermore makes longitudinal comparisons particularly tenuous. Therefore, among the existing development measures there is no indicator actually highlighting gender differences in the pace of human development, a fact corroborated by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2000: 5.10).

Attempts to investigate gender inequality in South Africa include the Women's Budget Initiative (WBI), a noteworthy gender milestone of the past decade. This initiative aims to analyse the gender impact of the national budget (Budlender, 1996: 8), focusing on the role of the public sector in perpetuating and/or exacerbating gender differences (Budlender, 2004; Mullagee & Nyman 2000; Parenzee, 2004; Poggenpoel & Olivier, 2004).

¹ The format in which figures are presented in this study, namely in some cases up to four decimal points, is to enable the reader to distinguish between levels that often lie very close together, yet they should not be interpreted as a claim to great accuracy or precision.

The government's ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the 1995 Beijing Conference on the status of women instigated two direct comparisons of women and men in South Africa, based on demographic and socio-economic trends. These were done by Central Statistics (1998) and its successor, Statistics South Africa (2002). The 2002 survey also included information from the very first time-use study conducted in South Africa (StatsSA, 2001).

A myriad studies have reviewed the impact of ten years of democracy on the women of South Africa. Research topics include the effect of the Poverty Relief Funds on women (Parenzee, 2003), women's increased participation in the labour market and its effect on their position relative to men (Casale, 2004; Casale & Posel, 2002), the feminisation of poverty (Bentley, 2004a), the impact of land reform on the economic, social and political status of women (Weideman, 2004), the impact of changes in the taxation policies for women (Smith, 2000), the effect of various local government revenue sources on women (Coopoo, 2000), the impact of the housing policy on women (Marais, 2002; Pillay, Manjoo & Paulus, 2002), the effect of customs and excise tariffs on women (Goldman, 2000), the gender effect of migration policy (Dodson, 2001), and women as a political force (Bentley, 2004b,c). The gender aspect of HIV/AIDS has been a further topic of research receiving much attention (Black Sash & Education Training Unit, 2004: Ch. 5; CADRE, 2003; Du Plessis, 2003; Kistner, 2003; Shisana, 2002).

Whereas the above all focus on the institutional impacts on women, only one study (Oranje, 2003) investigates the general well-being of South Africans, aiming to ascertain whether vulnerable groups (including women) have gained anything between the latest two census years. This study neither gives much statistical interpretation, nor depicts clearly the relative position of women and the impact of gender disparities. Another inadequacy is the exclusion of life expectancy and health statistics in the analysis, obviously ignoring the impact of HIV/AIDS on progress.

Our research aims to determine empirically whether women have indeed made progress over the past decade. The two census years are used to establish how the new democracy and related development policies and initiatives, based on a constitution espousing gender equality, have affected the development status of

women in South Africa. An attempt will furthermore be made to bridge the above-mentioned measurement gap by adjusting the HDI to *highlight* the gender gap and showing how it affects the measurement of the development status of women.

2. Aggregate trends: a gender-specific Human Development Index (HDI)

The HDI comprises three aspects regarded as essential for human development, namely the possibility of living a long and healthy life, of living this life with knowledge, not ignorance, and of having the means to acquire a decent standard of living (UNDP, 1995:131). The HDI uses life expectancy at birth, literacy, the combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio and GDP per capita (PPP US\$) as proxies for these dimensions of human development.

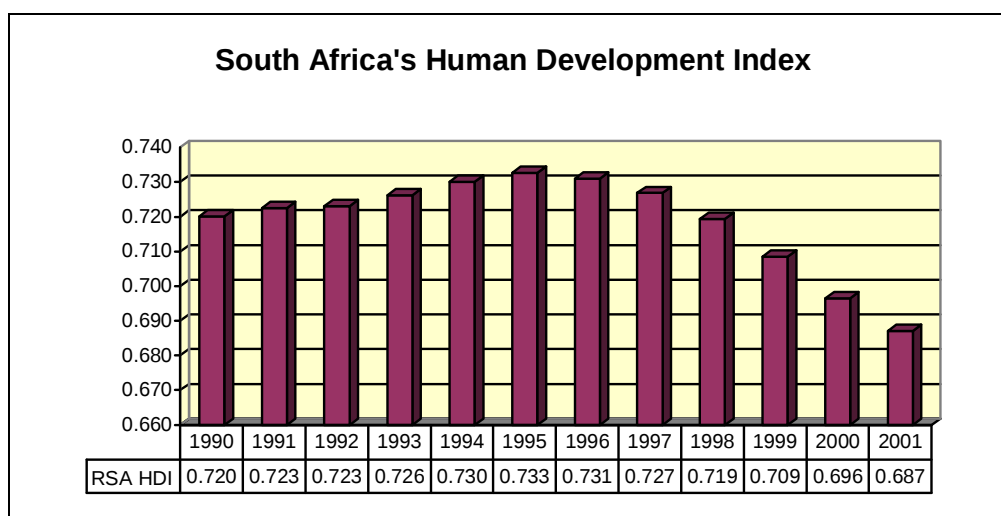


Figure 1: South Africa's Human Development Index 1990 – 2001

Source: UNDP, 2003b

In international terms South Africa is regarded as a medium developed country. The HDI for South Africa moved into the 0.7 category in the late 1980s, after maintaining a 0.6 level during the 1970s and the early 1980s (UNDP, 2003a: 243). Human development as measured by the HDI peaked in 1995, with an index figure of 0.7326 (Figure 1). However, it has been on a significant downward trend since then, almost certainly because of the effect of HIV/AIDS. It is worth noting that the analyses

reported in this paper were done within the environment of a pronounced HDI decline and could differ from a similar study during an upward trend.

Measuring human development without gender disaggregation is neither conducive to accurate assessment, nor to gender-sensitive and gender-appropriate development policies. To capture gender differentials in development status, part of the basic premise of the GDI is used and applied to the standard HDI calculation to create a gender-specific HDI for each gender group, namely a female-specific HDI (FHDI) and a male-specific HDI (MHDI) that separate the development achievements of women and men². The calculation of the gender-specific HDI differs from the standard calculation of the HDI in the following respects:

- The index parameters for life expectancy at birth were adjusted to reflect the longer life expectancy of women instead of using a single scale for both sexes.
- Gender-specific literacy and enrolment data were employed for the calculation of the attainment of knowledge component. Owing to the unavailability of reliable gender-disaggregated figures for South Africa for 1996 the combined gross enrolment figures include primary and secondary school enrolment, but exclude tertiary levels.
- The estimated earned income was adjusted to take into account both the lower economic activity rates of women and the difference in the wage rates between men and women.

The gender-specific HDI therefore makes use of salient gender differences to provide a means by which to compare the development progress of women with that of men.

Both the gender-specific HDI and the standard HDI are ultimately based on aggregates and are therefore, per definition, relatively crude measures. Interpretation of these measures must consequently be done with circumspection. To allow for comparison, a standard methodology HDI, being an average, gender-aggregated

² See Appendices I and II for detail on calculation methods and data sources employed.

measure, was calculated (Table 1), using the same data on which the gender-specific HDIs were calculated.³

Table 1: Standard methodology HDI for South Africa

	1996	2001
Standard HDI	0.7597	0.7091

Source: Author's calculations

The results for the gender-specific HDI are shown in Figure 2:

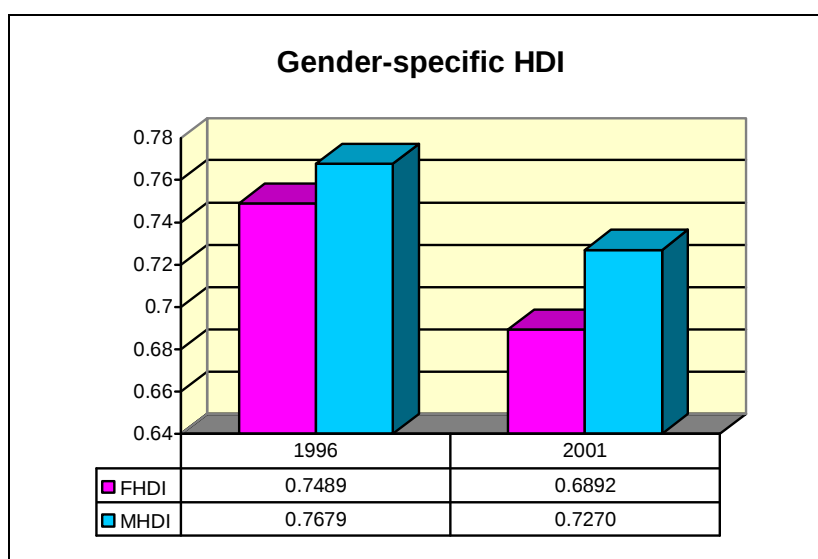


Figure 2: South Africa's gender-specific HDI

Source: Author's calculations

Figure 2 reflects the distinct difference in the level and pace of human development between the genders, as measured by the gender-specific HDI:

- The development level of men was higher than that of women in both 1996 and 2001.
- Although the absolute level of development of both men and women declined between the two years, the decline of women was more pronounced.

³ Given the different data sources and the omission of tertiary gross enrolment figures from our calculations, it is to be expected that they will differ somewhat from the UNDP HDI figures.

- The development level of women relative to men decreased from 0.9753 in 1996 to 0.9480 in 2001.

This rudimentary analysis reveals that the development status of women in South Africa not only deteriorated in absolute terms between 1996 and 2001, but also deteriorated in relative, between-gender terms, leaving women in a more vulnerable position.

3. Gender-specific disaggregated analysis

Disaggregating the HDI and then reviewing its key components individually, add value to the analysis by offering information on trends that might be obscured through aggregation.

The magnitude of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa and its influence on life expectancy and other aspects of development have the potential to distort, and even dominate, any HDI measure. Calculating an HIV-free HDI is theoretically possible, yet its value is questionable. To also ensure that the conclusions are not entirely based on an aggregate measure that changed primarily owing to a single variable, the analyses are augmented by scrutinising components constituting, or closely related to, the gender-specific HDI. This is in keeping with the current trend of using a framework of indicators rather than a single composite measure in measuring development. This disaggregation could furthermore allay doubt about the randomness of changes by highlighting salient patterns among the components.

Although seven individual indicators were used to calculate the gender-specific HDI, eight indicators are examined in our component analyses⁴. Unemployment was added to the analyses because of its influence on income (measured in terms of household income rather than GDP). Enrolment figures were evaluated, individually and in combination, thus adding three areas to the list. Gender differences in non-agricultural wage rates were not examined, as it was chosen to employ the standard estimation of a 25 per cent differential^a – used by the UNDP in cases where this information is not

⁴ Appendix III provides detail on the data employed for the analysis of each section.

available⁵ – in the calculation of the gender-specific HDI in this paper, thus eliminating the need for any gendered analysis in this regard.

All the individual HDI components, except life expectancy, are analysed from four different perspectives:

- a) The actual headcount of people affected in the specific area of development. This measure, reflecting the absolute level of, for example, illiterate females in a given year, is referred to as the *incidence*.
- b) The percentage share women hold within the combined incidence group is termed the *share*, for example, what portion of the unemployed are women.
- c) The size of the incidence group in relation to the total gender-specific part of the population is called the *predominance*, e.g. the portion of the female population that can be considered economically active. It aims to capture within-gender incidence.
- d) The size of the female incidence group relative to its male counterpart is termed the *gender parity ratio*. This refers to the ratio of girls to boys in, for example, primary school enrolment.

If x = number of females (being unemployed, illiterate, in primary school, etc.)

y = number of males (being unemployed, illiterate, in primary school, etc.)

X = total female population

Y = total male population

n = year

Then, for each component of the HDI, the following will be evaluated:

- a) incidence = x_n and y_n
- b) share = $\{[x_n/(x_n + y_n)] \times 100\}$, and $\{[y_n/(x_n + y_n)] \times 100\}$

⁵ Although gender-related wage data are available in South Africa, diverse opinions exist on the topic of wage differences: see end note a.

c) predominance = $\{(x_n/X_n) \times 100\}$, and $\{(y_n/Y_n) \times 100\}$

d) gender parity ratio = x_n/y_n

These measures provide a multidimensional view of the development status of women, notably the *change* in levels between year n and $n+5$. Change is obviously the focal point of this paper. Each component is analysed from the said four perspectives to corroborate – or invalidate – the finding (Section 2) that women's development status has declined between 1996 and 2001.

4. Life expectancy

South Africans' life expectancy appears to have come full circle. The improvement in life expectancy since the 1960s has virtually been reversed: in 2001, both sexes could expect to live almost the same number of years as in 1965 (Table 2)⁶.

Table 2: Life expectancy at birth in South Africa

	1965	1989	1994	1997	2001
Female life expectancy	54*	65* 66.9**	66.8 66.2	58.1 63.6	54.4 57.7
Male life expectancy	49*	58* 59**	60.8 58.1	51.5 56	47.7 52.1

* UNDP and World Bank estimates for South Africa ** ASSA Aids model⁷ estimates

Sources: ASSA, 2002 ; UNDP, 1997, 1999 & 2003a; World Bank, 1991

According to the World Bank/UNDP estimates, the life expectancy of women peaked around 1994, but dropped by 18.6 per cent during the following four years. Male life expectancy, historically about seven years shorter than that of women, similarly peaked in 1994, but dropped by 21.6 per cent towards 2001. The ASSA estimates

⁶ While the World Bank and UNDP data offer a longer term assessment of changes in South African life expectancy, these figures are not stratified by province – a property that is core to the analyses of provincial development levels featured later in this study. For this reason, and for the sake of comparability, the Actuarial Society of South Africa (ASSA) Aids model life expectancy estimates are included in Table 2. Note that all indicator calculations from own sources (by the author), as well as further mention of life expectancy figures throughout the study, refer to the ASSA estimates.

⁷ The ASSA Aids model is an analytical tool, developed by the Actuarial Society of South Africa, for estimating the demographic impact of HIV/AIDS on South Africa. The estimates cover the period 1985 to 2025 (ASSA, 2002).

reflect an earlier life expectancy peak in 1989, with a subsequent more gradual decline of 13.8 per cent for women and 11.7 per cent for men, towards 2001.

With one-quarter of all deaths in South Africa being attributed to HIV/AIDS in 2001 (UNDP, 2003b: 26), the influence of this disease on life expectancy cannot be denied. Homing in on gender differences in this area, (ASSA) calculated the prevalence of HIV/AIDS to be 1.32 women to every man in 1995, 1.23 in 1998 and 1.22 in 2001. This narrowing in the infection ratio did not, however, last: the ratios increased to 1.25 in 2003 and 1.28 in 2005 (ASSA, 2002), indicating that women are increasingly more afflicted with the disease than men. In terms of life expectancy, the development status of both men and women clearly declined between 1996 and 2001. Although men lost marginally more ground than women in terms of percentage change, women lost more life-years in absolute terms.

5. Attainment of knowledge

The HDI's three principal components are seen to contribute equally to the well-being of any human being, as reflected by the equal weights assigned to them. The measure reflecting the attainment of knowledge is itself a composite of two indicators with unequal weights, namely literacy (two-thirds weight) and the combined primary school, secondary school and tertiary education gross enrolment ratio (GER)⁸ (one-third weight). These same areas (bar the tertiary education GER) will be reviewed within a South African context, again concentrating on 1996 and 2001.

⁸ GER is defined as the number of learners, regardless of age, enrolled in a specific school phase as a percentage of the total appropriate school-age population. It is used to show the level of participation in education (DOE, 2003: 11).

5.1. Illiteracy⁹

Just over 16 per cent of South Africa's population older than 15 years was illiterate¹⁰ in 1996. Although strides were made in reducing illiteracy by 2001, 15.5 per cent of the population still remained illiterate¹¹.

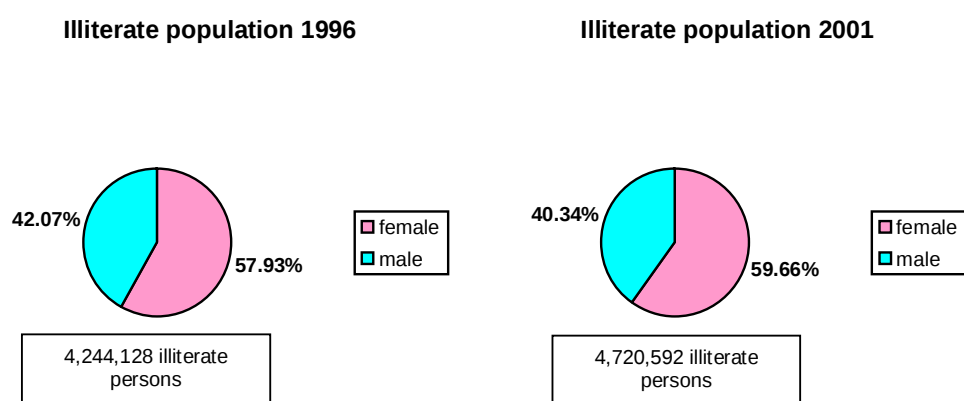


Figure 3: Illiteracy in South Africa

⁹ This section has Global Insight, 2004a, and StatsSA, 1998a & 2003a as its data sources. A note of thanks to Global Insight Southern Africa for generously providing segments of the data used in this study.

¹⁰ The illiteracy rate used in this analysis is defined as the percentage of the population older than 15 years of age and with no schooling. Although functional literacy – the ability to read and write, with understanding, a simple sentence about one's life – is the preferred indicator for this section, gender-stratified functional literacy data were available only from 1999. The use of 1999 data for the calculation of a 1996 HDI figure was deemed too inaccurate, given the rapid pace of developmental and political changes that took place between 1996 and 2000. Our chosen indicator is admittedly not an ideal proxy, yet, its longitudinal comparability was deemed useful for this exercise.

¹¹ These figures do not take Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) data into account, thus creating the possibility for an overestimation of the extent of South Africa's illiteracy. Whether a person, who has had no formal (childhood) schooling, and who has attended an ABET programme, would still respond with a 'no schooling' answer to a survey question on years of schooling, is nevertheless open to debate.

Incidence level:

1996: 2.46 million women and 1.79 million men

2001: 2.82 million women and 1.90 million men

Change in incidence:

1996–2001: 357 828 (14.55 per cent) increase in the number of illiterate females

118 636 (6.64 per cent) increase in the number of illiterate males

Share level (Figure 3):

1996: Illiterate group = 57.93 per cent female + 42.07 per cent male

2001: Illiterate group = 59.66 per cent female + 40.34 per cent male

Change in share:

1996–2001: 3.46 percentage points increase in 'share gap' (i.e. increase in the female predominance)

Level of predominance (i.e. an illiteracy rate):

1996: 17.66 per 100 females and 14.39 per 100 males

2001: 17.40 per 100 females and 13.35 per 100 males

Change in predominance (i.e. change in illiteracy rate):

1996–2001: 1.47 per cent decrease in female illiteracy

7.23 per cent decrease in male illiteracy

Level of gender parity ratio:

1996: 1.38 illiterate women per 1 illiterate man

2001: 1.48 illiterate women per 1 illiterate man

Change in gender parity ratio:

1996–2001: a 7.25 per cent widening of the ‘gender gap’

Although the absolute position of women, in terms of illiteracy rate, improved between 1996 and 2001, their relative position deteriorated in that

- the rate of increase in the absolute number of illiterate females (incidence) was twice as rapid as that of males;
- women constituted an even larger proportion of the illiterate population in 2001 than in 1996;
- the reduction in the female illiteracy rate was almost five times slower than the reduction in the male illiteracy rate; and
- there were more illiterate females relative to men in 2001 than in 1996.

One can therefore conclude that although the literacy rate of women improved in absolute terms, their relative literacy status deteriorated. Before we can conclude whether women indeed lost ground relative to men between 1996 and 2001, we have to consider the effect of demographic patterns, as well as the influence of possible data problems.

While the decrease in predominance between the two years can be explained by demographic changes¹², it does not offer the same avenue for gender parity: the population ‘gender gap’ increased by 1.14 per cent between the two years, as opposed to a 7.25 per cent widening in the case of illiteracy. This widening in the ‘gender gap’ instead stems from the fact that the pool of illiterate males, as compared with that of females, was shrinking, rather than it being a case of an increase in the pool of illiterate females. We can thus still conclude that women were losing ground to men, but we have to qualify that statement by adding that it can be ascribed to a faster

¹² Between 1996 and 2001 the population older than 15 years increased by 16.3 per cent for females and 14.98 per cent for males, compared with an increase of 14.55 per cent in female illiteracy incidence and 6.64 per cent in the case of males. This would explain the decrease in predominance.

pace of improvement in the case of men, rather than to a faster pace of deterioration in the case of women.

The reason for this accelerated decline in illiteracy in the case of males is the next question. One could assume that, owing to biological differences in life expectancy, illiterate women, by extension, tend to outlive their male counterparts, leading to the shrinking pool of illiterate males. Demographic trends however do not fully support this theory. Scrutiny of the age distribution of the illiterate group reveals that although the illiteracy gender parity is most skewed towards women in the higher age groups, this gender disparity is prevalent across all age groups, yet with a distinctive peak for the age group 30 to 49. If mortality were the sole reason for the widening illiteracy 'gender gap', one would have expected the gender parities for the population to reveal similar proportions and trends between the two years. The illiteracy 'gender gaps' nevertheless far outstripped the population 'gender gaps' for all age groups – from age 20 in 1996, and age 15 in 2001.

The rate at which the illiteracy 'gender gap' widened between the two years furthermore also surpassed that of the population 'gender gap' – the age group 50-55 being the only exception. For example, the population 'gender gap' widened by 3.4 per cent for age group 45-49 between these years, yet the illiteracy 'gender gap' increased by 15 per cent. At the other extreme, the number of women compared with men declined by 0.12 per cent for the age group 15-19, yet the number of illiterate women compared with men increased by 25 per cent between the two years. The age group 50-54 is the only group that partially supports this theory through its increase of 18 per cent (population 'gender gap') compared with 3.4 per cent (illiteracy 'gender gap').

We can therefore conclude that demographic trends are, at best, partially responsible for the shrinking male illiteracy pool. Data biases and survey inconsistencies between the two years may admittedly also play a substantial part. Yet, based on the census data, it is prudent not to dismiss the possibility that women/girls were emerging from illiteracy at a slower pace than men/boys owing to a gender bias. Despite the absolute improvement in female illiteracy, the relative decline in women's illiteracy position is thus still cause for concern and should be monitored.

5.2 Education

5.2.1 Primary School¹³

Just over 8 million children were enrolled in primary school in 1996. By 2001, this figure had fallen by 8.9 per cent to about 7.4 million (Figure 4).

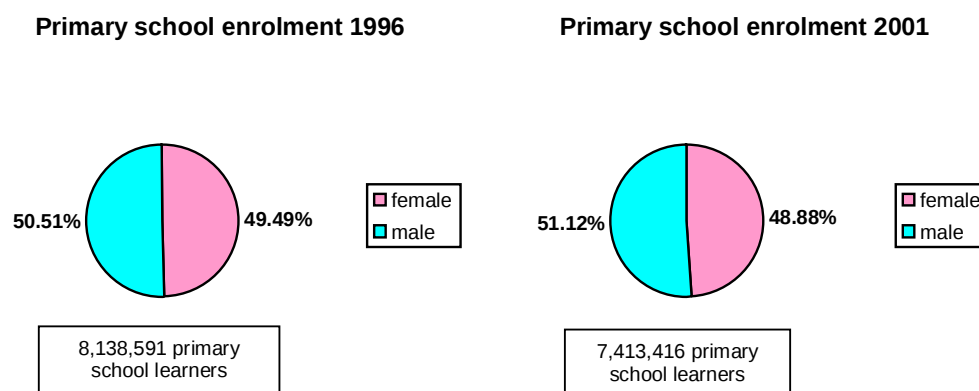


Figure 4: Primary school enrolment in South Africa

Incidence level:

1996: 4.03 million girls and 4.11 million boys enrolled

2001: 3.62 million girls and 3.79 million boys enrolled

Change in incidence level:

1996–2001: 404 000 (10.04 per cent) decrease in girls' enrolment

321 000 (7.8 per cent) decrease in boys' enrolment

¹³ The sources used in this section are: DOE, 2003; StatsSA, 1998a & 2003a; and Strauss, van der Linde, Plekker & Strauss, 1996.

Share level:

1996: primary school enrolment = 49.49 per cent girls + 50.51 per cent boys

2001: primary school enrolment = 48.88 per cent girls + 51.12 per cent boys

Change in share:

1996–2001: 1.22 percentage point increase in the 'share gap', (i.e. increasing the male advantage held in 1996)

Level of predominance (i.e. gross enrolment ratio or GER):

1996: 124.3¹⁴ girls' primary school GER and

128.07 boys' primary school GER^b

2001: 102.96 girls' primary school GER and

108.27 boys' primary school GER

Change in predominance (i.e. change in GER):

1996–2001: 17.17 per cent decrease in girls' primary school GER

15.46 per cent decrease in boys' primary school GER

Level of gender parity ratio:

1996: 0.98 girls per 1 boy in primary school

2001: 0.96 girls per 1 boy in primary school

¹⁴ A figure above 100 indicates an oversubscription of this particular school phase. This can be due to a high degree of grade repetition, which, in turn, could point to a weak education system. The oversubscription could, however, simply be the result of poor data quality: there is an incentive for schools to inflate their reported enrolment figures, which could lead to inaccuracy and possibly to gender bias in any data sourced from educational institutions – as was done in this paper. This data concern pertains to both primary and secondary enrolment figures. (See endnote b for discussion on the use of alternative data sources.) While the probability of flawed enrolment data is acknowledged in this paper, we will nevertheless proceed with the proviso that due care be taken before drawing any final conclusions in terms of school enrolments for the years under review.

Change in gender parity ratio:

1996–2001: 2.04 per cent widening in the ‘gender gap’

The statistics reflect that by 2001 there were fewer girls in primary school than there were in 1996, both in absolute terms and relative to boys, given that

- the drop in enrolment of girls exceeded that of boys;
- girls represented a smaller share of total primary school enrolments in 2001 than in 1996;
- the decrease in primary school GER of girls exceeded that of boys,¹⁵ and
- primary school gender parity deteriorated during this time.

The widening primary school enrolment gender gap could imply that girls were falling behind boys in primary school education, or it could be merely a reflection of demographic trends. Alternatively, one could argue that girls were simply performing better than boys, causing them to have fewer repetitions of grades and therefore fewer school enrolments.

When considering a demographic reason for the gender inequality, there were more girls than boys in the primary school age group for both years – 1.0095 girls for each boy aged 7–13 years in 1996, and 1.0054 for 2001. This rules out population trends as an explanation for why fewer girls were enrolling in primary school than boys.

The most obvious benchmark for testing the suggestion of girls’ superior primary school performance would be an examination pass rate. The only obtainable gender-segregated indicator in this regard is Senior Certificate statistics. The 2001 Senior Certificate results reflect an average pass rate of 60.1 per cent for females, as opposed to 63.3 per cent for males (DOE, 2003: 22)¹⁶. Hence, it would appear that

¹⁵ At first glance, the *overall* decline in primary school enrolment is disconcerting, yet the decline may be seen as an improvement if the oversubscription is due to a high level of repetition. Primary school furthermore offers an affordable childcare option for working mothers. A stricter enforcement of the minimum school-going age could therefore also have contributed to the general decline in GER.

¹⁶ The total number of girls who remain in school up to grade 12 surpasses that of boys by a wide margin: according to the Department of Education there were almost 16 000 fewer girls than boys in

girls do not have a marked propensity for higher pass rates than boys. Granted that these figures reflect only the results of a single year and only for secondary school, the superior performance of girls nevertheless seems somewhat untenable as a major explanation for the widening gender gap in primary school enrolment.

One can therefore conclude – while bearing in mind the suspect quality of the data – that girls were indeed falling behind boys in primary school education. One could speculate that, owing to worsening economic pressures and the increase in female-headed households (see Section 6.2), more mothers are forced to leave their homes to engage in productive activities. This usually means that girls (rather than boys) are kept away from school to look after younger siblings and perform household duties in the absence of the mother. This is, however, conjecture.

Also, the effect of HIV/AIDS should not be disregarded. In the event of a parent falling ill, it is more likely that a girl would be withdrawn from school to become the caregiver. The death of a parent would further exacerbate household needs, thus increasing the urgency for a child to leave school (Richter, 2004). HIV/AIDS also directly affects young girls because of the myth of the ‘virgin cure’ for HIV/AIDS (Van Niekerk, 2003), predisposing them to sexual violence (Speak Out, 2006), and therefore to contracting the virus at a very young age. The likelihood of contracting HIV/AIDS is for various reasons much higher for young women than for young men (Pettifor, Rees, Kleinschmidt, Steffenson, MacPhail, Hlongwa-Madikizela, Vermaak & Padian, 2005). These factors could all conceivably contribute to the gender disparities in primary school enrolment.

Grade 5 in 2001, whereas this figure progressively reversed itself in higher grades, with almost 50 000 more girls than boys reported to be in Grade 12 in the same year (DOE, 2003:12). One could thus argue that an inferior Senior Certificate pass rate for girls is to be expected, in that a larger group produces a more average result compared with a smaller group, which – through a high drop-out rate – has already undergone a form of natural selection.

5.2.2 Secondary school¹⁷

Slightly fewer than four million learners enrolled in secondary school in 1996, compared with just over four million in 2001 (Figure 5).

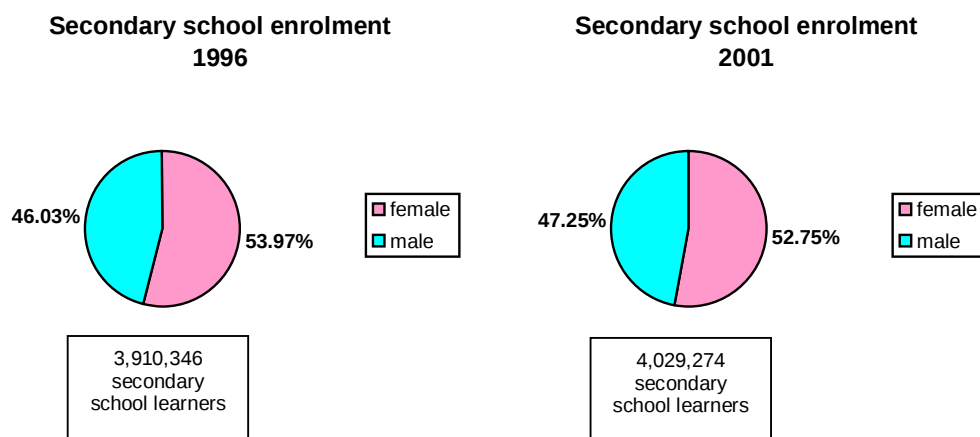


Figure 5: Secondary school enrolment in South Africa

Incidence level:

1996: 2.11 million girls and 1.8 million boys enrolled

2001: 2.13 million girls and 1.9 million boys enrolled

Change in incidence:

1996–2001: 15 000 (0.7 per cent) increase in girls' enrolment

104 000 (5.78 per cent) increase in boys' enrolment

¹⁷ The sources used in this section are: DOE, 2003; StatsSA, 1998a & 2003a; and Strauss et al., 1996.

Share level:

1996: Secondary school enrolment = 53.97 per cent girls + 46.03 per cent boys

2001: Secondary school enrolment = 52.75 per cent girls + 47.25 per cent boys

Change in share:

1996–2001: 2.44 percentage point decrease in the 'share gap' (i.e. diminishing the advantageous position that girls had in 1996)

Level of predominance (i.e. GER):

1996: 96.42 female secondary school GER and

85.19 male secondary school GER

2001: 84.14 female secondary school GER and

77.41 male secondary school GER

Change in predominance (i.e. change in GER):

1996–2001: 12.74 per cent decrease in female secondary school GER

9.13 per cent decrease in male secondary school GER

Level of gender parity ratio

1996: 1.17 girls per 1 boy enrolled in secondary school

2001: 1.12 girls per 1 boy enrolled in secondary school

Change in gender parity ratio

1996–2001: 4.27 per cent narrowing in the 'gender gap'

Between 1996 and 2001 girls lost both in absolute terms – measured by the rate of enrolment (GER) – and relative to boys in the area of secondary school enrolment, in that

- the increase in the enrolment numbers of boys outstripped that of girls;
- girls comprised a smaller portion of total enrolments in 2001 than before;
- the drop in the GER of girls exceeded that of boys; and
- the ‘gender gap’ narrowed during this period leaving fewer girls, relative to boys, enrolled than before, thus eroding the previously advantageous relative position of girls.

The change in the relative position of girls to boys is perhaps best viewed as a step toward equalisation between the sexes rather than a loss in education status for girls. The concomitant narrowing of the age-related ‘gender gap’ from 1.04 girls per boy in the 1996 to 1.03 in 2001, indicates a slow equalising of the gender parity ratios of the age-related population, which could partly explain the enrolment equalisation. Judging by the different growth rates in enrolments of boys and girls, one could furthermore assume that boys were proverbially making up for lost time and catching up with girls in secondary school enrolment. This could also have contributed to the equalisation process.

Despite the surge in male enrolments towards 2001, one would nevertheless have expected much larger enrolments given the increases in the population aged 14-18, of 15 per cent for girls and 16 per cent boys between 1996 and 2001. This raises the question as to why approximately 310 000 girls and 190 000 boys aged 14-18 did not enrol in secondary school between 1996 and 2001.

Given the primary school ‘gender gap’ in favour of boys, the high degree of gender parity at secondary school level is somewhat enigmatic. It is highly unlikely that more girls suddenly started attending secondary school after an absence from primary school. A more probable explanation would perhaps be that large numbers of boys left the school system upon completion of primary school. One might speculate – once again, bearing in mind the suspect data quality – that up to 1996 the political

turbulence of the late 1980s and early 1990s created a negative enrolment culture that influenced secondary school girls less than it did boys.

Combining primary and secondary school enrolments is of value as it gives an indication of the possible ultimate impact enrolments could have on adult literacy rates. In order to track the progress of children throughout their school career, one would need enrolment figures for at least 12 years. In the absence of such data, the ratio of primary school to secondary school enrolment could reflect the probability of school continuance if one assumes that continuance ratios were stable over time, *ceteris paribus*.

The continuance ratios, calculated as the average of the provincial ratios, are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Continuance of education: enrolment ratios of secondary to primary school

	Ratio of secondary to primary school enrolment 1996	Ratio of secondary to primary school enrolment 2001
Girls	0.5240	0.5865
Boys	0.4379	0.5024

Source: Author's calculations

Based on this calculation, just over 52 per cent of girls were likely to continue from primary school to secondary school in 1996, as opposed about 44 per cent of boys. By 2001, the continuance rates for both girls and boys increased, with almost six of every ten girls who started primary school progressing to secondary school, compared with five boys. By combining the 2001 primary school enrolment gender parity with these crude school continuance estimates,¹⁸ it is found that if 100 girls were ready to start school in a particular year, 56 would have a secondary school education and 40 a primary school education only, while four would have no education 12 years later. Conversely, if 100 boys were ready to start school in the same particular year, 50 would have a secondary school education and 50 would have primary school education only, 12 years later. There would be no boys without any education.

Even though there will hypothetically be more girls than boys with secondary school education after 12 years, this situation is marred by the fact that of 100 girls, 40

¹⁸ Since the 1996 enrolments were seemingly influenced by exogenous factors, we shall focus only on the 2001 ratio.

(compared with 50 boys) would ultimately finish only primary school, while four will start their adult life as illiterates. It would thus seem that the primary school gender parity ratio is crucial in determining a country's ultimate literacy level. This is not to say that secondary school gender parity is valueless; on the contrary, it is crucially important in determining earning potential and long-term economic stability. For example, a one per cent increase in female secondary school education can potentially increase GDP by 0.3 per cent (UNFPA, 2000: 40). The primary school gender parity ratio is nonetheless the linchpin in determining who receives education and who does not.

This places somewhat of a damper on the ostensibly encouraging secondary school enrolment of girls. In view of this, it seems that the *combined* education status of girls was not only lagging behind that of boys, but had indeed fallen farther behind by 2001.

6. Income

The gender-specific HDI adjusts the GDP (PPP\$) per capita by taking demographics, economic activity and gender differences in wage rates into account to arrive at a measure of income¹⁹. Since a standardised 25 per cent gender wage difference was used in this paper (see end note a), making any component analysis in this regard superfluous, the only GDP component to be analysed in this section is economic activity. Unemployment, as a further unpacking of economic activity, and household income per gender of heads of households – both indicators of the extent to which people are able to secure a degree of material well-being – will also be reviewed.

¹⁹ See Appendix II for more detail on this calculation.

6.1 Economically active population²⁰

In 1996, 32.2 per cent of the South African population was considered economically active. About 3.5 million joined them by 2001, significantly increasing the economically active population (EAP) percentage to 37.5 per cent.

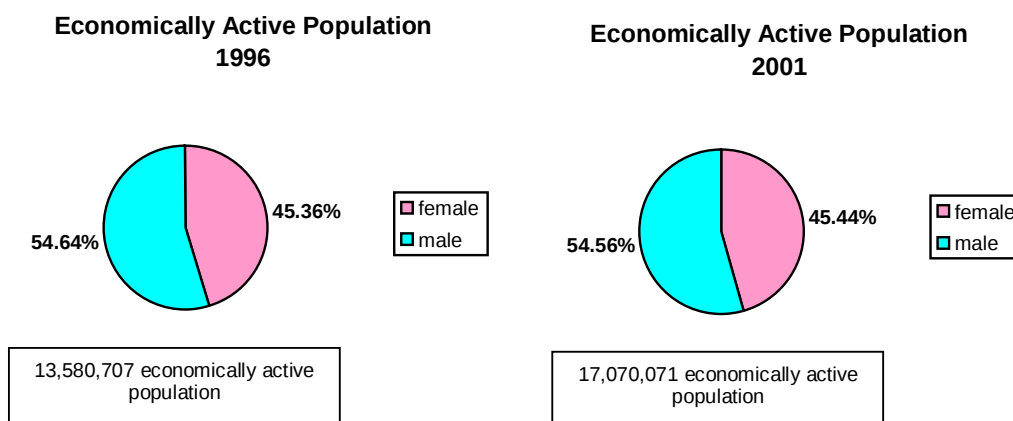


Figure 6: Economically active population of South Africa

Incidence level

1996: 6.16 million female EAP and 7.42 million male EAP

2001: 7.76 million female EAP and 9.31 million male EAP

Change in incidence

1996–2001: 1.60 million (25.91 per cent) increase in women joining the EAP

1.89 million (25.52 per cent) increase in men joining the EAP

²⁰ This section uses data provided by Global Insight, 2004a.

Share level (Figure 6)

1996: EAP = 45.36 per cent women + 54.64 per cent men

2001: EAP = 45.44 per cent women + 54.56 per cent men

Change in share

1996–2001: 0.16 percentage point decrease in ‘share gap’, (i.e. diminishing the advantageous position of men in 1996)

Level of predominance (i.e. an economic activity rate)

1996: 28.81 of every 100 females and 35.64 of every 100 males were economically active

2001: 33.45 of every 100 females and 41.79 of every 100 males were economically active

Change of predominance (i.e. change in economic activity rate)

1996–2001: 16.11 per cent increase in female economic activity rate

17.26 per cent increase in male economic activity rate

Level of gender parity ratio

1996: 0.8302 economically active women per 1 economically active man

2001: 0.8327 economically active women per 1 economically active man

Change in gender parity ratio

1996–2001: 0.3 per cent narrowing in the ‘gender gap’

The increase in female and male EAP by far outstripped the population changes occurring between 1996 and 2001²¹. Since demographics can only partially explain

²¹ 1996–2001: Female population: 8.44 per cent increase; male population: 7.05 per cent increase; female population 15–64 years: 10.74 per cent increase; male population 15–64 years: 8.9 per cent increase

the increase in EAP during this period, it would appear as if a large number of the previously economically inactive population was lured (or perhaps forced?) into the marketplace during this time. Gender differences in the changes occurring between 1996 and 2001 were furthermore far less pronounced in this area than in the other HDI areas under review.

Women gained both on an absolute and a relative level between 1996 and 2001, judging by the following:

- The pace at which women joined the EAP marginally exceeded that of men.
- Women constituted a somewhat larger proportion of the EAP by 2001 than before.
- The portion of the female population considered to be economically active increased, although the increase was smaller than the corresponding increase in the male population²².
- Although the change was hardly discernible, the ratio of economically active females to males was inching towards parity.

Yet, the progress in female economic activity has to be viewed in context: of every 100 potentially economically active women, 46.52 were economically active in 1996 and 52.89 by 2001 (Figure 7). This implies that little more than *half* of the female population (compared with 66.25 per cent of the male population), willing and able to work, did indeed do so (or tried to do so) in a manner capturable in official statistics. Here the economically active population is defined as 'the number of persons able and willing to work between the ages of 15 and 65'. Thus, both employed and (the

²² The higher percentage improvement of the proportion of men being economically active (17.26 per cent) as opposed to that of women (16.11 per cent) is, however, largely due to a technical reason rather than to a real improvement over women. Predominance expresses the economic activity rate per gender group. Change in this rate is the result of either an increase in the gender-specific economically active population, or of change in the gender-specific population size, or both. The male population increased by a smaller margin between 1996 and 2001, compared with the female population, this leading to the male predominance rate improving by a larger margin than that of women. Comparing the changes in the incidence levels confirms this: the rates of improvement were of very similar proportions, with the incidence level of women actually being marginally higher than that of men.

expanded definition of) unemployed persons are included (Global Insight, 2004b: 30). This definition is somewhat ambiguous as it could imply that all forms of economic activity, regardless of whether they lie in the formal or informal sector, are captured in the EAP. According to the data, however, almost half of the female population are not considered economically active, raising the question as to what they do to survive. The obvious answer lies in the informal sector, which must therefore be presumed to fall outside the above EAP definition, or at the least be grossly undercounted.²³

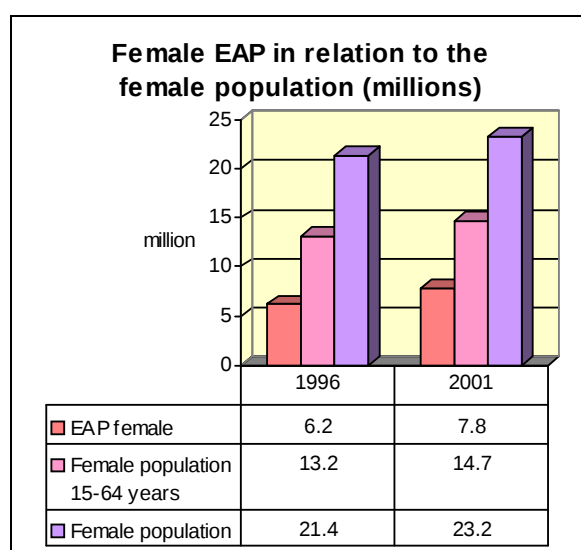


Figure 7: Economically active women relative to the female population

The narrowing in the EAP 'gender gap' was so small it implies that the gender parity status quo in this area was maintained between 1996 and 2001²⁴. Women were

²³ It is notoriously difficult to capture accurately the extent of informal sector activity (Bhorat, Leibbrandt, Maziya, van der Berg & Woolard, 2001: 86; Muller, 2003), making the availability of accurate gender-stratified informal sector data even less tenable. Although this paper acknowledges the significant role of the informal sector in sustaining a large part of the female population of South Africa, the inclusion of this sector in our analysis was not deemed feasible. This clearly constitutes a statistical constraint to be borne in mind when interpreting the results of this paper.

²⁴ Although there was a narrowing of the gender gap and women constituted a somewhat larger proportion of the EAP by 2001, it can at best be viewed as a *possible* confirmation of the 'feminisation of the labour force' trend, as found by Casale & Posel (2002) and Casale (2004). The difference in data sources explains the less than convincing feminisation trend in this paper, which made use of the Global Insight Labour Model that draws on a variety of sources, including the 1996 Census and 2001

therefore trailing behind men to just about the same degree as they had done five years earlier, with population trends offering no insight into the EAP gender parity ratios: for every male aged 15–64 years, 1.026 corresponding women for 1996 and 1.043 in 2001.

The 5-year difference in retirement ages must nevertheless be borne in mind, as should gender differences in education participation, when trying to understand this skewed EAP distribution. How strictly a retirement age of 60 for women is observed, given the rising number of female-headed households, is however debatable. The inclusion of the informal sector economic activity will undoubtedly also provide a different slant on the EAP gender parity ratios.

The dependency ratio²⁵ is also worth considering in seeking an explanation for the gender disparity in this area. South Africa's dependency ratio of 61.38 per cent in 1996 and 58.33 per cent in 2001 is comparable to other countries within the same HDI league. However, the dependency ratio rises to a staggering 118 per cent in 1996 and 98 per cent in 2001, when the size of the dependent population is compared with that of the (actual) EAP. Since the reproductive role (raising the young and caring for the old and the infirm) has traditionally been allotted to women, the dependency ratio could offer one explanation for the continued relatively low female (formal) economic activity²⁶.

In absolute terms, women thus gained in economic activity status, but in relative terms there was virtually no change and women still lagged behind men.

Labour Force Survey, to obtain 'defendable estimates' of the EAP (Global Insight, 2004b:52). As Burger & Woolard (2005) furthermore point out, the growth in female employment can largely be ascribed to increased female participation in the informal sector, an area which in all likelihood was underestimated in the 1995 October Household Survey (employed by Casale) and which could thus have exaggerated the feminisation trend.

²⁵ The dependency ratio is the size of the dependent population, being those aged below 15 years and those aged over 64 years, as a percentage of the working age population, aged 15–64 years (UNDP, 2000a: 277).

²⁶ The South African time-use study of 2000 (Budlender, 2003:19) confirms this by showing that women spend more time on non-SNA productive work, i.e. work that is unpaid and not included in the GDP, than do men.

6.2 Household income²⁷

Analysing gender differences in income is a challenge. Although gender wage differences can provide a clue, it is not always clear whether compared wages necessarily derive from identical employment positions or responsibilities²⁸. Furthermore, the intra-household division of income is all but impossible to determine with existing survey data, making it unclear whether women and men share equally in household earned income. As pointed out by Klasen (2004:14) the only option in this regard is to compare household incomes by classifying households according to gender composition. This option is however not without flaws as, among other things, different classifications of what constitutes a head of a household can lead to survey errors. This approach furthermore assumes that the income patterns of a small group of women (i.e. those living in female-headed households) will hold true for the majority of women, thereby ignoring the income characteristics of women residing in male-headed households (Budlender, 2003). Yet, this is the only gender-differentiated route available at the household level. We shall thus proceed with full acknowledgement of the limitations imposed by this method.

Apart from the lowest income band, namely zero income, the income bands set by the 1996 and 2001 censuses are not comparable and differ in range and maximum peg. As the zero income band gives an indication (albeit somewhat crude) of the proportion of households living in abject poverty – should one equate no income with poverty – it was chosen as an indicator of gender-specific living standards in South Africa during 1996 and 2001²⁹.

²⁷ Sources for this section: StatsSA, 1998a & 2003a.

²⁸ See end note a

²⁹ The accuracy of this particular data set of the census has been called into question (Leibbrandt, Poswell, Naidoo, Welch & Woolard, 2004; Simkins, 2004). Ardington, Lam, Leibbrandt & Welch (2005:5) also describe the 'large number of implausible values' in the personal income categories of the two censuses as a weakness and they estimate that the true number of households with zero income lies somewhere between 14 and 23 per cent for 2001. Although these studies all concur that income poverty had deteriorated during the period 1996 to 2001, there is a strong probability of overestimation in the area of households with zero income, which should be borne in mind when interpreting the results.

The 1996 Census found that 14.28 per cent of all households in South Africa had *no income*. Within five years, this figure jumped dramatically to 23.21 per cent.

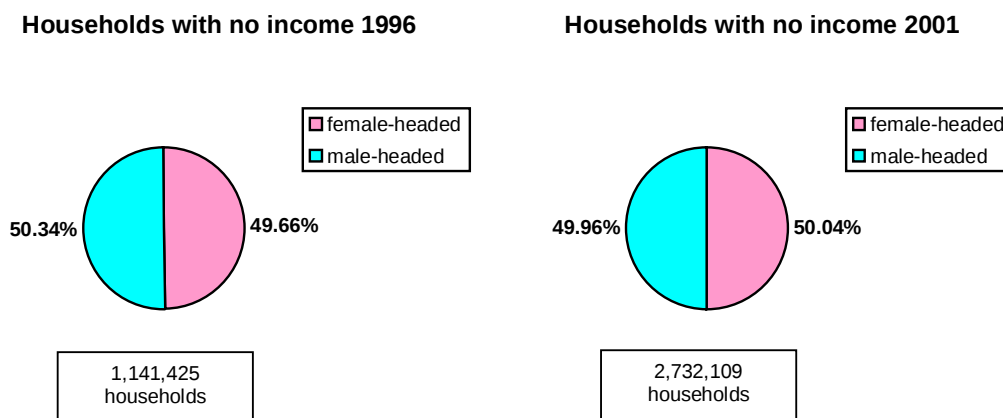


Figure 8: Zero income households in South Africa

Incidence level

1996: 566 900 female-headed households had no income

574 600 male-headed households had no income

2001: 1.37 million female-headed households had no income

1.36 million male-headed households had no income

Change in incidence

1996–2001: 800 200 increase in female-headed households with zero income,

i.e. 141.17 per cent

790 400 increase in male-headed households with zero income,

i.e. 137.57 per cent

Share level (Figure 8)

1996: Households with no income = 49.66 per cent female-headed + 50.34 per cent male-headed

2001: Households with no income = 50.04 per cent female-headed + 49.96 per cent male-headed

Change in share

1996–2001: swapping of the 'share gap' position from a marginal minority (lagging 0.68 percentage points behind men) to a marginal majority for women (leading by 0.08 percentage points), i.e. diminishing the male-headed household predominance in this area

Level of predominance (i.e. a poverty rate)

1996: 18.38 of every 100 female-headed households and 11.71 in every 100 male-headed households had no income

2001: 27.71 of every 100 female-headed households and 19.96 in every 100 male-headed households had no income

Change in predominance (i.e. change in poverty rate)

1996–2001: 50.76 per cent increase in female-headed household poverty rate

70.45 per cent increase in male-headed household poverty rate (due to a lower starting basis)

Level of gender parity ratio

1996: 0.987 female-headed households with zero income per 1 male-headed household with zero income

2001: 1.002 female-headed households with zero income per 1 male-headed household with zero income

Change in gender parity ratio

1996–2001: swapping of predominance in the ‘gender gap’ (technically, a narrowing of the ‘gender gap’ of 1.52 per cent), moving from trailing to leading male-headed households in poverty, therefore indicating a relative loss for female-headed households

In addition to the absolute decline in the income status of female heads of households between 1996 and 2001, women also lost ground relative to men on various levels. To wit,

- the rate at which female-households joined the zero income group exceeded that of male-headed households;
- female-headed households became the majority in the zero income group by 2001;
- although the poverty rate amongst female-headed households increased more slowly than that of male-headed households, the rate amongst female-headed households still exceeded that of male-headed households; and
- marginally more female-headed households, relative to male-headed households, had no income in 2001 than in 1996.

The statistics confirm that poverty is disproportionately high amongst female-headed households. Female-headed households (39 per cent of all households) had a poverty rate of 18.38 per cent compared with the 11.71 per cent of male-headed households in 1996. By 2001, by now comprising 42 per cent of all households, they had a poverty rate close to 28 per cent as opposed to the 20 per cent of male-headed households. Apart from the increase in female-headed households between the two years, the ‘poverty rate gap’ between female- and male-headed households was also progressively increasing.

In seeking the factors contributing to the increase in the absolute number of female-headed households living in poverty, we once again turn to population trends. If one assumes a constant probability for a household to succumb to poverty, *ceteris*

paribus, one would have expected an 11.02 per cent³⁰ increase in the absolute number of female-headed households with zero income. The increase was nevertheless a soaring 141.17 per cent. One would similarly have expected an increase of 4.6 per cent in the male counterparts, yet the increase was 137.57 per cent. It is therefore clear that there is very little, if any, correlation between the increase in the number of households with zero income and demographic changes occurring between the two years.

The substantial increase in the number of female-headed households, from 0.63 per male-headed household to 0.72 in 2001, certainly exacerbates the already alarming trend in household income. South Africa is no exception when it comes to female-headed households featuring disproportionately high among the poor – giving rise to the term ‘the feminisation of poverty’ (Kabeer, 2003).

When it comes to the development status of women in South Africa, no aspect of household income is encouraging. Although *both* male and female-headed households lost ground during these five years, by all accounts female-headed households have lost more ground in this regard.

³⁰ This is calculated as the increase in female-headed households multiplied by the female poverty rate.

6.3 Unemployment³¹

A total of 4.6 million people were deemed unemployed in 1996, with almost 2 million more joining their ranks by 2001 (Figure 9).

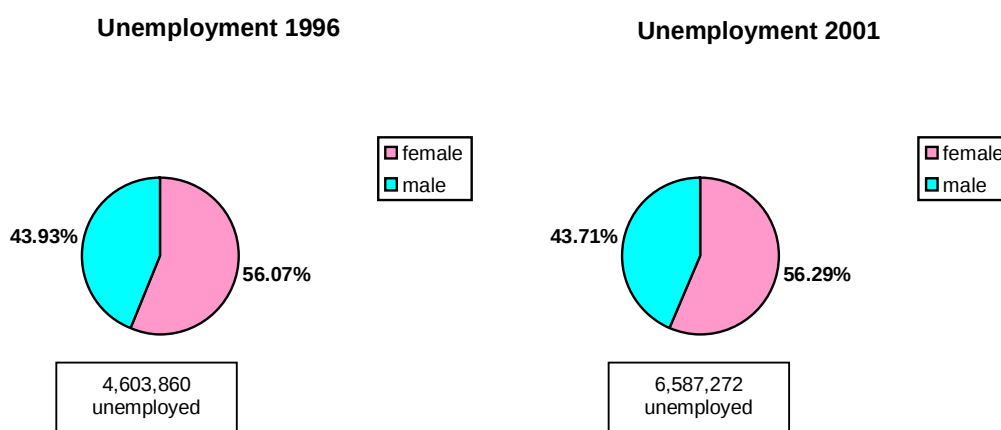


Figure 9: Unemployment in South Africa

Incidence level

1996: 2.58 million women and 2.02 million men unemployed

2001: 3.71 million women and 2.88 million men unemployed

Change in incidence

1996–2001: 1 126 600 increase in unemployed women, i.e. 43.64 per cent

856 800 increase in unemployed men, i.e. 42.36 per cent

³¹ This section uses data provided by Global Insight 2004a. Unemployment, in this section, follows the expanded definition, including both persons unemployed and looking for work and persons unemployed and not actively looking for work, but who would accept work if offered to them (Global Insight, 2004b: 32).

Share level

1996: Unemployed group = 56.07 per cent women + 43.93 per cent men

2001: Unemployed group = 56.29 per cent women + 43.71 per cent men

Change in share

1996–2001: 0.44 percentage point increase in 'share gap', (i.e. marginally increasing female predominance in this area)

Level of predominance (i.e. an unemployment rate)³²

1996: 19.49 of every 100 women and 15.67 in every 100 men between 15 and 64 unemployed

2001: 25.29 of every 100 and 20.48 in every 100 men women between 15 and 64 unemployed

Change in predominance (i.e. change in the unemployment rate)

1996–2001: 29.76 per cent increase in the female 15–64 years unemployment rate

30.7 per cent increase in the male 15–64 years unemployment rate

Level of gender parity ratio

1996: 1.276 unemployed females per 1 unemployed male

2001: 1.288 unemployed females per 1 unemployed male

Change in gender parity ratio

1996–2001: 0.94 per cent widening in the 'gender gap'

³² This is not to be confused with estimated rates, such as the Global Insight unemployment rate (Global Insight, 2004b: 31), which puts the unemployment rate for women at 43.8 per cent for 1996 and 49.3 per cent for 2001, and that for men at 29.4 per cent and 32.7 per cent respectively.

Not only were there more unemployed women in absolute terms by 2001, but the relative position of women also suffered, judged from the following:

- The rate of increase in the absolute number of unemployed females surpassed that of men.
- Within the unemployed group women were increasing their majority.
- Although men's unemployment rate increased at a slightly faster pace than that of women, the female unemployment rate surpassed that of men by an increasing margin.
- More women than men were unemployed by 2001 than in 1996.

Female unemployment by far outstripped that of men even though the portion of the female population who could potentially have been economically active only somewhat exceeded that of the male population in 2001. These starkly contrasting unemployment rates shed light on the poverty situation of female-headed households mentioned earlier. The large increase in the absolute number of unemployed between 1996 and 2001, raises obvious questions. The growth rates of the 15-64 year age group of 10.74 per cent for females and 8.9 per cent for males suggest that population growth only partly accounts for the rise. Worsening economic realities therefore contributed more to the increase in unemployment than did population growth, particularly in the case of males. The unemployment status of women clearly deteriorated between 1996 and 2001, both in absolute and relative terms. This was so despite men having undoubtedly also lost ground in economic terms, with the male unemployment rate increasing at a slightly faster pace than that of women.

7. Concluding findings

The gender-specific HDI indicates that the level of human development for women was lower than for men in 1996 and 2001, and that both the absolute and relative development status of women declined during these years.

Analyses of the individual development areas on which the HDI is based revealed the following:

- Life expectancy (based on the ASSA estimates): Women lost ground in both absolute and relative terms.
- Literacy: Women's absolute status improved³³, but deteriorated in relative terms.
- Primary school enrolment (bearing in mind the suspect quality of the data): Both the absolute and the relative status of women deteriorated between 1996 and 2001.
- Secondary school enrolment (bearing in mind the suspect quality of the data): The status of women deteriorated in both absolute³⁴ and relative terms, with women losing some of their previously advantageous position.
- Combined primary and secondary enrolments: The absolute status declined, while the relative status of females lagged further behind that of males³⁵.
- Economically active population: The absolute development status of women improved, yet their relative status was virtually unchanged.

³³ In this instance we are referring to changes in the illiteracy rate, rather than changes in the actual number of illiterate women.

³⁴ Here again we are referring to the enrolment *rate* (GER), rather than to changes in the absolute number of girls who had enrolled.

³⁵ Girls lagged further behind boys in the combined primary and secondary enrolments, if judged by the net effect of the primary school gender parity ratios. If judged by absolute enrolment numbers, girls lost some of their advantageous position, but were still leading boys by a narrow margin. Judged either way, however, the relative position of girls decidedly deteriorated between 1996 and 2001.

- Household income (bearing in mind the probable overestimation of poverty): Female-headed households lost ground in both absolute and relative terms, while more households were female-headed in 2001 than in 1996.
- Unemployment: The absolute and the relative status of women declined.

Table 4: Changes in the development status of women in South Africa between 1996 and 2001

Area	Absolute status improvement	Absolute status deterioration	Absolute status unchanged	Relative status improvement	Relative status deterioration	Relative status unchanged
Life Expectancy		✓			✓	
Literacy	✓				✓	
Primary school enrolment		✓			✓	
Secondary school enrolment		✓			✓	
Combined school enrolment		✓			✓	
EAP	✓					✓
Household income		✓			✓	
Unemployment		✓			✓	

One can conclude that the absolute status of women improved between 1996 and 2001 in only two of these eight areas that are considered to indicate human development (Table 4). In six areas, the development status of women deteriorated in absolute terms. The relative development status of women, by contrast, deteriorated in seven of the eight development areas. The gap in the development achievements of women and men remained virtually unchanged in one area.

Trends in these areas of human development in South Africa therefore support our initial finding that the development status of women undeniably regressed between 1996 and 2001, despite overwhelming expectations to the contrary. This does not however mean that no development progress whatsoever was made during this time.

It only implies that the decline in development status in some areas overshadowed the progress made in other areas.

What is significant, though, is the fact that the development status of women has, on average, deteriorated compared with that of men. Women lost most ground relative to men in the area of literacy, while the area of EAP showed the least change in women's relative development status³⁶. This has compelling implications for policy makers, and urges a re-evaluation of the effectiveness of current gender-sensitive policies and political structures in raising the development status of *all* of South Africa's citizens.

The regressive development trend of women is obviously closely linked to the development status of women in the different provinces, the details of which could provide a clue to the decline. Poverty relief and development initiatives implemented in South Africa, particularly in the areas of social grants and land reform, are further areas of interest when considering whether changes in the development status of *particularly women* can be ascribed to policy. The disappointing relapse in the development status of women clearly raises a number of pertinent questions for future research.

³⁶ This includes the technical narrowing in the 'gender gap' of households with zero income (Section 6.2).

END NOTES

^a Altman estimated gender wage differences in the formal sector to range from 26 per cent in the highly skilled employment category, to 6 per cent in the favour of women in the semi-skilled category, yielding an average (unweighted) gender wage difference of almost 14 percent for 2002 (PCAS, 2006).

From Labour Force Survey and October Household Survey data, Woolard & Woolard (2006) found these wage differences to range from 39 per cent in the managerial employment category to 9 per cent in the semi-skilled category, averaging just under 20 per cent for 1996. The comparable figures for 2001 were a maximum of 31 per cent in the highly skilled category and a minimum of 6 per cent in the semi-skilled category, averaging a 22 per cent gender wage difference for 2001.

StatsSA (2000) examined the mean hourly wages by industry for 1997, which yielded gender wage differences ranging from 39 per cent in the domestic industry to 8 per cent in the favour of women in the mining industry. However, the comparability of wages in some of the industries where women's presence is limited, was suspect, since it compares, for example, the higher wages of nurses in the mining industry to those of mine workers, or those of female office administrators to those of male construction workers. Should one exclude the industries where women historically were under-represented, namely the mining, the electricity, construction, transport and finance sectors, one obtains an average wage difference of 26 per cent (22 per cent if one includes the finance industry).

The UNDP, in calculating the GDI for South Africa, estimated that women, on average, earn 76 per cent of the earnings of their male counterparts (UNDP, 2000b: 65).

A viable choice for implementation in the HDI calculations, and one which all of these estimates seemed to support, was to use the UNDP's standard figure of a 25 per cent margin in favour of males, as a rough estimate of gender wage differences for the years under consideration. Whether this ratio remained constant between the two years is, nevertheless, debatable, thereby making this an admitted limitation of the assumption.

^b The doubts regarding data quality that school enrolment oversubscription necessarily brings about (see footnote 14), obliges one to consider alternative data sources. Yet, enrolment figures appear to be available only from the Department of Education (DOE). The closest proxy, namely 'school attendance', was featured in the 2001 Census, but not in the 1996 Census, thus ruling out longitudinal comparisons from this source. The Labour Force Survey (LFS) reports education *attainment*, rather than attendance. The only viable options were data on school attendance from the October Household Survey (OHS) and the General Household Survey (GHS). The year 1997 (a more reliable year than 1996 because of the larger sample size) and the year 2002 (the GHS, successor to the discontinued the OHS, was only introduced in 2002) were considered (StatsSA, 1998b & 2003b).

Two data issues nevertheless presented themselves. First, since the OHS and GHS attendance figures pertain to the entire school phase as a single unit, a cross-tabulation with the variable 'highest education level' had to be done to stratify attendance into primary and secondary school phases – a distinction required for component analyses – thus rendering the resulting data vulnerable to systematic errors. Second, in certain instances the OHS/GHS gross enrolment (or rather,

attendance) ratios appeared to be potentially even more skewed than those obtained from the DOE enrolment figures:

	Girls		Boys	
	Primary school GER			
	DOE	OHS/GHS	DOE	OHS/GHS
1996/7	124.30	83.26	128.07	88.12
2001/2	102.96	107.28	108.27	113.34
	Secondary school GER			
1996/7	96.42	118.42	85.19	108.59
2001/2	84.14	100.23	77.41	94.75

Source: Author's calculations

In the case of the 2001/2 primary school GER the OHS/GHS ratios exceeded parity by a wider margin than the DOE ratio, while in the case of secondary school GERs, in both years the OHS/GGS ratios were markedly higher and often above parity, compared with that of the DOE. Furthermore, although the 1996/7 OHS/GHS primary school GERs, for both sexes, seem less suspect than that of the DOE, they do appear to be unusually low, given that this is the primary school phase, and compared with the 2001/2 OHS/GHS secondary school GERs. The same observation – in inverse form – holds true for the 2001/2 OHS/GHS boys' secondary school GER: although it lies within in a more acceptable range, it still seems unusually high for the secondary school phase.

The accuracy of the OHS/GHS data must therefore also be called into question. This, together with the unavoidable risk of systematic errors and the fact that 'attendance' is a proxy, rather than being the original 'enrolment' variable called for by the HDI formula, led us to rather opt for the use of DOE data in this study – data the UNDP also made use of, up to 2000, in their calculation of the South African HDI (UNDP, 2003b:282).

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PAPER II

The development status of women in South Africa: patterns and progress in the provinces

[Referenced as Booysen-Wolthers, 2007b]

The development status of women in South Africa: patterns and progress in the provinces

Abstract

The declining national development status of women in South Africa calls for a look at the development situation of women in the individual provinces. This paper considers whether this decline was pervasive throughout the provinces, and whether the interprovincial female development dynamics hold any patterns. The study confirms that the development status of women declined – in both absolute and relative terms – in all nine provinces between 1996 and 2001. It finds that the provinces fell into a certain ranking pattern showing relatively little change during this time, and that women in provinces with pre-existing poor development statuses may be predisposed to also having a poor development status relative to men.

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1. Introduction

An earlier review of the development status of women in South Africa found – contrary to expectations – that at an aggregate, national level the development status of women had deteriorated between the years 1996 to 2001, in both absolute and relative terms (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a). Given that contributing factors to, as well as possible policy remedies for this trend are likely to have strong provincial or even local dimensions, this paper focuses on the measurement of the development progress of women in the individual provinces. In particular, we aim to ascertain whether provincial changes between 1996 and 2001 showed the same decline throughout the nine provinces as the national status of women, as well as whether the absolute and relative development status of women showed any systematic differences between the provinces.

For many decades the measurement of human development and the inclusion of gender distinctions therein have been a challenge. The Gender Development Index (GDI), introduced by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as part of its gender-theme of 1995, is a gendered variation of the Human Development Index (HDI) based on the work of Anand & Sen (1995:1), who recognised that women and men experience poverty and development differently. Further composite measures attempting to capture the gender dimension of human development are the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) also introduced by the UNDP (1995), the Relative Status of Women (RSW) (Dijkstra & Hanmer, 2000), the Gender Equality Index (GEI) (Wieringa, 1999) and the Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS) (Kishor & Neitzel, 1997).

An indicator highlighting differences in the pace of human development of men and women is however hard to come by. To address this gap, a gender-specific HDI was developed in a preceding paper (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a:6-8). This provides us with a reasonable measure with which to investigate gender differences in human development. The measure will be used to evaluate the development status of women in the provinces.

Provincial longitudinal comparisons have been difficult in South Africa owing to the lack of comparable data following the change in provincial boundaries in 1994. The measurement of poverty and human deprivation was furthermore complicated by the fact that such information was not officially collected on a national scale prior to 1994 (Hirschowitz, Orkin & Alberts, 2000). The report of Julian May (1998 and subsequently, 2000) was one of the first studies to reconcile the data from different eras to provide an official provincial baseline picture of the poverty situation in South Africa. Further assessments of the poverty situation in the provinces appear in the work of Whiteford, Posel & Kelatwang (1995) (poverty and income inequality analyses), Whiteford & van Seunter (1999) (showing the extent of provincial poverty), Leibbrandt & Woolard (1999), Alderman, Babita, Lanjouw, Lanjouw, Makhata, Mohamed, Özler, & Qaba (2000) (providing a detailed poverty map of South Africa), and Bhorat, Leibbrandt, Maziya, van der Berg & Woolard (2001) (geographically situating the poor by using three poverty measures). The latter contains what must be one of the first Human Development Index (HDI) calculations for the newly minted provinces. Booysen (2001) offers a different dimension of provincial analysis by comparing progress in the attainment of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) objectives.

Statistics South Africa (Hirschowitz et al. 2000) contributes to the non-metric poverty measures by adding its Household Infrastructure Index and the Household Circumstances Index, with which to compare the developmental status of the provinces. The UNDP's 2000 South African Human Development Report (2000a) provides a broad-ranging picture of the various dimensions of poverty and human development in South Africa, cutting across races and provinces. The highlighting of gender inequality is a key feature of this report and includes Gender Development Index (GDI), as well as Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) comparisons between the provinces for 1996. The subsequent UNDP report on South Africa (2003) offers longitudinal trends in provincial human development and poverty, and adds to it an additional measure of deprivation, namely the Service Deprivation Index. Although a gender dimension is included in this index with a comparison between male- and female-headed households and the GEM (reported only at a national level), the GDI of was not included again. Gender inequality seems to have ceased as a serious theme in this report, thereby thwarting any provincial longitudinal UNDP comparisons in this area.

Despite the progress in provincial comparative analyses, none of the existing studies concentrates solely on the development status of women within the provinces, a gap this paper aims to fill.

2. Methodology of analyses

Following the methodology developed in a previous paper to analyse the gender-specific HDI and the broad areas on which it is based (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a: 9-10), four different dimensions of the development status of women emerge, namely:

- a) The actual headcount of people affected in the specific area of development. This measure, reflecting the absolute level of, for example, illiterate females in a given year, is referred to as the *incidence*.
- b) The percentage share women hold within the combined incidence group is termed the *share*, for example, what portion of the unemployed are women.
- c) The size of the incidence group in relation to the total gender-specific part of the population is called the *predominance*, e.g. the portion of the female population considered economically active. It aims to capture within-gender incidence.
- d) The size of the female incidence group relative to its male counterpart is termed the *gender parity ratio*. This refers to the ratio of girls to boys in, for example, primary school enrolment. The absolute difference between the two incidence groups is called the *gender gap* and this, although neither technically identical nor expressed in the same manner, is often used interchangeably with the term 'gender parity ratio' to describe the between-gender relative position of women.

Applying these perspectives to unemployment, for example, provides depictions as shown in Figure 1:

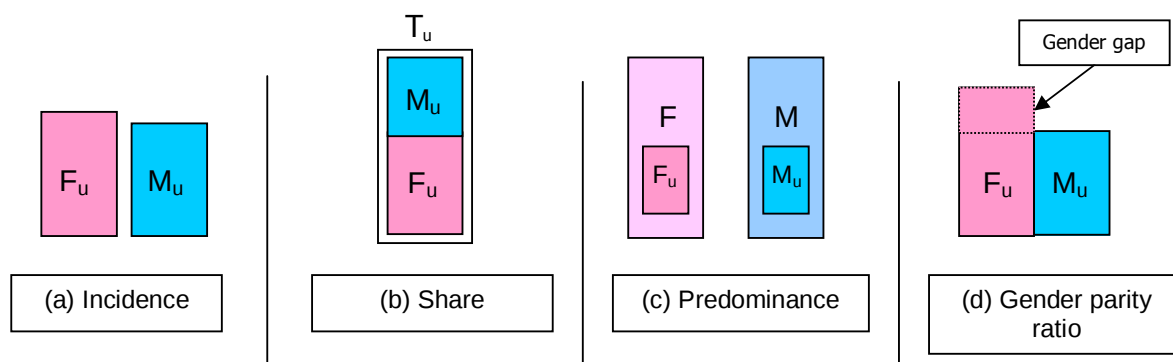


Figure 1: The dimensions of unemployment status

Figure 1(a) shows the *incidence* of unemployment, i.e. the absolute numbers of men (M_u) and women (F_u) who are unemployed within a society. Figure 1(b) depicts the *share* of unemployment, referring to the gendered composition of the unemployed group. In our example, women (F_u) make up more than half of the unemployed group (T_u). The *predominance* of unemployment is reflected in figure 1(c). It refers to the portion of the female population (F) who are unemployed (F_u). Similarly, it shows what proportion of the male population (M) is unemployed (M_u). Figure 1(d) represents the *gender parity ratio* of unemployment. This expresses the unemployment status quo in terms of the ‘gender gap’, i.e. how far do women lead or lag behind men in terms of unemployment numbers. In our example, the gender parity ratio shows that for every one unemployed man (M_u) there are (for example) 1.2 unemployed women (F_u) in this society. ‘Gender parity’ and ‘share’ are closely related – both reflecting the gender characteristics of a development indicator. *Share* offers insight into how the unemployed group is composed (e.g. 60 per cent of the unemployed are female), while *gender parity* reflects the dynamics between the genders within the unemployed group (e.g. for every unemployed man, there are 1.2 unemployed women).

To determine whether there are systematic differences in human development between the provinces, we have to focus our attention on the dynamics within each gender group. In addition to *between-gender* comparisons, we will therefore also be considering *within-gender* comparisons.

Although the four dimensions mentioned above served us well in terms of analysing the development status of women on a national level (as discussed in the preceding paper), on a *provincial* level only two of these perspectives are useful for our purposes. The incidence perspective ((a) above) is valuable when analysing trends in absolute numbers within individual provinces (or countries). For the purposes of interprovincial comparisons it is however less useful owing to major differences in the size of provincial populations. We need to make absolute numbers comparable by linking them to the population size of provinces, which is provided by the third perspective, namely predominance (c). As mentioned above, share (b) and gender parity ratio (d) are related. Share gains significance as an indicator only if incidence provides context, and therefore suffers from the same defect when used in interprovincial comparisons. We will therefore also drop perspective (b) and only make use of the related gender parity ratio perspective (d), together with (c).

For each of the two chosen measures, i.e. predominance and gender parity ratio, both the absolute level, and changes in the level between 1996 and 2001, can be compared across provinces. This can be done for the gender-specific HDI, as well as for each of the different components (or developmental areas) on which the HDI is based.

We start out on an aggregate level by reviewing the provincial patterns and trends in the *gender-specific* HDI. This will be augmented by also reviewing the disaggregated individual components of the HDI (or their closest proxies). This results not only in richer analysis; it also ensures avoidance of the limitations of aggregate measures, particularly in view of the potentially distorting effect of HIV/AIDS on such indicators.

3. Aggregate trends: the Human Development Indices of the provinces

The HDI endeavours to capture some of the complexities of human development by focussing on three areas related to the capabilities of people to improve their lives, namely health and longevity, attainment of knowledge, and the ability to have a decent standard of living (UNDP, 1995:131). The indicators used in this composite index are

life expectancy at birth, literacy, the combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio and GDP per capita (PPP US\$). The Gender Development Index (GDI) uses the same tenet as the HDI, but incorporates gender differences in achievements for a gender-adjusted measure of human development.

The *gender-specific HDI* used in this paper is an adaptation of the HDI and the GDI and it provides a separate measure of human development for women and for men¹. This differs from what is referred to in this paper as the *standard HDI* measure, which is the HDI not adjusted for gender differences. To enable valid comparison with the gender-specific measure, the HDI used in this paper was calculated using own-source data. Small differences with the UNDP's published HDI figures are thus to be expected.

3.1 The standard HDI

South Africa's national *standard HDI* peaked at 0.733 (UNDP calculation) in the mid-nineties but subsequently showed a sharp decline, with the HDI reaching 0.687 in 2001 (UNDP, 2003:282). Note that by focussing on the period 1996 to 2001, we are exploring gender differences in human development on a downward phase of the national HDI, the results of which might differ from those of an analysis focussing on an upward phase or from one done over multiple cycles.

The *standard HDIs* (author's own calculations) for the provinces in 1996 and 2001 are shown in Figure 2. Limpopo, lying well below the national average, had the lowest standard HDI among all the provinces in both years. Whereas Gauteng had the highest level of development in 1996, as measured by the standard HDI, Western Cape surpassed this level in 2001 to become the leading province in human development. What is of interest, though, is that all of the nine provinces showed a deterioration in their HDI values between 1996 and 2001. KwaZulu-Natal displayed the biggest percentage drop (-9.6 per cent), followed by Mpumalanga (-8.5 per cent).

¹ Detail on the calculation methods of these measures and the data on which the calculations were based can be found in Appendices II and IV.

The standard HDI of the 1996 top performer, Gauteng, declined by 6.6 per cent during this time, thus by far surpassing the decline of 2.41 per cent experienced in Western Cape, the 1996 runner-up.

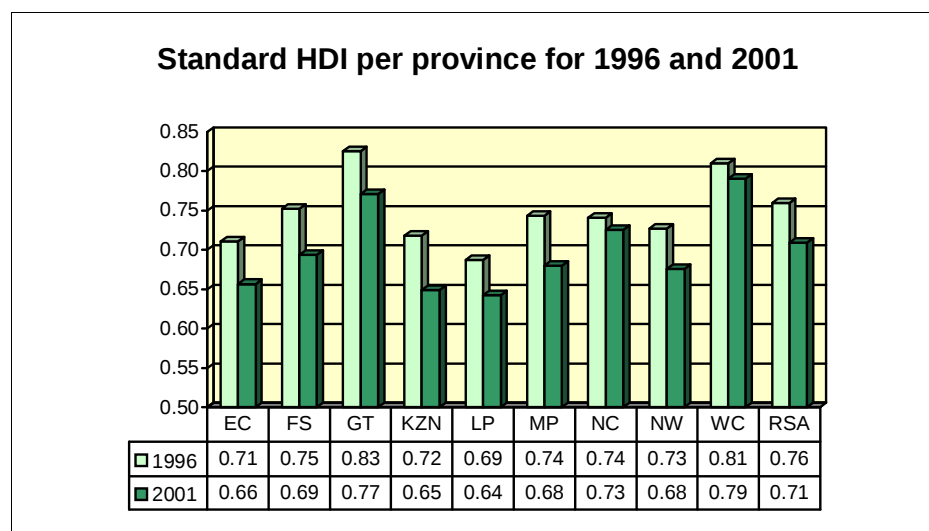


Figure 2: Provincial standard HDI for 1996 and 2001²

Source: Author's calculations³

3.2 Gender-specific HDI

The national *gender-specific* HDI for both women (i.e. the female-specific HDI (FHDI)) and for men (i.e. the male-specific HDI (MHDI)) declined between 1996 and 2001, with the figure for women showing a sharper decline (from 0.7489 to 0.6892) than that for men (from 0.7679 to 0.7270) (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a:8). The performance of the provinces in this area is thus of particular interest with a view to ascertain whether this trend was shared by all provinces.

Figures 3 and 4 reflect the provincial *gender-specific* HDI measures. Limpopo had the lowest development status level for both women and men amongst the provinces for 1996 as well as for 2001, falling well below the national averages for these years.

² The provinces are denoted as follows: EC = Eastern Cape, FS = Free State, GT = Gauteng, KZN = KwaZulu-Natal, LP = Limpopo, MP = Mpumalanga, NC = Northern Cape, NW = North West, WC = Western Cape and RSA=South Africa.

³ The data sources were: ASSA, 2002; DOE, 2003; Global Insight, 2004; StatsSA, 1998 & 2003; Strauss, van der Linde, Plekker & Strauss, 1996; and UNDP, 2003.

Gauteng conversely had the best development record among the provinces in 1996 for women and men, but had slipped behind the performance of Western Cape by 2001. The nine provinces all showed a drop in both the FHDl and MHDl levels between 1996 and 2001. KwaZulu-Natal had the most pronounced gender-specific decreases amongst the provinces, with the FHDl dropping by 11.4 per cent, while the MHDl dropped by 8 per cent.

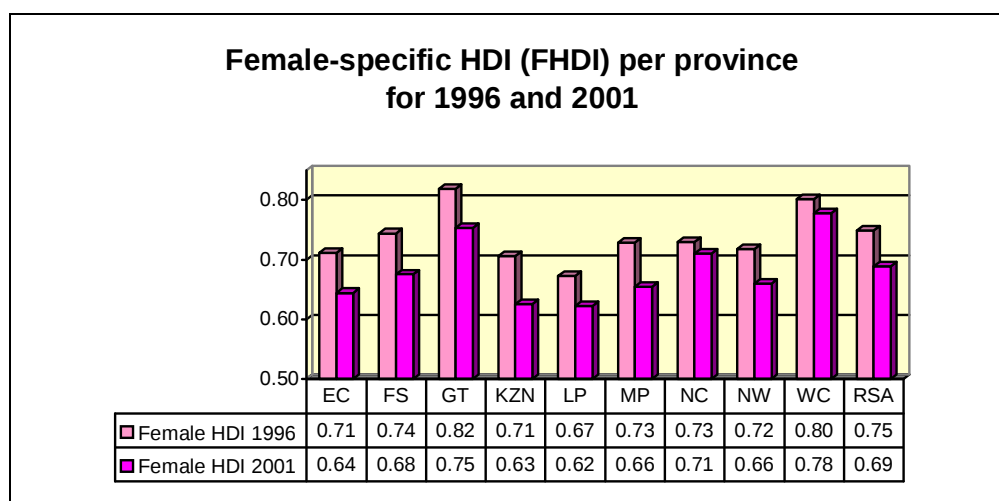


Figure 3: Provincial FHDl for 1996 and 2001

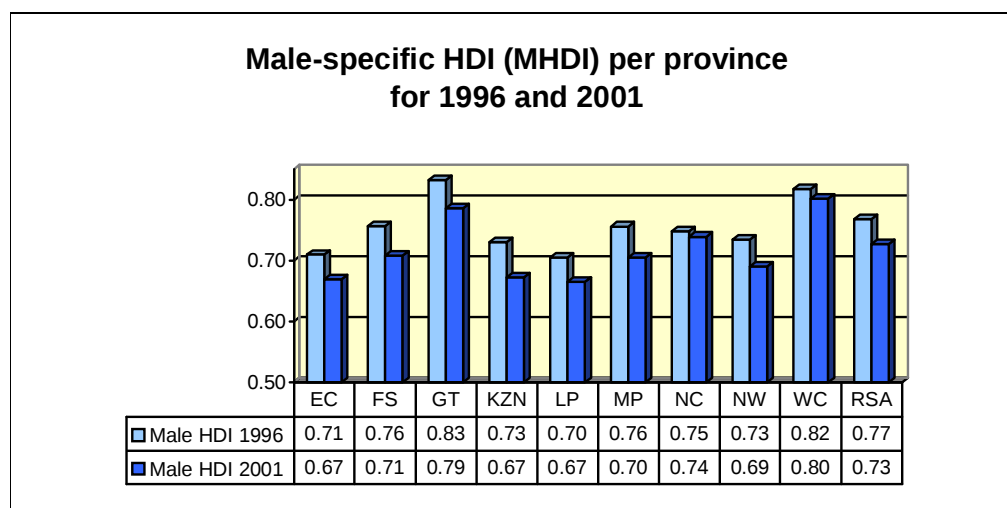
Source: Author's calculations⁴

Figure 4: Provincial MHDl for 1996 and 2001

Source: Author's calculations

⁴ These calculations are based on data sourced from ASSA, 2002; DOE, 2003; Global Insight, 2004; StatsSA, 1998 & 2003; Strauss et al., 1996; and UNDP, 2003.

3.2.1 Within-gender trends

On an absolute, within-gender level the provinces differed substantially: the female-specific development level of the best-performing province exceeded that of the worst-performing province by more than 20 per cent in both years. A comparison of the *three* best- with the three worst-performing provinces in respect of the FHDl, confirms this trend: the top three provinces had a mean index value surpassing that of the bottom three performers by 13 per cent in 1996, and 18 per cent in 2001. Provinces with relatively poor FHDl values were falling farther behind provinces with healthier index values.

3.2.2 Between-gender trends

The development status of women, as measured by the gender-specific HDI, was inferior to that of men in all nine of the provinces, both in 1996 and 2001. The gender-gap, as shown in Figure 5, furthermore widened in all provinces during this period.

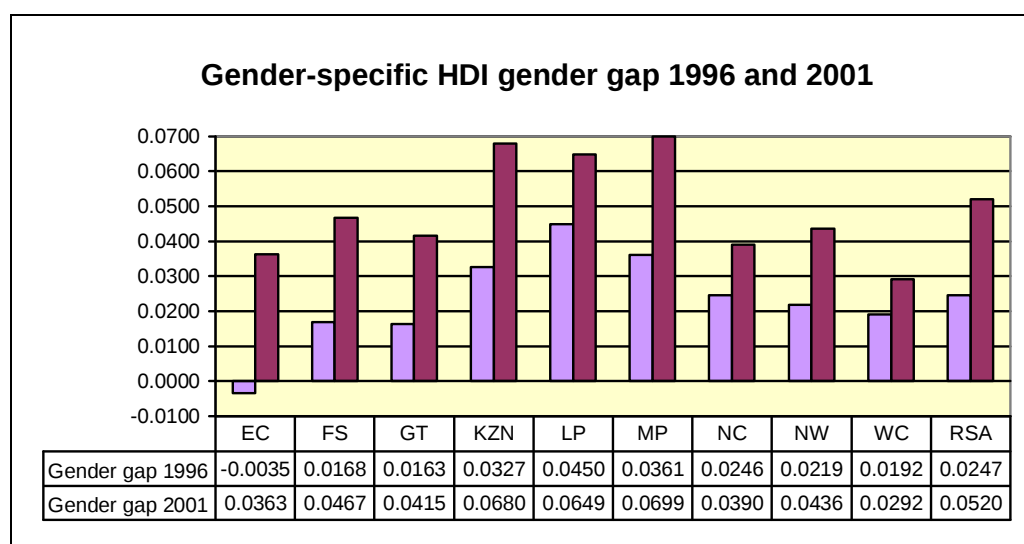


Figure 5: Provincial gender gaps per province for 1996 and 2001

Source: Author's calculations

Eastern Cape is somewhat of an exception as it was the only province where the FHDl exceeded that of males in 1996. This situation nevertheless reversed itself in

2001, with the FHDl lagging behind the MHDl⁵. The gender gap in this province thus changed from reflecting a situation unfavourable to men in 1996 to one unfavourable to women in 2001. The gender parity ratio of the Eastern Cape deteriorated by almost 4 per cent (Table 1), constituting the biggest change between the two years amongst the provinces. The average gender gap increased during this time, with the national gender parity ratio deteriorating by 2.8 per cent between the two years.

Table 1: Changes in provincial gender-specific HDI gender parity ratios between 1996 and 2001

	EC	FS	GT	KZN	LP	MP	NC	NW	WC	RSA
Gender parity ratio changes	-3.97%	-3.04%	-2.56%	-3.65%	-2.09%	-3.50%	-1.47%	-2.22%	-1.02%	-2.79%

Source: Author's calculations

Examining the gender gap from a different point of view, the differences between the three provinces with the best and the three with the worst gender parity ratios (as measured by the gender-specific HDI) shows a marginal increase in the performance disparity. The three provinces with the worst gender parity ratios showed a gender-gap deterioration exceeding that of the three with the best ratios. This implies that women in provinces with already poor gender performances were losing more ground, relative to men, than women in provinces with comparatively more favourable HDI gender parity ratios.

3.2.3 Aggregate findings

In terms of the pervasiveness of the national decline in female development status – on an aggregate level – it is found that:

- the FHDl declined in all provinces between 1996 and 2001;
- despite a decline also in the MHDl during this period, all the provinces displayed a deterioration in the development position of women relative to men, as measured by the gender-specific HDI.

⁵ A marked deterioration in female life expectancy, as well as a deterioration in female illiteracy – outstripping that of males – contributed to this reversal.

The national decline in female development status between 1996 and 2001 was therefore mirrored in the provinces.

In terms of the provincial patterns, on an aggregate level we find that:

- Limpopo had the poorest development status amongst the provinces for both 1996 and 2001, for women as well as men; in terms of female development, this province fared the worst, both on an absolute level for both years and on a relative level in 1996.
- Gauteng was the leader in terms of female and male development status in 1996, yet Western Cape moved into the lead in 2001.
- Eastern Cape had the best relative female development status in 1996, but ceded the top position to Western Cape in 2001.
- There was a marked difference in the absolute FHDl levels of the provinces, with the interprovincial performance gap increasing between 1996 and 2001.
- The increase in gender-disparity of provinces with pre-existing large gender gaps somewhat exceeded that of provinces with smaller gender gaps, indicating that in some provinces women were not only losing ground relative to men, but were also losing ground faster relative to women in other provinces.
- KwaZulu-Natal emerged as the province losing most ground in human development in absolute terms, both for women and men.
- Women in Eastern Cape lost most ground relative to men during this period, ending up lagging behind men, whereas they had been leading five years earlier.

4. Disaggregate trends: provincial patterns in the components of the HDI

In this section we unpack the aggregate, composite measure to find how the national female development decline and/or provincial patterns manifest on a disaggregated level. For this we will review the data for the individual development areas on which the HDI is broadly based, namely life expectancy, attainment of knowledge and standard of living.

For the FHDI, the female life expectancy at birth index was used to approximate the longevity of women, while the female literacy rate⁶, the female primary school gross enrolment ratio and the female secondary school gross enrolment ratio served (as per the HDI standard method) as indicators of female attainment of knowledge⁷. The female economically active population, female-headed households with zero income and female unemployment⁸ were used to reflect female standard of living⁹.

4.1 Absolute levels of predominance

The degree to which the low level of human development permeated the female population of the individual provinces, i.e. the predominance (which may be viewed as a female human development *rate*) brings a number of observations to light. This section focuses on the within-gender, absolute development differences between the provinces.

Tables 2 and 3 show the absolute female development rates for the provinces, for each HDI component area, highlighting the provinces that fared the best and worst.

⁶ The HDI calls for the use of functional literacy as a proxy for literacy. We nevertheless used the census category 'percentage of population aged 15+ with no education', subtracted from 100, as an indicator. Although gender stratified functional literacy data is available from 1999, the use of a 1999 figure to calculate a 1996 index was deemed too inaccurate, given the pace of changes in South Africa during the latter part of the nineties. Our chosen indicator is admittedly not ideal, and prone to survey errors, yet its comparability over time was consider crucial for the purpose of this study.

⁷ The data problems with tertiary education found on a national level (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a:7), apply also on a provincial level. As discussed in a previous paper (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a:18) the data on primary and secondary school enrolments must be interpreted with care. Although GER ratios exceeding 100 – as are prevalent among the provinces – are conceivable, the incentive for schools to inflate enrolment figures does pose a risk of bias and inaccuracy in data sourced from educational institutions, as were the data in this paper. The conclusions drawn from this data are therefore of a somewhat tenuous nature. Also see Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a:41 end note b for discussion on alternative enrolment data sources.

⁸ Given the definition of the EAP, inclusion of both the EAP and unemployment as part of the analysis may seem like duplication. Unemployment nevertheless provides further insight into a specific segment of the EAP and is included as an added indicator of the ability to secure a degree of material well-being.

⁹ See Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a:9 regarding the omission of gendered wage differences from the analysis.

Table 2: Provincial female development status in 1996, per HDI and component areas

	Female-specific HDI ¹⁰ (FHDI)	Female life expectancy (years)	Female illiteracy	Female primary school GER	Female secondary school GER	Female EAP ¹¹ (as % of the female population)	Female-headed households with zero income ¹²	Female unemployment rate (expanded definition)
Eastern Cape	0.7121	62.70	18.13	146.28 (best)	90.06	21.28	21.34	52.10
Free State	0.7443	63.70	14.04	124.34	99.45	31.92	15.97	40.90
Gauteng	0.8183 (best)	68.00	7.96	108.48	96.92	41.93 (best)	13.31	36.20
KwaZulu-Natal	0.7062	61.60 (worst)	21.09	130.13	90.04	26.00	20.81	45.70
Limpopo	0.6728 (worst)	68.20	33.32 (worst)	116.85	118.85 (best)	19.23 (worst)	21.81 (worst)	54.90 (worst)
Mpumalanga	0.7287	63.20	26.75	126.17	106.25	27.05	21.26	45.00
Northern Cape	0.7299	67.00	18.50	106.94 (worst)	70.15 (worst)	29.16	10.62	37.00
North West	0.7181	65.90	19.32	117.48	96.48	29.22	19.42	50.20
Western Cape	0.8017	68.70 (best)	5.40 (best)	107.13	82.58	35.23	8.70 (best)	22.20 (best)

Sources: Author's calculations; ASSA, 2002; DOE, 2003; Global Insight, 2004; StatsSA, 1998 & 2003; Strauss, van der Linde, Plekker & Strauss, 1996; and UNDP, 2003a

¹⁰ The FHDI is provided as a reference rather than a discussion point.

¹¹ Note that the EAP seems to capture only formal-sector female economic activity, or at the very least grossly undercounts the informal sector. The omission, or undercounting, of the vast area of informal female economic activity from this analysis (due to the notorious difficulty in obtaining reliable data in this sector, let alone gender-stratified data) skews the results as it only partially reflects the changes experienced by women during this period. This would be particularly true in provinces with large rural communities, as in Limpopo.

¹² The accuracy of data on this section of both the 1996 and 2001 censuses have been questioned, the consensus being that both overestimated the number of households with no income. See Booysen-Wolthers, 2007:31 for discussion on this. This probable overestimation, as well as the innate flaws of an analysis based on the gender of household heads (see Booysen-Wolthers, 2007a:30), should be borne in mind when interpreting the results of this section.

Table 3: Provincial female development status in 2001, per HDI and component areas

	Female-specific HDI (FHDI)	Female life expectancy (years)	Female illiteracy	Female primary school GER	Female secondary school GER	Female EAP (as % of the female population)	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment rate (expanded definition)
Eastern Cape	0.6444	56.6	20.98	114.91 (best)	76.75	25.37	32.95 (worst)	58.30 (worst)
Free State	0.6755	55.0	14.58	103.06	88.46	37.32	29.20	49.98
Gauteng	0.7533	59.4	7.90	98.52	81.64	46.96 (best)	22.37	42.40
KwaZulu-Natal	0.6259	50.5 (worst)	21.15	103.17	83.77	30.38	30.03	51.70
Limpopo	0.6223 (worst)	63.0	31.51 (worst)	97.27 (worst)	95.10 (best)	23.22 (worst)	32.10	55.00
Mpumalanga	0.6551	53.40	25.71	102.67	92.29	31.37	29.73	47.50
Northern Cape	0.7104	63.1	16.20	105.62	75.28 (worst)	33.83	18.06	48.50
North West	0.6598	58.0	17.88	98.90	86.06	33.80	29.21	57.40
Western Cape	0.7781 (best)	65.8 (best)	4.93 (best)	98.62	75.72	40.25	15.32 (best)	28.80 (best)

Sources: Author's calculations; ASSA, 2002; DOE, 2003; Global Insight, 2004; StatsSA, 1998 & 2003; Strauss et al., 1996; UNDP, 2003a

Systematic differences between the provinces are obvious in some development areas, and less so in others. The scales do nevertheless tilt towards the women of Limpopo as having, across the board, the poorest absolute female development status amongst the provinces in 1996 and 2001. This is measured by the performance of this province in the seven individual development areas. The women in Western Cape, on the other hand, had the best female development status, if measured in the same manner. Turning to the *three* best- and worst-performing provinces, Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal most frequently appeared in the bottom one-third group of worst-performing provinces, while Western Cape, Gauteng and the Free State most frequently appeared in the best-performing one-third group.

Some further points of interest:

- KwaZulu-Natal had the lowest female life expectancy in all of South Africa, both in 1996 and 2001. In 1996 women in the Western Cape, with the highest provincial female life expectancy, could have expected to live 7.1 years longer than the women in KwaZulu-Natal. By 2001 they could have expected to live an astounding 15.3 years longer due to the fall in KwaZulu-Natal's life expectancy, reflecting the devastating effect HIV/AIDS appears to have had on this province. This undoubtedly is a crucial contributing factor to KwaZulu-Natal's low provincial

HDI rankings – in 1996 and 2001 – both for the standard HDI (third and second worst) and the FHDH (second worst). This contrasts sharply with the high economic status of this province, ranked second highest amongst the provinces for GDP¹³ in both years.

- Contrary to expectation, Eastern Cape – usually with a poor development record – had the highest female primary school GER for both years. As has been noted in footnote 7, the high ratios of 146.28 for 1996 and 114.91 for 2001 do however raise questions, and render suspect the validity of this as an indicator of high development status. The large margin of oversubscription could point to poor-quality education and therefore a high rate of grade repetition. Alternatively, these rates could point to limited childcare options for mothers, who may opt to put their young children into school more out of need for day care than a real conviction that girls need education. Even the worst performer in this area had an oversubscription in 1996 which seems to confirm that there is ostensibly more to this indicator than good female development status. The 2001 GER values appear less suspect, except for the Eastern Cape, where the GER still pointed to a substantial oversubscription.
- A further unexpected result is that Limpopo – another province with usually poor development results – had the best female secondary school GER values among the provinces, for both years. This is particularly enigmatic in the light of this province's poor primary school GER values compared with those of other provinces: it lay in the fourth weakest position in 1996, but was in the weakest position in 2001. The fact that Limpopo furthermore had the highest female illiteracy rates amongst the provinces for both years adds another element of doubt to a positive interpretation of the high GER value. We would argue that Limpopo's leading position in female secondary school GER is indicative of the poor overall level of female secondary GER values of the rest of the country, rather than a particular female development achievement on the part of Limpopo. Given the poor performance of this province in other areas of female development, any development indicator employing Limpopo's performance as a benchmark, must cause concern.

¹³ GDP @ basic values, 1995 prices from UNDP, 2003:280.

- Despite being the province with the worst female secondary school GER in both years, Northern Cape was the only province showing an improvement in this area between 1996 and 2001.
- Gauteng, not surprisingly, had the highest female EAP (as a percentage of the total female population) in both years, while Limpopo had the lowest EAP. The definition of the EAP seems to refer only to those employed in the formal sector (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a:28-29). The informal sector, which is a mainstay of many women, especially in the rural economies, is therefore not (fully) captured in this measure. Almost 90 per cent of Limpopo's population live in the rural areas (StatsSA, 1998 & 2003), thereby making an accurate assessment of their true EAP difficult until such time as non-formal sector activities can be more accurately reflected in the statistics.
- Eastern Cape and Limpopo swapped places as the province with the highest proportion of female-headed households living in poverty. What is perhaps more striking in this area is the significant increase in the numbers across the board: there was a 57 per cent mean¹⁴ increase in the portion of female-headed households living in poverty between 1996 and 2001.
- In the case of female unemployment, the Eastern Cape also swapped weakest-place position with Limpopo, thereby explaining the female-headed household poverty swap described above. The worsening development position of women across all provinces is also particularly apparent in this area.

4.2 Changes in predominance between 1996 and 2001

To ascertain whether the decline in the national absolute female development status was mirrored throughout the provinces, we turn to Table 4. In five of the seven development areas the provinces – with only one exception – all showed a decline in the absolute development status of women between 1996 and 2001, thus following the national trend.

¹⁴ This was calculated as the mean weighted by the 2001 female population shares.

When it comes to finding systematic provincial differences in the pace at which the development status of women changed between 1996 and 2001, we focus first on the overall trend. In general, the provinces essentially moved concurrently when it came to changes in development areas between 1996 and 2001. The only exceptions were: Northern Cape, with an increase in its female secondary school GER, in contrast to the decline of all other provinces in this area; and, female illiteracy where three provinces experienced an increase as opposed to the general decline in illiteracy the other provinces showed.

Turning to patterns within this trend, the dynamics in status changes seem more random than in the case of status (absolute) levels, and no obvious patterns can be identified in this regard. Clearly, no one province stands out as showing a consistent decline or improvement across the board between these two years.

Table 4: Percentage changes¹⁵ between 1996 and 2001 in the absolute level of the provincial female development status, per HDI component area

	Female-specific HDI (FHD)	Female life expectancy (years)	Female illiteracy	Female primary school GER	Female secondary school GER	Female EAP (as % of the female population)	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment rate (expanded definition)
Eastern Cape	-9.51%	-9.73%	15.72% (biggest)	-21.45% (biggest)	-14.78%	19.22%	54.40%	11.90%
Free State	-9.24%	-13.66%	3.85%	-17.11%	-11.05%	16.92%	82.84% (biggest)	18.58%
Gauteng	-7.94%	-12.65%	-0.75%	-9.18%	-15.77%	12.00% (smallest)	68.07%	17.13%
KwaZulu-Natal	-11.37% (biggest)	-18.02% (biggest)	0.28% (smallest)	-20.72%	-6.96% (smallest)	16.85%	44.31%	13.13%
Limpopo	-7.51%	-7.62%	-5.43%	-16.76%	-19.98% (biggest)	20.75% (biggest)	47.18%	0.18% (smallest)
Mpumalanga	-10.10%	-15.51%	-3.89%	-18.63%	-13.14%	15.97%	39.84% (smallest)	5.56%
Northern Cape	-2.67% (smallest)	-5.82%	-12.43%	-1.23% (smallest)	7.31%	16.02%	70.06%	31.08% (biggest)
North West	-8.12%	-11.99%	-7.45%	-15.82%	-10.80%	15.67%	50.41%	14.34%
Western Cape	-2.94%	-4.22% (smallest)	-8.70%	-7.94%	-8.31%	14.25%	76.09%	29.73%

Source: Author's calculations

¹⁵ The basis sensitivity of percentage changes has to be borne in mind when comparing the results. An alternative would be to index the achievements per development area and to use absolute changes between 1996 and 2001 as a method of comparison. Since the results of these two methods proved to be very similar, percentage change was used for simplicity's sake.

In Table 4, Eastern Cape had the sharpest drop in female primary school GER values between the two years, yet still remained the top performing province in this area. The same can be said of Limpopo and female secondary school GER.

To find whether a higher propensity to change could be detected among provinces with initially bad (or good) development performance levels, we examine the changes experienced by these provinces between 1996 and 2001. In this instance we are testing whether the adage 'once bad, always bad' applies.

Table 5 shows the three provinces within each HDI component area with the best and worst female development levels in 1996, together with their absolute changes between the two years. The comparison reveals that for four of the seven female development areas, the provinces with the highest initial female development status in 1996 seemed to have experienced the biggest changes in level between the two years. Thus, for the period 1996 and 2001, an initially high development status led to relatively bigger changes in female development status than was the case with lower development status.

Table 5: Percentage changes in the three provinces with the 1996 best and worst female development levels, per HDI component area

	Female life expectancy	Female illiteracy	Female primary school GER	Female secondary school GER	Female EAP	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment
Best absolute status 1996	WC,LP,GT	WC,GT,FS	EC,KZN,MP	LP,MP,FS	GT,WC,FS	WC,NC,GT	WC,GT,NC
Change in index points 1996-2001	-8.15%	+0.04%	-20.33%	-15.01%	+14.16%	+70.86%	+25.47%
Worst absolute status 1996	KZN,EC,MP	KZN,MP,LP	NC,WC GT	NC,WC,KZN	LP,EC,KZN	LP,EC,MP	LP,EC,NW
Change in index points 1996-2001	-14.40%	-3.44%	-6.14%	-3.3%	+18.73%	+47.15%	+8.59%

* Figures in **red** denote the biggest change of the two groups, within each development area.

Source: Author's calculations

Viewing provincial performance gaps from another perspective, we compare the interprovincial performance gap of 1996 with that of 2001 to find whether the initial provincial differences in female development levels were maintained. Table 6 shows the results.

Table 6: Ratios of the three best- to the three worst-performing provinces' development levels¹⁶

	Female life expectancy	Female illiteracy	Female primary school GER	Female secondary school GER	Female EAP	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment	Mean result
1996	1.0928	2.9620	1.2481	1.3369	1.6401	1.9740	1.6478	1.7002
2001	1.2077	2.8592	1.0995	1.2112	1.5769	1.7055	1.4381	1.5854
% change	+10.51%	-3.47%	-11.91%	-9.4%	-3.85%	-13.60%	-12.73%	-6.75%
Performance gap	Widened	Narrowed	Narrowed	Narrowed	Narrowed	Narrowed	Narrowed	Narrowed

Source: Author's calculations

In six of the seven component areas, the performance gap between the provinces narrowed, should one compare the three provinces with the best absolute female development levels with those of the three provinces with the worst levels. It was only in the area of life expectancy that the performance gap widened. The net effect was a mean narrowing of the interprovincial performance gap by 6.75 per cent between 1996 and 2001. This, however, is not necessarily good news, since in four of the areas the narrowing in the gap resulted from a loss in female development status in the best performing provinces, which exceeded that of the worst-performing provinces. Only in the cases of female illiteracy and female EAP did the narrowing represent real improvement; the poorest-performing group was catching up with the best-performing group.

4.3 Absolute levels of gender parity

A comparison of gender parity ratios, as shown in Tables 7 and 8, reveals that Limpopo once again has to be singled out. Measured by its performance in the HDI component areas, it had the worst development rate of women *relative to men* in both years (although less so in 2001). At the other end of the scale, Eastern Cape had the best gender parity ratios in most areas in 1996 and 2001.

¹⁶ In the cases of female illiteracy, female-headed households with zero income and female unemployment a smaller absolute number implies a better performance. For comparison's sake, the ratios in these instances were therefore calculated as the worst- to the best-performing levels.

Mpumalanga and Limpopo furthermore seemed disproportionately often to find themselves in the bottom one-third as far as component area gender ratio accomplishments are concerned¹⁷. On the other hand, Western Cape and Eastern Cape most often featured in the top one-third, where the development status of women most closely approximated that of men. Except for the areas of primary school enrolments and unemployment, the interprovincial gender parity ratio patterns were, by and large, maintained between 1996 and 2001.

There are fewer surprises here than with the absolute level, yet a few occurrences do deserve mention:

- Women in Eastern Cape – one of the less-developed provinces – had the highest margin of life years over their male counterparts, than any other province, while Western Cape (1996) and Gauteng (2001) – two of the more developed provinces – displayed the smallest margins.
- More girls were enrolled in school in 1996, and in secondary school in 2001, in the Eastern Cape than in other provinces. Yet, the suspect nature of oversubscribed figures does cast doubt over any conclusions in this regard.
- Despite Eastern Cape having the best relative unemployment rates among the provinces, 11 per cent more women than men were nevertheless unemployed in 1996, with almost 14 per cent more in 2001. It can therefore not be celebrated as an absolute achievement on the part of women.
- The high EAP gender parity of Limpopo is, at first glance, a positive relative development for women. If viewed within the context of this province having had the worst GDP per capita among the provinces both in 1996 and 2001 (UNDP, 2003:281), as well as having had the worst absolute female EAP among the provinces, this merely indicates a very low overall economic activity rate in this province. The combination of the worst absolute EAP, worst relative poverty rate in households and the worst relative unemployment rates (second weakest in 2001), does nevertheless solicit concern for the women of Limpopo.

¹⁷ Interestingly, these two provinces almost always appeared together in the worst-performing group within the same development areas. The reason for this is unclear.

Table 7: Gender parity ratios in 1996, per gender-specific HDI and component area

	Gender-specific HDI	Life expect.	Illiteracy	Primary school enrolments	Secondary school enrolments	EAP	Female- to male-headed households with zero income	Unemployment
Eastern Cape	1.0035 (best)	1.1676 (best)	1.4447	1.0320 (best)	1.3413 (best)	0.9590	1.1365	1.1131 (best)
Free State	0.9832	1.1582	1.1143	0.9618	1.1346	0.7832	0.8459	1.5090
Gauteng	0.9837	1.1221	0.9362 (best)	0.9847	1.1141	0.7709	0.6368 (best)	1.2786
KwaZulu-Natal	0.9673	1.1557	1.5485	0.9697	1.1317	0.8654	0.9552	1.1588
Limpopo	0.9550 (worst)	1.1386	2.0006 (worst)	0.9443 (worst)	1.1529	0.9993 (best)	1.4899 (worst)	1.5199 (worst)
Mpumalanga	0.9639	1.1408	1.3475	0.9645	1.2156	0.7904	1.1429	1.4534
Northern Cape	0.9754	1.1279	1.0611	0.9818	1.0659 (worst)	0.7504 (worst)	0.6776	1.3827
North West	0.9781	1.1304	1.0448	0.9673	1.1787	0.7798	0.9616	1.3642
Western Cape	0.9808	1.1171 (worst)	0.9570	0.9745	1.1184	0.8047	0.6942	1.2389
South Africa	0.9753	1.1404	1.3768	0.9798	1.1725	0.8302	0.9866	1.2763

Source: Author's calculations¹⁸**Table 8: Gender parity ratios in 2001, per gender-specific HDI and component area**

	Gender-specific HDI	Life expect.	Illiteracy	Primary school enrolments	Secondary school enrolments	EAP	Female- to male-headed households with zero income	Unemployment
Eastern Cape	0.9637	1.1297 (best)	1.5950	0.9703	1.2416 (best)	0.9618	1.1799	1.1388 (best)
Free State	0.9533	1.1202	1.2942	0.9561	1.0715	0.7873	0.9195	1.5296 (worst)
Gauteng	0.9585	1.0939 (worst)	1.0493	0.9661	1.0892	0.7715	0.6812 (best)	1.2804
KwaZulu-Natal	0.9320	1.1099	1.6593	0.9489	1.0821	0.8690	1.0723	1.1748
Limpopo	0.9351	1.1150	2.0614 (worst)	0.9351 (worst)	1.1172	1.0019 (best)	1.5817 (worst)	1.5263
Mpumalanga	0.9301 (worst)	1.1033	1.4350	0.9426	1.1005	0.7917	1.1077	1.4586
Northern Cape	0.9610	1.1129	1.1033	0.9752 (best)	1.0474 (worst)	0.7536 (worst)	0.8090	1.4002
North West	0.9564	1.1048	1.0807	0.9544	1.0976	0.7807	0.9207	1.3744
Western Cape	0.9708 (best)	1.1022	1.0163 (best)	0.9751	1.1342	0.8055	0.7437	1.2479
South Africa	0.9480	1.1075	1.4790	0.9561	1.1162	0.8327	1.0016	1.2878

Source: Author's calculations

¹⁸ The calculations draw from the following sources: ASSA, 2002; DOE, 2003; Global Insight, 2004; StatsSA, 1998 & 2003; Strauss et al., 1996; and UNDP, 2003.

4.4 Gender parity changes between 1996 and 2001

The pervasiveness of the national decline in the relative development status of women was evident from the fact that this status declined in six of the seven development areas for most of the provinces during this period (see Table 9). Only in the area of EAP did the development status of women, relative to that of men, improve – albeit only marginally.

Turning to provincial patterns, it is found that, in general, the provinces all had the same direction of change across all development areas between the two years. The only exceptions to this were Western Cape (primary and secondary school enrolments), and Mpumalanga and North West (household poverty). Here the changes went against the general trend of deterioration in the relative development position of women.

It is once again difficult to find distinctive systematic differences in the provincial changes. Eastern Cape and Western Cape were the only provinces displaying somewhat of a pattern in respect of changing the most (respectively the least), and most often among the development areas. These patterns are however not sufficiently conclusive to permit precise categorisation of the provinces.

Table 9: Absolute changes in the gender parity ratios in 1996, per gender-specific HDI and component area

	Gender-specific HDI	Life expect.	Illiteracy	Primary school enrolments	Secondary school enrolments	EAP	Female- to male headed households with zero income	Unemployment
Eastern Cape	-0.0399 (most)*	-0.0379	0.1504	-0.0617 (most)	-0.0997	0.0028	0.0434	0.0257 (most)
Free State	-0.0299	-0.0380	0.1800 (most)	-0.0057	-0.0631	0.0041 (most)	0.0736	0.0207
Gauteng	-0.0251	-0.0282	0.1132	-0.0186	-0.0250	0.0006 (least)	0.0444	0.0017 (least)
KwaZulu-Natal	-0.0353	-0.0458 (most)	0.1108	-0.0208	-0.0496	0.0036	0.1171	0.0160
Limpopo	-0.0199	-0.0235	0.0608	-0.0092	-0.0357	0.0026	0.0918	0.0064
Mpumalanga	-0.0337	-0.0375	0.0875	-0.0219	-0.1151 (most)	0.0012	-0.0352 (least)	0.0052
Northern Cape	-0.0144	-0.0151	0.0422	-0.0066	-0.0185	0.0031	0.1314 (most)	0.0175
North West	-0.0217	-0.0256	0.0359 (least)	-0.0130	-0.0811	0.0010	-0.0409	0.0102
Western Cape	-0.0100 (least)	-0.0149 (least)	0.0592	0.0006 (least)	0.0158 (least)	0.0008	0.0494	0.0090
South Africa	-0.0273	-0.0329	0.1021	-0.0237	-0.0563	0.0026	0.0149	0.0115

* The distinction of most and least change is based on size of change regardless of direction of change.

Source: Author's calculations

To find whether an initial poor gender parity ratio predisposes a province to more change over time, we turn to Table 10 where the changes between 1996 and 2001 are shown for those provinces with the best gender parity ratios in 1996, and those with the worst. The converse seems to be true in that provinces with the best gender parity ratios in 1996 experienced bigger changes between 1996 and 2001 than those provinces with the worst gender parity ratios. With the exception of EAP, all of these changes were to the detriment of women.

Table 10: Changes in the provinces with the best and worst gender parity ratios in 1996, per HDI component area

	Gender-specific HDI	Life expect.	Illiteracy	Primary school enrolments	Secondary school enrolments	EAP	Households with zero income	Unemployment
Best gender parity ratio 1996	EC,GT, FS	EC, FS, KZN	GT, WC, NW	EC,GT, NC	EC,MP, NW	LP,EC, KZN	GT,NC, WC	EC,KZN, WC
Absolute change 1996-2001	- 0.0316	-0.0406	0.0694	- 0.0290	- 0.0987	0.0030	0.0751	0.0169
Worst gender parity ratio 1996	KZN,MP, LP	WC, GT, NC	LP,KZN, EC	LP,FS, MP	NC,GT, WC	NC,GT, NW	LP,MP, EC	LP,FS, MP
Absolute change 1996-2001	-0.0297	-0.0194	0.1073	-0.0122	-0.0092	0.0016	0.0333	0.0108

* Values in red denote the biggest change of the two vertically read values.

Source: Author's calculations

A scrutiny of the interprovincial gender parity performance gaps (Table 11) reveals the margin by which the three provinces with the best mean gender parity performance surpassed that of the three provinces with the worst ratios. We find that the interprovincial performance-gap narrowed by 2.47 per cent between the two years, inching its way towards more equal gender parity ratios across the provinces.

Table 11: Ratios of the three best-performing to three worst-performing provinces' gender parity ratios¹⁹

	Life expect.	Female illiteracy	Female primary school enrolments	Female secondary school enrolments	Female EAP	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment	Mean result
1996	1.0340	1.6997	1.0446	1.1326	1.2271	1.8767	1.2767	1.3273
2001	1.0199	1.6895	1.0333	1.0912	1.2285	1.7321	1.2676	1.2946
% change	-1.36%	-0.60%	-1.09%	-3.65%	0.11%	-7.70%	-0.72%	-2.47%
Performance gap	Narrowed	Narrowed	Narrowed	Narrowed	Widened	Narrowed	Narrowed	Narrowed

Source: Author's calculations

4.5 Comparing the absolute and the relative status of women

It has to be noted that a good gender parity ratio does not necessarily translate into a good development status for women: a good gender parity ratio might simply mean that both men and women have a poor development status. Tables 12 and 13 combine information on the best and the worst provincial performances, in terms both of the absolute and the relative female development positions for 1996 and 2001, so as to show whether the individual provinces tended to perform the same in both fields.

The tables (12 and 13) indicate that certain provinces had the distinction of performing worst (or best) among the provinces in both fields. This was particularly prevalent amongst the worst performers, indicating that a poor female development rate has a high probability of being translated into a poor gender parity ratio. The opposite is also

¹⁹ In the cases of female illiteracy, female-headed households with zero income, and female unemployment, a smaller absolute number implies a better performance. For comparison's sake, the ratios in these instances were therefore calculated as the worst- to the best-performing levels.

true, but less convincingly so. This trend was also notably more apparent in 1996 than in 2001.

Table 12: Provinces with the best and the worst female development status in 1996, per HDI and component area

	Female-specific HDI (FHDI)	Female life expectancy	Female illiteracy (%)	Female primary school GER	Female secondary school GER	Female EAP (as % of the female population)	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment rate
Eastern Cape	Best gender parity	Best gender parity		Best female devel. rate + Best gender-parity	Best gender parity			Best gender-parity
Free State								
Gauteng	Best female devel. rate		Best gender-parity			Best female devel. rate	Best gender parity	
KwaZulu-Natal		Worst female devel. rate						
Limpopo	Worst female devel. rate + Worst gender parity		Worst female devel. rate + Worst gender parity	Worst gender parity	Best female devel. rate	Worst female devel. rate + Best gender-parity	Worst female devel. rate + Worst gender parity	Worst female devel. rate + Worst gender parity
Mpumalanga								
Northern Cape				Worst female devel. rate	Worst gender parity + Worst female devel. rate	Worst gender parity		
North West								
Western Cape		Best female devel. rate + Worst gender parity	Best female devel. rate				Best female devel. rate	Best female devel. rate

Source: From author's calculations

Table 13: Provinces with the best and the worst female development status in 2001, per HDI and component area

	Female-specific HDI (FHDI)	Female life expectancy (years)	Female illiteracy (%)	Female primary school GER	Female secondary school GER	Female EAP (as % of the female population)	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment rate
Eastern Cape		Best gender parity		Best female devl. rate	Best gender parity		Worst female devl. rate	Worst female devl. rate + Best gender parity
Free State								Worst gender parity
Gauteng		Worst gender parity				Best female devl. rate	Best gender parity	
KwaZulu-Natal		Worst female devl. rate						
Limpopo	Worst female devl. rate		Worst female devl. rate + Worst gender parity	Worst female devl. rate + Worst gender parity	Best female devl. rate	Worst female devl. rate + Best gender parity	Worst gender parity	
Mpumalanga	Worst gender parity							
Northern Cape				Best gender parity	Worst female devl. rate + Worst gender parity	Worst gender parity		
North West								
Western Cape	Best female devl. rate + Best gender parity	Best female devl. rate	Best female devl. rate + Best gender parity				Best female devl. rate	Best female devl. rate

Source: From author's calculations

Dollar & Gatti (1999) found a very clear positive correlation between per capita income and gender equality, particularly at higher levels of income (Dollar & Gatti, 1999:4). This could possibly also be the case in South Africa: Western Cape had the best absolute female development rate and the best gender parity ratio among the provinces in 2001, while Limpopo displayed the opposite results in 1996. Limpopo had

the lowest per capita income in 2001, while Western Cape had the second highest per capita income among the provinces in 2001, five times that of Limpopo (Global Insight, 2004). More work in this area is however called for before this observation can be confirmed as a definitive trend. Dollar & Gatti (1999:23) do nevertheless point out that economic growth is not the sole answer to gender equality. Religion, civil liberties and region all feature strongly as determinants of gender inequality. What it does suggest though, is that growth can have an indirect impact on gender inequality.

5. Concluding findings

This paper set out, first, to find whether the national decline in the development status of women was pervasive throughout all provinces during this period.

The analysis confirms that the development status of women had indeed declined both in within-gender and between-gender terms across all of the nine provinces between the years 1996 and 2001, particularly as measured on an aggregate level by the gender-specific HDI:

- the FHDl declined across the board, with a mean²⁰ provincial decline of 8.52 per cent;
- although the development status of men also declined during this period, a general decline in the relative development status of women relative to that of men was to be found in all of the nine provinces, with a mean widening of 2.85 per cent in the gender gap in these provinces between 1996 and 2001;

As measured on a disaggregated level (by the component areas of the HDI):

- the absolute development status of women declined in all of the provinces, with only one exception, in five of the seven development areas reviewed; and
- the relative development status of women declined in two-thirds of the provinces, in six of the seven areas examined.

The second aim of this paper was to find whether there were any systematic differences in the level of, and changes in, the development status of women between the provinces for the years 1996 and 2001.

²⁰ The means in this section were calculated as arithmetic means weighted by female population share.

In terms of level of female development status, it is found that on an aggregate level:

- there was a distinct difference between the provinces in terms of their absolute and relative female development levels;
- Limpopo had the worst absolute development status in both years *and* the worst relative female development status among the provinces in 1996;
- Gauteng was the leader in absolute female development in 1996, and Western Cape in 2001; and
- Eastern Cape had the best relative female development status in 1996, with Western Cape taking top position in 2001.

On a disaggregated level, it is found that:

- here too, distinct provincial differences prevailed in terms both of absolute and relative female development levels;
- the women of Limpopo not only had the worst development status relative to other women - they also had the worst status relative to men, among the provinces in both years;
- the women of Western Cape on the other hand, had the best absolute development status in 1996 and 2001, while Eastern Cape held the best relative position in both years; and
- it would appear that a poor female development status predisposes women to poor development gender parity ratios, while a high absolute development rate seems to be linked to a comparatively less bleak development rate relative to that of men.

In terms of provincial patterns in changes in the female development status of women between 1996 and 2001, we find that on an aggregate level:

- the interprovincial performance gaps showed a slight widening in terms of both absolute and relative female development status;
- women in KwaZulu-Natal lost most development ground in absolute terms, whereas women in Eastern Cape lost most in relative terms during this period.

On a disaggregate level, it is apparent that:

- the 1996 interprovincial female development status ranking was for the most part upheld – both on an absolute and a relative level;
- with very few exceptions, the provinces changed concurrently across the development areas;
- no clear provincial change pattern manifests itself, either within-gender or between-gender;
- the mean interprovincial performance gaps narrowed both on absolute and on relative levels; and
- high absolute female development rates and favourable gender parity ratios (i.e. high relative development status) seem to bring about more marked changes in their respective fields than is the case with less favourable rates and ratios.

We can therefore conclude that systematic differences between the provinces in the development status of women are detectable. The patterns appear to be aggregate, or disaggregate, level specific in the case of changes between 1996 and 2001.

All of this clearly does not bode well for women who find themselves in provinces with low development status, since it implies that they will in all probability continue to bear a double burden, namely a poor development rate compared with other women, and a particularly poor relative development rate compared with men. It is conceivable that the poor are destined to remain poor, especially should they be women, and should they find themselves in a province with a prior poor female development status.

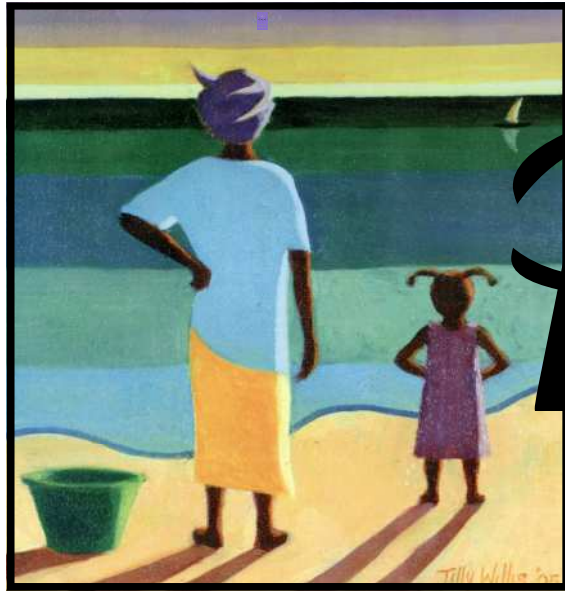
This raises questions as to why women's development status continues to be inferior to that of men, and, more specifically, whether some development areas distinguish themselves as impacting particularly negatively on women's development status. It also begs contemplation on the suitability of indicators to reflect and gauge the intricacies of a gendered development process. These are all areas that need to be addressed to find sustainable solutions to the development backlog of women in all of South Africa's nine provinces.

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PAPER III

The development status of women in South Africa: areas of weakness

[Referenced as Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007c]

The development status of women in South Africa: areas of weakness

Abstract

The decline in both the absolute and the relative development status of women in South Africa between 1996 and 2001 begs further enquiry. This paper investigates the development areas on which the HDI is based to find which areas impact negatively on women's development status, either through poor absolute achievement, or through rapid decline in achievements between 1996 and 2001. We find that, on an absolute level, female life expectancy had replaced female economic activity as the worst performing area, while unemployment and illiteracy were the areas where women's relative development status fared worst. Female primary school GER is furthermore identified as an area in need of attention because of its rapid decline between 1996 and 2001.

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1. Introduction

With the recognition of women's rights as human rights in the new Constitution, gender equality has assumed a certain prominence within the South African political context. South Africa has indeed progressed to the stage where the country is viewed as a leader in the field of mainstreaming¹ gender (UNDP, 2006a). This raises the question as to whether gender mainstreaming has had a significant effect on the lives of women in South Africa. Previous studies have found that the development status of women declined on a national level between 1996 and 2001, both in absolute terms and relative to that of men. This decline was found to be pervasive throughout the nine provinces (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a & b).

A natural point of departure, following these findings, is to unpack the *gender-specific* Human Development Index (HDI) developed and applied in the preceding papers (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a & b), to find where attention should be focused in an attempt to improve the development status of women, or at the very least stave off further decline. This paper investigates the broad capability areas on which the HDI is based, namely longevity, attainment of knowledge and standard of living, to find whether any areas prove to be more problematic than others and need to be highlighted as priorities in need of urgent attention. This will be done at both the national and the provincial level.

The measurement of development has an illustrious past, with each development paradigm bringing forth its own set of indicators. Including women in the measurement of human development has been a challenge that resulted in an HDI measure adjusted for gender inequality, namely the Gender Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), both of which are used extensively by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to monitor changes in the well-being of women over time. As new perspectives have been sought on how women fit

¹ Although gender mainstreaming is a strategy of the Gender and Development (GAD) School (Unterhalter, 2005:4), the concept, as used here, refers to the process of integrating gender into policies and programmes to ensure equal benefits to women and men (UNDP, 2006b:2), rather than implying the implementation, or following, of a specific paradigm.

into development, and of what factors impact on the development position of women, further gendered development measures have been developed in recent years: the Relative Status of Women (RSW) (Dijkstra & Hanmer, 2000), the Gender Equality Index (GEI) (Wieringa, 1999) and the Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS) (Kishor & Neitzel, 1996).

In South Africa, a number of studies have been conducted on the impact of the public sector and of public programmes on women (Budlender, 2004; Mullagee & Nyman, 2000; Parenzee, 2004; Poggenpoel & Olivier, 2004). Poverty, a topic particularly relevant to women, has also been the focus of a number of studies (Alderman, Babita, Lanjouw, Lanjouw, Makhata, Mohamed, Özler & Qaba, 2000; Bhorat, Leibbrandt, Maziya, van der Berg, & Woolard, 2001; Hirschowitz, Orkin & Alberts, 2000; May, 1998; Leibbrandt & Woolard, 1999; van der Berg, Burger, Burger, Louw & Yu, 2005; Whiteford & van Seventer, 1999). Although the study of Leibbrandt, Poswell, Naidoo, Welch & Woolard (2004), in making use of both income- and access-based measures, does offer insight into changes in the well-being of South Africans, studies aimed specifically at women, changes in their development status and causes for concern, have not been done. This study proposes to bridge this specific gap by highlighting the areas of development in which the capabilities of South African women are lacking and where policy measures might impact most beneficially on the well-being of women.

2. Methods of analysis

The gender-specific HDI, which serves as the basis for this study, combines the principles of the GDI with the structure of the HDI to produce a separate HDI for women (i.e. a female-specific HDI (FHD)) and for men (i.e. a male-specific HDI (MHD)) (see Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a: 7-8). It is an aggregate measure of gender-specific equal-weighted performances in the capability areas of longevity (as reflected by life expectancy), attainment of knowledge (a weighted composite of adult literacy and combined primary, secondary and tertiary education gross enrolment ratios

(GER)) and standard of living, which is derived from estimated earned income (UNDP, 1995:131)².

This paper will review these three main capability areas for women, drawing on the 1996 and 2001 census figures. Some adjustments were however, required:

- Owing to the unavailability of reliable gender-stratified tertiary education data for 1996, this area was omitted, and the focus fell only on the primary and secondary school gross enrolment ratios.
- Estimated female-earned income is the product of female population share, female economic activity, gross domestic product (GDP) and female non-agricultural wage rates as a percentage of male non-agricultural wage rates. Although some data on the South African gender wage differences is available, it was chosen to follow the UNDP's estimation of a 25 per cent differential in favour of male wage rates – used in cases where data is not available (UNDP, 2000:164)³. This mitigates any further evaluation, as a wage differential is the crux of a gendered evaluation. For this reason only female economical activity was reviewed, supplemented by analyses of female-headed households with zero income, and female unemployment⁴ as indicators of standard of living.

Two sets of weights feature in the HDI, and therefore by definition also in the gender-specific HDI. When calculating the HDI, equal one-third weights are assigned to each of the three broad component areas of longevity, knowledge and standard of living, when calculating the HDI. Within the area of attainment of knowledge, adult literacy carries a two-thirds weight, and combined primary, secondary and tertiary GER values one-third (UNDP, 1995: 134). Within the HDI, adult literacy is therefore considered relatively more important to human capabilities than the GER ratios. Weights will nevertheless not feature in the initial part of our analysis of determining priority areas.

² Refer to Appendices II and IV for detail on the calculation method and the data on which it was based.

³ See Booysen-Wolthers, 2007a: endnote a.

⁴ The inclusion of both the economically active population (EAP) and unemployment in the analysis might seem like duplication, given that the unemployed are deemed part of the EAP. Unemployment is nevertheless included and reviewed as an indicator of the ability to secure material well-being and offers added insight into a particular section of the population that is able and willing to work, but has not been able to transform this into employment capturable in official statistics.

Once the areas of weakness have been identified, consideration will be given to the HDI weighting⁵.

We will be using the concepts of predominance and gender parity as our levels of enquiry, also borrowed from previous work (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007b: 5-7). Predominance refers to the number of women affected in a specific development area, in relation to the total female population, e.g. the portion of the female population being unemployed. It aims to reflect a within-gender absolute level, and can be viewed as a female development rate. The gender parity ratio pertains to the number of women affected in a specific area of development, relative to that of men, e.g. the ratio of girls to boys enrolled in primary school. It captures the relative, between-gender differences in achievement. The absolute difference between men and women's achievements is called the 'gender gap' and, although neither technically identical nor expressed in the same manner, is often used interchangeably with the term 'gender parity ratio' to describe the between-gender relative position of women.

To determine which development areas were transmitting warning signals, by either failing to contribute to the measured development capabilities of women, or by losing more ground between 1996 and 2001, compared with other areas, we shall evaluate the achievements of women within each area from a within-gender (absolute level), as well as a between-gender (relative) level for 1996 and 2001, both nationally and provincially.

⁵ The equal weighting of composite indices is a contentious issue (Booyesen, 2002:141; Morse, 2004: 108), as undoubtedly is a comparison of the individual development areas on an equal footing – as we propose to do. While acknowledging that there is room for debate here, it lies beyond the scope of this paper.

3. Female development rates per development area

This section examines the seven development areas in terms of the absolute (within-gender) level of female development, and changes thereof.

3.1 The levels of female development in 1996 and in 2001

Tables 1 and 2 present the 1996 and 2001 development achievements of women in each of the nine provinces, and also nationally, as gauged by the FHDl and its seven related areas.

Table 1: Female development status in 1996, per FHDl and component area

	FHDl	Female life expectancy (years)	Female illiteracy	Female primary school GER	Female secondary school GER	Female EAP (as % of the female population)	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment rate (expanded definition)
Eastern Cape	0.7121	62.70	18.13	146.28	90.06	21.28	21.34	52.10
Free State	0.7443	63.70	14.04	124.34	99.45	31.92	15.97	40.90
Gauteng	0.8183	68.00	7.96	108.48	96.92	41.93	13.31	36.20
KwaZulu-Natal	0.7062	61.60	21.09	130.13	90.04	26.00	20.81	45.70
Limpopo	0.6728	68.20	33.32	116.85	118.85	19.23	21.81	54.90
Mpumalanga	0.7287	63.20	26.75	126.17	106.25	27.05	21.26	45.00
Northern Cape	0.7299	67.00	18.50	106.94	70.15	29.16	10.62	37.00
North West	0.7181	65.90	19.32	117.48	96.48	29.22	19.42	50.20
Western Cape	0.8017	68.70	5.40	107.13	82.58	35.23	8.70	22.20
South Africa	0.7489	65.00	17.66	124.30	96.40	28.81	18.38	43.83

Sources: Author's calculations; ASSA, 2002; DOE, 2003; Global Insight, 2004; StatsSA, 1998 & 2003; Strauss, van der Linde, Plekker & Strauss, 1996; and UNDP, 2003a

Table 2: Female development status in 2001, per FHDl and component area

	FHDl	Female life expectancy (years)	Female illiteracy	Female primary school GER	Female secondary school GER	Female EAP (as % of the female population)	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment rate (expanded definition)
Eastern Cape	0.6444	56.60	20.98	114.91	76.75	25.37	32.95	58.30
Free State	0.6755	55.00	14.58	103.06	88.46	37.32	29.20	49.98
Gauteng	0.7533	59.40	7.90	98.52	81.64	46.96	22.37	42.40
KwaZulu-Natal	0.6259	50.50	21.15	103.17	83.77	30.38	30.03	51.70
Limpopo	0.6223	63.00	31.51	97.27	95.10	23.22	32.10	55.00
Mpumalanga	0.6551	53.40	25.71	102.67	92.29	31.37	29.73	47.50
Northern Cape	0.7104	63.10	16.20	105.62	75.28	33.83	18.06	48.50
North West	0.6598	58.00	17.88	98.90	86.06	33.80	29.21	57.40
Western Cape	0.7781	65.80	4.93	98.62	75.72	40.25	15.32	28.80
South Africa	0.6892	57.70	17.40	102.96	84.14	33.45	27.71	49.28

Sources: Author's calculations; ASSA, 2002; DOE, 2003; Global Insight, 2004; StatsSA, 1998 & 2003; Strauss et al., 1996; UNDP, 2003a

Both these two tables can be read either vertically or horizontally. Vertically, they show the provincial variations in capability achievements highlighting the provinces with the best and worst female development rates within each development area, and the FHDl. (For more on this level of analysis, see Booysen-Wolthers, 2007b). In the present paper we shall focus only on the horizontal reading that shows variations *among the different development areas* in capability achievements. This will enable us to flag the development areas in which women's development capabilities were most significantly lacking.

To facilitate a horizontal reading, the achievements per development area had to be standardised for comparability. The values were indexed according to a scale of worst- and best-case goalposts, individually selected per development area, to produce a value lying between zero and one. The FHDl, used as a reference rather than a discussion point, has already been indexed and needed no adjustment.

In the case of female life expectancy the minimum and maximum values of 27.5 and 87.5 years employed by the GDI, serve also as our goalposts (Anand & Sen, 1995: Section 3; UNDP, 1995:74). The census category 'percentage of female population older than 15 years with no schooling' is used as our indicator of illiteracy, with literacy being calculated as one minus the illiteracy rate. For the sake of consistency with previous papers in this series, we use illiteracy (rather than literacy) rates, with the index parameters inverted to zero as a maximum, and 100 as the minimum. Both the primary and the secondary school GER values have zero and 100 as their goalposts, while the indicator 'female-headed households with no income' also has an inverted 100 as its minimum, and zero as its best-case, maximum parameter.

The female economically active population (EAP) indicator is somewhat more complex to index, since it is more difficult to settle on an appropriate best-case goalpost. A number of options present themselves: the mean female EAP for developing countries (55.7 per cent for 2001), Sub-Saharan Africa (62.2 per cent for 2001), medium HDI countries (56.7 per cent for 2001), the OECD mean (51.3 per cent for 2001), and an international mean (55.2 per cent for 2001) (UNDP, 2003b:322-325). Each of these brings its own arguments and counter-arguments, not the least of which is: To what level does South Africa aspire to develop – those of its neighbours, those of developed countries, or to an international standard? The point here is that there is no single correct choice, it being the prerogative of the researcher. Since there is a case to be made for cultural influence on female EAP levels, we argue that regional comparisons would be more appropriate for South Africa. We therefore opt for the mean Sub-Saharan female EAP achievements in 2001 as a goalpost for South Africa's female EAP. In Tables 3 and 4 we report the results for two other options in parentheses as an illustration of how the parameter choices would influence index values for the female EAP.

It has to be noted that the EAP captures only female economic activity in the formal sector. The omission, or, at best, gross undercounting, of the vast area of informal female economic activity from this analysis – due to the notorious difficulty to obtain reliable data in this sector (Bhorat et al., 2001: 86), let alone gender-stratified data – skews the results as they only partially reflect the changes experienced by women during this period⁶.

A similar indexing problem presents itself in the case of female unemployment, with factors like the levels of natural and structural unemployment (particularly in South Africa), the dual nature of South Africa's economy, and the HIV/AIDS epidemic being factors to consider. Once again, the choice ultimately depends on the researcher. Options for 2001 include the mean unemployment rates of OECD countries (7.1 per cent), those of the five countries with the highest HDI figures (4.03 per cent), and those of the top twenty HDI countries (6.25 per cent) (UNDP, 2003b: 299). Data for medium-HDI countries were not reported by the UNDP in this year. Although South Africa was 111 positions from the top HDI level in 2001, one could argue that the country should aspire to the benchmarks set by countries with higher development levels. We therefore choose to use the OECD mean female unemployment rate as a goalpost for South Africa. As before, Tables 3 and 4 also include alternative values in parentheses, should one choose another benchmark.

The indexed values per development area are shown in Tables 3 and 4. The values should be read as – for example – in 1996 Eastern Cape reached 65.5 per cent of the ultimate goal of zero illiteracy, compared with almost 79 per cent of its goal of having no female-headed households living with zero income.

While reaching the ultimate goal of an index value of one is the ideal, any figure above that should be viewed with circumspection, such values being difficult, if not impossible to interpret. Female primary school gross enrolment ratios, referring to the number of girls enrolled in primary school as a percentage of the female population aged 7 to 13 years, are a case in point. The oversubscription in 1996 can be ascribed to a number of reasons, including poor quality education that leads to high repetition

⁶ See Booysen-Wolthers, 2007a:28 for discussion on this.

rates, or the effects of HIV/AIDS on normal household functions that, in turn, impact on attendance and studying, and, ultimately, on passing grades. It can also be that a lack of day-care facilities encouraged women to place their children in school at a very young age in order for the women to gain and retain employment⁷. It can also simply be the result of poor quality data⁸. Whatever the reason for the oversubscription, values above one should not be viewed as unmitigated successes in the capabilities of women. It could even be argued that where index parameters are set at zero and one, any value over one indicates diminished development returns for women. The above explains why we question the validity of the 1996 female primary school GER and of Limpopo's 1996 female secondary school GER values as indicators of high women's development status: they are simply considered to be non-interpretable. For the sake of completeness, the GER results are shown and analysed below, but the reader may choose to disregard these in the light of the likely presence of measurement errors⁹.

⁷ See Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a:19

⁸ It can moreover be argued that any gross enrolment ratio derived from data sourced from educational institutions (as in this paper) – not merely those above the index threshold of one – should be interpreted with care as there is incentive for schools to inflate their reported enrolment figures. This clearly creates an opportunity for inaccuracy and gender bias in the reported data.

⁹ See Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a: 41 end note b for discussion on the use of alternative enrolment data sources.

Table 3: Indexed female development status in 1996, per FHDl and component area

	FHDl	Female life expectancy (years)	Female illiteracy	Female primary school GER	Female secondary school GER	Female EAP (as % of the female population)	Female-headed households with zero income ¹⁰	Female unemployment rate
Eastern Cape	0.7121	0.5867	0.8187	1.4628	0.9006	0.3421★ [0.3753★★] [0.4148★★★]	0.7866	0.5156★ [0.5109★★] [0.4991★★★]
Free State	0.7443	0.6033	0.8596	1.2434	0.9945	0.5132 [0.5630] [0.6222]	0.8403	0.6362 [0.6304] [0.6158]
Gauteng	0.8183	0.6750	0.9204	1.0848	0.9692	0.6741 [0.7395] [0.8173]	0.8669	0.6868 [0.6805] [0.6648]
KwaZulu-Natal	0.7062	0.5683	0.7891	1.3013	0.9004	0.4180 [0.4586] [0.5068]	0.7919	0.5845 [0.5792] [0.5658]
Limpopo	0.6728	0.6783	0.6668	1.1685	1.1885	0.3092 [0.3392] [0.3749]	0.7819	0.4855 [0.4810] [0.4700]
Mpumalanga	0.7287	0.5950	0.7325	1.2617	1.0625	0.4349 [0.4771] [0.5273]	0.7874	0.5921 [0.5866] [0.5731]
Northern Cape	0.7299	0.6583	0.8150	1.0694	0.705	0.4688 [0.5143] [0.5684]	0.8938	0.6782 [0.6720] [0.6565]
North West	0.7181	0.6400	0.8068	1.1748	0.9648	0.4698 [0.5153] [0.5696]	0.8058	0.5361 [0.5312] [0.5189]
Western Cape	0.8017	0.6867	0.9460	1.0713	0.8258	0.5664 [0.6213] [0.6867]	0.9130	0.8375 [0.8298] [0.8107]
South Africa	0.7489	0.6250	0.8234	1.2430	0.9640	0.4632 [0.5081] [0.5616]	0.8162	0.6047 [0.5991] [0.5853]

★ mean female EAP of Sub-Saharan Africa used as maximum index parameter; ★★ mean female EAP of medium HDI countries used as maximum index parameter; ★★★ OECD mean female EAP used as maximum index parameter; ★ mean OECD female unemployment rate used as maximum index parameter; ★★ mean unemployment rate of the 20 top HDI countries; ★★★ mean unemployment rate of the 5 top HDI countries; Figures in **red** = lowest development area achievement for the province/South Africa; Figures in **bold** = highest development area achievement for the province/South Africa

Source: Author's calculations

¹⁰ The number of households reporting zero income in 1996 and 2001 is probably an overestimation, as per Ardington, Lam, Leibbrandt & Welch, 2005; Leibbrandt et al., 2004; and Simkins, 2004. The index numbers, as shown in Tables 3 and 4, are therefore in all likelihood closer to one than shown in this paper. It also has be noted that although an approach using the gender of head of households is the only viable option for a gendered analysis at the household level, such an approach has its limitations (Budlender, 2003) and may produce skewed results.

Table 4: Indexed female development status in 2001, per FHDl and component area

	FHDl	Female life expectancy (years)	Female illiteracy	Female primary school GER	Female secondary school GER	Female EAP (as % of the female population)	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment rate
Eastern Cape	0.6444	0.4850	0.7902	1.1491	0.7675	0.4079 ★ [0.4474★★] [0.4945★★★]	0.6705	0.4489+ [0.4448++] [0.4345+++]
Free State	0.6755	0.4583	0.8542	1.0306	0.8846	0.6000 [0.6582] [0.7275]	0.7080	0.5385 [0.5335] [0.5212]
Gauteng	0.7533	0.5317	0.9210	0.9852	0.8164	0.7550 [0.8282] [0.9154]	0.7763	0.6200 [0.6144] [0.6002]
KwaZulu-Natal	0.6259	0.3833	0.7885	1.0317	0.8377	0.4884 [0.5358] [0.5922]	0.6997	0.5199 [0.5152] [0.5033]
Limpopo	0.6223	0.5917	0.6849	0.9727	0.9510	0.3733 [0.4095] [0.4526]	0.6790	0.4844 [0.4800] [0.4689]
Mpumalanga	0.6551	0.4317	0.7429	1.0267	0.9229	0.5043 [0.5533] [0.6115]	0.7027	0.5651 [0.5600] [0.5471]
Northern Cape	0.7104	0.5933	0.8380	1.0562	0.7528	0.5439 [0.5966] [0.6595]	0.8194	0.5544 [0.5493] [0.5366]
North West	0.6598	0.5083	0.8212	0.9890	0.8606	0.5434 [0.5961] [0.6589]	0.7079	0.4586 [0.4544] [0.4439]
Western Cape	0.7781	0.6383	0.9507	0.9862	0.7572	0.6471 [0.7099] [0.7846]	0.8468	0.7664 [0.7594] [0.7419]
South Africa	0.6892	0.5033	0.8260	1.0296	0.8414	0.5378 [0.5899] [0.6520]	0.7229	0.5460 [0.5410] [0.5285]

★ mean female EAP of Sub-Saharan Africa used as maximum index parameter; ★★ mean female EAP of medium HDI countries used as maximum index parameter; ★★★ OECD mean female EAP used as maximum index parameter; + mean OECD female unemployment rate used as maximum index parameter; ++ mean unemployment rate of the 20 top HDI countries; +++ mean unemployment rate of the 5 top HDI countries; Figures in **red** = lowest development area achievement for the province/South Africa; Figures in **bold** = highest development area achievement for the province/South Africa

Source: Author's calculations

South Africa came closest to the maximum goalposts in the broad area of attainment of knowledge, while the areas of longevity and standard of living seemed (more or less equally) far from the benchmarks in 1996. By 2001 attainment of knowledge still performed the strongest (in terms of its stated goals), but longevity clearly took a turn for the worse and came in lowest. Provincially, the same general pattern was discernible in 1996, except in the cases of Limpopo, Gauteng and Western Cape. The 2001 national pattern was also very clearly reflected in the individual provinces with a marked difference between the broad area of longevity and the two other areas. Only

in the case of Eastern Cape and Northern Cape was this difference less marked, while Limpopo showed standard of living as its worst broad performing area for 2001.

Turning to the individual development areas, in 1996 female EAP fared worst in terms of its stated goals (regardless of which one of the three goalposts one chose), both nationally and provincially. By 2001 female EAP was dethroned as the worst-performing female development area, being replaced by female life expectancy. The effect of HIV/AIDS was clearly taking its toll, this highlighting life expectancy as *the* priority area in terms of female development. This swapping occurred nationally and in five of the nine provinces (Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and Western Cape), while female EAP remained the most pressing issue in Eastern Cape, Limpopo and Northern Cape. In North West female unemployment fared the worst. Depending on the trend beyond 2001, female EAP and female life expectancy, in particular, are areas of weakness in need of attention for the (measured) absolute female development status to improve.

Female primary school GER, with its less suspect 2001 values, was the best-performing female development area in that year. What is clear is that – on an absolute level – there does not seem to be an intrinsic problem with girls being denied basic education.

By ranking the indexed development areas, as shown in Tables 5 and 6, we find that, in 1996, female EAP featured as the worst female development area across all of the nine provinces. Female primary school GER, on the other hand, had a similarly uniform ranking across the provinces as the best area, Limpopo being the only exception. Female secondary school GER, female illiteracy, and poverty in female-headed households, generally, followed as less pressing issues across the provinces in 1996. These top ranking positions were by and large maintained towards 2001, but life expectancy clearly showed a downward trend, heading for the lowest ranking position.

The rankings of 2001 were nevertheless somewhat less uniform than in 1996, this implying that development area achievements became more province-specific, and

that province-specific policy interventions rather than blanket national approaches were required.

Table 5: Ranking of the indexed female development status in 1996, per HDI component area

	Fem. life expectancy (years)	Fem. illiteracy	Fem. primary school GER	Fem. secondary school GER	Female EAP (as % of the female population)	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment rate
Eastern Cape	5	3	1*	2	7	4	6
Free State	6	3	1	2	7	4	5
Gauteng	6	3	1	2	7	4	5
KwaZulu-Natal	5	4	1	2	7	3	6
Limpopo	4	5	2	1	7	3	6
Mpumalanga	5	4	1	2	7	3	6
Northern Cape	6	3	1	4	7	2	5
North West	5	3	1	2	7	4	6
Western Cape	6	2	1	5	7	3	4
South Africa	5	3	1	2	7	4	6

* A ranking of 1 indicates the area with the highest female development rate among the development areas. A value of 7 indicates the opposite.
Source: Author's calculations

Table 6: Ranking of the indexed female development status in 2001, per HDI component area

	Fem. life expectancy (years)	Fem. illiteracy	Fem. primary school GER	Fem. secondary school GER	Female EAP (as % of the female population)	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment rate
Eastern Cape	5	2	1*	3	7	4	6
Free State	7	3	1	2	5	4	6
Gauteng	7	2	1	3	5	4	6
KwaZulu-Natal	7	3	1	2	6	4	5
Limpopo	5	3	1	2	7	4	6
Mpumalanga	7	3	1	2	6	4	5
Northern Cape	5	2	1	4	7	3	6
North West	6	3	1	2	5	4	7
Western Cape	7	2	1	5	6	3	4
South Africa	7	3	1	2	6	4	5

* A ranking of 1 indicates the area with the highest female development rate among the development areas. A value of 7 indicates the opposite.
Source: Author's calculations

3.2 Changes in the level of female development between 1996 and 2001

Change over time is perhaps a more important indicator for policy analysis than absolute level, as it provides an indication of trends that could influence (or be

influenced by) policy design. Table 7 indicates the absolute changes in each of the development areas between 1996 and 2001.

Table 7: Absolute changes between 1996 and 2001 in the indexed female development status, per HDI component area

	Female life expectancy (years)	Female illiteracy	Female primary school GER	Female secondary school GER	Female EAP (as % of the female population)	Female-headed households with zero income	Female unemployment rate
Eastern Cape	-0.1017	-0.0285	-0.3137*	-0.1331	0.0658	-0.1161	-0.0667
Free State	-0.1450	-0.0054	-0.2128	-0.1099	0.0868	-0.1323	-0.0977
Gauteng	-0.1433	0.0006	-0.0996	-0.1528	0.0809	-0.0906	-0.0667
KwaZulu-Natal	-0.1850	-0.0006	-0.2696	-0.0627	0.0704	-0.0922	-0.0646
Limpopo	-0.0867	0.0181	-0.1958	-0.2375	0.0641	-0.1029	-0.0011
Mpumalanga	-0.1633	0.0104	-0.2350	-0.1396	0.0695	-0.0847	-0.0269
Northern Cape	-0.0650	0.0230	-0.0132	0.0513	0.0751	-0.0744	-0.1238
North West	-0.1317	0.0144	-0.1858	-0.1042	0.0736	-0.0979	-0.0775
Western Cape	-0.0483	0.0047	-0.0851	-0.0686	0.0807	-0.0662	-0.0710
South Africa	-0.1217	0.0026	-0.2134	-0.1226	0.0746	-0.0933	-0.0587

* Figures in **red**=biggest change across the development areas, regardless of direction; Figures in **bold**= smallest change across the development areas, regardless of direction
Source: Author's calculations

In general, the changes across the development areas were consistent neither in direction nor in size. South Africa's female development level improved in only two of the seven areas, with five areas showing a decline, both nationally and provincially. (The only exceptions to this were the improvement in Northern Cape's female secondary school GER, and the worsening in illiteracy in Eastern Cape, Free State and KwaZulu-Natal.)

In terms of size of change, ambiguity enters once again, with the biggest decline in female development status, both nationally and provincially occurring in the area of attainment of knowledge, Northern Cape being the exception. The driver for this general decline, on a national level and in six of the provinces, was a 'worsening' in respect of the female primary school GER figures. One should however, decide whether a move towards a less suspect GER distribution should be considered an improvement or a deterioration in the development status of women. Exceptions to this were:

- Northern Cape showed an *increase* in attainment of knowledge, with improvements in female literacy and female secondary school GER overshadowing the decline in female primary school GER in this province. It has

to be noted that, among the provinces, the 1996 female primary school GER of this province (106.94) had the smallest margin of oversubscription.

- In the case of Gauteng, deterioration in its female secondary school GER levels, from 96.92 in 1996 to 81.64 in 2001, was the main reason why its attainment of knowledge capabilities worsened. The oversubscription of the 1996 female primary school GER of this province had one of the smallest margins. It can therefore be argued that in the case of Gauteng, marking attainment of knowledge as the biggest female development-loss area (and therefore an area of weakness) seems justified.
- A similar situation occurred in the case of Limpopo, where a decline in secondary school GER surpassed that of its primary school GER. Although its 2001 female secondary school GER was still the highest amongst the provinces, it was more in line with that of the other provinces than had been the case in 1996. This, together with the gross female secondary school oversubscription in this province in 1996, therefore makes the change appear more like a data adjustment than a real development concern.
- In the case of Northern Cape the worst deterioration in capabilities occurred in the area of female unemployment, which increased from 37 per cent in 1996 to 48.5 per cent in 2001. The change in primary school GER of this province was in fact the least significant amongst all the development areas.

Longevity was the area displaying the third most pronounced change nationally – second most in the provinces – during this time. Yet, in the cases of Western Cape, Limpopo, Northern Cape and Eastern Cape the changes in life expectancy went against this trend and were less prominent.

If the contentious female primary school GER is omitted from this comparison, longevity emerges as a distinct area of weakness. Nonetheless, in the cases of Eastern Cape, Gauteng, Limpopo and Western Cape attainment of knowledge still remained the area of steepest decline in development status, while in the case of Northern Cape, a decline in standard of living still overshadowed the deterioration in life expectancy. However, note that only in the case of Limpopo this indicates something other than a real concern.

The least significant changes between 1996 and 2001 seemed to be concentrated in one area, namely the area of illiteracy: nationally and in seven of the provinces, illiteracy presented the least noteworthy changes during this time.

Investigating rankings of changes in the development areas between the two years reveals more about the changing areas of weakness in South Africa. On a national level it is clear that, although female life expectancy had become the most pressing issue in 2001, female EAP (ranked sixth) was still a problem area in terms of female development achievements, as was female unemployment (maintaining its fifth position). It can therefore be argued that, but for the effect of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on the women of South Africa, the low female EAP, i.e. the proportion of the female population involved in the economy in such a way *that it is captured in statistics*, is an underlying problem for the development status of women.

In general terms, the ranking changes between 1996 and 2001 confirm that life expectancy gained priority as an area of weakness, female EAP remained an area of weakness, and that female unemployment (not surprisingly, given its relation to EAP) and poverty in female-headed households should be monitored as increasingly weak areas. Thus, viewed from the perspective of priorities per broad development area, life expectancy had by 2001 emerged as a particular weakness in the (measured) well-being of women; standard of living remains a cause for concern; and, attainment of knowledge, while ostensibly stable as an absolute female capability top achiever, still needs to be interpreted with care.

4. Gender parity ratios per development area

This section investigates the development status of women *relative* to that of men so as to determine differences in well-being.

4.1 The levels of gender parity ratios in 1996 and in 2001

Tables 8 and 9 show the gender parity ratios – obtained from actual, not indexed, values¹¹ – for each of the six development areas examined in this section. As before, we will focus on the horizontal reading to ascertain in which development area women's relative development status fared the worst.

Table 8: Gender parity ratios in 1996, per gender-specific HDI and component area

	Gender-specific HDI	Life expect.	Illiteracy	Primary school enrolment	Secondary school enrolment	EAP	Female- to male-headed households with zero income	Unemployment
Eastern Cape	1.0035	1.1676	1.4447	1.0320	1.3413	0.9590	1.1365	1.1131
Free State	0.9832	1.1582	1.1143	0.9618	1.1346	0.7832	0.8459	1.5090
Gauteng	0.9837	1.1221	0.9362	0.9847	1.1141	0.7709	0.6368	1.2786
KwaZulu-Natal	0.9673	1.1557	1.5485	0.9697	1.1317	0.8654	0.9552	1.1588
Limpopo	0.9550	1.1386	2.006	0.9443	1.1529	0.9993	1.4899	1.5199
Mpumalanga	0.9639	1.1408	1.3475	0.9645	1.2156	0.7904	1.1429	1.4534
Northern Cape	0.9754	1.1279	1.0611	0.9818	1.0659	0.7504	0.6776	1.3827
North West	0.9781	1.1304	1.0448	0.9673	1.1787	0.7798	0.9616	1.3642
Western Cape	0.9808	1.1171	0.9570	0.9745	1.1184	0.8047	0.6942	1.2389
South Africa	0.9753	1.1404	1.3768	0.9798	1.1725	0.8302	0.9866	1.2763

Source: Author's calculations¹²

¹¹ Since these values all express the capability achievements of women as a percentage of that of men, there is no need for indexing, as they are comparable across development areas in this format. From a data point of view, the gender parity values are therefore less vulnerable than the female development rates in that they do not have to rely on arbitrary index parameters for comparability.

¹² The calculations draw from the following sources: ASSA, 2002; DOE, 2003; Global Insight, 2004; StatsSA, 1998 & 2003; Strauss et al., 1996; and UNDP, 2003a.

Table 9: Gender parity ratios in 2001, per gender-specific HDI and component area

	Gender-specific HDI	Life expect.	Illiteracy	Primary school enrolment	Secondary school enrolment	EAP	Female- to male-headed households with zero income	Unemployment
Eastern Cape	0.9637	1.1297	1.5950	0.9703	1.2416	0.9618	1.1799	1.1388
Free State	0.9533	1.1202	1.2942	0.9561	1.0715	0.7873	0.9195	1.5296
Gauteng	0.9585	1.0939	1.0493	0.9661	1.0892	0.7715	0.6812	1.2804
KwaZulu-Natal	0.9320	1.1099	1.6593	0.9489	1.0821	0.8690	1.0723	1.1748
Limpopo	0.9351	1.1150	2.0614	0.9351	1.1172	1.0019	1.5817	1.5263
Mpumalanga	0.9301	1.1033	1.4350	0.9426	1.1005	0.7917	1.1077	1.4586
Northern Cape	0.9610	1.1129	1.1033	0.9752	1.0474	0.7536	0.8090	1.4002
North West	0.9564	1.1048	1.0807	0.9544	1.0976	0.7807	0.9207	1.3744
Western Cape	0.9708	1.1022	1.0163	0.9751	1.1342	0.8055	0.7437	1.2479
South Africa	0.9480	1.1075	1.4790	0.9561	1.1162	0.8327	1.0016	1.2878

Source: Author's calculations

A gender parity ratio of one implies equality in the development achievement of women and men. However, the interpretation of a value over one depends on the indicator. To facilitate direct comparisons on a horizontal plain, we therefore have to standardise the ratios¹³. These standardised values, with one as a baseline or point of reference, are presented in Tables 10 and 11.

¹³ In the cases of female illiteracy, female-headed households with zero income, and female unemployment, a smaller absolute number implies a better performance, while the converse is true for the other indicators. For example, it is preferable to have an illiteracy rate of 5 per cent as opposed to 55 per cent, whereas it is more desirable to achieve a primary school GER of 95 per cent than one of 25 per cent. Similarly, a gender parity ratio under one implies a beneficial status for women in the case of these three indicators, whereas it would imply a lagging in development status for women in terms of the other indicators. To ensure that the ratios have uniform meaning, the values of illiteracy, households with zero income and unemployment, were subtracted from two to indicate *how far from parity* the values lie.

Table 10: Standardised gender parity values of 1996, per gender-specific HDI and component area

	Gender-specific HDI	Life expect.	Illiteracy	Primary school enrolment	Secondary school enrolment	EAP	Female- to male-headed households with zero income	Unemployment
Eastern Cape	1.0035	1.1676	0.5553**	1.0320	1.3413*	0.9590	0.8635	0.8869
Free State	0.9832	1.1582	0.8857	0.9618	1.1346	0.7832	1.1541	0.4910
Gauteng	0.9837	1.1221	1.0638	0.9847	1.1141	0.7709	1.3632	0.7214
KwaZulu-Natal	0.9673	1.1557	0.4515	0.9697	1.1317	0.8654	1.0448	0.8412
Limpopo	0.9550	1.1386	-0.0006	0.9443	1.1539	0.9993	0.5101	0.4801
Mpumalanga	0.9639	1.1408	0.6525	0.9645	1.2156	0.7904	0.8571	0.5466
Northern Cape	0.9754	1.1279	0.9389	0.9818	1.0659	0.7504	1.3224	0.6173
North West	0.9781	1.1304	0.9552	0.9673	1.1787	0.7798	1.0384	0.6358
Western Cape	0.9808	1.1171	1.0430	0.9745	1.1184	0.8047	1.3058	0.7611
South Africa	0.9753	1.1404	0.6232	0.9798	1.1725	0.8302	1.0134	0.7237
South Africa component area mean		1.1404	0.9252			0.8557		

*Values in **bold** indicate the development areas where women's relative development position was best; **values in **red** indicate the development areas where women's relative development position was weakest.

Source: Author's calculations

Table 11: Standardised gender parity values of 2001, per gender-specific HDI and component area

	Gender-specific HDI	Life expect.	Illiteracy	Primary school enrolment	Secondary school enrolment	EAP	Female- to male-headed households with zero income	Unemployment
Eastern Cape	0.9637	1.1297	0.4050**	0.9703	1.2416*	0.9618	0.8201	0.8612
Free State	0.9533	1.1202	0.7058	0.9561	1.0715	0.7873	1.0805	0.4704
Gauteng	0.9585	1.0939	0.9507	0.9661	1.0892	0.7715	1.3188	0.7196
KwaZulu-Natal	0.9320	1.1099	0.3407	0.9489	1.0821	0.8690	0.9277	0.8252
Limpopo	0.9351	1.1150	-0.0614	0.9351	1.1172	1.0019	0.4183	0.4737
Mpumalanga	0.9301	1.1033	0.5650	0.9426	1.1005	0.7917	0.8923	0.5414
Northern Cape	0.9610	1.1129	0.8967	0.9752	1.0474	0.7536	1.1910	0.5998
North West	0.9564	1.1048	0.9193	0.9544	1.0976	0.7807	1.0793	0.6256
Western Cape	0.9708	1.1022	0.9837	0.9751	1.1342	0.8055	1.2563	0.7521
South Africa	0.9480	1.1075	0.5210	0.9561	1.1162	0.8327	0.9984	0.7122
South Africa component area mean		1.1075	0.8644			0.8478		

*Values in **bold** indicate the development areas where women's relative development position was best; **values in **red** indicate the development areas where women's relative development position was weakest.

Source: Author's calculations

The standardised values are mere analytical tools and, though very similar in scale, should not be confused with or interpreted as gender parity ratios as such. Rather, the values should be read as follows: a value of one represents gender equality in achievements in the development area; values over one imply an advantageous

development position of women relative to that of men, while values under one imply a disadvantageous development position for women relative to that of men.

In general, in 1996, while the life expectancy of women compared favourably to that of men¹⁴, women seemed to fare better (relative to men) in the broad area of attainment of knowledge¹⁵ than in the area of standard of living: the average attainment of knowledge of women was most closely approximating that of men, or indeed surpassing it, as was the case in Gauteng, North West and Western Cape. By 2001, women fell well behind men in the knowledge area – Gauteng and Western Cape excepted, yet the performance in this area still surpassed the mean relative standard of living performance of women. KwaZulu-Natal was the only province where the relative position of women was stronger in the area of standard of living, rather than in the area of knowledge – both in 1996 and 2001. Eastern Cape showed a similar pattern in 2001. Furthermore, even though women had lost some of their life expectancy margin, their longevity still surpassed that of men by more than five years. This national level pattern could be found in all of the nine provinces.

¹⁴ Assessing the relative development status of women in terms of life expectancy is somewhat of a challenge. Women tend to have a longer lifespan than men (UNDP, 2000:270), a biological fact incorporated into the FHDl and MHDl used in this paper (see Appendix II for detail on this). Given the estimated five year life expectancy difference used in the FHDl and MHDl calculations, parity is not an optimal benchmark against which to judge relative female life expectancy achievement. The national female life expectancies for 1996 and 2001 were therefore taken as points of reference, and the hypothetical five year differences applied to attain gender-parity goalposts for these two years. That is, with the female life expectancy of 65 for 1996 and 57.7 for 2001, a 'normal' gender parity ratio for these years would be around 1.0833 and 1.0949 respectively. The same principle was applied to find provincial gender parity goalposts. While this is a useful exercise to ascertain the relative development position of women, these conclusions have to be qualified by the ravaging effect of HIV/AIDS on *both* sexes. While women might appear to be in a superior development position due to a high gender parity ratio, this is in all probability due to an alarmingly low male life expectancy rate. As far as life expectancy in South Africa is concerned, hardly anything can be termed 'normal' and our focus in this regard merely lies with a five year longer lifespan that women tend to display, and whether that margin changed over the years.

¹⁵ The suspect nature of female primary-school GER is still borne in mind, yet it impacts more on the absolute, within-gender level than on the relative, between-gender level since the oversubscription occurred also in the case of boys. The possibility of a gender bias does, nevertheless, still present itself.

The position of women relative to that of men varied across the individual development areas. Nationally, women in 1996 were in a more advantageous position in the areas of secondary school enrolment, longevity (given the adjusted benchmark parity), and of households living in poverty. By 2001 women had lost ground, with only secondary school enrolments and longevity reflecting a more advantageous position for women, albeit less convincingly so. Provincially, women fared best in the following areas:

- In all of the nine provinces female life expectancy gender parity ratios were well above the expected benchmark provincial ratios in 1996. By 2001, the provinces were all moving much closer to their expected gender parity ratios, with KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga drawing even. The margin by which women's longevity exceeded that of men, was thus markedly less in 2001.
- Women outperformed men in secondary school enrolments in 1996 and 2001 in all of the nine provinces.
- Only Eastern Cape had more girls enrolled in primary school than boys, and only in 1996.
- In terms of illiteracy, Gauteng and Western Cape had fewer illiterate women than men in 1996. Nevertheless, by 2001 all nine provinces had more illiterate women than men. Limpopo, with double the number of illiterate women compared with their male cohorts, is particularly noteworthy¹⁶.
- In 2001, marginally more women were economically active than men in Limpopo;
- In 1996, the poverty rate of female-headed households was lower than that of male-headed households in all the provinces, except Eastern Cape, Limpopo and Mpumalanga. By 2001, KwaZulu-Natal joined the latter group with more female-headed households living in poverty than male-headed households¹⁷.

¹⁶ Contrary to expectation, demographic trends made only a limited contribution to the illiteracy gender parity ratios: nationally, there were about 13.5 per cent more women older 15 years than men in 1996 and 2001, yet there were almost 38 per cent more illiterate women than men. This trend prevailed also in the provinces, notably Limpopo where a population gender parity ratio of 1.34 fell far short of the illiteracy gender parity of 2, for both years.

¹⁷ The national household poverty gender parity ratio of 1.0016 for 2001 seems to reflect a fairly equitable distribution of poverty amongst female- and male-headed households. However, if judged against the demographic trend of there having been 72 female-headed households for every 100 male-headed households in the same year (StatsSA, 1998 & 2003), the poverty 'gender gap' gains more

It is therefore only in terms of longevity and secondary school enrolments that women's development status can unequivocally be said to have surpassed that of men across the board on a provincial level. While the relative position of women in terms of household poverty started out strongly in 1996, this was less convincingly so in 2001. In the other four development areas women's development position lagged behind that of men, though with exceptions. What is furthermore clear is that in 2001, compared with 1996, there were fewer instances of women being in a more advantageous development position than men. Women were therefore losing ground and had started to lag behind men, more so in 2001 than in 1996.

For both years the relative development status of women was weakest in the areas of unemployment (six of the provinces) and illiteracy (nationally, and three of the provinces). As before, provincial weaknesses became less uniform across the development areas, thus reiterating the need for tailor-made, provincial-specific development strategies.

A ranking of the standardised gender parity values, as shown in Tables 12 and 13, confirms that, on a provincial level, unemployment and (to a lesser degree) illiteracy, followed by EAP¹⁸ were the most pressing problems in terms of women's relative development status in 1996 and 2001. Life expectancy and secondary school enrolments, on the other hand, constituted the least problematic areas *relative to men*. No clear provincial priority patterns present themselves in the other development areas, however. On a national level, illiteracy, unemployment and EAP were, for both years, the three priority areas for improving the relative development status of women.

prominence. This degree of analytical depth is admittedly lacking in *our* simple, linear comparison of the HDI components, and is an area that could be added as a further dimension to the analysis.

¹⁸ Gender differences in the age of retirement and educational participation, as well as the (apparent) exclusion, or gross undercounting, of informal sector economic activity in the EAP, are all factors that need consideration when assessing the severity of gender disparity in this area. One could furthermore argue that EAP gender parity is not necessarily the ideal to be strived for, as women might opt not to join the labour market, but prefer to be full-time homemakers. This argument, however, has more resonance in a society with less glaring (particularly female) poverty issues, than it does in South Africa.

Table 12: Ranking of the standardised gender parity values in 1996, per gender-specific HDI area

	Life expect.	Illiteracy	Primary school enrolment	Secondary school enrolment	EAP	Female- to male-headed households with zero income	Unemployment
Eastern Cape	2	7	3	1*	4	6	5
Free State	1	5	4	3	6	2	7
Gauteng	2	4	5	3	6	1	7
KwaZulu-Natal	1	7	4	2	5	3	6
Limpopo	2	7	4	1	3	5	6
Mpumalanga	2	6	3	1	5	4	7
Northern Cape	2	5	4	3	6	1	7
North West	2	5	4	1	6	3	7
Western Cape	3	4	5	2	6	1	7
South Africa	2	7	4	1	5	3	6

* A ranking of 1 indicates the most advantageous position of women relative to that of men, among the development areas. A value of 7 indicates the opposite.

Source: Author's calculations

Table 13: Ranking of the standardised gender parity values in 2001, per gender-specific HDI area

	Life expect.	Illiteracy	Primary school enrolment	Secondary school enrolment	EAP	Female- to male-headed households with zero income	Unemployment
Eastern Cape	2	7	3	1*	4	6	5
Free State	1	6	4	3	5	2	7
Gauteng	2	5	4	3	6	1	7
KwaZulu-Natal	1	7	3	2	5	4	6
Limpopo	2	7	4	2	3	6	5
Mpumalanga	1	6	3	2	5	4	7
Northern Cape	2	5	4	3	6	1	7
North West	1	5	4	2	6	3	7
Western Cape	3	4	5	2	6	1	7
South Africa	2	7	4	1	5	3	6

* A ranking of 1 indicates the most advantageous position of women relative to that of men, among the development areas. A value of 7 indicates the opposite.

Source: Author's calculations

4.2 Changes in the level of gender parity ratios between 1996 and 2001

Changes in the gender parities of the six development areas differed both in direction and in magnitude. As can be seen from Table 14, women lost ground relative to men in six of the areas between 1996 and 2001. Only in the case of EAP did women's development position, relative to that of men, improve somewhat.

Table 14: Absolute changes in the standardised gender parity values between 1996 and 2001, per gender-specific HDI area

	Life expect.	Illiteracy	Primary school enrolment	Secondary school enrolment	EAP	Female- to male-headed households with zero income	Unemployment
Eastern Cape	-0.0379	*-0.1504	-0.0617	-0.0997	0.0028	-0.0434	-0.0257
Free State	-0.0380	-0.1800	-0.0057	-0.0631	0.0041	-0.0736	-0.0207
Gauteng	-0.0282	-0.1132	-0.0186	-0.0250	0.0006	-0.0444	-0.0017
KwaZulu-Natal	-0.0458	-0.1108	-0.0208	-0.0496	0.0036	-0.1171	-0.0160
Limpopo	-0.0235	-0.0608	-0.0092	-0.0357	0.0026	-0.0917	-0.0064
Mpumalanga	-0.0375	-0.0875	-0.0219	-0.1151	0.0012	0.0352	-0.0052
Northern Cape	-0.0151	-0.0422	-0.0066	-0.0185	0.0031	-0.1314	-0.0175
North West	-0.0256	-0.0359	-0.0130	-0.0811	0.0010	0.0409	-0.0102
Western Cape	-0.0149	-0.0592	0.0006	0.0158	0.0008	-0.0494	-0.0090
South Africa	-0.0329	-0.1021	-0.0237	-0.0563	0.0026	-0.0149	-0.0115

* Values in **red** represent the biggest changes, regardless of direction, between 1996 and 2001 among the development areas; values in **bold** represent the smallest changes, regardless of direction, between 1996 and 2001.

Source: Author's calculations

A surprising, and somewhat disconcerting finding is that – nationally and also in four of the nine provinces – women lost most ground relative to men in the area of illiteracy: relatively speaking, more women than men were illiterate in 2001 than in 1996. Men therefore managed to extract themselves from illiteracy at a faster pace than women did¹⁹. In the cases of KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and Northern Cape, women's relative position deteriorated most in terms of poverty in female-headed households, while in the case of North West and Mpumalanga, this occurred in the area of secondary school enrolment. The deterioration of women's relative illiteracy position²⁰ is cause for concern, given the known positive influence literacy and education has on women's decision-making power (Kishor & Neitzel, 1996:91-92; Sachs, 2005:16; Sen, 1999:191), child nutrition (Smith, Ramakrishnan, Ndiya, Haddad & Martorell, 2003:11 & 23), fertility rates (Østergaard, 1992:133; Sachs, 2005:65; Sen, 1999:195) and GDP (UNFPA, 2000:5.5&6). The UNDP's higher assigned illiteracy weight, mentioned in Section 2, reflects the critical nature of this area in improving capabilities and fostering

¹⁹ At first glance, demographics, and in particular, differing life expectancies seems to be the obvious reason for this widening in the illiteracy 'gender gap'. Yet, closer scrutiny of the data reveals that demography is, at best, only a partial contributing factor. Even allowing for data errors, it was concluded that it is valid to highlight this area as an area of concern. For further discussion on this, refer to Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a:15-16.

²⁰ The oversubscription in female primary school GER seems to be at odds with this finding. For a possible explanation, see Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a:20-21.

freedom. Therefore, in the light of the sliding relative development status of women, this area begs scrutiny.

The relative development position of women changed least, across the board, in the area of EAP (Western Cape being the only exception), with a marginal national improvement of 0.0026 index points recorded between the two years.

Judging from the ranking positions, the wide gender-gap in unemployment rates remained the biggest concern for six of the provinces that kept this issue, together with EAP and illiteracy, in the top priorities list. Longevity and secondary school enrolment remained the least pressing issue for women's *relative* development position, while poverty of households and primary school enrolments, for the most part, maintained their former rankings.

Given the rankings as well as the absolute changes between the two years, we can therefore conclude that although gender differences in unemployment undoubtedly remain a priority in respect of the relative development status of women, gender differences in illiteracy and poverty in households were gaining prominence as problem areas.

5. Concluding findings

Two previous studies have found that the development status of women declined between 1996 and 2001, in both absolute and (especially) relative terms – nationally and throughout the nine provinces (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a & b). This study examines the same data set to find which development areas should be flagged as priorities in order to reverse the declining development status of women, or at the very least, halt the decline.

The main areas of weakness, as identified from an absolute and a relative perspective, are shown in Tables 15 and 16. We find that:

- in general, on an absolute level, women fared worst in the development areas of life expectancy and (to a lesser degree) of economically active population (EAP).

While life expectancy had risen to prominence towards 2001, EAP had historically been the problem area in terms of women's capabilities. The poor EAP level is likely to be a reflection rather of poor female participation in the formal economy than of poor economic participation *per se*.

- Relative to men, women fared the worst (overwhelmingly so) in the area of unemployment, and to a lesser degree, in the area of illiteracy.
- In terms of changes, female primary school GER reflected the biggest absolute change between 1996 and 2001. Gross oversubscription in 1996 served as the basis for these changes, which, in itself seems to point to a problem, either in the 1996 data or in the education system. Be that as it may, this area is in need of investigation to determine the reason for the substantial deterioration between the two years.
- When it comes to relative changes, illiteracy and poverty (households with zero income) stand out as the areas where women had lost the most ground relative to the achievements of men between 1996 and 2001.

Some of the individual provinces do prove to be exceptions to the above – notably North West as the only province where, both on an absolute and a relative level, women fared the worst in the area of unemployment. The significant decline in female absolute secondary school enrolments in Gauteng is further cause for concern; so too, is the deterioration in female unemployment rates in Northern Cape. This emphasises the fact that, as far as the development status of women is concerned, provincial-specific strategies rather than national blanket approaches are required.

Table 15: Priority areas for the development status of women: areas with the weakest levels in 2001

	Female life expectancy		Illiteracy		Primary school enrolment		Secondary school enrolment		EAP		Households with zero income		Unemployment	
	Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative
Eastern Cape				×					×					
Free State	×													×
Gauteng	×													×
KwaZulu-Natal	×			×										
Limpopo				×					×					
Mpumalanga	×													×
Northern Cape									×					×
North West													×	×
Western Cape	×													×
South Africa	×			×										

Table 16: Priority areas for the development status of women: areas with the most pronounced level changes between 1996 and 2001

	Female life expectancy		Illiteracy		Primary school enrolment		Secondary school enrolment		EAP		Households with zero income		Unemployment	
	Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative	Absolute	Relative
Eastern Cape				×	×									
Free State				×	×									
Gauteng				×			×							
KwaZulu-Natal					×						×			
Limpopo							×				×			
Mpumalanga					×			×						
Northern Cape											×		×	
North West					×			×						
Western Cape				×	×									
South Africa				×	×									

Despite concerns about certain sections of the data, this analysis does provide some indication of where focus should be directed in order to halt, and reverse, the deteriorating development status of women in South Africa.

This paper, with the previous two papers, illustrates how the well-being of women can be measured with the aid of an adjusted HDI measure. Yet, at the same time, this provides but one perspective on the development status of women. Human

development is a complex matter, and, as such, one single measure does not suffice to capture all the nuances. Further investigation, employing other indicators to capture more aspects of the development process, is required to gain a more comprehensive picture of changes in the development status of women in South Africa between 1996 and 2001.

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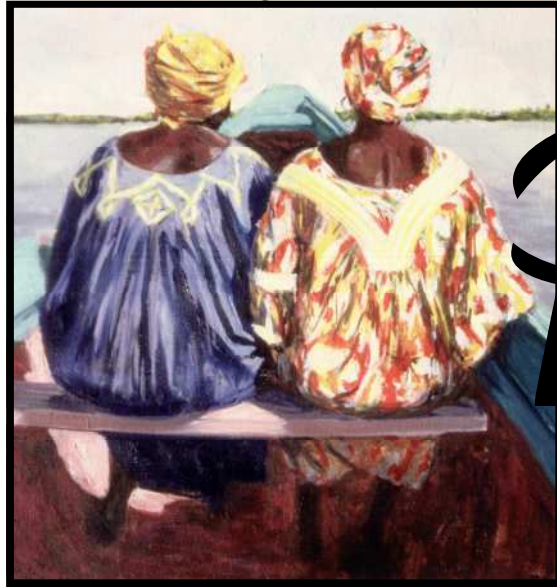
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PAPER IV

**Broadening the perspective
on measuring
the development status of women:
five indicators for five perspectives**

[Referenced as Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007d]

Broadening the perspective on measuring the development status of women: five indicators for five perspectives

Abstract

Measuring the development status of women is a challenge, due, in part, to a limited choice of indicators to provide an accurate picture of the well-being of women. In acknowledgement of the multidimensionality of development, this paper investigates the development status of women in South Africa by applying five different indicators for a more nuanced and varied perspective on the development status of women. The paper finds that while the development capabilities of women declined between 1996 and 2001, their (external) empowerment improved. Household power status also improved between 1998 and 2003, as did societal power status. Significant provincial differences were found within each indicator, the most glaring being in the external and internal empowerment areas. It was further found that the five indicators concurred well in their assessment of the well-being of the women in Western Cape and Limpopo, less so in respect of Gauteng, but produced less than consistent pictures for the other provinces.

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1. Introduction

The progressive nature of South Africa's 1996 constitution raised hopes that the long-standing gender inequality of the country's pluralistic society would be addressed. Despite remarkable progress in terms of mainstreaming gender issues¹ since then, the results are nevertheless not very encouraging: between 1996 and 2001, the development status of women declined in absolute, but especially in relative terms, at both the national and the provincial level (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a&b).

The development status of a group is a complex matter. In acknowledgement of the multidimensionality of development, this paper sets out to gain insight into the development status of women in South Africa by using a set of five gendered development indicators rather than the individual indicators hitherto used. As before, the focus is on changes between 1996 and 2001.

The previously developed gender-specific HDI (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a:7-8) – that provides us with separate HDIs for women (the FHDI) and for men (the MHDI) – will be augmented by the Gender Development Index (GDI), the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), as well as two measures reflecting the status of women in terms of their participation in and influence on decisions that affect their lives. All of these will be calculated at both the national and the provincial level to ascertain whether any discernible interprovincial patterns, consistencies or inconsistencies present themselves.

The value of using a set of indicators lies in the fact that each of these indicators offers a different perspective on the well-being of women and thus provides a more varied, and perhaps more balanced, picture. (They can also be combined in more complex measurement frameworks; see Booyesen-Wolthers 2007e.)

¹ 'Gender mainstreaming' refers to strategies designed to incorporate the needs and concerns of both women and men into programmes and policies at all levels of government in an effort to prevent the persistence of gender inequality (UNDP, 2006:2).

The 'status of women' is a widely used term with no universal definition and it is ultimately dependent on the adjectives it associates with for meaning. It refers loosely to the position of women either in absolute terms or relative to that of men; it is sometimes equated with, or at least partially related to, gender-equality (Mason, 1986:286; Smith, Ramakrishnan, Ndiya, Haddad & Martorell, 2003:5;). It refers to the level of empowerment a woman has within her immediate surroundings, as well as in the society in which she lives. It can refer to individual aspects of her well-being (i.e. health status, nutritional status or educational status) or to her general state of well-being (i.e. level of subordination, empowerment, autonomy, position or social status). Since gender inequality is to be found on so many different levels and in so many different social locations, the status of women is consequently a multifaceted (or even fuzzy) concept (Mason, 1986:287). Due to the amorphous understanding of the concept there is no benchmark indicator akin to the HDI or the GDI to convey a universal understanding of the term 'status of women'. Measurement of the term essentially depends on the definition assigned by a particular researcher.

In this paper we shall be employing and defining the concept of the status of women as a further indicator of the development status of women specifically to reflect the power position of women relative to that of men. We define the status of women as 'women's power relative to men's in the households, communities, and nations in which they live', echoing the definition used by Smith et al. (2003:5). We shall refer to this status as 'power status' in order to distinguish it from 'development status'.

Why include power status as an indicator of the development status of women? We would like to argue that the power status of women is a key factor in determining how much voice women have in the decisions that affect their lives and well-being. The power status is indicative of how empowered women are on a personal level, in their households and in their communities. Empowerment and well-being are closely related (Klasen, 2004; Sen, 1999), and power status can therefore be viewed as a valuable indicator of equality and human-centred development.

In this study our conceptualisation of empowerment and equality subscribes to what Rowlands (in Willis, 2005) calls the 'power within' concept². It implies self-sufficiency and a realisation of self-worth on the part of women, which will enable them to be key players in the development path to their well-being.

Although the GEM and the power status measures are all related to empowerment, they measure empowerment on different levels. The GEM is a measure of what can be viewed to be the empowerment infrastructure of society, whereas the power status measures are indications of how much power and influence women hold within their immediate families and the communities in which they live. The GEM therefore represents what will be called 'external empowerment', while the power status indicators are concerned with 'internal empowerment'³.

The power status of women has been researched internationally for its role on both sides of the causality equation: as the determinant, for example of health aspects (Ergöçmen, 1997; Defo, 1997; Smith et al., 2003) and as the recipient, for example the influence of a number of factors on the power status of women (Adato, de la Briere, Mindek & Quisumbing, 2000; Kanga, 1997; Mason, 1997; Miles-Doan, 1997; Nayar & Nair, 1997).

In South Africa the term 'status of women' has been used liberally since the 1994 democratic elections. Although the term is rarely, if ever, explicitly defined, it either refers to the *status quo* of South African women in terms of particular development indicators, or to gender inequality in South African society. The term has furthermore been adopted in two of the country's most prominent structures aimed at mainstreaming gender issues and bringing about gender equality in society, namely the Office on the Status of Women (OSW), and the Parliamentary Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women (QoL). The monitoring and measurement of progress towards gender equality is a stated function

² This stands in contrast to the concepts, also posited by Rowlands, of 'power over', indicating the power to dominate, 'power to' as a possibility to envisage effecting change, and 'power with', which is the result of cooperation.

³ While both the DMI and TMWS are included in the concept of 'internal empowerment' in this paper, a refinement of this distinction is put forward in Booysen-Wolthers, 2007e: 11 & 30.

of both these institutions, with the GDI and GEM being mentioned as specific indicators to evaluate progress towards gender equality (OSW, 2000:28, 30, 48). As mentioned by Mason (1986:294), there is, however, an inherent risk in measuring something that has not been clearly defined: an improvement in the status of women is clearly the goal of the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality; yet, with no clear understanding of what is included in this concept, the proposed indicators could prove inadequate in measuring progress.

Despite the proliferation of the term in institutional mission statements and parliamentary speeches, an indicator specifically aimed at reflecting the 'status of women' has not been adopted in South Africa's gender mainstreaming efforts. A recent study by Lopez-Claros and Zahidi (2005) has offered what can be considered the first comprehensive status of women indicator (although it is not known by that term) for South Africa (and other countries). It goes beyond the realms of the GDI and the GEM in that it calculates the size of the gender gap prevailing in 58 countries in the areas of economic participation, economic opportunity, political empowerment, educational attainment and health. This study is of particular value as it provides a broader perspective on South Africa's progress in women's empowerment and its competitiveness potential. South Africa was ranked in the mid-range group as number 36 of 58 with a score of 3.95 (with seven being the maximum). Although the country ranked high on political empowerment, it ranked second worst among the countries under review with regard to economic opportunity. It is however only calculated nationally, thus thwarting any possibility for interprovincial comparisons.

The fact that the power status of women *per se* (as defined in this paper) has not featured strongly in South African research can probably be ascribed to the slow emergence of gender issues as an independent concern after having been enshrouded as a racial issue for a long time. This is reflected in the fact that the focus of much research to date has been the monitoring of efforts to translate the constitutional gender equality stipulations into practice (Budlender, 2004; Coopoo, 2000; Mullagee & Nyman, 2000; Parenzee, 2004; Pillay, Manjoo & Paulus, 2002; Smith, 2000; Weideman, 2004), as has the topic of women and HIV/AIDS (du Plessis, 2003; Kistner, 2003; Shisana, 2002). The power status of women is nevertheless recognised as an exacerbating factor that, with poverty, determines women's

diminished position in the socio-economic sphere. The low power status of women afforded by the South African traditional laws, through their institutionalisation of the subordination of women is, for example, recognised as a stumbling block in the quest for gender equality (Roche, 2000:3).

The inclusion of power status measures as part of the analysis of the development status of women will further add to the debate by providing insight, for the first time, into the current power status of women in South Africa's provinces. Although it is tempting to employ any power status measure in a causal analysis of reasons for the prevailing development status of women, this paper will sidestep this pitfall and simply present the measures as further pieces in a puzzle from which the complete development picture can be assessed. Finding correlations, the contributing factors and the possible causalities is the topic for another project.

2. Measuring the development status of women: some background

Five different measures, all primed to reflect gender differences, will be employed in this study to obtain a composite picture of the level of, and changes in, the development status of women in South Africa, by using either census data from 1996 and 2001 or Demographic and Household Survey (DHS) data from 1998 and 2003⁴.

The first to be used is the gender-specific Human Development Index (HDI), which was developed in a previous paper (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a). It makes use of the principles applied in the GDI to create separate HDIs for women (FHDI) and for men (MHDI). As with the standard HDI, the gender-specific HDI produces values between zero and one, with the latter indicating a higher development status. This indicator has been applied at both the national and the provincial level in South Africa. Distinguishing the development status of women from that of men is of particular

⁴ Detail on the calculation methods of these indicators, and data on which they were based, can be found in Appendices I, II, IV, V, VI, VII and VIII.

importance since it highlights gender inequality in the pace of human development, which, in turn, can be crucial for policy analysis.

The Gender Development Index (GDI), the second measure to be employed, follows the same premise as the HDI, but takes gender inequalities into account. As such, it focuses on the capabilities⁵ of women and men to lead a healthy, informed life with a decent standard of living (UNDP, 2001:242). Whereas the gender-specific HDI separates the achievements of women and men, the GDI provides an indication of society's *average* level of human development, given existing gender disparities and society's concern with gender inequality. Since 1990, the national-level GDI for South Africa has been included in the UNDP's Human Development Reports (HDRs). Provincial calculations were included in the UNDP's South Africa report for 2000 (UNDP, 2000b), but were omitted in the subsequent 2003 report (UNDP, 2003). This study will provide the author's calculated GDI values at the provincial level for 1996 and 2001.

The third measure, the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), aims to reflect gender equality in participation in life's opportunities, and highlights the existence of opportunities for the empowerment of women (UNDP, 1995 & 2000a). Whereas the gender-specific HDI and the GDI have the *expansion of the capabilities* of women and men as its focus, the GEM provides an indication of how these capabilities are utilised to create opportunities (UNDP, 1995:73). As with the GDI, the national level GEM featured in the UNDP's HDRs since 1990, but at the provincial level it was only included in the 2001 UNDP South Africa report (UNDP, 2003). This study will also present provincial level GEM figures for 1996 and 2001, based on the author's calculations.

⁵ The term 'capabilities' is a product of Amartya Sen's (1999) Capability Approach and his concept of 'development as freedom'. Sen maintains that development is a process of removing the 'un-freedoms' that hamper people's capability to live a life that they value, and have reason to value (Sen, 1999:18). By providing certain freedoms – these ranging from political and economic freedoms to social opportunities and protective security – capabilities (i.e. opportunities and abilities) are enhanced that, in turn, enable people to have a hand in shaping their own future.

The last two measures pertain to the power status of women. Women play a number of roles throughout their lives, each of which is related to a particular aspect of personal power. A change in one role or power dimension does nevertheless not necessarily mean an equivalent change in another dimension (Oppong & Abu 1985:2). The multi-faceted nature of the power status of women therefore compels one to employ a variety of indicators reflecting various aspects that determine how women experience power relationships in their homes and in their communities.

Two measures will be explored. First we follow the methodology developed by Smith et al. (2003:19) to create a Decision-Making Index (DMI), reflecting women's decision-making power relative to that of their husbands as measured at the household level. Four indicators form the DMI (see Section 6.1 below), selected for their conceptual relevance, applicability across diverse cultures and data availability for the countries included in the study (Smith et al., 2003:19). This index provides us with a measure whereby the power status of women can be approximated by indicating how probable it is for women to be part of decision-making processes.

We also employ the methodology proposed by Kishor & Neitzel (1997) to create a Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS). It differs from the DMI in two ways: a vastly expanded set of elements, and the fact that it provides a threshold, or a minimum level of women's status (rather than a desirable level of women's status) (Kishor & Neitzel, 1997:398) against which achieved power status is judged (see Section 6.2 below). The TMWS uses 29 equally weighted indicators chosen on the basis of their positive relationship with the status of women (as underpinned by theoretical considerations), unambiguousness across cultures, and data availability (Kishor & Neitzel, 1997). South Africa was not included in either of these studies and neither the DMI nor the TMWS has yet been applied to South Africa.

Although the TMWS and the DMI are similar in their data sources and innovative use of DHS data, and despite even sharing two indicators, they differ conceptually. The DMI is specifically designed as a relative measure and focuses on gender differentials (as far as data allow). It makes use of factor analysis to determine the index coefficients whereby the indicators are combined into an index (Smith et al., 2003:19-26). The TMWS, in contrast, includes both relative and absolute indicators as its

variables, all weighted equally. Kishor & Neitzel used their study to show how the DHS datasets may be used to reflect different dimensions of the power status of women. The TMWS was developed as a summary measure to combine and compare the occasionally contrasting findings of the status indicators gleaned from the data. The TMWS moreover aims to include as many indicators as possible to reflect the multidimensionality of power status, as opposed to the more selective nature of the DMI (Kishor & Neitzel, 1996: 1-4, 90).

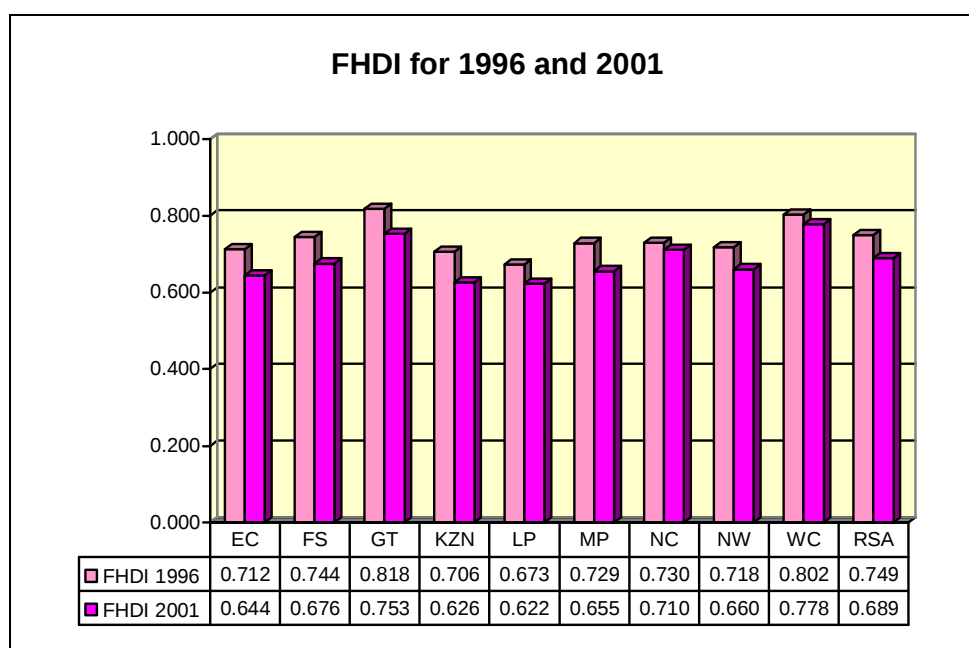
There are two reasons for selecting these two indicators of the power status of women for replication in a South African context. First, both these methodologies glean their information from Demographic and Health Surveys, which make duplication in South Africa possible. And, second, both these methodologies were developed in international comparative studies involving a large number of international studies (yet excluding South Africa). As such, they offer valuable references from which a South African ranking can be derived.

In the next section these five measures will be applied to the South African data at both the national and the provincial level.

3. The gender-specific HDI⁶

Judged by the gender-specific HDI, the development position of both men and women deteriorated between 1996 and 2001 (Figures 1 and 2). KwaZulu-Natal lost most development ground in absolute terms during this time, for both women and men, with losses of 11.4 per cent for women and 8 per cent for men in their respective HDI values.

⁶ For a more detailed discussion of this area, refer to Booysen-Wolthers, 2007b. Special note should be taken of the data quality concerns pertaining to the primary and secondary school enrolment figures used in that paper (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007b:14) as they have obvious implications for the accuracy of the HDI, FHDI, MHDI and GDI values stated in this paper.



⁷ Figure 1 : The FHDI per province for 1996 and 2001

Source: Author's calculations⁸

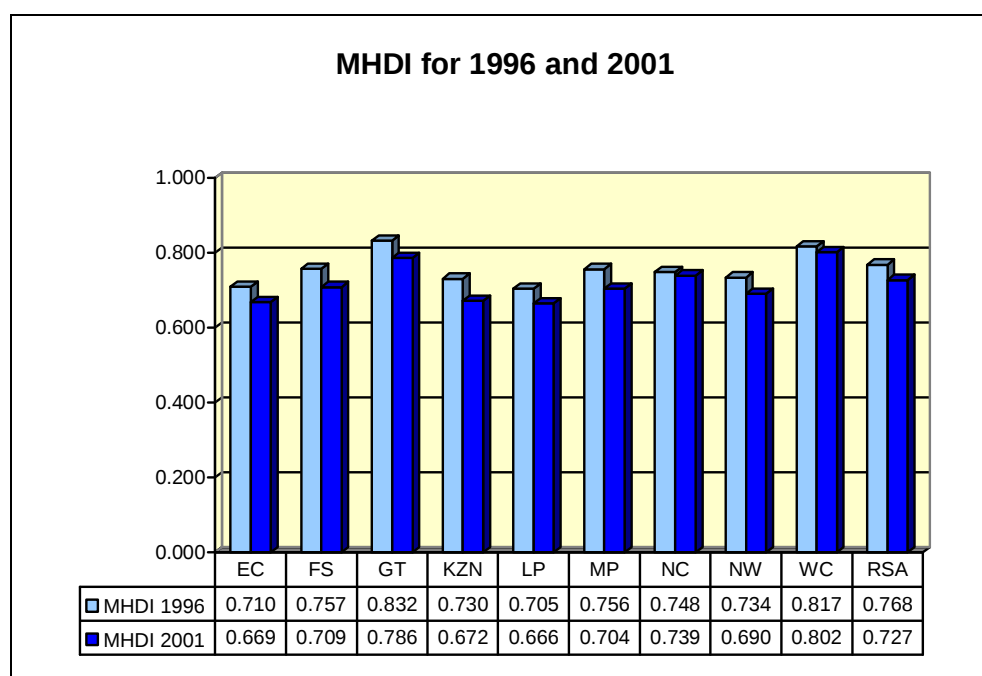


Figure 2: The MHDI per province for 1996 and 2001

Source: Author's calculations

⁷ The provinces are denoted as EC – Eastern Cape, FS – Free State, GT – Gauteng, KZN – KwaZulu-Natal, LP – Limpopo, MP – Mpumalanga, NC – Northern Cape, NW – North West, WC – Western Cape, RSA – South Africa.

⁸ These calculations are based on data sourced from ASSA, 2002; DOE, 2003; Global Insight, 2004; StatsSA, 1998 & 2003; Strauss, van der Linde, Plekker & Strauss, 1996; and UNDP, 2003.

Differences in the pace of development of women and men furthermore became more pronounced between these two years, with a national increase in the gender gap of 2.8 per cent. Even though Eastern Cape was the only province where the FHDl surpassed that of males in 1996, women in this province lost most ground relative to men during the next five years with an almost 4 per cent increase in the gender gap.

Turning to interprovincial differences, we find the following:

- The gap between the provinces with the best and weakest FHDls, widened by 2.8 per cent between 1996 and 2001. A comparison of the *three* best- and weakest-scoring provinces confirms this trend. Even though the nine provinces all lost development ground during this period, those provinces lagging the farthest behind in this area were thus losing relatively more ground.
- A similar comparison of the MHDl figures shows that the gap also widened between the two years, but by a somewhat less prominent 2 per cent. This trend is also found in the three top and bottom scores. As in the case of women, men in certain provinces were not only losing development ground in absolute terms, but also relative to men in other provinces. What is of interest though, is that even at this level, women, relative to men, seem to be falling farther behind in that the best-weakest gap for the FHDl is more pronounced than that of the MHDl.
- From a development status point of view, the women in Gauteng were relatively better off than the women in Limpopo in 1996. The same can be said of the women of Western Cape and Limpopo for 2001. What is clear though, is that the women of Limpopo were falling behind in three areas, namely on an absolute level; relative to men (1996); and, relative to other women.

4. The Gender Development Index

The Gender Development Index (GDI) is arguably one of the most frequently quoted gender-sensitive indicators available. It differs from the (standard) HDI in the following respects:

- *differing life expectancies* of women and men form the basis of an equally distributed life expectancy index;
- attainment of knowledge is a combination of *gender-specific* adult literacy rate and gross enrolment ratios to arrive at an equally distributed education index; and
- standard of living is measured by estimating *earned income for women and men respectively* to arrive at an equally distributed income index.

The GDI is the mean of the three equally distributed indices, which are each adjusted for population share and a moderate aversion to inequality by society (UNDP, 1995:73) to produce a value lying between zero and one. The higher the gender inequality, the more it would adjust the GDI value downwards, and the bigger would be the difference between the HDI and the GDI values.

In calculating this index for South Africa's provinces, some modification was necessary. The unavailability of reliable gender-stratified provincial tertiary education data for 1996 compelled us to only use a combined primary and secondary school gross enrolment ratio⁹ (GER), instead of the standard combined primary, secondary and tertiary GER called for by the GDI.

The calculated national and provincial GDI values for 1996 and 2001 are shown in Figure 3¹⁰. Gauteng demonstrated the highest gender-adjusted development level among the provinces in 1996, but switched places with Western Cape for the top position in 2001. Limpopo on the other hand, had the lowest GDI level in both years.

⁹ The previously mentioned suspect quality of the primary and secondary school enrolment data (sourced from educational institutions) has to be reiterated as this impacts also on the GDI.

¹⁰ These figures differ substantially from the StatsSA GDI values, as reported in the UNDP South Africa report for 2000 (UNDP, 2000b: 65). Differences in the literacy rate values, life expectancy figures and especially, the estimated GDP values – in all probability using different base years – account for this.

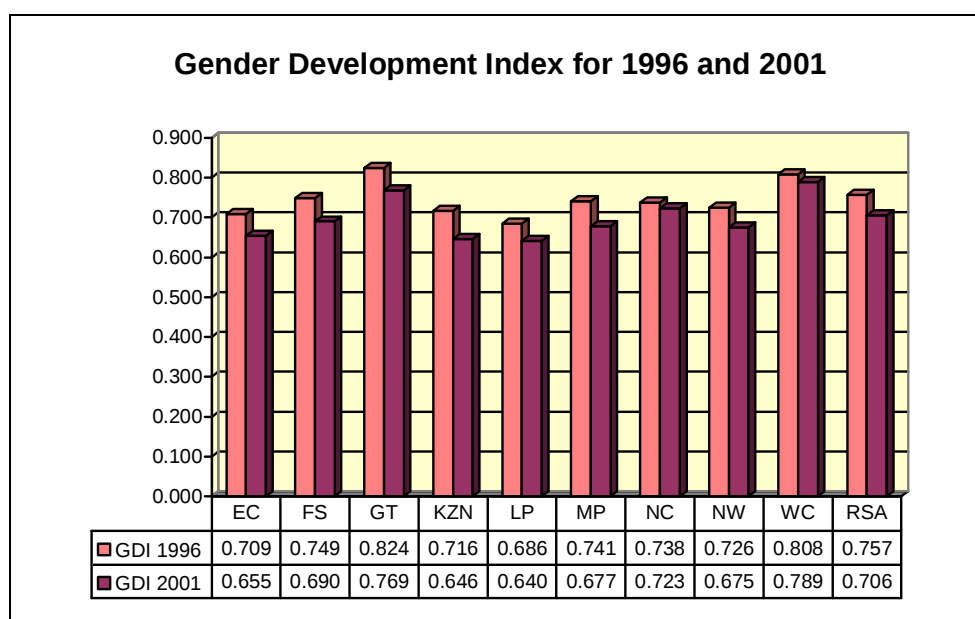


Figure 3: The GDI per province for 1996 and 2001

Source: Author's calculations¹¹

The relationship between the provinces with the best and the weakest GDI levels increased somewhat between 1996 and 2001, with the best-performing province outperforming the worst-performing province by about 20 per cent in 1996 and 23 per cent in 2001. Extending this comparison to the three best and three weakest provinces similarly reveals a slight increase from a 13 per cent to a 17 per cent difference in the performance gap. The provinces with poor GDI scores were therefore falling farther behind provinces with more favourable GDI figures.

Although all provinces experienced a drop in their GDI scores between 1996 and 2001, the top performing provinces showed somewhat less volatility between the two years. The GDI of the three provinces with the highest values diminished by 4.3 per cent, as compared with a reduction in GDI of 8 per cent in the three provinces with the lowest values. The province showing the biggest change in GDI between 1996 and 2001 was KwaZulu-Natal, with a decrease of almost 10 per cent.

¹¹ The data sources are: ASSA, 2002; DOE, 2003; Global Insight, 2004; StatsSA, 1998 & 2003; Strauss et al., 1996; and UNDP, 2003.

We can therefore conclude that the provinces with the lowest GDI levels were not only losing ground in absolute terms, but they were doing so at a faster pace relative to provinces with higher GDI values.

The decline in the GDI values can be ascribed to a combination of two occurrences: first, judged from the provincial gender-specific HDI performances discussed in Booysen-Wolthers (2007b:10-11), both women and men lost development ground between the two years, resulting in a lower average performance. And second, as judged from the gender parity ratios (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007b:11-12), women lost more development ground relative to men between 1996 and 2001. Greater inequality thus forced the GDI values down even further.

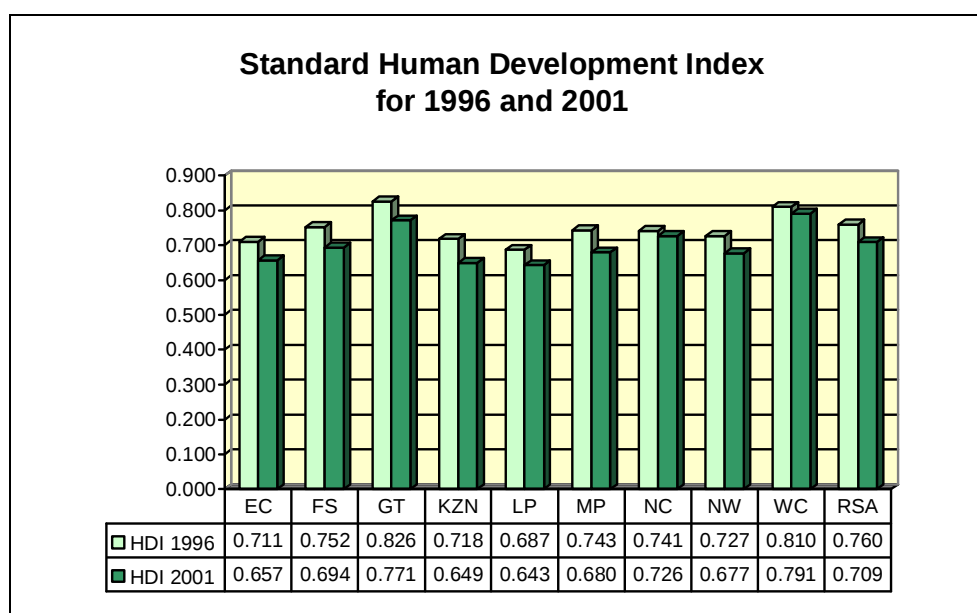


Figure 4: The standard HDI per province for 1996 and 2001

Source: Author's calculations

A comparison between Figure 3, the GDI per province, and Figure 4, the standard HDI per province, highlights the influence of gender inequality on the average performance of each province. Northern Cape in 1996, and the Free State in 2001 showed the biggest differences between their standard HDI and GDI values. On the other hand, gender inequality had the least detrimental effect on the average development achievements of Eastern Cape in 1996, and of North West in 2001.

5. The Gender Empowerment Measure

The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) follows much the same methodology as the GDI, yet employs different variables to illustrate power over economic opportunities and access to political and professional participation (UNDP, 1995: 82). It also views income not as a means to freedom from poverty, but rather as a source of empowerment. As such, an income above the world average is not discounted as in the case of the GDI (UNDP, 1995:82). Gender inequality is once again incorporated by calculating an equally distributed equivalent percentage for each area, adjusted for population share and also for a moderate aversion to inequality. These are indexed and averaged to obtain the GEM with values lying between zero (weakest) and one (best). The GEM is therefore not a measure of gender inequality *per se*, but a gender-adjusted average measure of empowerment.

The national and provincial GEM values for 1996 and 2001, as calculated from own sources (see Appendix IV), are reflected in Figure 5. The latter indicates – with exceptions – that gender equality in participation in political, economic and professional activities in South Africa demonstrated a marked improvement between 1996 and 2001¹².

¹² The increase in the GEM is in large part due to an improvement in female parliamentary representation between the two years.

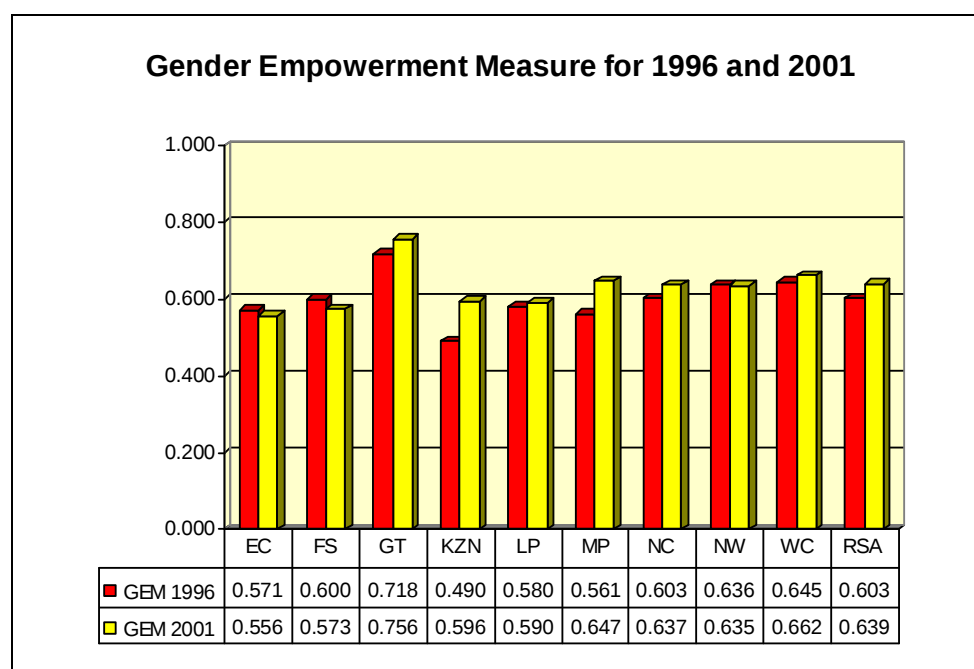


Figure 5: The GEM per province for 1996 and 2001

Source: Author's calculations¹³

Gauteng was the province with the highest gender-adjusted average participation in the said activities, both in 1996 and 2001, indicating that women had more opportunities for empowerment in this province relative to other provinces. KwaZulu-Natal, conversely, showed the least empowerment opportunities in 1996, with Eastern Cape having the weakest empowerment potential in 2001.

The GEM relationship between the provinces furthermore changed between 1996 and 2001. Gender-adjusted average economic, political and professional participation in Gauteng was about 47 per cent more than in KwaZulu-Natal in 1996, but 36 per cent more than in Eastern Cape (the province with the lowest GEM) in 2001. The *three* provinces with the best GEM scores had 23 per cent more participation than the three with the lowest GEM in 1996, but this difference shrank to 20 per cent in 2001. The provinces were thus slowly moving toward a more equal distribution of empowerment opportunities between the two years.

Six of the nine provinces showed improvement in their GEM scores between 1996 and 2001. KwaZulu-Natal stands out with an exceptional increase of 21.7 per cent. The

¹³ These calculations were gleaned from the following sources: Budlender (personal communication – see Appendix VI); StatsSA 1998 & 2003; and UNDP, 2003.

Free State, with a drop of 4.62 per cent, experienced the biggest decline, on the other hand. Eastern Cape also showed deterioration in its GEM – yet, not as pronounced – while North West more or less maintained its 1996 GEM level. It would appear as if the provinces with the highest GEM scores had less change between the two years than those with lower GEM scores: the three provinces with the best GEM figures showed a change of 3.3 per cent between 1996 and 2001, as opposed to a change of almost 6 per cent for the three provinces with the weakest scores. We can therefore deduce that the provinces presenting fewer opportunities for the empowerment of women were gaining ground on their counterparts that offered more opportunities, so that the provincial empowerment opportunities gap decreased between 1996 and 2001. This is in direct contrast to the results of the FHDI which reflected that the provincial performance gaps had widened during this time.

As is the case with the HDI and the GDI, an indication of gender inequality in this measure is only possible if it is disaggregated into gender-specific indicators. Scrutiny of the gender-specific income indices and parliamentary and economic participation levels – on which the GEM is based – shows where gender inequality was most severe: in terms of political participation, the biggest gender inequality was to be found in KwaZulu-Natal in 1996, and in the Free State in 2001. North West (1996) and Gauteng (2001) had the least gender inequality in this regard. This should nevertheless be seen in context: Gauteng's female parliamentary representation reached 38.2 per cent in 2001 (compared with a national figure of 28.8 per cent), and although admirable, it is not within immediate reach of the ideal 50 per cent target for gender equality. Average gender inequality in political participation diminished by almost one-third between the two years, with only Eastern Cape, the Free State, and North West showing increases in their gender gaps.

Perhaps more surprising is the finding that the most glaring gender inequality in professional participation was to be found in Gauteng in 2001. Mpumalanga held this dubious distinction in 1996. Eastern Cape was the province with the highest gender equality in this area in both years: a relatively narrow 21 per cent difference between women and men holding positions as legislators, senior officials, managers, professional and technical professionals in 2001, as opposed to the 63 per cent in the case of Gauteng.

In terms of administrative and management positions, the share of women increased, which led to a more equal distribution¹⁴. In the case of professional and technical positions, where women held the majority share in 1996, somewhat more men had entered the ranks by 2001, which also led to a more equitable distribution. The net result was a marginal widening in the professional participation category gender gap between the two years, with the national share of women lagging behind that of men by about 50 per cent in 2001.

Gender inequality in estimated earned income was most pronounced in Northern Cape, while that of Eastern Cape was the least significant in both years. The Free State's earned income equality deteriorated the most between 1996 and 2001, this resulting in a drop of two ranking positions, thereby leaving this province with the second most pronounced gender inequality in this area in 2001. With the exception of North West, gender inequality in this specific area deteriorated somewhat in all provinces between 1996 and 2001, with an average increase in the gender gap of 0.8 per cent.

In terms of gender inequality, parliamentary participation was the top contender, followed by economic participation, leaving the professional sphere as the category of empowerment where women most closely approximated the participation of men.

When comparing the rankings of the GEM and its components with the other indicators reviewed thus far, we find that at an absolute level, Gauteng's high (external empowerment) GEM ranking matches its high female- and average capabilities status ranking (as measured by the FHDl and the GDI). At a relative (to the achievements of men) level, the pronounced gender *inequality* in professional participation makes for an uncharacteristically low ranking and contrary to the relatively high capability (HDI), income (GEM) and parliamentary participation (GEM) gender-equality rankings of this province (see Table 8 below). At the other end of the scale, at an absolute level,

¹⁴ This improvement seems plausible in the light of, particularly, the Employment Equity Act of 1998, the National Skills strategy (aimed in part at enhancing the skills of black women) and the Broad-based Black Empowerment Act (also targeting black women, amongst others).

Limpopo's medium (low-to-medium in 2001) GEM ranking does not match its low FDI rankings. At a relative (to men) level, Limpopo's relatively high gender-equality ranking of the GEM components, especially that of the GEM income component, is in direct contrast to the low gender parity ranking in capabilities (reflected by the gender-specific HDI). A possible explanation for the unusually high income gender-equality can perhaps be found in the fact that Limpopo's population is overwhelmingly rural. A large proportion of Limpopo's able males will probably be found in Gauteng as migrant labourers, which leaves those men and women left behind with very similar income prospects. Be it as it may, the above highlights the fact that in the case of Gauteng, the ranking of only one of the empowerment (GEM) components was out of character for this province, whereas in the case of Limpopo, all three GEM component areas were contrary to the normal ranking pattern one would expect from this province.

6. The power status of women

For a different perspective on the development status of women, we now turn to two measures reflecting the probability that women would be part of decisions that touch their lives.

6.1 The Decision-Making Index¹⁵

Indicators of the power status of woman can be categorised in two ways. Kishor (in Smith et al., 2003) divides indicators into those that give direct evidence of women's relative decision-making power in a household, those that are sources of power (i.e. source indicators), and lastly, those that reflect the milieu conducive to power (i.e. setting indicators). Mason (in Kishor & Neitzel, 1997) suggests indicators that either reflect a means to a preferred power status (i.e. indirect), or the desirable power status *per se* (i.e. direct).

¹⁵ A note of thanks to Dr L Smith of the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and Prof F Booysen of the University of the Free State (UFS) for their valuable input in this section.

Smith et al. (2003) divide their DMI indicators according to the Kishor method, i.e. as either source or setting indicators – both being indirect evidence indicators. Direct evidence indicators are difficult to find as they are only available from surveys specifically designed for this purpose.

Table 1 shows the indicators included in the DMI, together with the weights (obtained through factor analysis) and the rationale for selection. The four indicators were all chosen to reflect the relative decision-making power of women at the household level. The DMI is the weighted sum of the standardised values of the four indicators (normalised with a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one) and it is indexed to values falling between zero and 100, using the highest and lowest values of the sample as parameters.

In calculating the DMI for South Africa, the methodology employed by Smith et al. was duplicated, using the 1998 and 2003 South African Demographic and Health Survey (SADHS) data (DOH, 1999 & 2006) stratified by province. The DHS Women's Questionnaire was the sole source of data for this measure, which limits the sample to include only women aged 15 to 49 years. Only married (or ever married) women with at least one child under 3 years living in the home of the respondent were included in the sample. As with the sample used by Smith et al., variables with missing values were also excluded from our sample. The maximum and minimum values from the Smith sample of 105 567 women drawn from 36 country DHS data sets (Smith et al., 2003:17), served as index parameters for our sample in order to facilitate international comparison¹⁶.

¹⁶ The DMI is calculated at the individual level whereafter a mean DMI is calculated for the country as a whole, using household sample weights. The index parameters are determined by the maximum and minimum *individual* values obtained from the sample. This methodology, as opposed to calculating a mean for each of the four DMI component indicators separately and then summing them into the DMI, has the undesirable (and perhaps unintended) effect of reducing the sample size, which could skew the DMI value because of an inherent bias. In the case of South Africa, a separate-component-mean calculation results in a DMI of 36.93 for 1998, compared with the country-mean-method's DMI of 39.93. The provincial rankings are also affected: the former method leaves Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and Limpopo (in that order) with the weakest DMI scores and Western Cape, Northern Cape and North West with the best scores, while the latter assigns Limpopo, Mpumalanga and the Free State (in that order) to the bottom positions and Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape to the top

Table 1: Household power status of women as measured by the Decision-Making Index

Type of indicator	Weight ¹⁷	Indicator	Rationale ¹⁸
Source	0.0701	Whether women work for cash ¹⁹	▪ Captures women's contribution to the economic situation of the household ▪ Indicates control over income ▪ Indicates greater influence over expenditure decisions ▪ Reflects increased social capital due to greater exposure and more social contact through work situation
Source	0.3645	Women's age at first marriage	▪ Early marriage thwarts income earning opportunities ▪ Early marriage diminishes educational opportunities ▪ Early marriage lessens chances of creating social networks beyond the family ▪ Early marriage encourages high fertility over lifetime, with the resulting risks ▪ Early marriage sets the stage for low status since the bride's acceptance of her parents' decision-making power will be transferred to her husband
Setting	0.2832	% difference between women's and partners' age	▪ The bargaining position of a woman is diminished if the partner is much older than her
Setting	0.1540	Difference in the years of education of the woman and her partner	▪ Education diminishes ignorance and provides empowerment for women to cope independently from husbands ▪ Education fosters economic opportunities ▪ Education increases social capital through educational networks

positions. An alternative to the Smith et al. (2003) methodology could be to index each component indicator area – as the HDI does – making use of individual values within each area, before summing it into the DMI country value. This would ensure a larger sample size which could improve the confidence parameters.

¹⁷ For more detail see Smith et al., 2003: 24-25.

¹⁸ From Smith et al., 2003: 19-24

¹⁹ Capturing gender differentials is important since the position of women alone could be misleading when interpreting the status of women (Kishor & Neitzel, 1997:372). A number of variables other than the status of women can contribute to changes in status indicators. By using gender differentials, one standardises indicators for within-country socio-economic conditions. Although this indicator does not reflect a differential, it assumes that most men work for cash, and, as such, this indicator essentially captures women's position in terms of cash earnings, relative to men (Smith et al., 2003:22).

The Smith et al. study (2003:27) proposed a second measure of women's status pertaining to the power status of women within their communities, called Societal Gender Equality. Since the latter measure requires anthropometric data for children – a category of data not gathered in the 1998 SADHS – it could not be calculated for this study.

Our calculations show a mean DMI²⁰ for South Africa of 39.9 for 1998, and 41.4 for 2003. Compare this with a value of 59.2 for Norway (2000), a country considered a benchmark in terms of high power status for women (Smith et al., 2003: 26). Closer to home, South Africa compares favourably with the mean²¹ DMI for Malawi (34.6 for 1992), for Mozambique (34.9 for 1997) and for Zimbabwe (37.3 for 1994), but falls below the 43.2 (1992) for Namibia – the country with the highest DMI score in the sample. The mean²² DMI for Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) was 34.8, using data ranging from 1992 to 1998. Should South Africa be included in the ranking of the study by Smith et al. (2003:38), its 2003 DMI value would fall in position number 30 (out of 37, with 1 being the lowest ranking), between Haiti and Paraguay. In relation to the other African states in their study, South Africa lies in 20th (i.e. third from the top) position out of 23, just behind Rwanda and Namibia. The relative household decision-making power of South African women can therefore be viewed as being relatively high compared with that of other African nations, and in the top 25 per cent compared with other developing countries in Latin America, the Caribbean, South Asia and Africa combined.

This South African national mean DMI does, however, mask significant provincial differences. Figure 6 shows that the women in Western Cape were the best poised, among the provinces, to have strong decision-making power in their households in 1998, with a score of 43.1 (Table 4). The women of KwaZulu-Natal, with a surprisingly big increase, achieved this distinction in 2003, with a high score of 46.1. While it is high by world standards, it still falls short of the 59.2 Norwegian benchmark. In contrast to that, the women of Limpopo had the lowest probability of having significant

²⁰ This is a weighted mean using household sample weights specified by the SADHS.

²¹ This is a weighted mean using household sample weights (Smith et al., 2003: 38).

²² This regional value is a weighted by country population proportions (Smith et al., 2003:38).

decision-making power in their households in both years. The household decision-making power of women in this province – DMI scores of 34.4 in both years – was only 75 per cent of that found in KwaZulu-Natal in 2003, and lay within the lower thirty per cent of the 36 countries considered in the Smith study (Smith et al., 2003: 38).

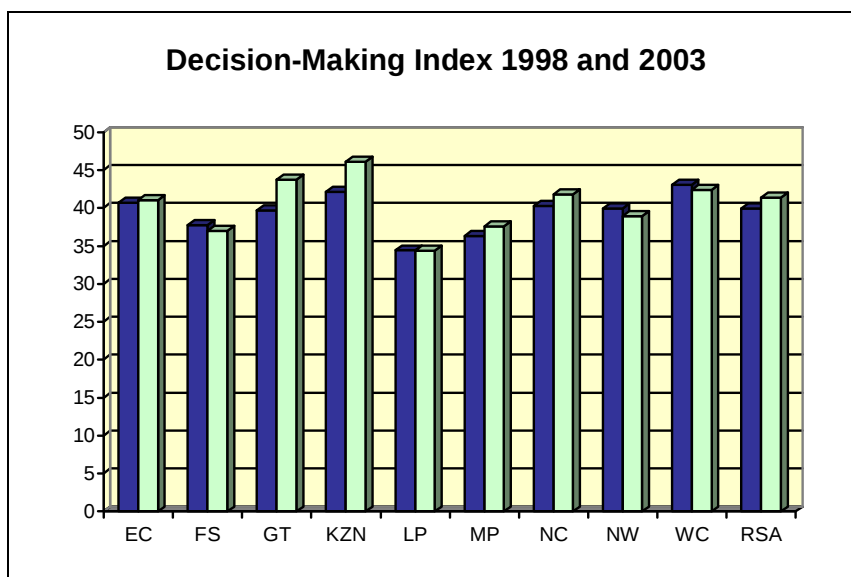


Figure 6 : The DMI per province for 1998 and 2003

Source: Author's calculations

Table 2: Decision-Making Index for 1998 and 2003

	EC	FS	GT	KZN	LP	MP	NC	NW	WC	RSA
DMI 1998	40.71	37.78	39.72	42.18	34.42	36.34	40.26	39.95	43.10	39.93
DMI 2003	41.03	37.02	43.75	46.14	34.36	37.62	41.82	38.98	42.41	41.40

Source: Author's calculations²³

In 1998, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal West formed the group with the highest female household decision-making powers, with their scores lying close together. Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, North West and Gauteng formed the next highest female decision-making cluster, while the Free State and Mpumalanga formed the third most powerful cluster. Limpopo achieved the lowest score, clearly lagging far behind any of the other eight provinces in this area. By 2003 KwaZulu-Natal was the leader in the field, in a class of its own. Gauteng, Western Cape, Northern Cape and Eastern Cape followed as the second highest cluster, with North West, Mpumalanga

²³ Data sources: DOH, 1999 & 2006

and the Free State forming the third cluster. Limpopo remained the province with the poorest female household decision-making power.

To emphasise the interprovincial differences: the three lowest-scoring provinces had about 80 per cent of the relative female household decision-making power of those of the three provinces with the highest scores, thus indicating marked discrepancies in measured female household decision-making power between the provinces in both years. What is furthermore noteworthy is the meteoric rise in the DMI values of Gauteng (10.1 per cent) and KwaZulu-Natal (9.4 per cent). One could speculate on whether the spectacular rise in KwaZulu-Natal's GEM values (i.e. external empowerment), as mentioned in Section 5 above, served as impetus for this improvement in internal empowerment, or whether an opposite causality is more likely.

The measured national household decision-making power of women improved by 3.7 per cent between 1998 and 2003, but here, too, the national performance masks significant provincial differences: Gauteng showed a 10 per cent increase in its DMI value between the two years (the biggest improvement among the provinces) in contrast to the 2.4 per cent decline in the case of North West (the biggest decline). Four of the provinces showed improvement, one more or less maintained its status quo, while four deteriorated in terms of the household power status of women. The provinces clearly did not experience universal improvement in (measured) female household decision-making power between 1998 and 2003.

Compared with the other gendered measures of development discussed thus far, there is consistency in the rankings of Western Province and Limpopo as the two extreme cases: they have featured, if not in the same positions, then close to the same positions of female development status as measured by the FHDI, the GDI and the GEM. Other than that, the DMI offers less than expected consistency, with Gauteng (starting unexpectedly low), the Free State (unexpectedly low) and KwaZulu-Natal (unexpectedly high) perhaps being the surprises here.

6.2 Threshold Measure of Women's Status

The Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS) is the second measure used to gauge the power status of women. This summary measure proposed by Kishor & Neitzel (1997) consists of a wide variety of source and setting indicators related to the decision-making potential of women. Table 3 shows the indicators, how they impact on the power status of women and the choice rationales.

The results of each of these indicators are compared with the threshold level²⁴ to determine whether the indicator scores a zero (for values lying below the threshold), 0.5 (for unclear cases) or a one (for values exceeding the threshold). These thresholds were chosen as (informed) midpoint levels of the actual indicator scores found across the 25 developing countries from Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia, reviewed in their study. The creators of the TMWS emphasise the fact that a value higher than the benchmark minimum does not indicate that an ideal power status has been attained, but merely indicates that the minimum requirements for this indicator have been met (Kishor & Neitzel, 1997:398).

The unweighted sum of these indicators is indexed to the maximum and minimum scores possible in each category to form the TMWS, with values lying between zero (weakest) and one (best). While it is conceivable that a country could potentially achieve a perfect score with this measure, it must be noted that Kishor & Neitzel (1997:400) were not able to assign a perfect score of one to any of the 25 countries reviewed.

²⁴ Detail on the threshold levels for each indicator can be found in Appendix VIII.

Table 3: Indicators included in the Threshold Measure of Women's Status

Type of indicator ²⁵	Correlation with status	Indicator	Rationale ²⁶
Source	Positive	▪ The poverty/wealth status of women relative to that of men	▪ Serves as an alternative living standard index
Source	Positive	Female household headship: ▪ % of households being headed by females	▪ Indicates the freedom of women to form their own households, while women as household heads may be more autonomous with more control over resources
Setting	Positive	▪ Sex ratio²⁷ of female-headed households	▪ The sex ratio of the household can result in 'double jeopardy'²⁸
Setting	Positive (to adults)	▪ The composition of female-headed household	▪ A composition comprising only one adult plus young children can increase vulnerability
Source	Positive	▪ Education of female heads of household	▪ Education imparts more autonomy to women
Source	Positive	▪ Socio-economic status of female-headed households relative to that of male-headed households	▪ This can reflect a high economic vulnerability due to women being the sole providers
		Education and exposure:	
Source	Positive	▪ % of women with a level of education that will have lasting benefit	▪ Basic education lays the groundwork for long-term benefits from education
Source	Positive	▪ % of women with secondary or higher education	▪ Education is a means to higher status through exposure and economic opportunities
Source	Negative	▪ % of women with secondary or higher education per age group	▪ Indicates whether access to secondary and higher education increases for women over time

²⁵ In this case the type of indicator is a value judgment by the author of this paper, as this distinction was not specified by Kishor & Neitzel.

²⁶ Refer to Kishor & Neitzel, 1997: 406-409 for more information.

²⁷ The sex ratio refers to the number of men per 100 women.

²⁸ The 'double jeopardy' argument advanced by Kishor & Neitzel (1997:379) argues that female-headed households consisting of mainly female members face a double disadvantage if there is gender inequality in access to resources: not only the head of the household faces this disadvantage, but also the members of the household, which compounds to become a double disadvantage for such a household, compared with a male-headed household.

Type of indicator ²⁵	Correlation with status	Indicator	Rationale ²⁶
Setting	Negative	▪ Sex ratio of population with primary education	▪ Shows degree of feminisation of primary education
Setting	Negative	▪ Sex ratio of population with secondary education	▪ Shows degree of feminisation of secondary and higher education
Setting	Negative	▪ Sex ratio of population with no education per age group	▪ Reflects the feminisation of the uneducated group over time
Setting	Positive	▪ Exposure of rural women to media	▪ Media exposure broadens the field of reference
Source	Positive	▪ Discussion of family planning with husband	▪ Control of reproductive decisions indicates a higher status
Source	Positive	Employment²⁹ and workload: ▪ % of women employed	▪ Women's contribution to household income improves their access to household resources, which may translate into increased decision-making influence, while employment also offers exposure to networks outside of family circle.
Source	Positive	▪ % of employed women earning cash	▪ Time spent on unremunerated work curbs time available for cash-earning activities, while work not generating cash is regarded as not contributing to household resources, thus diminishing claims to resources and share in decision-making processes.
Source	Positive	▪ Correlation between education and labour force participation	▪ Education makes women more employable, while education and employment offer double sources of empowerment.
Setting	Positive	▪ Correlation between socio-economic status and labour force participation	▪ Employment not born of necessity indicates freedom of choice and empowerment, as well as implying greater occupational choices.
Setting (or Source, if referring to the	Positive	▪ % of women working in modern occupations ³⁰	▪ Modern sector occupations imply more education and training in order to obtain the position, while

²⁹ The DHS question that captures the labour participation of women is very broad; this results in a very broad definition of employment being used in this measure, which also includes both formal and informal work, as well as all forms of payment, including none.

³⁰ Modern occupations refer to professional, managerial, technical and clerical occupations, while mixed occupations also include sales and manual labour.

Type of indicator ²⁵	Correlation with status	Indicator	Rationale ²⁶
income aspect)			higher remuneration than for traditional occupations adds to the contribution to household resources. Modern occupations also afford greater exposure to women – outside their immediate 'tribe' – in terms of thought and method.
Source	Positive	▪ % of women with primary education working in modern or mixed occupations	▪ The simultaneous adherence to two empowerment criteria makes this a more stringent requirement.
Setting	Negative	▪ % of women providing child care while working	▪ For women with child-care responsibilities, employment will manifest as an additional burden, thus diminishing the probability of labour force participation³¹. The case of women employed outside the home and who have children with them, is furthermore an indirect measure of women's workload and time constraints.
Setting	Negative	▪ Dependency ratio	▪ The dependency ratio reflects constraints on the time-use of women. A high dependency ratio implies that women must spend more of their time on reproductive functions rather than on productive functions.
Setting	Negative	Marriage and childbirth: ▪ % of women ever married	▪ An indicator of the options – other than marriage – available to women
Setting	Negative	▪ % of young women aged 15 to 19 years, who have had a birth	▪ Early childbirth limits women's life opportunities, while continued pregnancies over an extended period of time increase health risks.
Setting	Negative	▪ % of births before age 20, per age group	▪ Indicating whether the negative consequences of early child-birth change over time

³¹ This contention is only true if the women are economically dependent on others. Kishor & Neitzel (1997:391) found a positive correlation between childbearing and labour force participation in most of Sub-Saharan Africa, which can probably be ascribed to the economic responsibility childbearing places on women who have no access to the income of a provider for the family. Yet, even in this case, employment would be forced by sheer necessity, and does not necessarily indicate freedom of choice and empowerment.

Type of indicator ²⁵	Correlation with status	Indicator	Rationale ²⁶
		Inter-spousal differences:	
Source	Positive	▪ % of women with equal or more advanced education than their husbands	▪ Large educational differences can translate into relatively poor power, according to intrahousehold bargaining models.
Source	Positive	▪ % of women working for cash and having the same level of education as their husbands	▪ Education and earning cash affords double empowerment to women and, as such, this indicator reflects potential differences in intrahousehold bargaining power.
Setting	Positive	▪ Comparison of labour force participation of women with husbands who work in different categories of occupations	▪ A further indicator for the correlation between socio-economic status and employment, as well as indicating the effect of spousal occupational choices on women's freedom of choice
Setting	Positive	▪ Occupational areas of women with husbands working in agricultural occupations	▪ This is a reflection of the occupational choices open to women.

The 1998 and 2003 SADHS were employed to calculate TMWS values both nationally and for each of the nine provinces (subject to some data constraints with regard to the 2003 SADHS, which call for care in interpreting observed changes in the values between these two years)³². Although the DHS Women's Survey was the main source

³² The 2003 SADHS is as yet unpublished at the time of printing. However, the National Department of Health kindly provided unpublished results, for preliminary use in this study, in December 2006. Questions on media exposure, discussion of family planning with a partner, and child care options were inexplicably omitted from the 2003 SADHS women's questionnaire, making the calculation of three of the TMWS indicators impossible for 2003. Furthermore, as yet unresolved data inconsistencies in the household member survey prevented the calculation of a further 11 indicators. The 2003 TMWS is therefore based on a partial TMWS – calculated for the remaining 15 indicators (refer to Appendix VIII for detail on the calculated indicators) – using the ratio of the 1998 partial TMWS (with the same indicators as in the 2003 partial TMWS) to the 1998 (complete) TMWS to estimate a 2003 value. We are therefore assuming a constant relation between the groups of present and absent indicators over the five year period. Although this crude measure enables us to evaluate trends between 1998 and 2003, the actual 2003 TMWS values, and any conclusions on changes between 1998 and 2003, should be viewed with circumspection. Overcoming the mentioned DHS data inconsistencies will enable the calculation of a more complete set of indicators for this measure. The 2003 TMWS will nevertheless, at

of data, the DHS Household Survey and the Household Member Survey were also used. As with the DMI, missing values were excluded from the calculations. Yet, unlike the DMI, no fixed parameters were set for a TMWS sample as such. The methodology of Kishor & Neitzel was followed, with only one adjustment,³³ to obtain the South African values. Although the number of indicators is quite large, it utilises only standard available data, making the calculation of this indicator relatively straightforward.

The value of the TMWS lies in the wide range of indicators that it captures, as well as its ability to provide an indication of which individual empowerment areas fared better or worse than others. The limitations of the DHS – in terms of what it omits – are, however, transferred onto this measure. One such issue, acknowledged by the authors of the TMWS, is the limited information available to assess women's workload and their ability to limit time constraints by transferring duties to other members of the household. Another important omission lies in the area of women's physical exposure to crime and abuse³⁴. This is an area of increasing importance to the power status of women, and its inclusion would, as such, have increased the indicative powers of this measure.

best, remain an estimate due to the omission of the three indicators for which no data was collected for 2003. It can only be hoped that future surveys will reinstate these three questions so as to facilitate evaluation of women's power status over the long term and also to allow international comparisons.

³³ Whereas the DMI calls for the use of household sample weights, no mention of these were made in the Kishor & Neitzel study, and we therefore have to assume that none were employed. The nature of South African survey samples does, however, render the use of household sample weights prudent. The South African TMWS figures used in this paper therefore incorporate household sample weights, which – although impacting only marginally on an individual indicator level – do appear to influence the final TMWS score. For example, the 1998 TMWS score for South Africa is calculated as 0.76 when no household sample weights are included, but increases markedly to 0.79 with the inclusion of the weights. Appendix VIII presents the complete set of results of TMWS calculations with and without the use of household sample weights. The question of strict comparability of South African TMWS values with those of other countries covered in the Kishor & Neitzel study should therefore be considered when interpreting the results.

³⁴ Although the South African DHS does include extensive information on this area, it appears to be a country-specific section. We therefore conclude that, for this very reason, it was not included in the TMWS measure.

Calculations for South Africa produced a national mean TMWS value of 0.7931 for 1998 and (an estimated value of)³⁵ 0.8261 for 2003. Judged against the scores achieved by neighbouring African countries – their scores having been gleaned from surveys conducted between 1990 and 1994 – South Africa's TMWS compares very favourably: Malawi scored 0.268, Zambia 0.379, Kenya 0.5 and Namibia 0.707 (Kishor & Neitzel, 1997:419). If one were to rank South Africa in terms of the 25 countries included in the Kishor & Neitzel (1996:100) study, South Africa would have ranked third out of 26 (1st being the highest ranking, in this case), between the Philippines and the Dominican Republic in 1998, while its estimated 2003 score would have placed it second highest overall³⁶. Judged by the scores of countries that fall in the same mid-level HDI category as South Africa (ranked 103rd in 1998), the women in this country seem to be on the leading edge: Brazil scored 0.776 (HDI ranking 1998 74th), and the Philippines 0.828 (HDI ranking 1998, 77th), faring notably better than Paraguay's 0.704 (HDI ranking 1998, 81st) and Turkey's 0.429 (HDI ranking 1998, 85th). Despite this favourable comparative position, it has to be acknowledged that South African women did not have a particularly strong absolute power status, given the fact that they achieved only 79 per cent (an estimated 83 per cent in 2003) of the *minimum* achievement levels deemed acceptable for the given power status indicators (Kishor & Neitzel, 1997:398).

The national mean score once again belies the marked provincial differences³⁷ in this area, as can be seen from Figure 7. The 0.88 TMWS score of women in the Western Cape (Table 4) was the closest to a perfect score of one, and Limpopo, with its score

³⁵ See footnote 27 above

³⁶ Note that South Africa scored higher than Namibia in terms of the TMWS, in contrast to the DMI where it trailed behind Namibia.

³⁷ The TMWS is a rather crude measure owing to its zero-and-one scoring method: although two provinces might both have achieved the minimum threshold of an indicator, the TMWS does not reflect anything about the extent of this achievement (or the depth of non-achievement). For example, for the indicator on female-headed households, the threshold of households headed by females is set at 20 per cent. The universal 'Yes', and therefore a score of one, achieved by all nine provinces obscures the fact that, while 30 per cent of households were headed by females in Western Cape, the corresponding figure for Limpopo was almost double that at 57 per cent in 1998. The interprovincial TMWS differences therefore hide even more fundamental interprovincial indicator achievement differences.

of 0.64, the lowest in 1998. In 2003 Northern Cape had the highest estimated TMWS score (0.84), while Limpopo's power status was still the weakest (0.66). The difference between the provinces at the two extremes was similar to that of the DMI: the women of Limpopo had only 73 per cent of the power status of the women of Western Cape in 1998, with the ratio between Limpopo and Northern Cape estimated to have been 78 per cent in 2003. Relative to the 25-country scores calculated in the Kishor & Neitzel (1996:100) study, Western Cape would have taken the top-ranking position, just ahead of the Dominican Republic. Limpopo would have taken eighth position, between Madagascar and Peru in 1998. In 2003 Northern Cape would have taken second position – just ahead of the Philippines – with Limpopo maintaining its eighth position.

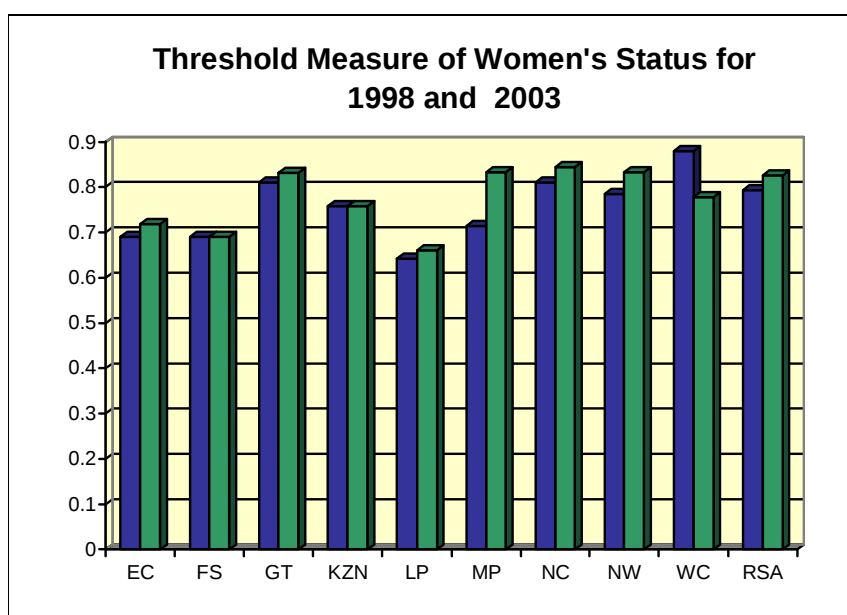


Figure 7: The TMWS for 1998 and 2003

Source: Author's calculations

Table 4: Threshold Measure of Women's Status for 1998 and 2003

	EC	FS	GT	KZN	LP	MP	NC	NW	WC	RSA
TMWS 1998	0.69	0.69	0.81	0.76	0.64	0.71	0.81	0.79	0.88	0.79
TMWS 2003	0.72	0.69	0.83	0.76	0.66	0.83	0.84	0.83	0.78	0.83

Source: Author's calculations³⁸³⁸ Data sources: DOH, 1999 & 2006

In 1998 the power status of Western Cape's women, as measured by the TMWS, stood well above that of the other provinces. Their power margin was almost seven index points higher than those in second position, shared by Gauteng and Northern Cape. These two provinces were within two index points of North West, while KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga were within the same approximate range. Eastern Cape and the Free State shared the second lowest position. Limpopo, however, fell far behind, trailing behind the Free State by almost five index points. Once again Limpopo lagged behind the rest of the provinces in terms of power status of women. By 2003 the estimated ranking differences, revealing some surprising changes, seemed somewhat less diverse: the provinces with the highest TMWS values – this time comprising Northern Cape, Mpumalanga, North West and Gauteng – were within one index point of each other, leading the next cluster – Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal – by a further five index points. The next group of provinces trailed by four index points, thus effectively dividing the provinces into top, middle and bottom groups. Limpopo had the lowest TMWS score of the lower group, lagging by a three index point margin. The provincial inequality appears to have narrowed, as reflected in the fact that women in the three provinces with the highest TMWS scores had a 24 per cent higher power status than women in the three provinces with the lowest scores in 1998, as opposed to a 21 per cent gap in 2003³⁹.

It must nevertheless be noted that, despite the intraprovincial differences, not one of the nine provinces reached a score of one. Although women in Western Cape (1998) and Northern Cape (2003) were in a markedly more advantageous power position than the women of Limpopo, they were still well below the minimum threshold as judged by Kishor & Neitzel. Since this threshold was derived from the performances of 25 *developing* countries, it is a decidedly relevant benchmark for South Africa.

³⁹ These changes nevertheless have to be viewed within the context of the crude nature of this measure. For example, a change in the judgement of an indicator from a unequivocal 'no' to an 'unclear', with a resulting change from a zero to a 0.5 score, can result in an increase of two to three percentage points in the TMWS score. The possibility of incorrect interpretation – with changes emanating from purely data issues rather than trends – is therefore exacerbated by the very design of this measure.

The power status of women, as measured by the TMWS, reflected a national improvement of 4.2 per cent between 1998 and 2003 (bearing in mind the mentioned data constraints regarding the 2003 SADHS results). Western Cape was the only province to go against the trend, with a substantial drop of almost 12 per cent between the two years. While the Free State and KwaZulu-Natal showed no change during this time, the other six provinces, in contrast, registered an increase led by an almost 17 per cent improvement in the power status of the women of Mpumalanga during this time. Here, too, we find that changes in the power status of women, as reflected by the TMWS, did not follow a universal pattern across the provinces between the two years.

Whereas Western Cape and Limpopo once again fell into a now familiar pattern as the two extremes of provincial performances in the development status of women in 1998, the 2003 estimates reflected some unexpected results. The Free State, furthermore, with its eighth position (second worst) had a surprisingly low ranking in this instance, which runs counter to its usual mid-level ranking.

7. Five indicators: five perspectives

Table 5 shows the provincial scores for each of the indicators discussed above. It is clear that from every developmental perspective – from women's development capability progress to internal and external empowerment – that a distinct inequity exists between the provinces. Moreover, somewhat different pictures emerge from the various measures.

Table 5: Provincial scores per female development status indicator, 1996/98 and 2001/03

PROVINCE	Female-specific HDI (FHDl)		Gender Development Index (GDI)		Gender Empowerment Index (GEM)		Decision-Making Index (DMI) ⁴⁰		Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS)	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001	1998	2003	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	0.7121	0.6444	0.7093	0.6547	0.5707	0.5561	0.4071	0.4103	0.6897	0.7184
Free State	0.7443	0.6755	0.7490	0.6901	0.6003	0.5726	0.3778	0.3702	0.6897	0.6897
Gauteng	0.8183	0.7533	0.8243	0.7689	0.7181	0.7562	0.3972	0.4375	0.8103	0.8321
KwaZulu-Natal	0.7062	0.6259	0.7159	0.6461	0.4899	0.5964	0.4218	0.4614	0.7586	0.7586
Limpopo	0.6728	0.6223	0.6855	0.6403	0.5801	0.5898	0.3442	0.3436	0.6429	0.6600
Mpumalanga	0.7287	0.6551	0.7405	0.6774	0.5614	0.6472	0.3634	0.3762	0.7143	0.8333
Northern Cape	0.7299	0.7104	0.7375	0.7229	0.6025	0.6371	0.4026	0.4182	0.8103	0.8441
North West	0.7181	0.6598	0.7255	0.6748	0.6363	0.6352	0.3995	0.3898	0.7857	0.8333
Western Cape	0.8017	0.7781	0.8083	0.7885	0.6450	0.6623	0.4310	0.4241	0.8793	0.7779

Source: Author's calculations

A comparison of the provincial ranking positions per indicator is provided in Table 6. From this we can gather whether different perspectives on the well-being of women yield similar results.

Table 6: Provincial rankings per female development status indicator, 1996/98 and 2001/03

RANK	Female-specific HDI (FHDl)		Gender Development Index (GDI)		Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)		Decision-Making Index (DMI)		Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS)	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001	1998	2003	1998	2003
1 (best)	GT	WC	GT	WC	GT	GT	WC	KZN	WC	NC
2	WC	GT	WC	GT	WC	WC	KZN	GT	GT	MP
3	FS	NC	FS	NC	NW	MP	EC	WC	NC	NW
4	NC	FS	MP	FS	NC	NC	NC	NC	NW	GT
5	MP	NW	NC	MP	FS	NW	NW	EC	KZN	WC
6	NW	MP	NW	NW	LP	KZN	GT	NW	MP	KZN
7	EC	EC	KZN	EC	EC	LP	FS	MP	EC	EC
8	KZN	KZN	EC	KZN	MP	FS	MP	FS	FS	FS
9 (worst)	LP	LP	LP	LP	KZN	EC	LP	LP	LP	LP

Source: Author's calculations

The close link between the FHDl and the GDI results in very similar provincial rankings for both years. The KwaZulu-Natal rankings are lower than expected, reflecting the negative impact of HIV/AIDS on female life expectancy in this province. The GEM rankings produce some surprises: the otherwise low-ranking Limpopo features as a mid-ranking (upper-low ranking) province in economic, political and

⁴⁰ For comparison's sake the DMI was adjusted to a zero-to-one index.

professional participation. KwaZulu-Natal (1996) and the Free State (2001), conversely, occupy unexpectedly low empowerment ranking positions in both years.

It is important to note how differently Gauteng performed in the two separate power status indicators. In terms of the DMI, it ranked sixth in 1998; but, with a rapid rise, it held the second position in 2003. In the case of the TMWS, the reverse occurred: it ranked second in 1998, but dropped to fourth in 2003. The expanded nature of the TMWS has clearly highlighted other aspects of women's power status, thereby influencing the initial ranking status of this province. A comparable, albeit reversed, pattern can be found with Mpumalanga: its low DMI position, in both years, was not mirrored in the TMWS rankings, especially after its meteoric rise in ranking to second position in 2003. The same (perhaps less pronounced) pattern can be found in the cases of Northern Cape and North West, where both occupied mid-level DMI rankings, but rose to high-ranking TMWS positions – and indeed the top position in the case of Northern Cape – as more power status indicators came into play. The drop in Western Cape's DMI ranking, on the other hand, was magnified when it came to the TMWS, where it dropped to a mere fifth position in 2003. In the case of KwaZulu-Natal the beneficial nature of the DMI indicators was somewhat obscured by the expanded nature of the TMWS – where the province did not perform as strongly – this leading to a loss of three ranking positions for this province in 1998, and five in 2003. This province's weak absolute performance in the area of female life expectancy established previously (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007b) – undoubtedly the result of the effects of HIV/AIDS – might have influenced some of the indicators in the TMWS to the detriment of women's power status. Eastern Cape shared a similar pattern to KwaZulu-Natal with its unexpectedly high DMI ranking position being replaced by a relatively low TMWS position. Aspects of this province's usually weak female development position have clearly contributed to its weaker TMWS performance. The Free State more or less maintained its power status ranking positions, moving neither up nor down by more than one position, while Limpopo showed consistency by maintaining its bottom position. The differing perspectives produced by the two power status indicators offer potentially valuable insights into the complexities of development.

The rankings of the five different indicators followed a remarkably similar pattern in the case of Western Cape, which was consistently within the top three, with the exception of the 2003 TMWS estimation. This implies that a high power status (internal empowerment) and a high level of development (as reflected by capabilities and external empowerment) went hand in hand in this province. The same can be said of Gauteng – the 1998 DMI and 2003 TMWS being the exceptions – and Northern Cape, which seems either to aspire to the top-three category, or actually feature in it. The indicators for Limpopo also followed a consistent pattern, except in the case of the GEM: its external power status, as depicted by the GEM, was low- to mid-range, yet its internal power status, as demonstrated by the DMI and TMWS, was low, as was its capabilities level (GDI and FHDl). It would appear as if the well-being of women in KwaZulu-Natal was skewed towards internal empowerment, where it occupied an unusually high ranking, compared with its otherwise relatively low ranking in the other areas. There furthermore seems to be a clear distinction between a low level of external and internal empowerment of women, on the one hand, and a relatively high level of capabilities of women, on the other, in the case of the Free State.

No clear patterns could, however, be ascertained among the other provinces. This is in direct contrast to the findings of Kishor & Neitzel (1997:401) that a general consistency in the rankings of the GDI, the GEM and the TMWS existed across the countries they reviewed. The reasons for this are open to debate.

In seeking further explanatory patterns, we add a crude *measure of income* to the comparisons, as shown in Table 7. This highlights, to a degree, the close ranking correlation between female income, the FHDl, the GDI, and the GEM for the best and worst performers in 1996. The 2001 correlations between these indicators were somewhat less pronounced. Apart from Limpopo (and Western Cape and Gauteng in 1996), the power status indicators nevertheless display less correlation with female income rankings – KwaZulu-Natal and the Free State being noteworthy examples.

Table 7: Provincial rankings of female income compared with female development status indicators, 1996/98 and 2001/03

RANK	Female Income Index (from GEM)		Female-specific HDI (FHDl)		Gender Development Index (GDI)		Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)		Decision-Making index (DMI)		Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS)	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001	1998	2003	1998	2003
1 (best)	GT	GT	GT	WC	GT	WC	GT	GT	WC	KZN	WC	NC
2	WC	WC	WC	GT	WC	GT	WC	WC	KZN	GT	GT	MP
3	MP	MP	FS	NC	FS	NC	NW	MP	EC	WC	NC	NW
4	NC	FS	NC	FS	MP	FS	NC	NC	NC	NC	NW	GT
5	FS	NC	MP	NW	NC	MP	FS	NW	NW	EC	KZN	WC
6	KZN	KZN	NW	MP	NW	NW	LP	KZN	GT	NW	MP	KZN
7	NW	NW	EC	EC	KZN	EC	EC	LP	FS	MP	EC	EC
8	EC	EC	KZN	KZN	EC	KZN	MP	FS	MP	FS	FS	FS
9 (worst)	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	KZN	EC	LP	LP	LP	LP

Source: Author's calculations

As a final evaluation, a comparison of indicators of *gender inequality* and the two power status indicators are presented in Table 8. It does, however, not shed much light on the power status rankings. No other clear patterns emerge, thereby leading us to conclude – perhaps surprisingly so – that there may only be a limited relationship between gender inequality and the power status of women.

Table 8: Provincial rankings of gender inequality compared with women's power status indicators, 1996/98 and 2001/03

RANK	Gender-specific HDI gender parity ratios		GEM Income index gender parity ratios		GEM Parliamentary representation gender parity ratios		GEM Professional participation gender parity ratios		Decision-Making index (DMI)		Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS)	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001	1998	2003	1998	2003
1 (best)	EC	WC	EC	EC	NW	GT	EC	EC	WC	KZN	WC	NC
2	GT	EC	LP	LP	GT	NW	NC	WC	KZN	GT	GT	MP
3	FS	NC	GT	GT	LP	LP	LP	FS	EC	WC	NC	NW
4	WC	GT	WC	NW	EC	MP	FS	KZN	NC	NC	NW	GT
5	NW	NW	KZN	KZN	WC	NC	WC	LP	NW	EC	KZN	WC
6	NC	FS	FS	WC	FS	KZN	KZN	NC	GT	NW	MP	KZN
7	KZN	LP	NW	MP	NC	WC	NW	MP	FS	MP	EC	EC
8	MP	KZN	MP	FS	MP	EC	GT	NW	MP	FS	FS	FS
9 (worst)	LP	MP	NC	NC	KZN	FS	MP	GT	LP	LP	LP	LP

Source: Author's calculations

8. Concluding findings

This paper is an extension of previous studies (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a & b) aimed at examining the development status of women in South Africa, with a particular focus on the changes between the years 1996 and 2001. It draws on the indicators and analyses developed in the previous papers, but has augmented them with a twofold aim in mind, namely a) to gauge the progress and to find patterns in the development status of women in South Africa's provinces by using a broader and more diverse range of indicators, and b) to find whether the indicators show any consistency in terms of their results. We included two measures not routinely employed as part of mainstream gendered development analysis, namely an indicator of the relative household power status of women and an indicator of the societal power status of women. By combining all these indicators, five different perspectives on the well-being of women have been generated.

In order to come to any conclusions concerning the patterns and progress in the development status of women, we have to distinguish between the absolute development position of each province and the position of a province relative to other provinces. Since we are employing five different indicators to reflect the development status of women, it is prudent also to distinguish between the different aspects of development status covered by the indicators in order to draw useful conclusions. The FHDl (and the MHDl for comparison) and the GDI reflect capabilities, i.e. basic abilities and prospects to live a long and healthy life with a basic level of knowledge and a decent standard of living. The GEM – reflecting access to economic opportunities and participation in the political and professional spheres of life – indicates external empowerment opportunities⁴¹. The DMI and the TMWS, as indicators of the power status of women, are considered indicators of internal empowerment. In addition to the absolute and relative development status classification, we can therefore also distinguish between the capability, external empowerment and internal empowerment achievements of the provinces.

⁴¹ Note that, as with the GDI, the GEM is a gender-adjusted *average* measure, and therefore not female-specific.

From an *absolute* perspective we can gauge progress in the development status of women between 1996/8 and 2001/3. We find that:

- Both (gender-adjusted) average, and female-specific, measured capabilities diminished in South Africa between 1996 and 2001 (bearing in mind the possible bias stemming from poor-quality enrolment data).
- Measured external empowerment opportunities improved, with few exceptions, during this time.
- The measured capability status of women diminished at a more rapid pace than that of men.
- Provinces with poor-capability track records lost more ground relative to provinces with better track records.
- Provinces with previously poor participation and external empowerment records gained ground on provinces with healthier participation and external empowerment records.
- The measured internal empowerment of women improved, both in terms of women's relative household decision-making power and their societal status.
- In terms of internal empowerment, the provinces were experiencing increasingly varied household power status, yet more uniform societal power status.

For conclusions on patterns in the development status of women in South Africa's provinces, we turn to the provincial positions *relative* to each other. We find the following:

- Substantial provincial differences can be found in all of the indicators.
- Women's measured capabilities nevertheless seem to have had relatively fewer glaring provincial differences than in the cases of measured external and internal empowerment.
- Gauteng distinguished itself as having featured most frequently in the top-three-performing-provinces category across the above-mentioned (expanded) eight indicators, both in 1996/98 and 2001/03. Western Cape shared this distinction in 1996/98.
- Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal (1996 only), most frequently found themselves among the provinces in the bottom one-third.

The second issue is whether the indicators concur in their assessment of the well-being of women.

The answer to this, on an *absolute* level, is both Yes and No. Yes, the five (main) indicators show that the women of South Africa are, in general, in the mid-range field of capabilities, external (mid-to-high-range) and internal empowerment (mid-to-high range compared with a benchmark), with women in some provinces being less so than in others. And No, in terms of internal empowerment the country is either leading or lagging somewhat compared with similar achievements: a comparison with her African neighbours shows South African women to be ahead in respect of their household power and societal power status achievements; yet, compared with other countries with comparable economy sizes, the picture is less clear. A case in point: Brazil's per capita GDP ⁴² was 28 per cent lower than that of South Africa in the same year, yet her HDI and GDI both exceeded those of South Africa by small margins, while her DMI surpassed South Africa's by three index points. Brazil's TMWS nevertheless lagged behind that of South Africa (1998) by a margin of almost two index points. On the other hand, while the Dominican Republic's per capita GDP was about half that of South Africa's in the same year, it had comparable HDI, GDI and DMI scores, yet it surpassed South Africa's TMWS 1998 score by almost 7 index points (UNDP, 2000a; Kishor & Neitzel, 1996:100; Smith et al., 2003:38). Judged from this, it would therefore appear that, first, a clear assessment of South Africa's internal empowerment performance is more difficult than that of capabilities, and second, per capita income ostensibly has a limited effect on internal empowerment.

From a *relative* perspective, the five indicators do seem to concur with our previous finding, namely that, among the provinces, Western Cape and (to a lesser extent) Gauteng are leaders in female and average measured development capabilities, as well as in the average measured external empowerment and internal empowerment of women. Northern Cape, similarly – although less convincingly so – scored mid-to-high-range on capabilities, and achieved a high ranking in respect of both external and internal empowerment. Limpopo, conversely, lagged behind all provinces on all counts (with the exception of GEM – external empowerment – where it held a relatively low to

⁴² This is measured by GDP per capita, PPP US\$, 1998 value.

mid-ranking position). None of the other provinces, however, distinguished themselves as consistently being either upper- or lower-ranking provinces across all five indicators; the Free State ranked relatively high on capabilities, but scored lower on external and internal empowerment. North West ranked relatively low on capabilities, but performed somewhat better when it came to external and internal empowerment. KwaZulu-Natal was a low achiever in terms of capabilities and external empowerment, but performed significantly better in respect of internal empowerment's household decision-making power. Eastern Cape seemed to mimic Limpopo (both of these provinces having some of the least urbanised populations) to a degree by scoring relatively low across the board. Yet, contrary to Limpopo, it also scored relatively high in household decision-making power. Mpumalanga, however, displayed a thoroughly erratic pattern. Therefore, from a relative perspective, we once again have no clear-cut answer as to whether the five indicators provide the same picture on the well-being of women in 1996/8 and 2001/03. Yes, the indicators do concur in the best and worst cases, but not in the middle ground. This seems to suggest that varied development priorities present themselves to those provinces that are neither at the top nor the bottom extremes of the female development ladder.

This paper provides a variety of perspectives on the development status of women in South Africa. The question is whether more effective use can be made of these perspectives to reflect and gauge the multidimensional nature of a gendered development process (see Booyesen-Wolthers 2007e). Appropriately measuring the well-being of women is a complex exercise – making consistency in the gathering of high quality gender-stratified data over time essential. Appropriate measurement is nevertheless crucial for monitoring progress towards, and policies for, sustainable development, and also for ensuring that the burden of poverty does not become a permanent post-1994 condition of women in South Africa.

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PAPER V

Measuring the development status of women: towards a multiperspective development profile

[Referenced as Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007e]

Measuring the development status of women: towards a multiperspective development profile

Abstract

Monitoring progress in the well-being of women is crucial for sustainable development, yet the complexity and multidimensionality of a gendered development process makes its measurement a challenge. The use of individual gendered indices provides only a fragmented picture; composite indices are no panacea either. This paper proposes combining a suite of gendered indices into a measurement framework – a Women's Development Status Profile (WDSP) – that would move closer to providing a broad-based, holistic perspective on the well-being of women. The multiple analytical layers provided by this measure make it particularly useful for development policy analysis. Measured in this manner, the well-being of South Africa's women was found to be on a par with that of a selection of its peers, yet was still well behind that of the leader in the field. It also shows that for the period 1996 to 2003 Western Cape and Gauteng had the most favourable WDSPs among the provinces, while Limpopo had the least favourable.

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1. Introduction

The 1996 South African Constitution endorsed gender equality as a basic human right, thereby adding weight to its prominence within the political arena. The emergence of gender inequality from behind the previous veil of racial segregation brought women's issues into focus and pushed gender disparities firmly onto the political agenda. This initiated the process of 'gender mainstreaming'¹ in South Africa, i.e. integrating both women's and men's concerns into policies and programmes at all levels of society – political, economic and social – in an effort to attain gender equality in opportunities, capabilities and benefits (UNDP, 2006:2).

Ten years down the road South Africa is viewed as one of the model countries when it comes to incorporating gender into government (UNDP, 2006a). An agency dedicated to the status of women, the Office for the Status of Women (OSW), has been set up in the Office of the President, while the Parliamentary Joint Monitoring Committee on the Quality of Life and Status of Women (QoL) is mandated to ensure that gender be given due consideration in all policies. The Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) acts as an extragovernmental watchdog to monitor gender mainstreaming throughout government and civil society agencies. South Africa has furthermore ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and also played an active role in the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. The adoption of the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, amongst a myriad of policy initiatives, has been a further landmark in the fight for recognition of women's rights. The country is also in the enviable position of being one of a handful of countries in the world where female representation in decision-making positions in government exceeds 30 per cent (UNDP, 2005b).

South Africa's gender mainstreaming efforts gain significance especially when viewed within a development and poverty reduction framework. The ultimate goal of gender

¹ Although gender mainstreaming is a strategy of the Gender and Development paradigm (Unterhalter, 2005:4), this term is used throughout the paper as a reference to the process of gender integration into society, rather than as a reference to a specific development paradigm.

mainstreaming is the achievement of gender equality (UNDP, 2006: 2). Within a development context, gender equality is important for two reasons: first, its achievement honours basic human rights (UNDP, 2001:36), and second, it acts as a facilitator of sustainable development (UNDP, 2006:3). The latter is based on two premises – gender equality in capabilities promotes the freedom of half the population ‘to live a life worth valuing’ (to use Sen’s concept), and, improvement in the capabilities of women leads to several positive externalities, amongst which are reduced fertility rates (Sachs, 2005:195; Sen, 1999:191), improved child nutrition (Smith, Ramakrishnan, Ndiya, Haddad & Martorell, 2003: 23), improved GDP (UNFPA, 2000: 5.5&6), reduced infant mortality rates (UNDP, 2005c: 28-29) and improved family well-being (UNDP, 1996: 110). Determining the success of South Africa’s gender mainstreaming drive therefore ultimately lies in determining the extent to which it has improved the well-being of women, which, in turn, will determine how successful it was at facilitating sustainable development in the country.

The development process is a nuanced, multifaceted and interconnected phenomenon that is exceedingly difficult to quantify and capture in a single indicator. Gauging changes in the development status of women requires using appropriate indicators to reflect the multidimensionality of a gendered development process.

The indicators employed to measure development have, over the years, depended on the prevailing views of what development entails. In the days when development was narrowly defined as economic growth, the GDP sufficed, but as the understanding of development became more sophisticated, so did the measures. Incorporating gender into the measurement of development has been part of the move towards increased multidimensionality in indicators.

The South Africa Country Report on the achievement of the United Nation’s (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) provides one of the most recent audits on the country’s development and poverty eradication progress. The UN Millennium Development Declaration is a global agenda, signed by 189 member countries, to halve global poverty by the year 2015 (UNDP, 2006b). It does so by setting eight different development goals: eradication of extreme poverty and hunger; the achievement of universal primary education; gender equality and empowerment of

women; reduction of child mortality; improvement of maternal health; combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensuring environmental sustainability; and, developing a global partnership for development – all set for achievement by 2025. The South African MDG progress report is a glowing report card stating that ‘South Africa is well on course to meet all Millennium Development Goals and targets’ (DOH, 2005:4). Progress in Goal Number Three, the attainment of gender equality and empowerment of women, receives an equally good review. According to the report, the subgoal of achieving gender parity on all levels of education has already been reached, while progress on the other two indicators – on share of women in wage employment and seats held by women in national parliament – is slow, but optimism about reaching it is expressed (DOH, 2005:20).

In explaining the background of South Africa's efforts to improve the quality of life for all citizens, the report states that

a solid foundation and supportive environment have been put in place to deal with obstacles that might affect SA's ability to accomplish all MDGs
(DOH, 2005: 9).

Referring particularly to the section on gender equality, we would like to suggest that this predisposition has perhaps tainted the objectivity of said report.

In contrast to the positive findings of the MDG South Africa country report, a previous study, based on census data, found that the absolute (within-gender), and particularly the relative (between-gender) development status of women had declined between 1996 and 2001, at both the national and the provincial levels (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a & b). More specifically, a review of the Human Development Index (HDI) component areas, to find areas where changes in the development status of women between the two census years had been most pronounced, revealed that a worsening in the area of attainment of knowledge, followed by a drop in life expectancy, had been the worst-performing areas (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007c). It was nevertheless found that the empowerment of women had progressed appreciably, as judged by changes in the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) between 1996 and 2001. On the other hand, two indices measuring the ‘power status’ of women indicated that South African women compared favourably to their peers, but fell short of benchmark measures in the area of decision-making power (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007d). Granted,

the above studies were limited to the years 1996 and 2001 (1998 and 2003 for the power measures) and the trends could have changed in the interim. The likelihood however of this is open to question.

Others have also taken the 2005 MDG South African Country Report to task. Farouk (2006a) accuses the government of having an unhealthy preoccupation with quantitative measures and ignoring the socio-economic rights of the poor. A case in point is that the MDG Report boasts that over 95 per cent of children aged 7 to 13 years attended school in 2003, thereby getting quite close to attaining the MDG goal of universal primary school attendance (DOH, 2005). The Centre for Education Policy Development reports that the poorest 40 to 60 per cent of primary schools are dysfunctional due to poor teacher training and that 20 to 30 per cent of grade 3 to 6 learners are functionally illiterate (Farouk, 2006b). Garson (2006) adds to this by highlighting the fact that between 6 and 8 million adults are functionally illiterate, while only 14 per cent of the black population older than 20 years have secondary school education.

Similarly, whereas the MDG Report states that South Africa is making good progress in halving extreme poverty by 2015 (DOH, 2005:5&70), Frye (2006) found that 10.5 per cent of South Africans lived on \$1 a day and 48.5 per cent of the population lived under the national poverty line of R354 per month per adult equivalent in 2002. It has furthermore been found that the number of both female- and male-headed households with no income increased significantly between the two census years (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a). Once again, this trend could have changed since 2001, but this is unlikely. Suffice it to say that there is a difference of opinion as to whether South Africa is well on her way to achieving the MDG goals by 2015 – notably with regard to women.

The point is that there are different ways of looking at the same facts, and that each method provides a different perspective, depending on both the selection of indicators and the objective. It is perhaps necessary to find a new way to use the many development indicators that could provide a less fragmented development picture.

Although each of the gendered development indicators has merits and admittedly contributes to an understanding both of gender differences in development achievements and of the impact of such differences on development progress, each still only presents one slice of the whole well-being perspective. This paper suggests a move towards a more holistic and simultaneous approach, which aims to capture the multidimensionality of gendered development through the inclusion of a variety of composite measures into a single structure, yet without distilling it into a single value to represent a level of development. This approach entails creating a multifaceted *profile* of the development status of women. It provides decision-makers with a single concept and framework, while simultaneously offering multiple dimensions and layers of analysis, thereby ultimately providing a wider perspective on the well-being of women. This approach not only offers a potentially better approximation of a complex reality, but it also diminishes the risk of misinterpreting reality due to ill-chosen indicator selections.

Before continuing with the conceptual framework for the proposed measure, we proceed by briefly reviewing the most prominent gendered indicators available.

2. Gendered measures of development²

Though the recognition that development is not gender neutral dates back as far as the 1970s (Boserup, 1970), it was not until 1995 that the first gendered development composite index was developed. The Gender(-related) Development Index (GDI) was introduced by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in its 1995 Human Development Report, as part of the gendered theme of that year. It is based on the work of Anand and Sen (1995) who recognised that, as an indicator of average achievement, the HDI does not take into account differences between women and men. The GDI uses the basic tenets of the HDI, concentrating on three areas of capability, namely longevity, attainment of knowledge and standard of living. However, these are corrected for gender differences in achievement in life expectancy, literacy,

² For more detail refer to Booysen-Wolthers, 2007d.

educational enrolment, labour market participation, wage rates and population share, whereafter an average performance is calculated (UNDP, 1995:15).

Dijkstra & Hanmer (2000) created an alternative to the GDI, namely the Relative Status of Women (RSW), which isolates gender inequality by indicating the position of women relative to that of men. It is essentially a parity ratio of the indicators used in the GDI, except that per capita GDP is replaced by a 'return to women's and men's labour time', weighted equally to give a score between zero and one (Dijkstra & Hanmer, 2000:12). By the authors' own admission, the relative nature of this indicator does make it vulnerable to interpretation and therefore it has to be used together with other measures of well-being to be of value.

Another variation on the HDI, a gender-specific HDI, was developed in a previous paper (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a). This gender-disaggregated measure utilises the principles of the GDI by applying gender differences in achievement to the HDI to obtain a separate HDI for men (MHDI) and for women (FHDI). In this way it is possible to ascertain differences in the absolute levels and rates of change of women's and men's respective development statuses. This measure *highlights* gender inequality instead of incorporating it into an average performance, as is the case with the GDI. In that sense it has the same aim as the RSW, but sidesteps the limitation of being only a relative measure.

A further gendered composite measure, the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) was introduced by the UNDP in 1995. The GEM aims to reflect gender inequalities in empowerment by combining female and male participation rates in the spheres of political decision-making, professional opportunities and earning power into a single measure to reflect a gender-adjusted average participation in empowerment opportunities (UNDP, 1995).

A further attempt to capture the gendered dimensions of development is the Gender Equality Index (GEI), sponsored by the International Statistical Institute. Instead of being a composite measure, it suggests using a framework of 18 indicators in eight categories (Wieringa, 1999). These cover a wide range of aspects considered relevant to the development of women, including physical autonomy and time use. It is a very

comprehensive analytical tool, yet this is also its downfall in that finding this level of gender-stratified data (from various sources) is often difficult, especially in developing countries.

Kishor and Neitzel (1996) developed the Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS) as a measure of the status of women – broadly referring to the extent to which women participate in decisions that impact on their lives. This made innovative use of the Demographic and Household Survey (DHS) data to gauge factors that either act as sources of power to women, or that create the setting for encouraging empowerment. By gleaning the results from 25 country specific DHS datasets, they set up a threshold of what can be considered a minimum level of status for women, nevertheless stressing that this should not be viewed as an ideal achievement (Kishor & Neitzel, 1997: 398). This is a wide-ranging measure with 29 indicators in six categories covering poverty, female-heads of households, education, employment, marriage, and interspousal differences. Since all the indicators are gleaned from a single source, the use of a large number of indicators is less problematic here than in the case of the GEI.

Smith et al. (2003) also employed DHS data to construct two indices to reflect the status of women. One is the Decision-Making Index (DMI), which shows the decision-making power women have relative to their husbands at the household level, while the other is the Societal Gender Equality measure (SGE), showing how a society treats its women in general.

Lopez-Claros & Zahidi (2005) developed a method whereby gender gaps were calculated for 58 countries in the areas of economic participation, economic opportunity, political empowerment, educational attainment, and health. This was done to gauge the competitiveness of the countries under review. Although this method was not originally developed specifically as a composite gendered-development measure, it does provide valuable insight into the prevailing gender inequalities.

In South Africa the measurement of the development status of women by means of composite indices has been restricted to applications of the GDI and the GEM by the

UNDP (2000b & 2003). The OSW and the QoL both indicate the monitoring of progress in respect of the achievement of gender equality as part of their functions and declare the GDI and the GEM as key indicators to be used in this regard (OSW, 2000:28, 30 & 48). The GDI, GEM, TMWS and DMI for South Africa were calculated nationally and provincially in a previous paper (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007d) to gain insight into the development status of women from various perspectives (see below for further analysis).

Maharaj (1999) suggested the creation of the Gender Inequality Measure (GIM), defined as the difference between the HDI and the GDI, for South Africa, but that author's misunderstanding of the exact nature of the GDI casts a shadow on the conclusions to be derived from this measure. Unterhalter (2005) proposed the construction of an Education GEM for South Africa, which would be a composite index similar to the UNDP's GEM, but expanded it to include a number of education-related indicators. She also suggested the construction of a composite education index that would include a wide range of proxies to reflect the instrumental, positional and intrinsic values of education.

Given the rise to prominence of women in development since the 1980s, it is actually surprising that not more gendered composite indicators have been developed to date.

3. Constructing a combined profile of the development status of women

The choice of the indicators applied to South African national and provincial data in previous papers – the FHDI, the GDI, the GEM, the TMWS and the DMI (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007b, c & d) – was driven both by the availability of data at the provincial level and also a desire to obtain indicators that were internationally comparable. The question is whether these individual indicators can be combined in some kind of logically coherent framework, and what the basis for such combination would be.

3.1 A point of departure

A measurement framework can, amongst other things, have the measurement goal, time period, source data or indicator-relation as its basis. Our point of departure in constructing a measurement framework is the central theme of the *well-being of women*, thus providing a concept that captures perspectives on empowerment, household and societal power status, and absolute and relative capability enhancement – and their effect on overall development. It is within this context that we seek complementarity. We thus start by suggesting two core assumptions:

- a) The *household* is a place where numerous decisions, ranging from labour force participation to marriage and fertility, are made. Households are therefore a crucial element in the growth, income distribution and poverty eradication of a country (Kakwani & Son, 2006).
- b) The *empowerment* of women is dependent on whether women have an equal voice in the decisions that affect their lives (UNDP, 2005a:14).

Using these assumptions, we suggest that the FHDI, the GDI, the GEM, the TMWS and the DMI can be seen to have a tiered or layered relationship, as follows.

Since the household (unit) is central to development – as per assumption (a) above – the DMI (Decision-Making Index), as a measure of the power status of women within the household, is at the centre of the indicator relationship. Rowlands (in Willis, 2005) classified the concept of ‘power’ into different categories to illustrate its different dimensions. These included ‘power over’, which is the power to dominate, ‘power to’ as a possibility to envisage effecting change, ‘power with’, which is born out of cooperation, and ‘power within’ that reflects perceptions of self-esteem and self-reliance flowing from within. In the case of the DMI we would associate power status as a combination of both the ‘power within’ and ‘power to’ definitions, viewing them as internal sources of power – or ‘internal empowerment’. We would furthermore argue that these types of power are perhaps within the closest reach of women on a personal level. This internal empowerment can potentially have a ripple effect on household decisions, community participation, social voice and, ultimately (or perhaps ideally), policy formation which can lead to poverty reduction. It is nevertheless

recognised that power relations are often constructs of religion and culture (Chen, 1995; Dollar & Gatti, 1999; Sachs, 2005:60) and therefore not necessarily within the power of the individual to change.

On the second tier of the indicator relationship we place the GEM (Gender Empowerment Measure), reflecting the empowerment opportunities afforded by societal structures. These opportunities facilitate the use of personal capabilities to pave the road to social and economic development for women. As such, this phase can be viewed as a source of external power for women, leading to what we might term 'external empowerment'. Empowerment and well-being are closely related (Klasen, 2004; Sen, 1999) and together the internal and external sources of empowerment of women facilitate, and underpin, development over the long term. Davids, Theron & Maphunye (2005:21) also describe empowerment as a combination of 'power to' and 'power within', implying that it is a process not only of inclusion into decision-making processes, but also of perceiving oneself able and entitled to occupy this decision-making position.

Sen's concept of 'agency' applies here. Agency is defined as the ability to act and effect change (Sen, 1999:19), with education, employment opportunities, ownership, the structure of the labour market, employment arrangements, attitudes of family and society towards women's economic activity and economic and social factors that influence these attitudes, being considered key factors in determining the extent of agency of women. The internal and external power status of women can therefore be considered indicative of women's agency status, which in turn can be viewed as an enabling factor of development. Or, simply stated: the DMI and GEM represent, what we would term, the 'potential for development' or 'development potential'.

The TMWS (Threshold Measure of Women's Status) is the next layer in the relation and reveals how internal and external power manifests itself by reflecting the power status women hold in society. Whereas the DMI and the GEM are indicative of factors able to facilitate agency, empowerment and well-being, the TMWS is a barometer of how successfully these were translated into a power status reality. This measure can be viewed as a bridge between development potential and actual development in that

it not only reflects the potential for development through agency and empowerment, but also shows the reciprocal effect of development on the empowerment of women.

The FHDI (Female-specific Human Development Index), on the fourth layer, shows the actual development of women, i.e. how internal and external empowerment has transfigured into development by enabling women to expand their capabilities in society. This can be compared with that of men to ascertain if there was a difference in the relative level and pace of development over time.

The GDI (Gender(-related) Development Index), as the last link in the relation, indicates how the realities reflected in the FHDI impact on the overall development of society, and specifically how much they contribute to or detract from the actual development of a society. In this sense, the FHDI and the GDI both deal with actual development as opposed to the development potential of the first two indicators.

Conceptually, this relation between these five indicators can be depicted as concentric circles, with power status at the household level being the central impetus. It is presented in this format, instead of in a linear relationship, because we would argue that the different areas of women's well-being, of which the chosen measures are indicative, are symbiotic, and, like throwing a pebble in a fishpond, the influence of potential and actual development creates a continual ebb and flow along the relationship circles. Figure 1 provides a graphic representation of this relation.

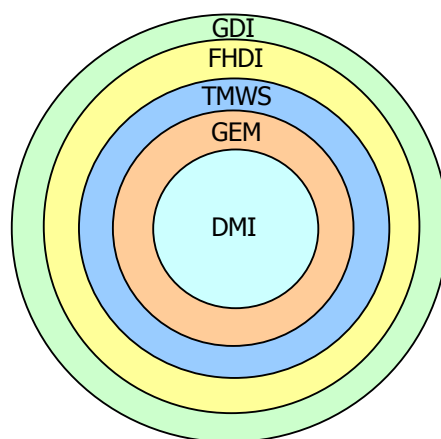


Figure 1: The relation between measures of the development status of women

It has to be made clear that, although the construction of the conceptual framework calls for a certain indicator placement sequence, no specific *causality* is implied as it is believed that a) causality would be exceedingly difficult to prove³ given the myriad exogenous factors that impact on the development status of women, and b) that the causality in all likelihood flows in both (or multiple) directions. For example, an ultimate improvement in the well-being of women can start out with a group of women improving their power status within their households (by obtaining a microfinance loan to set up a small business and thus also contributing substantially to household income, for example), which can lead to a stronger voice in their society for improved health care and education for girls⁴, which can potentially lead to an improved development status for their society, which in turn can elevate the household power status of a next generation of women by virtue of their higher education and enhanced employment opportunities. So, within our conceptual framework, the relation between the indicators therefore flows from development potential to actual development and back to development potential, rendering both these categories of variables endogenous in nature⁵.

The symbiotic nature of the areas covered by the five indicators is evident from a number of studies. For example, the positive impact of employment and education on the empowerment of women and, in turn, the positive influence of empowerment on reducing fertility and infant mortalities, have been cited on numerous occasions by Sen (1999). He also notes that women's power can influence the forces that determine gender divisions at all levels of society (Sen, 1999:192), and that women's voice and agency, propelled by education and employment, have the power to influence the content of public discussion on subjects like acceptable fertility rates and

³ Smith et al. (2003:38) point out that there is not necessarily a high correlation between women's household status and their status in society. Similarly, Papanek (1976) states that it is not clear how public status, as reflected by society's value system, influences the private status of women.

⁴ The concept of 'individual economic empowerment' offers a very similar argument. See Pearson, 2005:163.

⁵ Sen (1999) argues that because different kinds of freedoms are interrelated, the freedom of one kind can influence the advancement of freedom of another kind, while Serote, Mager & Budlender (2001) also maintain that for development to be effective it must recognise the complex relations between the domestic and the institutional domains.

environmental issues (Sen, 1999:193). Sachs has similarly found that young women employed in the burgeoning IT sector in India were typically reaping the benefits of previously empowered mothers, who were the first in their families to become literate and gain employment as seamstresses or sweatshop workers (Sachs, 2005:16). The empowering effect of employment on women, even as much disputed sweatshop labour, was furthermore evident from an informal newspaper survey in Bangladesh (Sachs, 2005:12).

Development is the product of both development potential (through agency and empowerment) and actual development, which means that the power status of women and their development status are therefore likely to be interrelated, thus providing a rationale for combining our suite of five gendered indicators into a single measurement framework.

3.2 Constructing the measurement framework

Based on the symbiotic relationship between the DMI, GEM, TMWS, FHDI and the GDI, we propose combining them laterally into what might be termed a 'Women's Development Status Profile' (WDSP). Each indicator's domain of measurement is retained, providing a single measurement framework with five different perspectives on the development situation of women. The indices are thus used as separate pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, whilst also bearing in mind their relation to each other.

Figure 2 illustrates how the five indicators are integrated into one measurement framework by placing each indicator on an axis to form a web-shaped development status profile⁶. The clockwise sequence of the indicators follows the conceptual relation explained above. The profile of any country or province can be mapped by indicating (and connecting) the values on each of the five axes.

⁶ Although the cluster attributes of the Environmental Performance Index (EPI) are presented in a similar web format (YCELP & CIESIN, 2006:22), the Women's Development Status Profile was developed independently and has no ties with the EPI.

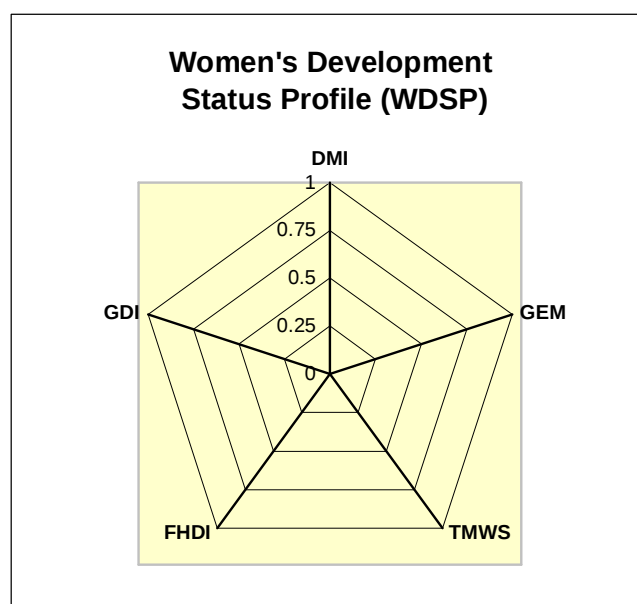


Figure 2: Women's Development Status Profile framework

From this WDSP the development status of women can be gauged in a number of ways:

- the total size of the web and the area it covers provide an indication of both the total potential for development *and* the actual development of women within a society;
- the shape, or degree of (im)balance of the web, indicates whether there is a balanced or unbalanced pattern or profile of women's development status, for example whether the components of development potential (from 12 o'clock to 5 o'clock in Figure 2)⁷ are as advanced, or, alternatively, as underperforming, as the components of actual development (from 7 o'clock to 10 o'clock); and
- the components of each one of the five indicators can be evaluated in-depth to reveal more detail in respect of the individual perspectives that contribute to the WDSP.

The perspectives generated by each of the five indicators are viewed as contributing equally to the total picture of the development status of women. The WDSP therefore

⁷ The TMWS can be included as either part of development potential or actual development, in that it acts as a bridge between these two realms (see Section 3.1 above). It is nevertheless viewed, and used, as an indicator of the power status of women; as such it is treated as part of development potential (together with the DMI and the GEM) for the purposes of this exercise.

assigns no weights. Weighting is nonetheless an option for any researcher or policy maker using this construct, thereby adding to its versatility as a measure.

It is tempting to once again summarise the development status of women in a single number by calculating the size of the WDSP web. Yet, we resist this impulse, because that would refute the object of the exercise, which – in acknowledgement of the multidimensionality of the development status of women – is to *simultaneously* highlight different perspectives on well-being. Although we do present development as the sum of potential and actual development, we consciously choose to keep our measure in a non-aggregated, composite format to protect the transparency with which this measure can convey multifaceted information at a glance.

Although the concentric model (Figure 8) was used to illustrate the symbiosis between the five indicators, it is not central to the construct of the WDSP. Our chosen framework neither implies that our particular choice of indicators is the only, nor necessarily the best for such a framework. It should rather be viewed as an illustration of how composite indicators of different dimensions of development status could be used in tandem to provide a better picture of the well-being of women. However, conceptual alignment and depth of perspective through diversity should, nevertheless, be important criteria for selecting indicators for such a framework.

3.3 Assessing the WDSP

An advantage of the Women's Development Status Profile is that it is simple to construct since it draws from existing measures and widely available data sources. Its flexibility to accommodate variations without much effort is another benefit. Its main advantage, however, lies in its capturing of multiple perspectives, thereby allowing for varied levels of analysis while retaining the simplicity of a single aggregate measurement framework.

The WDSP does nevertheless have shortcomings – more so due to indicator and data deficiencies than design flaws *per se* – particularly within the South African context. First, the FHDl and the GDI reflect women's participation and empowerment in the

labour market only from the perspective of formal employment. Although both the DMI and the TMWS include one indicator reflecting work of women (capturing any kind of work, including formal, informal and self-employed), it forms but a small portion of the overall index. It is estimated that 57 per cent of the informal sector is made up of women, who furthermore occupy the least lucrative section of this sector (Valodia, 2000). Many of the female population's livelihood options are therefore not adequately reflected in the WDSP. Secondly, none of the composite indicators included in the WDSP reflect the status of women from the perspective of gender-based violence. This is a particular issue in South Africa, where it is estimated that one in three women were in abusive relationships in 1998 and where a rape occurred every ten minutes in 2005/6 (Maharaj, 1999; SAPS, 2006). Thirdly, customary law, which is frequently viewed as being incongruent with the gender equality principle of the Constitution, still has strong influence in some parts of the country (mainly rural areas where the majority of poor women reside). This aspect of (dis)empowerment also does not feature directly in any of the indicators.

Two options present themselves for remedying these shortcomings: additional composite indices could be added to the WDSP, or, alternatively, the current composite measures used in the WDSP could be adjusted to include the missing elements – the TMWS being the most likely candidate. Both these options nevertheless have drawbacks. An expansion of the WDSP makes it a more complicated measure to calculate because of its reliance on a larger set of data. The use of poor quality data in one area (e.g. informal sector EAP) furthermore has the potential of weakening the complete WDSP, thereby reducing its usefulness. Adding indicators to the current composite indicators, on the other hand, makes the adjusted indicators incompatible for direct international comparisons. Both a standard set and an adjusted set of composite indicators will therefore be required for this purpose, but this would once again detract from the simplicity of the WDSP.

A true design problem lies with the inclusion of the FHDI in the WDSP, without reference to the MHDI. Although it serves the purpose of offering within-gender comparisons, the important relative between-gender comparisons do not feature in the WDSP. For this measure to realise its full potential, the MHDI has therefore also to be calculated and then 'kept waiting in the wings' for more in-depth analysis.

As an example of how this WDSP concept can be applied, we present the Women's Development Status Profiles for South Africa and the nine provinces in the next section.

4. Women's Development Status Profiles in South Africa

The compilation of national and provincial WDSPs for South Africa draws on the indicator results of earlier studies⁸ (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a, b, c & d). These were all adjusted to have the same index parameters of zero and one. It has to be noted that the calculations for the FHDI, the GDI and the GEM are based on 1996 and 2001 census data, while the DMI and TMWS indicators are based on 1998 and 2003 DHS data⁹. The WDSPs are therefore calculated for 1996/8 and 2001/3. (Also see footnote 11 regarding South African data problems.)

A benchmark WDSP, against which to judge the national and provincial Profiles, would be useful. Although access to DHS, census, political participation and basic economic data is the only proviso for calculating values for the five indicators for any country, a first comparison of WDSPs was limited to countries for which both the DMI and the TMWS values had been calculated – these being the comparatively less readily available values to obtain. Finding GEM values for developing countries in Africa and Latin America proved to be a further challenge. Complete value sets were nevertheless available for the year 2000 for Norway (see discussion below), for Namibia and for five Latin American countries, for which a weighted Latin American average was calculated.

Norway, renowned for its high status of women, should perhaps be viewed as a long-term benchmark to which developing countries could aspire. It had the highest HDI value (0.942), the third highest GDI (0.941) and the highest GEM (0.837) in 2000

⁸ The suspect quality of the primary and secondary school enrolment figures (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007b:14 & 2006d:13) employed in calculating the HDI, FHDI, MHDI and GDI in these papers, should be borne in mind.

⁹ For further detail on the calculation methods of these measures and the data on which they were based, refer to Appendices I, II, IV, V, VI, VII and VIII.

(UNDP, 2002). It was furthermore used as a reference level of women's relative decision-making powers in the DMI calculations of Smith et al. (2003:26), with a value of 59.24. Unfortunately, the TMWS value for this country is not available and will be difficult to calculate since Demographic and Health Surveys are only conducted in developing countries. An informed judgement therefore had to suffice, which placed Norway's TMWS at an estimated value of one¹⁰. This implies that the country had reached the threshold of a minimum acceptable level of women's status¹¹ – which is conceivable in a country known for its high female development status.

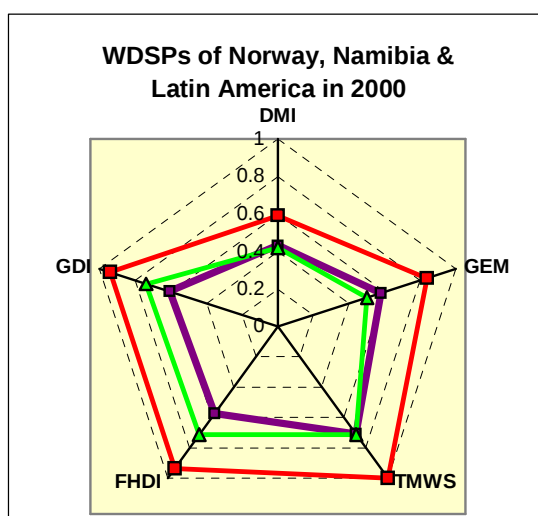
Namibia serves as a useful regional reference for South Africa's female development status – apart from also being a Sub-Saharan African country, it lies within close range of South Africa's HDI (ranked 122nd to South Africa's 107th in 2000 (UNDP, 2002)) and it faces similar declining life expectancy figures as South Africa. The WDSP of Latin America¹² is another acceptable reference against which to judge South Africa's achievements: its mean HDI value of 0.748 for 2000 lay just ahead of South Africa's (UNDP calculated) 0.695 (UNDP, 2002).

The WDSPs for Norway, reflecting a long-term goalpost for female development status and those of Namibia and Latin America are shown in Figure 3. While the WDSPs are clearly different, it is worth noting that even in Norway the DMI value lies well below the maximum value of one and contrasts sharply with the high values achieved by the country's other four indicators.

¹⁰ The highest TMWS score was that of the Dominican Republic. The scores of Norway in the areas of HDI, GDI and GEM exceeded those of the Dominican Republic by a mean 41 per cent in 2000. It was therefore assumed that Norway's TMWS score would follow the same pattern, this resulting in a score of 1.22.

¹¹ Note that this does not imply that an ideal level of women's status had been reached – see Section 2 above, and Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007d: 26.

¹² This profile reflects the average achievements, weighted by population share, of Bolivia, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay and Peru.

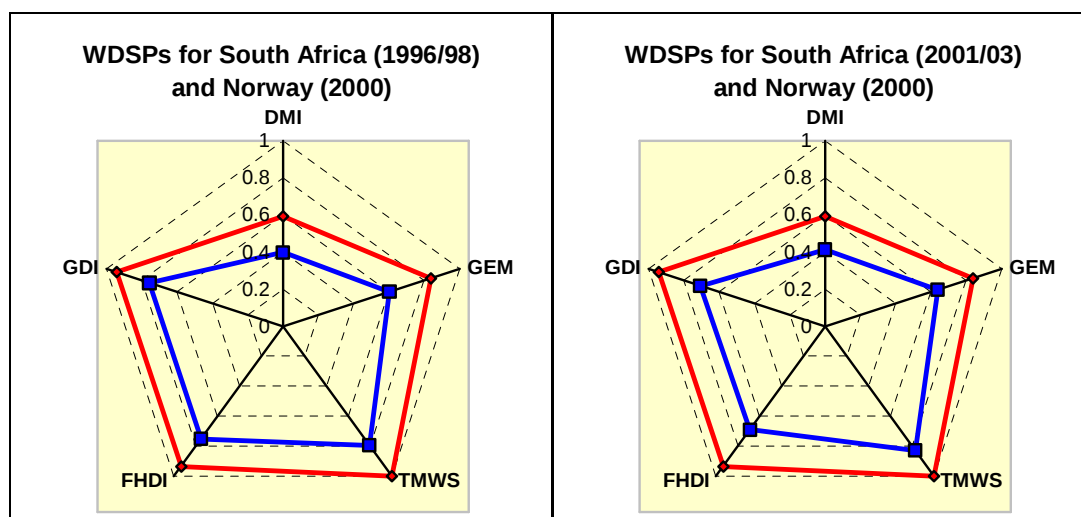


*Norway's WDSP is shown in red, Namibia's in violet and Latin America's in green

Figure 3: WDSPs for Norway, Namibia and Latin America

Sources: Smith et al., 2003; UNDP, 2002

Figures 4 to 6 reflect the WDSPs of South Africa for 1996/98 and 2001/03, compared with those of the above three reference countries calculated for 2000¹³.



* Norway's WDSP is shown in red.

Figure 4: South Africa's WDSPs for 1996/98 and 2001/03, compared with that of Norway in 2000

Source: Author's calculations¹⁴

¹³ Owing to inexplicable changes in the 2003 South African DHS questionnaire, as well as inconsistencies in the (as yet unpublished but provisionally provided) data, certain indicators of the South African TMWS could not be calculated for 2003, this resulting in only a partial TMWS for that year (see Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007d: 30{footnote 32}). For the sake of comparability with the reference countries, the ratio of the 1998 (complete) TMWS to that of a 1998 partial TMWS – identical in indicators to those of 2003 – was employed to provide an *estimated* complete TMWS for 2003. Although this is useful for illustrating the use of the WDSP to identify trends, the 2003 TMWS value should be interpreted with circumspection.

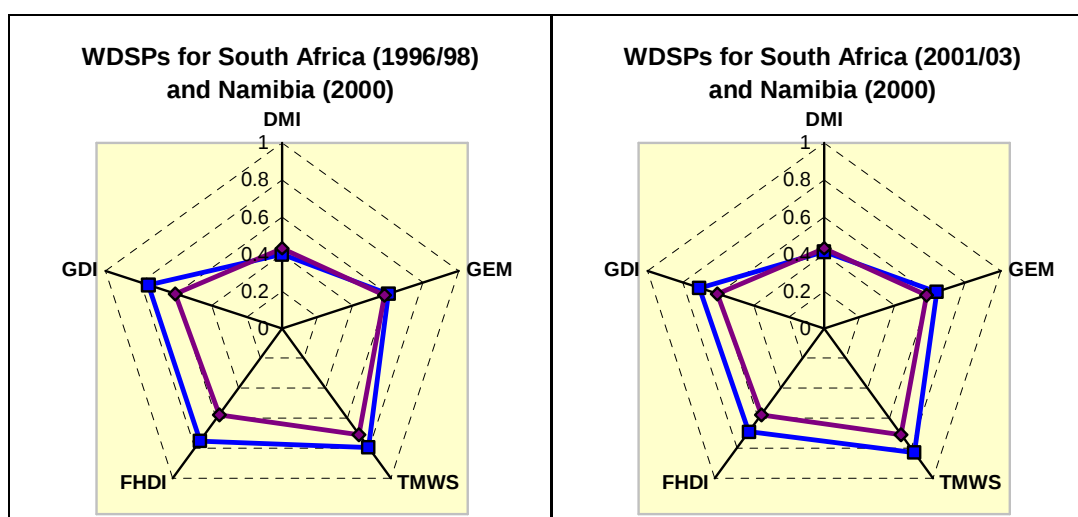


Figure 5: South Africa's WDSPs for 1996/98 and 2001/03, compared with that of Namibia in 2000

Source: Author's calculations

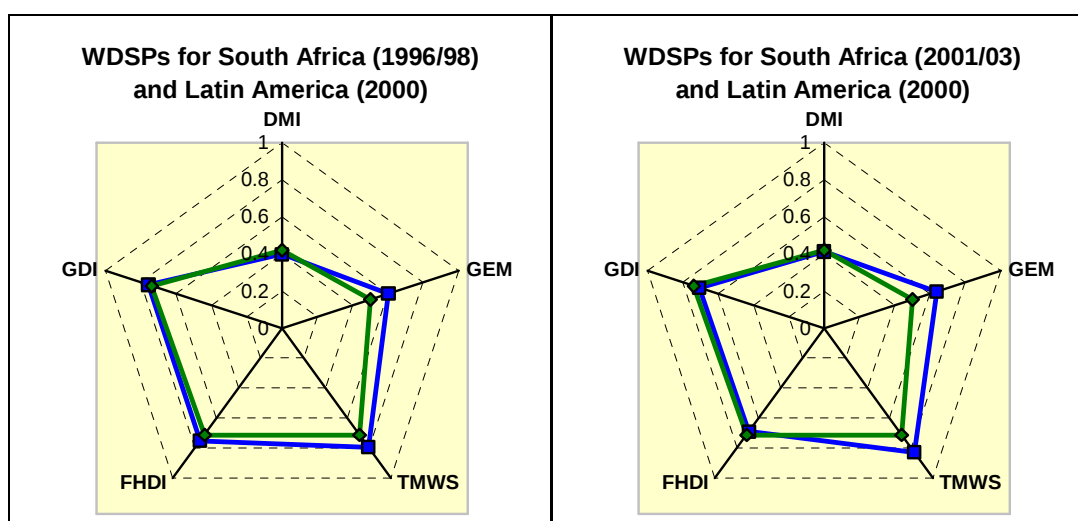


Figure 6: South Africa's WDSPs for 1996/98 and 2001/03, compared with that of Latin America in 2000

Source: Author's calculations

There are striking similarities between the WDSPs of South Africa and those of her peers, with the 1996/98 WDSP for South Africa being almost identical to that of Latin America, except for the GEM and the TMWS. In the case of Figure 5, it is important to note that the margin by which South Africa's actual female development (i.e. the FHD and the GDI) surpassed that of Namibia shrank between the two time periods under review. In contrast to this, South Africa's potential female development (i.e. DMI and GEM) was very similar to that of Namibia, with its GEM leading that of Namibia by a

¹⁴ Data sources (for national and provincial calculations): ASSA, 2002; DOE, 2003; DOH, 1999 & 2006; Global Insight, 2004; StatsSA, 1998 & 2003; Strauss, van der Linde, Plekker & Strauss, 1996; and UNDP, 2003.

narrow margin. As can be seen in Figure 6, changes in the indicator margins between South Africa and Latin America were very similar. In terms of the long-term benchmark for female development status (Figure 4), significant gaps persist between South Africa and Norway despite the movements noted above.

Figures 7 to 15¹⁵ reflect the WDSPs of each of South Africa's nine provinces, together with that of Norway. Given the mere five-year time difference, the changes appear to be relatively small.

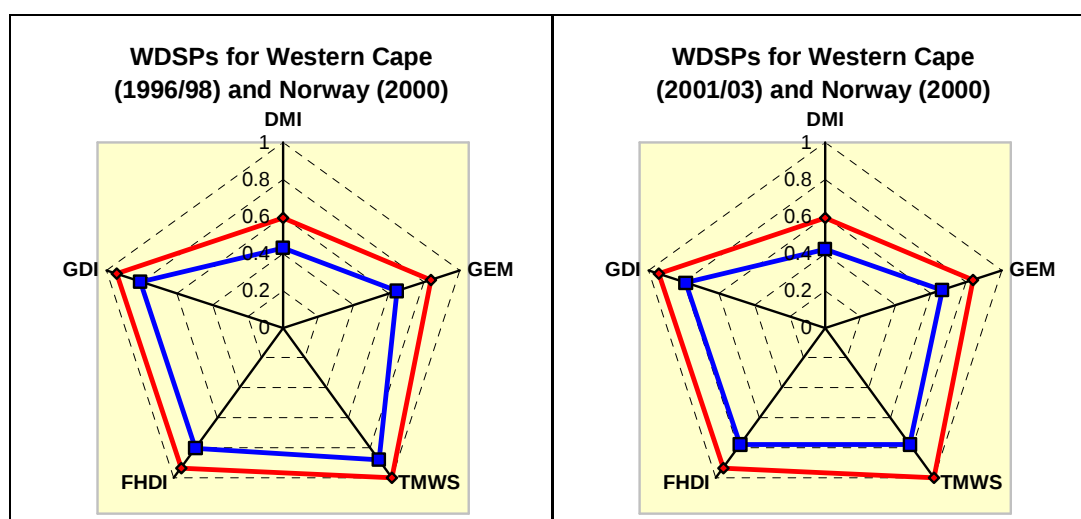


Figure 7: Western Cape's WDSPs in 1996/98 and 2001/03

Source: Author's calculations

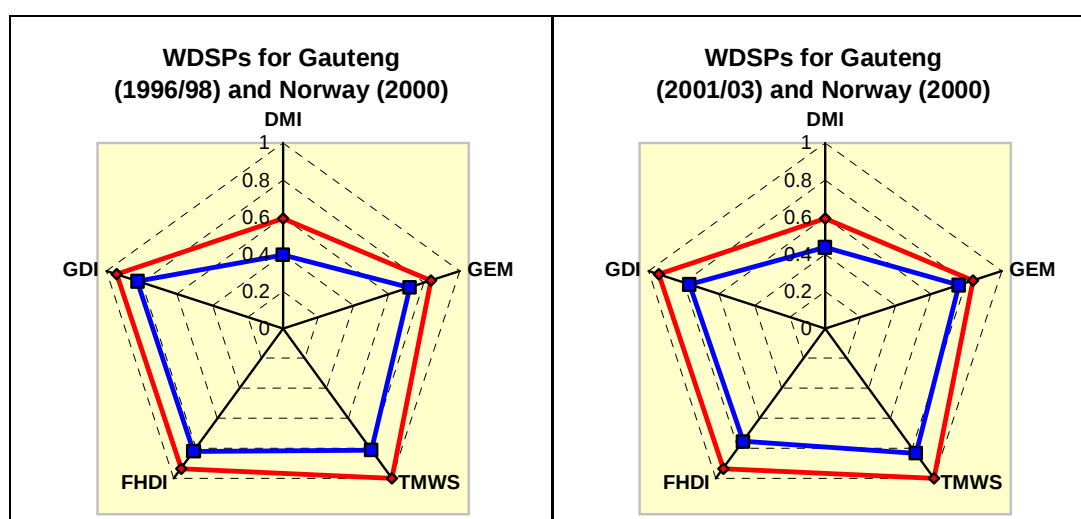


Figure 8: Gauteng's WDSPs in 1996/98 and 2001/03

Source: Author's calculations

¹⁵ The provincial WDSPs are ranked by their 1996/98 size and presented in descending order.

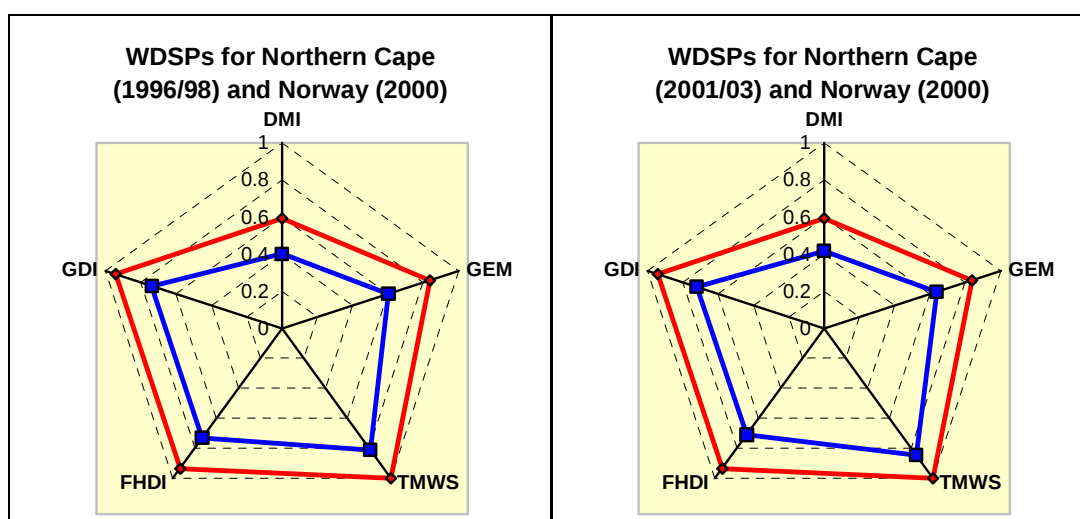


Figure 9: Northern Cape's WDSP in 1996/98 and 2001/03

Source: Author's calculations

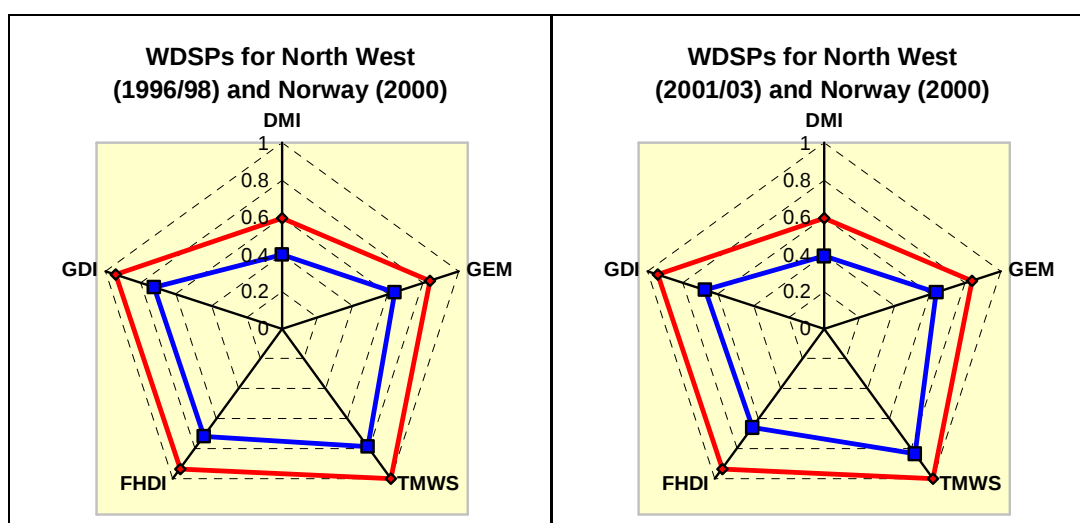


Figure 10: North West's WDSPs in 1996/98 and 2001/03

Source: Author's calculations

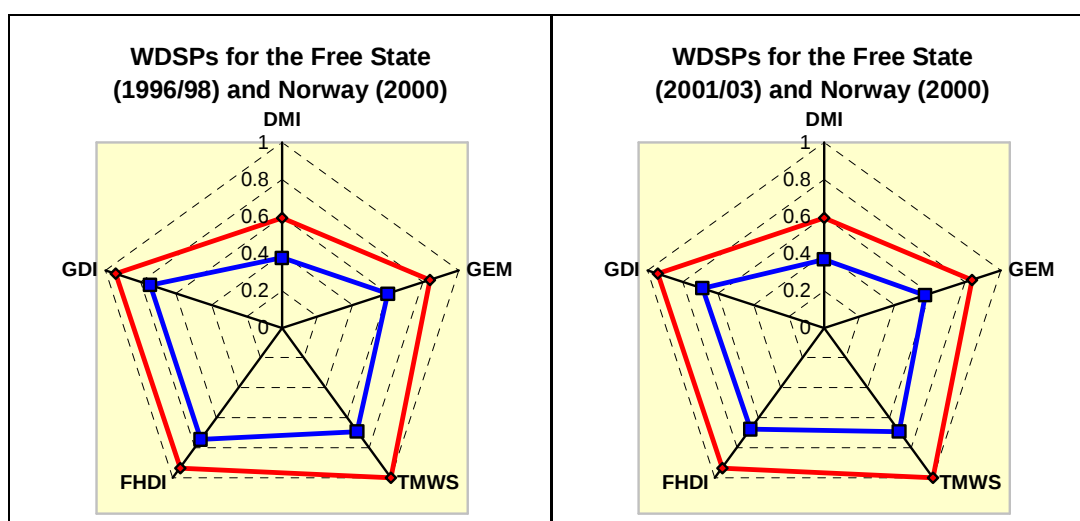
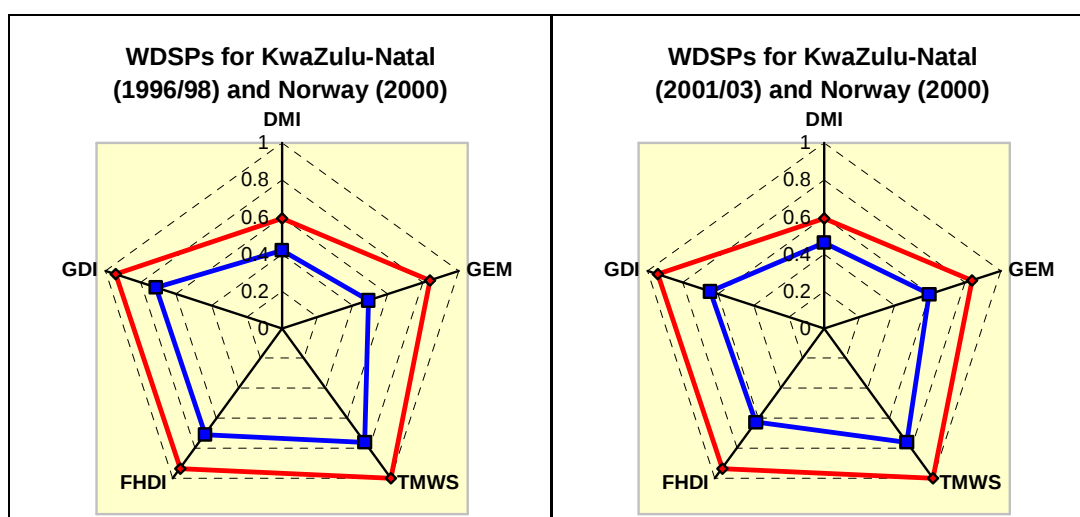


Figure 11: The Free State's WDSPs in 1996/98 and 2001/03

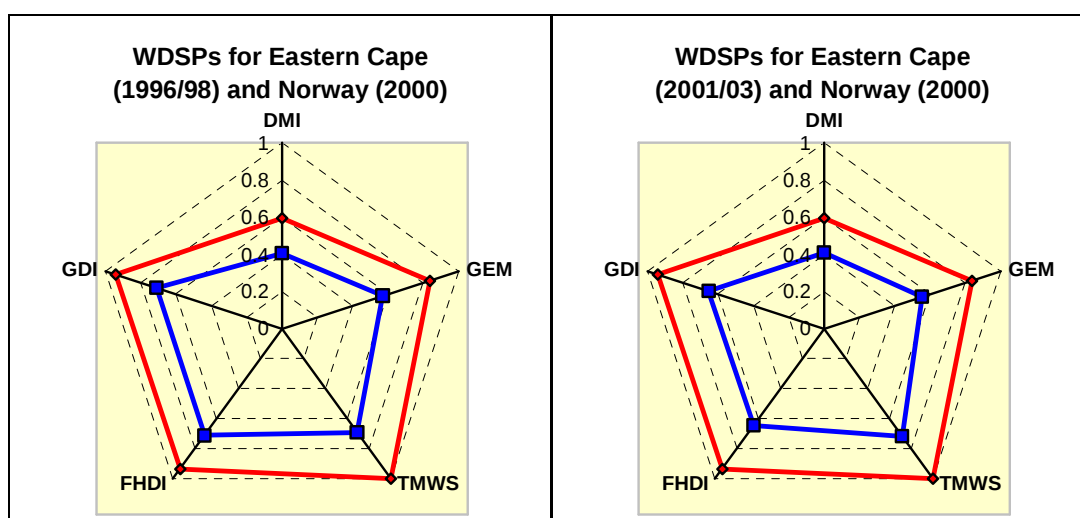
Source: Author's calculations



* Norway's WDSP is shown in red.

Figure 12: KwaZulu-Natal's WDSPs for 1996/98 and 2001/03

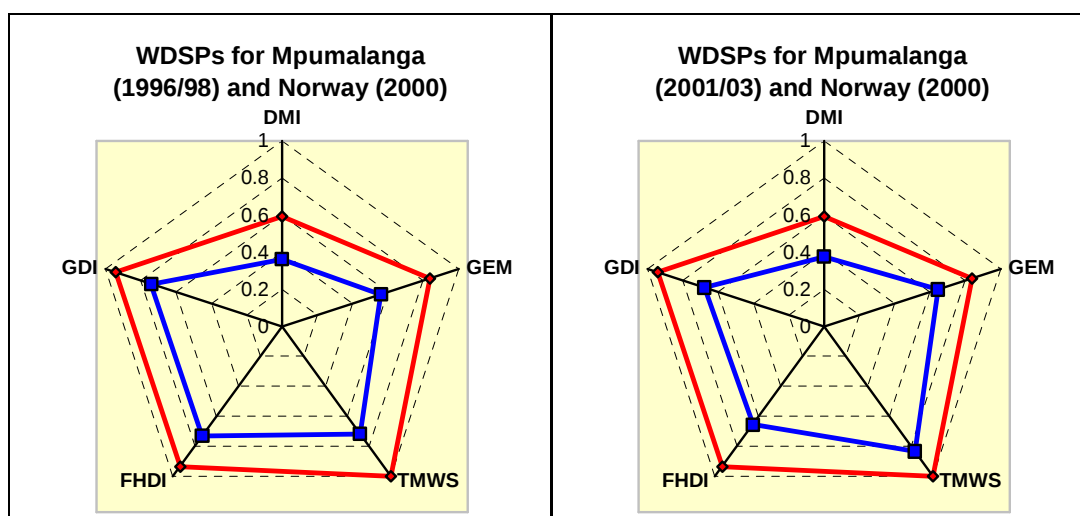
Source: Author's calculations



* Norway's WDSP is shown in red.

Figure 13: Eastern Cape's WDSPs for 1996/98 and 2001/03

Source: Author's calculations



* Norway's WDSP is shown in red.

Figure 14: Mpumalanga's WDSPs for 1996/98 and 2001/03

Source: Author's calculations

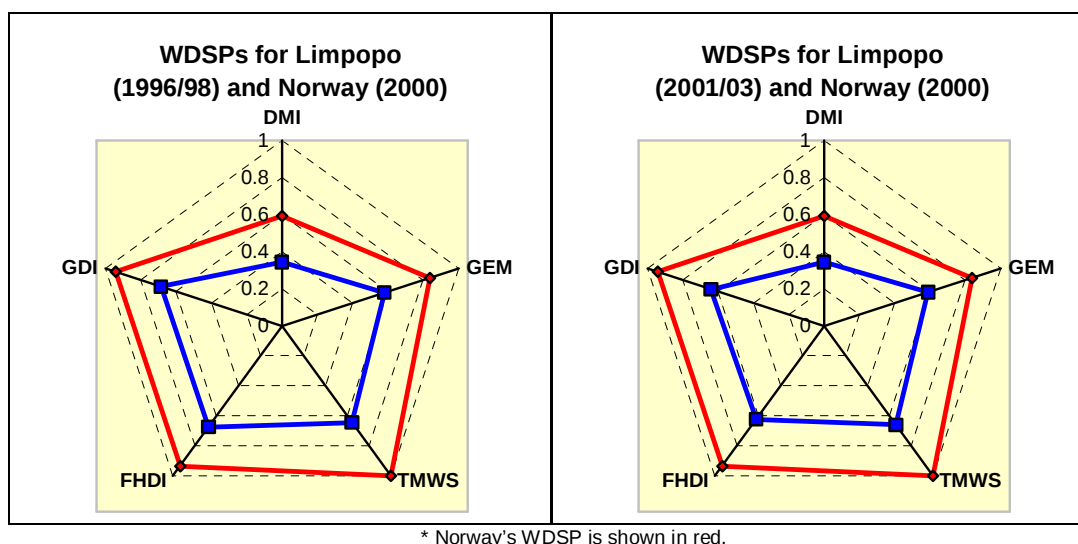


Figure 15: Limpopo's WDSPs for 1996/98 and 2001/03

Source: Author's calculations

4.1 WDSP findings: size

In terms of size of the WDSPs, South Africa and all of the nine provinces lay well below the benchmark of Norway, for both years. The benchmark (Norwegian) WDSP was about 25 per cent bigger than that of South Africa, as can be seen from Table 1. Amongst the provinces, the WDSPs of Western Cape (1996/8) and Gauteng (2001/3) came closest to the benchmark, with disparities of about 20 per cent in both years, as opposed to Limpopo where the benchmark was roughly 35 per cent bigger.

Table 1: South African national and provincial scores as a ratio of the Norwegian score

	DMI		GEM		TMWS		FHDI		GDI	
	1998	2003	1996	2001	1998	2003	1996	2001	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.69	0.69	0.68	0.66	0.69	0.72	0.76	0.69	0.75	0.70
Free State	0.64	0.62	0.72	0.68	0.69	0.69	0.80	0.72	0.80	0.73
Gauteng	0.67	0.74	0.86	0.90	0.81	0.83	0.88	0.81	0.88	0.82
KwaZulu-Natal	0.71	0.78	0.59	0.71	0.76	0.76	0.76	0.67	0.76	0.69
Limpopo	0.58	0.58	0.69	0.70	0.64	0.66	0.72	0.67	0.73	0.68
Mpumalanga	0.61	0.64	0.67	0.77	0.71	0.83	0.78	0.70	0.79	0.72
Northern Cape	0.68	0.71	0.72	0.76	0.81	0.84	0.78	0.76	0.78	0.77
North West	0.67	0.66	0.76	0.76	0.79	0.83	0.77	0.71	0.77	0.72
Western Cape	0.73	0.72	0.77	0.79	0.88	0.78	0.86	0.83	0.86	0.84
South Africa	0.67	0.70	0.72	0.76	0.79	0.83	0.80	0.74	0.80	0.75

Source: Author's calculations

The ranking of the provincial WDSP indicators – relative to the benchmark – are shown in Table 2. The sizes of the WDSPs of Gauteng, Western Cape and Northern Cape were closest to that of the Norwegian benchmark in both years. In contrast, the sizes of the WDSPs of Limpopo, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal in 1996, and Limpopo, the Free State and Eastern Cape in 2001, were the farthest. This causes little surprise, except perhaps for the fact that the Free State finds itself in the latter, bottom-third category – considering its relatively strong capability rankings.

Table 2: Provincial rankings, relative to Norway, per indicator

RANK	DMI		GEM		TMWS		FHDI		GDI	
	1998	2003	1996	2001	1998	2003	1996	2001	1996	2001
1	WC*	KZN	GT	GT	WC	NC	GT	WC	GT	WC
2	KZN	GT	WC	WC	GT	MP	WC	GT	WC	GT
3	EC	WC	NW	MP	NC	NW	FS	NC	FS	NC
4	NC	NC	NC	NC	NW	GT	NC	FS	MP	FS
5	NW	EC	FS	NW	KZN	WC	MP	NW	NC	MP
6	GT	NW	LP	KZN	MP	KZN	NW	MP	NW	NW
7	FS	MP	EC	LP	EC	EC	EC	EC	KZN	EC
8	MP	FS	MP	FS	FS	FS	KZN	KZN	EC	KZN
9	LP	LP	KZN	EC	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP	LP

*The abbreviations used are: EC = Eastern Cape, FS = Free State, GT = Gauteng, KZN = KwaZulu-Natal, LP = Limpopo, MP = Mpumalanga, NC = Northern Cape, NW = North West, WC = Western Cape, RSA=South Africa.

Source: Author's calculations

4.2 WDSP findings: shape and balance

In terms of balance between actual development and development potential, in 1996/98 female development potential lagged farther behind, nationally and provincially, compared with the benchmark, than did actual female development. By 2001/3 female development potential had made great strides: nationally and also in five of the provinces, female development potential had in fact surpassed actual female development by a narrow margin, thus indicating a more balanced women's development status profile. It has to be borne in mind though, that improvements in female development potential were matched by deterioration in actual development (in part related to a significant decline in life expectancy).

The case study above suggests that the issue of balance and shape (as against size) needs further consideration. Two WDSPs may have roughly the same size, but could differ significantly in respect of different shapes and patterns of balance. Figure 16

offers examples of a number of (perhaps extreme) alternative WDSP shapes. For example, is a 'balanced' Women's Development Status Profile, as portrayed by A, preferable to a skewed, 'unbalanced' pattern, as depicted in B, C and D, assuming similar profile sizes? Is the (concave) hexagonal shape of A superior to the convex shape, as in B? What if the perfectly balanced A was much smaller than the unbalanced B? Does it matter *which* indicator is the 'outlier' in B? Is skewness or 'imbalance' towards female development potential as in C, better or worse than skewness towards actual development, as in D? The question is – does it matter, or more specifically, is there a preferred shape for a WDSP?

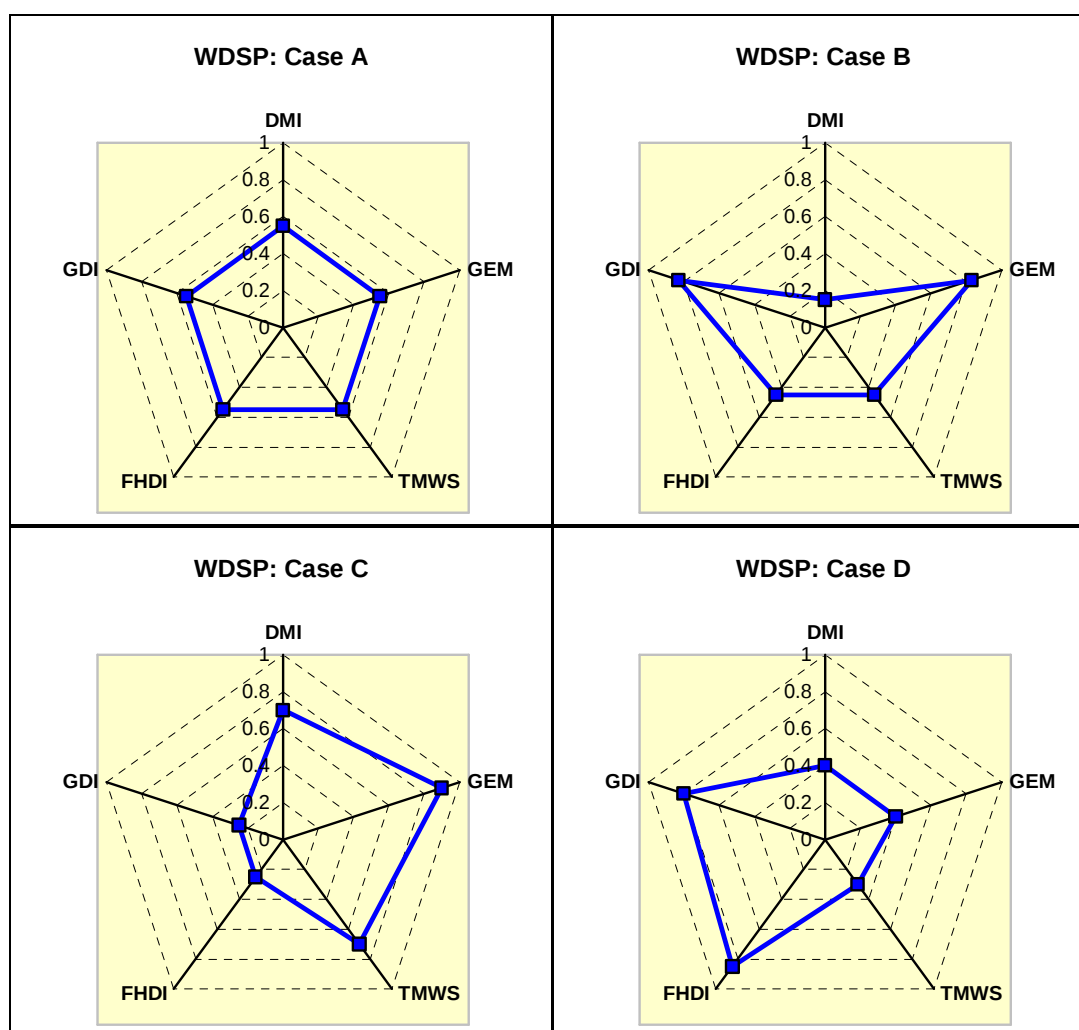


Figure 16: Alternative shapes of the WDSP

The 'struggle' of women to be included in general development thinking centred around the fact that women did not want to have only a slice of the existing development pie – they wanted a new pie baked in a flavour that would appeal also to women, to paraphrase an oft-used analogy. The new pie can be viewed as a WDSP in which all of the five indicators come as close as possible to a perfect score of one, or to a suitable country-specific benchmark, indicating that the capabilities and the empowerment (both internal and external) of women have been developed equally to that of men, *and* have moreover been maximised.

For development to be sustainable and to offer a true path out of poverty, both female development potential and actual female development must be maximised. The shape of the WDSP is therefore significant in that it provides an indication of the most appropriate strategy to follow so as to maximise the female development status. Should a WDSP be skewed towards development potential, it indicates the existence of precisely that: a strong potential for development over the long term stemming from the internal and external empowerment of women. This could indicate a need to concentrate more efforts on actual development to facilitate the translation of this potential into actual development (as discussed in Section 3 above). A strong slant towards actual development with a weak development potential section, on the other hand, could indicate a weaker long-term prospect, i.e. that actual development is not sustainable since it is not based on a strengthened agency of women, nor does it translate into strengthening the agency of women, which in turn is necessary to initiate and sustain the climb out of poverty for women *and* men. Ultimately, both the potential for *and* actual female development have to be addressed to strengthen the symbiosis between the constituent elements of the development process. This would, over time, propel development to the next level and contribute to the alleviation extreme poverty.

The significance of balance between internal and external female empowerment is a further dimension of WDSP balance that deserves attention. Strong external empowerment (a high GEM value) with weak internal empower (a low DMI value), as in Case B of Figure 16, could imply that the empowerment opportunities afforded to women by society would not be fully utilised in the long term owing to the lack of internal female empowerment to seize these opportunities. Conversely, a strong position of female internal empowerment with weak external empowerment could

imply a slow long-term transition from female development potential to actual female development. Mobilisation efforts (e.g. by women's activists) might be concentrated on first translating internal empowerment into external empowerment for women – to provide the opportunities through which personal capabilities can be utilised to improve life circumstances, whereafter efforts would be directed towards the actual development progress of women. We therefore surmise that both the internal and the external empowerment of women might have to reach certain thresholds before they can fully enable actual development progress for women. A more balanced profile of internal to external female empowerment, as a third scenario, would suggest that female development potential is on a more sustainable path to translate into actual development for women in the long term, since the basic empowerment structure, required to provide sufficient agency to women, appears to be in place.

Once again, the issue of where to place the TMWS resurfaces, this time within the context of empowerment. This measure, by virtue of the indicators it includes, reflects both the *sources* of power for women and, what might be termed, the *results* of empowerment of women. We therefore consider this measure to be a reflection of the position of women in society based on both their internal and external empowerment. Together, the DMI, GEM and TMWS are valuable measures of the development potential of women.

In terms of South Africa's WDSP results shown above, one could speculate that the increases in internal and external empowerment between 1996/98 and 2001/03 paved the way for a strong empowerment basis that will, in the long term, translate into a strong actual development for women. Contrary to expectation, the decline in actual female development during this five-year period is nevertheless disconcerting as it indicates that the empowerment is as yet perhaps too superficial to sufficiently translate (or alternatively, does not necessarily translate) into an improvement in the lives of women that will register a lift in actual development. The eroding effect of HIV/AIDS and declining life expectancies on development has to be factored in, though¹⁶. Only further analysis over a longer period will be able to shed light on this.

¹⁶ One could argue that the pandemic levels of HIV/AIDS and its effects on female life expectancy is in itself a reflection of a weak power status of women – neither reflected by the measures of internal

In seeking a preferred shape of the WDSP, it is tempting to place particular emphasis on the DMI – it being at the centre of our conceptual framework. Although internal empowerment undoubtedly has a strong influence on female development, this pitfall needs to be avoided unless a clear causality can be determined. By not elevating the significance (to the development process) of any one particular indicator, our original emphasis on the symbiotic nature of the indicator relations remains intact.

In a policy context one could add to the observations above that decisions on an optimal shape may have to be made by the electorate or by politicians or policy makers, and would depend on their short and long term goals. At the least, reflection on the implications of different existing and desired shapes, such as that offered above, is likely to lead to an improved development policy strategy debate.

4.3 WDSP findings: individual indicators

A thorough analysis of each of the indicators can be found in Booysen-Wolthers (2006d: 10-35), which provides further detail pertinent to a varied perspective on each of the components of the WDSP. Here it suffices to mention that nationally, and in seven of the nine provinces, internal empowerment (as reflected by the DMI) was the area demonstrating the most marked discrepancy with the benchmark, in both years. In the cases of Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, external empowerment (as reflected by the GEM) showed the biggest discrepancy in relation to the benchmark in 1996/98, whereas by 2001/03 female development capabilities (as measured by the FHDI) lagged most in the case of KwaZulu-Natal. Other than KwaZulu-Natal, the indicator areas of relative weakness therefore appear not to have shifted between the two periods.

empowerment nor of external empowerment (see Section 3.3 above). A poor power status, which in turn leads to unprecedented levels sexual of assault and limited personal protection against transmission of the HIV/AIDS disease, reflects a poor potential for development that has translated into the rapid spread of a disease which is having a direct impact on the actual development of women.

5. Concluding findings

Only a handful of composite gendered measures have been created since the 1980s, when women first started to feature more prominently in development agendas. This paper builds on previous studies on the development status of women in South Africa, and proposes an alternative method (or framework) for measuring and depicting the well-being of women. It combines a suite of interrelated, gendered indices laterally into what is called a Women's Development Status Profile to provide a multidimensional, holistic picture of the well-being of women. Apart from its ease of construction (since it uses standard gendered measures), this method has the benefit of allowing analysis of the development status of women on various levels while retaining the simplicity of a single visual concept.

The results of applying the WDSP to South Africa's provinces and comparing it with a benchmark for the periods 1996/98 and 2001/03, show that Western Cape and Gauteng were the leaders from a holistic female development status perspective (separated by only the narrowest of margins in 1996) with Limpopo lagging significantly, thereby confirming results found in earlier studies based on individual composite measures. It furthermore reflects that an unbalanced pattern of female development existed in South Africa in 1996, with female development potential lagging behind actual development. Great strides were nevertheless made in female development potential towards 2001/3 resulting in a relatively more balanced WDSP. In terms of the individual indicators, the indicator area that performed poorest overall was internal empowerment, as measured by the DMI, in both years. What is clear though is that, in terms of a holistic perspective on female development, South Africa was roughly on par with its (limited selection of) peers, but still had some way to go before reaching the long-term goal posts of women's development.

Much still needs to be done before gender equality, and its positive impact on sustainable development, can unconditionally be celebrated in South Africa. For this to happen, more needs to be known about the development status of women and how it can be accurately measured. This paper paves the way towards a more holistic and comprehensive measurement of the development status of women and, hopefully,

appropriate policy steps and social changes to lead to sustained improvement. Some beacons have been lit, but more of this path will have to be uncovered before women will cease to have the ubiquitous, yet dubious, distinction of being wives, mothers, and the poorest of the poor.

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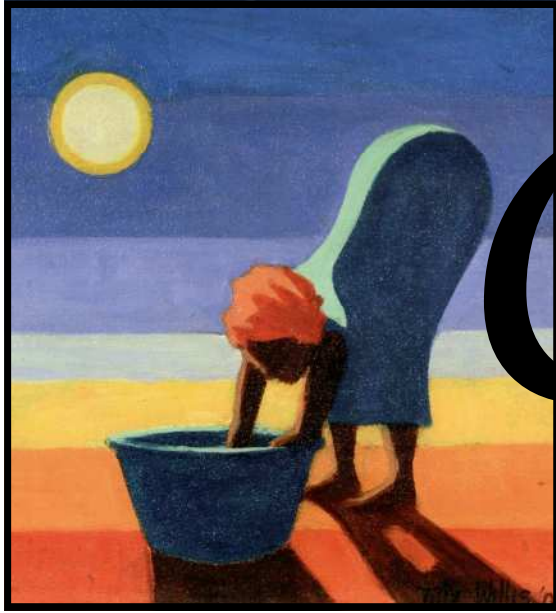
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C ONCLUSION

Conclusion

The question as to why women are still the poorest of the poor after decades of development efforts, was the point of departure of this study. The 1994 political changes and the 1996 South African constitutional changes brought with them a commitment that the needs and concerns of women would be acknowledged and incorporated into every level of society. This raised hope that, through efforts to attain gender equality in respect of capabilities, voice, opportunities and benefits, women would gain an equal foothold on the development ladder and that the feminisation of poverty would be abated.

Ten years down the road South Africa is being hailed as one of the model countries in terms of integrating gender concerns into all levels of government. The real meaning of this achievement is nevertheless only discernible if it translates into the improvement in the lives of women, and an improvement in their well-being. Assessing the development status of women in South Africa is therefore essential towards determining whether the country is on a sustainable path of development and whether progress is being made in lifting the poorest of the poor out of poverty.

Measuring the well-being of women is a challenge due to the integrated nature and complexity of a gendered development process, the availability of only a handful of gendered measures able to identify gender inequality in both levels of development and of paces of change, and the limited availability of high quality gender-specific data – to name but a few. Working within the limits of these challenges, a number of gender-specific and gender-sensitive indices were applied to South African data to gain a better grasp of the current development status of women, and specifically, the changes that occurred between 1996(1998) and 2001(2003). These covered the following: first, the more traditional gendered development indices: the Gender Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM); secondly, two new gender-specific development indices: a female-specific Human Development Index (FHDI) and a male-specific Human Development Index (MHDI); and thirdly, for the first time, indicators of women's power status at both the household level, the Decision-Making Index (DMI), and at the societal level, the Threshold Measure of

Women's Status (TMWS). This was done at the national and at the provincial level, thereby revealing patterns and trends in the development process of women.

While each of these gendered indices offers valuable information in their own right, each still presents only a fragmented picture of the well-being of women. By integrating a diverse suite of these indices into a new measurement framework, called a Women's Development Status Profile (WDSP), one moves closer to gaining a broad, more holistic picture of the gendered development process and the nature of its symbiotic relations. Nevertheless, our chosen framework of measurement does not imply that our particular choice of indicators is necessarily the only option. The framework is flexible and allows the use of alternative indicators. The value of the WDSP lies in its inclusion of an array of measures within a singular structure enabling assessment of the development status of women on a number of levels and from a number of perspectives. By reviewing well-being from various angles, a more balanced assessment is obtained through a better understanding of the interrelationship between processes. The WDSP's ease of construction, the simplicity with which it relays a complexity of data, and its assessment of the development status of women at three different levels, make it a valuable policy assessment instrument and a worthwhile measure to employ for baseline assessments.

In his opening address to parliament in 1994, former President Nelson Mandela stated the government's commitment to women:

freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression, ... unless we see in visible and practical terms that the condition of the women of our country has radically changed for the better, and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life as equals with any other member of society (Baden, Hassim & Meintjes, 1999).

Despite truly remarkable progress having been made, the efforts made to date towards mainstreaming gender in South Africa have apparently not translated into major or widespread improvements in the well-being of women: to the contrary, a deterioration was registered in several areas. In the ten years since the new Constitution took effect, South Africa is internationally held in high esteem for its gender initiatives and its progressive gender policies. Nonetheless, the absolute, and

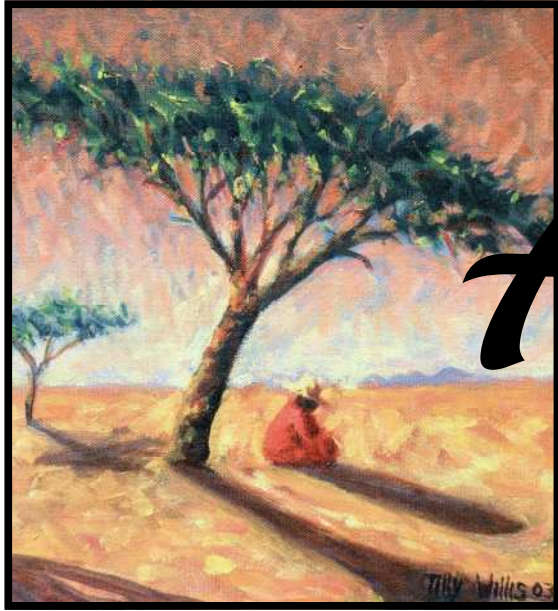
more specifically, the relative development status of women declined between 1996 and 2001, while the South African WDSP also reveals a significant disparity with the best in the field.

Only through insight into and understanding of the development process and how women and gender relations feature in it, can poverty alleviation be facilitated. Employing various gender-sensitive and/or gender-specific indicators, such as those used in this thesis, and preferably an integrated, multiperspective measure – like the Women's Development Status Profile – to gain this insight, would be a key step towards well-informed policy and a carefully planned and managed journey out of extreme poverty for women and, by extension, society.

In this regard we would like to express the hope that policy makers – and not just 'women's groups' or 'women's initiatives' – would make the regular use of such gendered indicators and measurement frameworks standard practice, and, secondly, that the statistical gathering authorities, such as Statistics South Africa and the Department of Health, would design and implement their standard procedures so as to include the relevant sections and questions to measure the well-being of women, also as a matter of standard practice.

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APPENDIX I

The standard Human Development Index for South Africa¹

Standard HDI =

$$\begin{aligned} &0.33(\text{Life Expectancy Index}) + \\ &0.33[\{0.66(\text{Adult Literacy Index})\} + \{0.33(\text{Combined Enrolment Ratio Index})\}] + \\ &0.33[\text{Income Index}] \end{aligned}$$

Assumptions:

- Life expectancy (*LE*): minimum = 25 years, maximum = 85 years
- Adult literacy rate (age 15+) (*LIT*): minimum = 0%, maximum = 100%
- Combined gross enrolment ratio (*GER*): minimum = 0%, maximum = 100%
- GDP per capita (PPP US\$) (*GDPc*): minimum = \$100, maximum = \$40,000

Method:

$$1) \text{ Life Expectancy Index (LEI)} = \frac{LE - 25}{85 - 25}$$

$$2) \text{ Educational Attainment Index (EAI)} = \frac{[2(ALI) + 1(CGEL)]}{3}$$

$$2.1) \text{ Adult Literacy Index (ALI)} = \frac{LIT - 0}{100 - 0}$$

$$2.2) \text{ Combined Gross Enrolment Index (CGEL)} = \frac{GER - 0}{100 - 0}$$

$$3) \text{ Income Index (II)} = \frac{\log(GDPc) - \log(100)}{\log(40,000) - \log(100)}$$

$$4) \text{ Standard HDI} = \frac{(LEI + EAI + II)}{3}$$

¹ The data contained in this appendix pertain to analyses done in Paper I.

Table 1: Basic HDI statistics

	1996	2001
Life expectancy	61.0	54.9
Percentage of total population 15 years or older and with no schooling	16.12	15.50
Adult literacy rate ²	83.88	84.50
Combined Gross Enrolment Ratio	112	95.5
GDP per capita (PPP US\$)	8,760	8,834

Table 2: Computing the HDI

	1996	2001
Life Expectancy Index	0.6000	0.4983
Adult Literacy Index	0.8388	0.8450
Combined (primary and secondary) Gross Enrolment Index	1.1200	0.9532
Educational Attainment Index	0.9325	0.8811
Income Index	0.7465	0.7479
Human Development Index	0.7597	0.7091

Data Sources

ASSA (ACTUARIAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH AFRICA), 2002. *Aids Model*. <http://www.assa.org.za>
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² Calculated as 100 per cent, less the percentage of the population older than 15 years and with no schooling.

APPENDIX II

The national level gender-specific Human Development Index for South Africa³

Female-specific HDI (FHDl) =

$$0.33(\text{female Life Expectancy Index}) + \\ 0.33[\{0.66(\text{female Literacy Rate Index})\} + \{0.33(\text{female Combined} \\ \text{Enrolment Ratio Index})\}] + \\ 0.33(\text{female Income Index})$$

FHDl assumptions:

- Female life expectancy (*FLE*): minimum = 27.5 years, maximum = 87.5 years
- Female adult literacy rate (age 15+) (*FLIT*): minimum = 0%, maximum = 100%
- Female combined gross enrolment ratio (*FGER*): minimum = 0%, maximum = 100%
- GDP per capita (PPP US\$)(*GDPc*): minimum = \$100, maximum = \$40,000

With

POP = total population

FPOP = female population

%FPOP = females as percentage share of total population

%FEAP = females as percentage share of economically active population

%MEAP = males as percentage share of economically active population

WR = ratio of female non-agricultural wages to male non-agricultural wages

FHDl method:

$$1) \text{ Female Life Expectancy Index (FLEI)} = \frac{FLE - 27.5}{87.5 - 27.5}$$

$$2) \text{ Female Educational Attainment Index (FEAI)} = \frac{[2(FALI) + 1(FCGEI)]}{3}$$

$$2.1) \text{ Female Adult Literacy Index (FALI)} = \frac{FLIT - 0}{100 - 0}$$

$$2.2) \text{ Female Combined Gross Enrolment Index (FCGEI)} = \frac{FGER - 0}{100 - 0}$$

³ The data contained in this appendix pertain to analyses done in Paper I.

$$3) \text{ Female Income Index (FII)} = \frac{\log(FGDPc) - \log(100)}{\log(40,000) - \log(100)}$$

$$3.1) \text{ Total GDP (GDP)} = GDPc \times POP$$

$$3.2) \text{ Female share of GDP (fs)} = \frac{(WR \times \%FEAP)}{[(WR \times \%FEAP) + \%MEAP]}$$

$$3.3) \text{ Female GDP (FGDP)} = (fs \times GDP)$$

$$3.4) \text{ Female GDP per capita (FGDPc)} = \frac{FGDP}{FPOP}$$

$$4) \text{ FHDl} = \frac{(FLEI + FEAI + FII)}{3}$$

Male-specific HDI (MHDI) =

0.33(male Life Expectancy Index) +

0.33[{0.66(male Literacy Rate Index)} + {0.33(male Combined Enrolment Ratio Index)}] +

0.33(male Income Index)

MHDI assumptions:

- Male life expectancy (MLE): minimum = 22.5 years, maximum = 82.5 years
- Male adult literacy rate (age 15+) (MLIT): minimum = 0%, maximum = 100%
- Male combined gross enrolment ratio (MGER): minimum = 0%, maximum = 100%
- GDP per capita (PPP US\$)(GDPc): minimum = \$100, maximum = \$40,000

With

POP = total population

MPOP = male population

%MPOP = males as percentage share of total population

%FEAP = females as percentage share of economically active population

%MEAP = males as percentage share of economically active population

WR = ratio of female non-agricultural wages to male non-agricultural wages

MHDI method:

$$1) \text{ Male Life Expectancy Index (MLEI)} = \frac{MLE - 22.5}{82.5 - 22.5}$$

$$2) \text{ Male Educational Attainment Index (MEAI)} = \frac{[2(MALI) + 1(MCGEI)]}{3}$$

$$2.1) \text{ Male Adult Literacy Index (MALI)} = \frac{MLIT - 0}{100 - 0}$$

$$2.2) \text{ Male Combined Gross Enrolment Index (MCGEI)} = \frac{MGER - 0}{100 - 0}$$

$$3) \text{ Male Income Index (MII)} = \frac{\log(MGDPc) - \log(100)}{\log(40,000) - \log(100)}$$

$$3.1) \text{ Total GDP (GDP)} = GDPc \times POP$$

$$3.2) \text{ Female share of GDP (fs)} = \frac{(WR \times \%FEAP)}{[(WR \times \%FEAP) + \%MEAP]}$$

$$3.3) \text{ Female GDP (FGDP)} = (fs \times GDP)$$

$$3.4) \text{ Male GDP (MGDP)} = (GDP - FGDP)$$

$$3.5) \text{ Male GDP per capita (MGDPc)} = \frac{MGDP}{MPOP}$$

$$4) \text{ MHDI} = \frac{(MLEI + MEAI + MII)}{3}$$

Table 1: Basic gender-specific HDI statistics

	1996	2001
Female life expectancy	65	57.7
Male life expectancy	57	52.1
Percentage of female population 15 years or older and with no schooling	17.66	17.40
Percentage of male population 15 years or older and with no schooling	14.39	13.35
Female adult literacy rate ⁴	82.34	82.60
Male adult literacy rate	85.61	86.65
Female combined Gross Enrolment Ratio	113.06	95.10
Male combined Gross Enrolment Ratio	111.05	95.54
GDP per capita (PPP US\$)	8,760	8,834
Population	40,583,573	44,819,684
Female population	21,062,685	23,385,701
Male population	19,520,888	21,433,983
Female EAP	45.36	45.44
Male EAP	54.64	54.56
Estimated female : male non-agricultural wage rate	0.75	0.75

Table 2: Computing the gender-specific HDI

	1996	2001
Female Life Expectancy Index	0.6250	0.5033
Male Life Expectancy Index	0.5750	0.4933
Female Adult Literacy Index	0.8234	0.8260
Male Adult Literacy Index	0.8561	0.8665
Female Combined (primary and secondary) Enrolment Index	1.1306	0.9510
Male Combined (primary and secondary) Enrolment Index	1.1105	0.9554
Female Educational Attainment Index	0.9256	0.8673
Male Educational Attainment Index	0.9407	0.8977
Female estimated earned income (\$)	6,477	6,509
Male estimated earned income (\$)	11,224	11,370
Female Income Index	0.6961	0.6970
Male Income Index	0.7879	0.7901
FHDI	0.7489	0.6892
MHDI	0.7679	0.7270

⁴ Calculated as 100 per cent, less the percentage of the population older than 15 years and with no schooling.

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APPENDIX III

Levels of, and changes in, the national HDI component areas of South Africa for 1996 and 2001⁵

Table 1: Illiteracy in South Africa

	Female	% of total pop	% of female pop, 15 yrs+	Male	% of total pop	% of male pop, 15 yrs +	Total
No schooling, age 15+ 1996	2,458,497 (a)	57.93% [(a)/(b)]	17.66% [(a)/(c)]	1,785,631	42.07%	14.39%	4,244,128 (b)
No schooling, age 15+ 2001	2,816,325	59.66%	17.40%	1,904,267	40.34%	13.35%	4,720,592
Change, 1996-2001	14.55%	1.73 % points	(0.26% points)	6.64%	(1.73 % points)	(1.04 % points)	11.23%
Population ≥15 years, 1996 ⁶	13,920,386 (c)	52.88% [(c)/(d)]	100%	12,406,549	47.12%	100%	26,326,935 (d)
Population ≥15 years, 2001	16,188,941	53.16%	100%	14,265,549	46.84%	100%	30,454,490
Change 1996-2001	16.3%	0.28 % points	-	14.98%	(0.28 % points)	-	15.68%

⁵ The data contained in this appendix pertain to analyses done in Paper I.

⁶ 'Population ≥ 15 years' includes total census observations for the categories 'no schooling', 'schooling' and 'unspecified education', and excludes observations for ages 0-14 and where age was not specified.

Table 2: Primary school education in South Africa

	Female	% of total pop	% of female pop, 7-13 yrs	Male	% of total pop	% of male pop, 7-13 yrs	Total
Number of learners enrolled in primary school 1996	4,027,774 (a)	49.49% [(a)/(b)]	124.30% [(a)/(c)]	4,110,817	50.51%	128.07%	8,138,591 (b)
Number of learners enrolled in primary school 2001	3,623,431	48.88%	102.96%	3,789,985	51.12%	108.27%	7,413,416
Change, 1996-2001	(10.04%)	(0.61% points)	(21% points)	(7.8%)	0.61% points	(20% points)	(8.9%)
Population of primary school age, 7-13 years, 1996 ⁷	3,240,291 (c)	50.24% [(c)/(d)]	100%	3,209,776	49.76%	100%	6,450,067 (d)
Population of primary school age, 7-13 years, 2001	3,519,223	50.13%	100%	3,500,409	49.87%	100%	7,019,632
Change 1996-2001	8.6%	(11% points)	-	9.05%	11 % points	-	8.8%

⁷ The calculations used for this analysis were based on actual census figures. These differ in 2001 from those provided by the Department of Education, since the Department used mid-year estimates for their calculations. No official figures were provided for 1996 and thus had to be calculated.

Table 3: Secondary school education in South Africa

	Female	% of total pop	% of female pop, 14-18 yrs+	Male	% of total pop	% of male pop, 14-18 yrs +	Total
Number of learners enrolled in secondary school 1996	2,110,418 (a)	53.97% [(a)/(b)]	96.42% [(a)/(c)]	1,799,928	46.03%	85.19%	3,910,346 (b)
Number of learners enrolled in secondary school 2001	2,125,282	52.75%	84.14%	1,903,992	47.25%	77.41%	4,029,274
Change 1996-2001	0.7%	(1.22% points)	(12.26% points)	5.78%	1.22% points	(7.79% points)	3.04%
Population of secondary school age, 14-18 yrs, 1996	2,188,770 (c)	50.88% [(c)/(d)]	100%	2,112,871	49.12%	100%	4,301,641 (d)
Population of secondary school age, 14-18 yrs, 2001	2,525,821	50.66%	100%	2,459,669	49.34%	100%	4,985,490
Change 1996-2001	15.4%	(0.22% points)	-	16.41%	0.22% points	-	15.9%

Table 4: Economically Active Population in South Africa

	Female	% of total pop	% of total fem. pop	% of fem. pop 15-64 yrs	Male	% of total pop	% of male pop	% of male pop 15-64 yrs	Total
Economic-ally-active population 1996	6,160,247 (a)	45.36 % [(a)/(b)]	28.81 % [(a)/(c)]	46.52 % [(a)/(e)]	7,420,460	54.64%	35.64 %	57.47 %	13,580,707 (b)
Economic-ally-active population 2001	7,756,150	45.44 %	33.45 %	52.89 %	9,313,920	54.56%	41.79 %	66.25 %	17,070,071
Change 1996-2001	25.91%	0.08% points	4.64% points	6.37 % points	25.52%	(0.08% points)	6.15% points	8.78 % points	25.69%
Total Population 1996	21,385,318 (c)	50.67 % [(c)/(d)]	100%	161.5 %	20,819,218	49.33%	100%	161.25 %	42,204,536 (d)
Total Population 2001	23,189,222	50.99 %	100%	158.14 %	22,287,239	49.01%	100%	158.52 %	45,476,461
Change 1996-2001	8.44%	0.32 % points	-	(3.36 % points)	7.05%	(0.32 % points)	-	(2.73 % points)	7.75%
Total population 15-64 yrs 1996	13,241,344 (e)	50.63 % [(e)/(f)]	61.92 %	100%	12,910,933	49.37%	62.01 %	100%	26,152,276 (f)
Total population 15-64 yrs 2001	14,663,710	51.05 %	63.24 %	100%	14,059,697	48.95%	63.08 %	100%	28,723,407
Change 1996-2001	10.74%	0.42% points	1.32 % points	-	8.9%	(0.42% points)	1.07 % points	-	9.83%

Table 5: Household income in South Africa

	Female-headed households	% of total number of households	% of female-headed households	Male-headed households	% of total number of households	% of male-headed households	Total number of households
Number of households with no income 1996	566,874 (a)	49.66% [(a)/(b)]	18.38% [(a)/(c)]	574,551	50.34%	11.71%	1,141,425 (b)
Number of households with no income 2001	1,367,121	50.04%	27.71%	1,364,988	49.96%	19.96%	2,732,109
Change 1996-2001	141.17%	0.38% points	9.33% points	137.57%	(0.38% points)	8.25% points	139.36%
Total number of households 1996	3,083,530 (c)	38.58% [(c)/(d)]	100%	4,908,023	61.42%	100%	7,991,553 (d)
Total number of households 2001	4,933,110	41.91%	100%	6,837,163	58.09%	100%	11,770,273
Change 1996-2001	59.98%	3.33% points	-	39.31%	(-3.33 % points)	-	47.28%
Total population 15-64 yrs 1996	13,241,344 (e)	50.63% of total pop.	-	12,910,933	49.37% of total pop.	-	26,152,276 (f)
Total population 15-64 yrs 2001	14,663,710	51.05% of total pop.	-	14,059,697	48.95% of total pop.	-	28,723,407
Change 1996-2001	10.74%	0.42 % points	-	8.9%	(0.42% points)	-	9.83%

Table 6: Unemployment in South Africa

	Female	% of total pop	% of female pop, 15-64 yrs	Male	% of total pop	% of male pop, 15-64 yrs	Total
Number of unemployed 1996	2,581,327 (a)	56.07% [(a)/(b)]	19.49% [(a)/(c)]	2,022,533	43.93%	15.67%	4,603,860 (b)
Number of unemployed 2001	3,707,915	56.29%	25.29%	2,879,357	43.71%	20.48%	6,587,272
Change 1996-2001	43.64%	0.22% points	5.8% points	42.36%	(0.22% points)	4.81% points	43.08%
Population 15-64 yrs, 1996	13,241,344 (c)	50.63% [(c)/(d)]	100%	12,910,933	49.37%	100%	26,152,276 (d)
Population 15-64 yrs, 2001	14,663,710	51.05%	100%	14,059,697	48.95%	100%	28,723,407
Change 1996-2001	10.74%	0.42% points	-	8.9%	(0.42% points)	-	9.83%
Unemployment ⁸ rate 1996	43.83%	-	-	29.35%	-	-	34.3%
Unemployment rate 2001	49.28%	-	-	32.70%	-	-	39.0%
Change 1996-2001	6.1% points	-	-	3.6% points	-	-	4.7% Points

⁸ This is the provincial mean (weighted by population share) unemployment rate (expanded definition), as calculated from Global Insight data. The unemployment rate for 1996 was estimated by using the Global Insight census-adjusted data per magisterial district and dividing the number of unemployed by the sum of the unemployed and employed persons. The unemployment rate for successive years up to 2001 was calculated by dividing the estimated number of unemployed by the economically-active population of the previous year (Global Insight, 2004b: 32).

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APPENDIX IV

Female-specific Human Development Index (FHDI) and male-specific Human Development Index (MHDI), at the national and the provincial level⁹

Female-specific HDI (FHDI) =

$$0.33(\text{female Life Expectancy Index}) + \\ 0.33[\{0.66(\text{female Literacy Rate Index})\} + \{0.33(\text{female Combined} \\ \text{Enrolment Ratio Index})\}] + \\ 0.33(\text{female Income Index})$$

Male specific HDI (MHDI) =

$$0.33(\text{male Life Expectancy Index}) + \\ 0.33[\{0.66(\text{male Literacy Rate Index})\} + \{0.33(\text{male Combined Enrolment} \\ \text{Ratio Index})\}] + \\ 0.33(\text{male Income Index})$$

Table 1: Life expectancy at birth (years): total population

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	58.1	53.3
Free State	59.3	52.0
Gauteng	64.2	56.8
KwaZulu-Natal	57.4	48.0
Limpopo	64.0	59.7
Mpumalanga	59.3	50.8
Northern Cape	63.1	59.8
North West	62.0	55.2
Western Cape	65.0	62.7
RSA	61.0	54.9

⁹ The data contained in this appendix pertain to analyses done in Papers II and III. For more detail on the method of calculation, refer to Apx.7.

Table 2: Life expectancy at birth (years): female population

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	62.7	56.6
Free State	63.7	55.0
Gauteng	68.0	59.4
KwaZulu-Natal	61.6	50.5
Limpopo	68.2	63.0
Mpumalanga	63.2	53.4
Northern Cape	67.0	63.1
North West	65.9	58.0
Western Cape	68.7	65.8
RSA	65.0	57.7

Table 3: Life expectancy at birth (years): male population

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	53.7	50.1
Free State	55.0	49.1
Gauteng	60.6	54.3
KwaZulu-Natal	53.3	45.5
Limpopo	59.9	56.5
Mpumalanga	55.4	48.4
Northern Cape	59.4	56.7
North West	58.3	52.5
Western Cape	61.5	59.7
RSA	57.0	52.1

Table 4: Percentage of population, older than 15 years and with no schooling

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	17.37	19.14
Free State	13.58	13.70
Gauteng	7.98	7.64
KwaZulu-Natal	19.01	18.61
Limpopo	28.63	26.86
Mpumalanga	24.20	23.10
Northern Cape	18.50	15.99
North West	19.33	17.37
Western Cape	5.71	5.10
RSA	16.12	15.50

Table 5: Percentage of female population, older than 15 years and with no schooling

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	18.13	20.98
Free State	14.04	14.58
Gauteng	7.96	7.90
KwaZulu-Natal	21.09	21.15
Limpopo	33.32	31.51
Mpumalanga	26.75	25.71
Northern Cape	18.50	16.20
North West	19.32	17.88
Western Cape	5.40	4.93
RSA	17.66	17.40

Table 6: Percentage of male population older than 15 years and with no schooling

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	16.38	16.79
Free State	13.09	12.71
Gauteng	8.01	7.39
KwaZulu-Natal	16.48	15.52
Limpopo	22.34	20.60
Mpumalanga	21.45	20.15
Northern Cape	18.51	15.77
North West	19.35	16.84
Western Cape	6.04	5.29
RSA	14.39	13.35

Table 7: Literacy rate¹⁰ (percentage)

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	82.63	80.86
Free State	86.42	86.30
Gauteng	92.02	92.36
KwaZulu-Natal	80.99	81.39
Limpopo	71.37	73.14
Mpumalanga	75.80	76.90
Northern Cape	81.50	84.01
North West	80.67	82.63
Western Cape	94.29	94.90
RSA	83.88	84.50

Table 8: Female literacy rate (percentage)

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	81.87	79.02
Free State	85.96	85.42
Gauteng	92.04	92.10
KwaZulu-Natal	78.91	78.85
Limpopo	66.68	68.49
Mpumalanga	73.25	74.29
Northern Cape	81.50	83.80
North West	80.68	82.12
Western Cape	94.60	95.07
RSA	82.34	82.60

Table 9: Male literacy rate (percentage)

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	83.62	83.21
Free State	86.91	87.29
Gauteng	91.99	92.61
KwaZulu-Natal	83.52	84.48
Limpopo	77.66	79.40
Mpumalanga	78.55	79.85
Northern Cape	81.49	84.23
North West	80.65	83.16
Western Cape	93.96	94.71
RSA	85.61	86.65

¹⁰ Calculated as 100 per cent less the percentage of the population older than 15 years and with no schooling.

Table 10: Combined primary & secondary Gross Enrolment Ratio

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	1.19	0.98
Free State	1.14	0.97
Gauteng	1.03	0.92
KwaZulu-Natal	1.14	0.96
Limpopo	1.18	0.97
Mpumalanga	1.17	0.99
Northern Cape	0.92	0.93
North West	1.08	0.94
Western Cape	0.96	0.88
RSA	1.12	0.95

Table 11: Female combined primary & secondary Gross Enrolment Ratio

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	1.24	0.99
Free State	1.14	0.97
Gauteng	1.04	0.91
KwaZulu-Natal	1.14	0.95
Limpopo	1.18	0.96
Mpumalanga	1.18	0.98
Northern Cape	0.92	0.93
North West	1.09	0.94
Western Cape	0.97	0.89
RSA	1.13	0.95

Table 12: Male combined primary & secondary Gross Enrolment Ratio

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	1.14	0.96
Free State	1.14	0.97
Gauteng	1.03	0.93
KwaZulu-Natal	1.15	0.97
Limpopo	1.18	0.97
Mpumalanga	1.17	1.01
Northern Cape	0.91	0.94
North West	1.08	0.94
Western Cape	0.96	0.88
RSA	1.11	0.96

Table 13: Per capita GDP @ basic values (\$1995 PPP)

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	4,425	4,441
Free State	7,885	8,020
Gauteng	18,125	17,482
KwaZulu-Natal	6,403	6,705
Limpopo	2,568	2,526
Mpumalanga	9,686	9,929
Northern Cape	8,375	7,820
North West	5,424	5,281
Western Cape	13,230	13,423
RSA	8,760	8,834

Table 14: Total population

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	6,302,524	6,436,756
Free State	2,633,500	2,706,754
Gauteng	7,348,423	8,837,157
KwaZulu-Natal	8,417,019	9,426,018
Limpopo	4,929,368	5,273,647
Mpumalanga	2,800,712	3,122,977
Northern Cape	840,326	822,720
North West	3,354,826	3,669,339
Western Cape	3,956,875	4,524,316
RSA	40,583,573	44,819,684

Table 15: Female population

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	3,394,469	3,461,252
Free State	1,335,153	1,409,161
Gauteng	3,597,577	4,392,477
KwaZulu-Natal	4,466,492	5,016,920
Limpopo	2,676,294	2,878,867
Mpumalanga	1,438,686	1,625,662
Northern Cape	427,643	421,554
North West	1,704,990	1,847,803
Western Cape	2,021,381	2,332,005
RSA	21,062,685	23,385,701

Table 16: Male population

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	2,908,055	2,975,504
Free State	1,298,347	1,297,593
Gauteng	3,750,846	4,444,680
KwaZulu-Natal	3,950,527	4,409,098
Limpopo	2,253,074	2,394,780
Mpumalanga	1,362,026	1,497,315
Northern Cape	412,683	401,166
North West	1,649,836	1,821,536
Western Cape	1,935,494	2,192,311
RSA	19,520,888	21,433,983

Table 17: Female population share

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.5386	0.5377
Free State	0.5070	0.5206
Gauteng	0.4896	0.4970
KwaZulu-Natal	0.5307	0.5322
Limpopo	0.5429	0.5459
Mpumalanga	0.5137	0.5205
Northern Cape	0.5089	0.5214
North West	0.5082	0.5036
Western Cape	0.5109	0.5154
RSA	0.5190	0.5218

Table 18: Male population share

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.4614	0.4623
Free State	0.4930	0.4794
Gauteng	0.5104	0.5030
KwaZulu-Natal	0.4693	0.4678
Limpopo	0.4571	0.4541
Mpumalanga	0.4863	0.4795
Northern Cape	0.4911	0.4876
North West	0.4918	0.4964
Western Cape	0.4891	0.4846
RSA	0.4810	0.4782

Table 19: Female Economically Active Population as percentage of total EAP

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	48.95	49.03
Free State	43.92	44.05
Gauteng	43.53	43.55
KwaZulu-Natal	46.39	46.50
Limpopo	49.98	50.05
Mpumalanga	44.15	44.19
Northern Cape	42.87	42.97
North West	43.81	43.84
Western Cape	44.59	44.61
RSA	45.36	45.44

Table 20: Male Economically Active Population as percentage of total EAP

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	51.05	50.97
Free State	56.08	55.95
Gauteng	56.47	56.45
KwaZulu-Natal	53.61	53.50
Limpopo	50.02	49.95
Mpumalanga	55.85	55.81
Northern Cape	57.13	57.03
North West	56.19	56.16
Western Cape	55.41	55.39
RSA	54.64	54.56

Table 21: Life Expectancy Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.5517	0.4717
Free State	0.5717	0.4500
Gauteng	0.6533	0.5300
KwaZulu-Natal	0.5400	0.3833
Limpopo	0.6500	0.5783
Mpumalanga	0.5717	0.4300
Northern Cape	0.6350	0.5800
North West	0.6167	0.5033
Western Cape	0.6667	0.6283
RSA	0.6000	0.4983

Table 22: Female Life Expectancy Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.5867	0.4850
Free State	0.6033	0.4583
Gauteng	0.6750	0.5317
KwaZulu-Natal	0.5683	0.3833
Limpopo	0.6783	0.5917
Mpumalanga	0.5950	0.4317
Northern Cape	0.6583	0.5933
North West	0.6400	0.5083
Western Cape	0.6867	0.6383
RSA	0.6250	0.5033

Table 23: Male Life Expectancy Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.5200	0.4600
Free State	0.5417	0.4433
Gauteng	0.6350	0.5300
KwaZulu-Natal	0.5133	0.3833
Limpopo	0.6233	0.5667
Mpumalanga	0.5483	0.4317
Northern Cape	0.6150	0.5700
North West	0.5967	0.5000
Western Cape	0.6500	0.6200
RSA	0.5750	0.4933

Table 24: Education Attainment Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.9475	0.8657
Free State	0.9561	0.8987
Gauteng	0.9568	0.9224
KwaZulu-Natal	0.9199	0.8626
Limpopo	0.8691	0.8109
Mpumalanga	0.8953	0.8427
Northern Cape	0.8500	0.8701
North West	0.8978	0.8642
Western Cape	0.9486	0.9260
RSA	0.9325	0.8811

Table 25: Female Education Attainment Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.9591	0.8568
Free State	0.9531	0.8928
Gauteng	0.9603	0.9173
KwaZulu-Natal	0.9061	0.8423
Limpopo	0.8379	0.7766
Mpumalanga	0.8817	0.8219
Northern Cape	0.8500	0.8687
North West	0.9012	0.8608
Western Cape	0.9540	0.9305
RSA	0.9256	0.8673

Table 26: Male Education Attainment Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.9375	0.8747
Free State	0.9594	0.9053
Gauteng	0.9566	0.9274
KwaZulu-Natal	0.9401	0.8865
Limpopo	0.9111	0.8527
Mpumalanga	0.9137	0.8690
Northern Cape	0.8466	0.8749
North West	0.8977	0.8677
Western Cape	0.9464	0.9247
RSA	0.9407	0.8977

Table 27: Income Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.6325	0.6331
Free State	0.7290	0.7318
Gauteng	0.8679	0.8619
KwaZulu-Natal	0.6942	0.7019
Limpopo	0.5417	0.5390
Mpumalanga	0.7633	0.7674
Northern Cape	0.7390	0.7276
North West	0.6665	0.6621
Western Cape	0.8153	0.8178
RSA	0.7465	0.7479

Table 28: Female Income Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.5904	0.5915
Free State	0.6764	0.6754
Gauteng	0.8195	0.8110
KwaZulu-Natal	0.6443	0.6520
Limpopo	0.5022	0.4988
Mpumalanga	0.7095	0.7116
Northern Cape	0.6813	0.6692
North West	0.6131	0.6103
Western Cape	0.7644	0.7654
RSA	0.6961	0.6970

Table 29: Male Income Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.6712	0.6713
Free State	0.7699	0.7771
Gauteng	0.9040	0.9004
KwaZulu-Natal	0.7370	0.7449
Limpopo	0.5790	0.5772
Mpumalanga	0.8059	0.8123
Northern Cape	0.7832	0.7727
North West	0.7081	0.7020
Western Cape	0.8559	0.8598
RSA	0.7879	0.7901

Table 30: Gender-aggregated (standard) HDI

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.7106	0.6568
Free State	0.7523	0.6935
Gauteng	0.8260	0.7714
KwaZulu-Natal	0.7180	0.6493
Limpopo	0.6870	0.6427
Mpumalanga	0.7434	0.6800
Northern Cape	0.7413	0.7259
North West	0.7270	0.6765
Western Cape	0.8102	0.7907
RSA	0.7597	0.7091

Table 31: FHDl

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.7121	0.6444
Free State	0.7443	0.6755
Gauteng	0.8183	0.7533
KwaZulu-Natal	0.7062	0.6259
Limpopo	0.6728	0.6223
Mpumalanga	0.7287	0.6551
Northern Cape	0.7299	0.7104
North West	0.7181	0.6598
Western Cape	0.8017	0.7781
RSA	0.7489	0.6892

Table 32: MHDl

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.7096	0.6687
Free State	0.7570	0.7086
Gauteng	0.8319	0.7859
KwaZulu-Natal	0.7301	0.6716
Limpopo	0.7045	0.6655
Mpumalanga	0.7560	0.7043
Northern Cape	0.7483	0.7392
North West	0.7342	0.6899
Western Cape	0.8174	0.8015
RSA	0.7679	0.7270

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APPENDIX V

Gender(-related) Development Index (GDI), at the national and the provincial level¹¹

GDI =

0.33(Equally Distributed Life Expectancy Index) +

0.33(Equally Distributed Education Index) +

0.33(Equally Distributed Income Index)

GDI assumptions:

- Female life expectancy (*FLE*): minimum = 27.5 years, maximum = 87.5 years
- Male life expectancy (*MLE*): minimum = 22.5 years, maximum = 82.5 years
- Female adult literacy rate (age 15+) (*FLIT*): minimum = 0%, maximum = 100%
- Male adult literacy rate (age 15+) (*MLIT*): minimum = 0%, maximum = 100%
- Female combined gross enrolment ratio (*FGER*): minimum = 0%, maximum = 100%
- Male combined gross enrolment ratio (*MGER*): minimum = 0%, maximum = 100%
- GDP per capita (PPP US\$)(*GDPc*): minimum = \$100, maximum = \$40,000

With

POP = total population

FPOP = female population

MPOP = male population

%FPOP = females as percentage share of total population

%MPOP = males as percentage share of total population

%FEAP = females as percentage share of economically active population

%MEAP = males as percentage share of economically active population

WR = ratio of female non-agricultural wages to male non-agricultural wages

Method:

1) Equally Distributed Life Expectancy Index (EDLEI) =

$$[\{ \%FPOP \times (FLE)^{-1} \} + \{ \%MPOP \times (MLE)^{-1} \}]^{-1}$$

$$1.1) \text{ Female Life Expectancy Index (FLEI)} = \frac{FLE - 27.5}{87.5 - 27.5}$$

¹¹ The data contained in this appendix pertain to analyses done in Papers IV and V.

$$1.2) \text{ Male Life Expectancy Index (MLEI)} = \frac{MLE - 22.5}{82.5 - 22.5}$$

2) Equally Distributed Education Attainment Index (EDEAI) =

$$[\{\%FPOP \times (FEAI)^{-1}\} + \{\%MPOP \times (MEAI)^{-1}\}]^{-1}$$

$$2.1) \text{ Female Educational Attainment Index (FEAI)} = \frac{[2(FALI) + 1(FCGEI)]}{3}$$

$$2.1.1) \text{ Female Adult Literacy Index (FALI)} = \frac{FLIT - 0}{100 - 0}$$

$$2.1.2) \text{ Female Combined Gross Enrolment Index (FCGEI)} = \frac{FGER - 0}{100 - 0}$$

$$2.2) \text{ Male Educational Attainment Index (MAEI)} = \frac{[2(MALI) + 1(MCGEI)]}{3}$$

$$2.2.1) \text{ Male Adult Literacy Index (MALI)} = \frac{MLIT - 0}{100 - 0}$$

$$2.2.2) \text{ Male Combined Gross Enrolment Index (MCGEI)} = \frac{MGER - 0}{100 - 0}$$

3) Equally Distributed Income Index (EDII) = $[\{\%FPOP \times (FI)^{-1}\} + \{\%MPOP \times (MI)^{-1}\}]^{-1}$

$$3.1) \text{ Female Income Index (FI)} = \frac{\log(FGDPc) - \log(100)}{\log(40,000) - \log(100)}$$

$$3.1.1) \text{ Total GDP (GDP)} = GDPc \times POP$$

$$3.1.2) \text{ Female share of GDP (fs)} = \frac{(WR \times \%FEAP)}{[(WR \times \%FEAP) + \%MEAP]}$$

$$3.1.3) \text{ Female GDP (FGDP)} = (fs \times GDP)$$

$$3.1.4) \text{ Female GDP per capita (FGDPc)} = \frac{FGDP}{FPOP}$$

$$3.2) \text{ Male Income Index (MI)} = \frac{\log(MGDPc) - \log(100)}{\log(40,000) - \log(100)}$$

$$3.2.1) \text{ Male GDP (MGDP)} = (GDP - FGDP)$$

$$3.2.2) \text{ Male GDP per capita (MGDPc)} = \frac{MGDP}{MPOP}$$

$$4) \text{ GDI} = \frac{EDLEI + EDEAI + EDII}{3}$$

Table 1: Equally Distributed Life Expectancy Index¹²

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.5539	0.4731
Free State	0.5713	0.4510
Gauteng	0.6540	0.5308
KwaZulu-Natal	0.5411	0.3833
Limpopo	0.6520	0.5800
Mpumalanga	0.5714	0.4317
Northern Cape	0.6363	0.5819
North West	0.6179	0.5042
Western Cape	0.6682	0.6293
RSA	0.5999	0.4985

Table 2: Equally Distributed Education Attainment Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.9490	0.8650
Free State	0.9562	0.8987
Gauteng	0.9584	0.9224
KwaZulu-Natal	0.9217	0.8624
Limpopo	0.8698	0.8094
Mpumalanga	0.8969	0.8438
Northern Cape	0.8483	0.8716
North West	0.9022	0.8677
Western Cape	0.9503	0.9277
RSA	0.9328	0.8816

Table 3: Equally Distributed Income Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.6251	0.6259
Free State	0.7195	0.7206
Gauteng	0.8605	0.8536
KwaZulu-Natal	0.6847	0.6924
Limpopo	0.5346	0.5316
Mpumalanga	0.7533	0.7566
Northern Cape	0.7278	0.7150
North West	0.6564	0.6526
Western Cape	0.8065	0.8084
RSA	0.7374	0.7386

Table 4: Gender Development Index (GDI)

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.7093	0.6547
Free State	0.7490	0.6901
Gauteng	0.8243	0.7689
KwaZulu-Natal	0.7159	0.6461
Limpopo	0.6855	0.6403
Mpumalanga	0.7405	0.6774
Northern Cape	0.7375	0.7229
North West	0.7255	0.6748
Western Cape	0.8083	0.7885
RSA	0.7567	0.7062

¹² The basic statistics shown in Appendix IV also serve as the basis for the calculation of the GDI.

Data Sources

- ASSA (ACTUARIAL SOCIETY OF SOUTH AFRICA), 2002. *Aids Model*. <http://www.assa.org.za>
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APPENDIX VI

Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), at the national and the provincial level¹³

GEM =

0.33(Equally Distributed Equivalent Percentage for parliamentary representation) +

0.33(Equally Distributed Equivalent Percentage for economic participation) +

0.33(Equally Distributed Equivalent Percentage for income)

GEM assumptions:

- GDP per capita (PPP US\$)(GDPc): minimum = \$100, maximum = \$40,000

With

POP = total population

FPOP = female population

MPOP = male population

%FPOP = female percentage share of total population

%MPOP = male percentage share of total population

%FPAR = female percentage share of parliamentary representation

%MPAR = male percentage share of parliamentary representation

%FADM = female percentage share of administrative and managerial positions

%MADM = male percentage share of administrative and managerial positions

%FPRO = female percentage share of professional and technical positions

%MPRO = male percentage share of professional and technical positions

%FEAP = female percentage share of economically active population

%MEAP = male percentage share of economically active population

WR = ratio of female non-agricultural wages to male non-agricultural wages

Method:

$$1) \quad \text{Parliamentary Representation Index (PARI)} = \frac{EDEP_{par}}{50}$$

¹³ The data contained in this appendix pertain to analyses done in Papers IV and V.

1.1) Equally Distributed Equivalent Percentage for parliamentary representation
 $(EDEP_{par}) = [\{\%FPOP \times (\%FPAR)^{-1}\} + \{\%MPOP \times (MPAR)^{-1}\}]^{-1}$

2) Economic Participation Index (ECONI) = $\frac{(ADMI + PROFI)}{2}$

2.1) Administrative and Managerial Index (ADMI) = $\frac{EDEP_{adm}}{50}$

2.1.1) Equally Distributed Equivalent Percentage for administrative and managerial positions $(EDEP_{adm}) = [\{\%FPOP \times (\%FADM)^{-1}\} + \{\%MPOP \times (MADM)^{-1}\}]^{-1}$

2.2) Professional and Technical Index (PROFI) = $\frac{EDEP_{prof}}{50}$

2.2.1) Equally Distributed Equivalent Percentage for professional and technical positions $(EDEP_{prof}) = [\{\%FPOP \times (\%FPRO)^{-1}\} + \{\%MPOP \times (MPRO)^{-1}\}]^{-1}$

3) Equally Distributed Income Index (EDII) = $[\{\%FPOP \times (FI)^{-1}\} + \{\%MPOP \times (MI)^{-1}\}]^{-1}$

3.1) Female Income Index (FI) = $\frac{FGDPc - 100}{40,000 - 100}$

3.1.1) Total GDP (GDP) = GDPc x POP

3.1.2) Female share of GDP (fs) = $\frac{(WR \times \%FEAP)}{[(WR \times \%FEAP) + \%MEAP]}$

3.1.3) Female GDP (FGDP) = (fs x GDP)

3.1.4) Female GDP per capita (FGDPc) = $\frac{FGDP}{FPOP}$

3.2) Male Income Index (MI) = $\frac{MGDPc - 100}{40,000 - 100}$

3.2.1) Male GDP (MGDP) = (GDP – FGDP)

3.2.2) Male GDP per capita (MGDPc) = $\frac{MGDP}{MPOP}$

4) GEM = $\frac{(PARI + ECONI + EDII)}{3}$

Table 1: Female percentage share of parliamentary representation

	1997	2003
Eastern Cape	25.00	22.22
Free State	23.33	20.00
Gauteng	29.07	38.16
KwaZulu-Natal	13.58	26.25
Limpopo	27.50	30.61
Mpumalanga	20.00	30.00
Northern Cape	23.33	30.00
North West	36.67	33.33
Western Cape	23.81	25.58
RSA	24.00	28.80

Table 2: Male percentage share of parliamentary representation

	1997	2003
Eastern Cape	75.00	77.78
Free State	76.67	80.00
Gauteng	70.93	61.84
KwaZulu-Natal	86.42	73.75
Limpopo	72.50	69.39
Mpumalanga	80.00	70.00
Northern Cape	76.67	70.00
North West	63.33	66.67
Western Cape	76.19	74.42
RSA	76.00	71.20

Table 3: Female percentage share of administrative and managerial positions¹⁴

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	29.73	30.79
Free State	29.30	29.90
Gauteng	27.07	29.95
KwaZulu-Natal	26.24	27.19
Limpopo	30.88	28.38
Mpumalanga	21.60	27.38
Northern Cape	29.57	29.76
North West	24.17	27.66
Western Cape	29.54	31.75
RSA	27.46	29.55

Table 4: Male percentage share of administrative and managerial positions

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	70.27	69.21
Free State	70.70	70.10
Gauteng	72.93	70.05
KwaZulu-Natal	73.76	72.81
Limpopo	69.12	71.62
Mpumalanga	78.40	72.62
Northern Cape	70.43	70.24
North West	75.83	72.34
Western Cape	70.46	68.25
RSA	72.54	70.45

¹⁴ This group refers to the census category 'legislators, senior officials and managers'.

Table 5: Female percentage share of professional and technical positions

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	61.31	59.78
Free State	52.93	50.62
Gauteng	48.75	46.16
KwaZulu-Natal	54.91	52.91
Limpopo	51.36	51.11
Mpumalanga	50.15	49.93
Northern Cape	54.63	49.59
North West	53.75	49.63
Western Cape	51.84	50.21
RSA	52.51	50.11

Table 6: Male percentage share of professional and technical positions

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	38.69	40.22
Free State	47.07	49.38
Gauteng	51.25	53.84
KwaZulu-Natal	45.09	47.09
Limpopo	48.64	48.89
Mpumalanga	49.85	51.07
Northern Cape	45.37	50.41
North West	46.25	50.37
Western Cape	48.16	49.79
RSA	47.49	49.89

Table 7: Female Income Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.0863	0.0842
Free State	0.1417	0.1408
Gauteng	0.3374	0.3206
KwaZulu-Natal	0.1165	0.1221
Limpopo	0.0483	0.0473
Mpumalanga	0.1734	0.1756
Northern Cape	0.1460	0.1356
North West	0.0962	0.0946
Western Cape	0.2418	0.2433
RSA	0.1598	0.1606

Table 8: Male Income Index

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.1373	0.1374
Free State	0.2499	0.2612
Gauteng	0.5614	0.5493
KwaZulu-Natal	0.2048	0.2150
Limpopo	0.0780	0.0771
Mpumalanga	0.3109	0.3214
Northern Cape	0.2710	0.2543
North West	0.1719	0.1657
Western Cape	0.4202	0.4303
RSA	0.2788	0.2825

Table 9: Equally Distributed Equivalent Percentage for parliamentary representation

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	36.11	33.18
Free State	35.51	31.23
Gauteng	41.60	47.26
KwaZulu-Natal	22.47	37.57
Limpopo	38.39	41.02
Mpumalanga	31.48	41.32
Northern Cape	35.44	41.29
North West	46.24	44.34
Western Cape	35.87	37.51
RSA	35.77	40.27

Table 10: Equally Distributed Equivalent Percentage for administrative and managerial positions

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	40.51	41.42
Free State	41.19	41.23
Gauteng	39.86	42.06
KwaZulu-Natal	37.61	38.46
Limpopo	41.33	39.10
Mpumalanga	33.35	39.04
Northern Cape	41.35	41.09
North West	36.35	39.89
Western Cape	41.26	42.86
RSA	39.27	40.91

Table 11: Equally Distributed Equivalent Percentage for professional and technical positions

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	48.28	48.81
Free State	48.89	50.02
Gauteng	49.99	49.73
KwaZulu-Natal	49.81	50.02
Limpopo	50.08	50.00
Mpumalanga	50.00	50.00
Northern Cape	49.65	49.97
North West	49.78	49.99
Western Cape	49.97	50.01
RSA	49.97	50.00

Table 12: Equally Distributed Equivalent Percentage for income

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.1020	0.1026
Free State	0.1802	0.1808
Gauteng	0.4237	0.4055
KwaZulu-Natal	0.1461	0.1530
Limpopo	0.0585	0.0573
Mpumalanga	0.2209	0.2248
Northern Cape	0.1888	0.1746
North West	0.1228	0.1202
Western Cape	0.3052	0.3082
RSA	0.2011	0.2024

Table 13: Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM)

	1996	2001
Eastern Cape	0.5707	0.5561
Free State	0.6003	0.5726
Gauteng	0.7181	0.7562
KwaZulu-Natal	0.4899	0.5964
Limpopo	0.5801	0.5898
Mpumalanga	0.5614	0.6472
Northern Cape	0.6025	0.6371
North West	0.6363	0.6352
Western Cape	0.6450	0.6623
RSA	0.6026	0.6389

Data Sources

BUDLENDER, D. Personal Communication (Tables 1 & 2).

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APPENDIX VII

The Decision-Making Index (DMI)¹⁵

DMI =

$$\begin{aligned}
 &0.0701(\text{percentage of working women earning cash}) + \\
 &0.3645(\text{women's age of first marriage}) + \\
 &0.2832(\text{age difference between spouses, as a percentage of the} \\
 &\text{husband's age}) + \\
 &0.1540(\text{difference in education between spouses})
 \end{aligned}$$

Sample parameters:

- Women who are currently married, or have ever been married;
- Women who have children younger than 3 years living with them.

Method:

1. For each women who fulfils the above requirements, find:
 - working for cash: yes or no?;
 - women's age at first marriage;
 - age difference between spouses, as a percentage of the husband's age;
 - difference in education between spouses (years).
2. Standardise each of the above to a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1;
3. Calculate the Decision-Making score as per the above equation;
4. Index this standardised value to the maximum and minimum values of the international sample:

$$\text{DMI} = \frac{[(\text{Decision-Making score}) - (-2.306952)] \times 100}{[3.973666 - (-2.306952)]}$$

5. Obtain the mean of this value, nationally and across regions (provinces), using household weights, with 'region' and 'cluster' as sample design specifications.

[The calculation was performed using Stata Version 9]

¹⁵ The data contained in this appendix pertain to analyses done in Papers IV and V.

Table 1: Percentage of working women earning cash

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	94.73 [89.52-99.94]*	100 [-]
Free State	100 [-]	100 [-]
Gauteng	97.87 [93.67-102.07]	77.61 [53.62-101.60]
KwaZulu-Natal	97.31 [93.56-101.05]	100 [-]
Limpopo	89.07 [78.73-99.40]	82.94 [66.81-99.08]
Mpumalanga	94.76 [87.33-102.20]	94.46 [83.90-105.01]
Northern Cape	86.76 [77.71-95.81]	100 [-]
North West	94.71 [87.23-102.19]	91.47 [74.06-108.90]
Western Cape	100 [-]	97.37 [92.26-102.49]
RSA	96.39 [94.62-98.16]	90.94 [82.37-99.52]

* figures in parentheses reflect the confidence interval at a 95 per cent level

Table 2: Women's age at first marriage

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	20.6026 [20.07-21.13]	21.8406 [20.22-23.46]
Free State	20.5455 [19.85-21.24]	21.3680 [20.30-22.43]
Gauteng	21.7104 [21.02-22.40]	23.0912 [21.76-24.43]
KwaZulu-Natal	22.2952 [21.49-23.11]	22.4978 [20.42-24.57]
Limpopo	18.9358 [18.38-19.49]	20.0052 [19.13-20.88]
Mpumalanga	20.2618 [19.35-21.18]	20.4841 [19.59-21.38]
Northern Cape	22.5418 [21.63-21.46]	22.4510 [21.51-23.39]
North West	22.4123 [21.62-23.21]	22.4282 [20.93-23.93]
Western Cape	22.5261 [21.79-23.26]	22.3619 [21.14-23.59]
RSA	21.1492 [20.87-21.43]	21.9403 [21.42-22.45]

Table 3: Age difference between spouses as a percentage of the husband's age¹⁶

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	-15.2018 [-16.41-(-13.99)]	-16.7223 [-21.18-(-12.27)]
Free State	-11.8761 [-13.81-(-9.94)]	-15.6983 [-18.81-(-12.59)]
Gauteng	-13.2565 [-15.24-(-11.27)]	-14.5681 [-17.74-(-11.40)]
KwaZulu-Natal	-13.7459 [-15.84-(-11.65)]	-14.0095 [-18.47-(-9.55)]
Limpopo	-19.3796 [-21.38-(-17.38)]	-17.1653 [-19.55-(-14.78)]
Mpumalanga	-15.8294 [18.02-(-13.64)]	-17.8244 [-20.15-(-15.50)]
Northern Cape	-10.0641 [-12.47-(-7.66)]	-12.4082 [-15.50-(-9.31)]
North West	-11.5352 [-13.87-(-9.20)]	-14.4499 [-18.17-(-10.73)]
Western Cape	-7.0792 [-9.54-(-4.62)]	-9.4266 [-12.49-(-6.36)]
RSA	-13.9882 [-14.77-(-13.21)]	-14.3625 [-16.05-(-12.68)]

Table 4: Educational difference between spouses (years)¹⁷

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	0.4885 [0.19-0.79]	-0.8076 [-2.75-1.13]
Free State	-0.1576 [-0.68-0.36]	0.9901 [-0.83-2.81]
Gauteng	-0.0674 [-0.55-0.42]	3.848 [2.59-5.11]
KwaZulu-Natal	0.2769 [-0.3-0.85]	5.0042 [3.48-6.53]
Limpopo	-0.1364 [-0.62-0.35]	0.8863 [-0.88-2.65]
Mpumalanga	-0.3968 [-1.10-(-0.31)]	1.3560 [-0.03-2.74]
Northern Cape	0.4639 [0.02-0.91]	-0.2303 [-1.76-1.30]
North West	0.5155 [0.004-1.03]	0.6207 [-1.17-2.42]
Western Cape	0.0705 [-0.38-0.52]	1.9748 [0.58-1.30]
RSA	0.1011 [-0.09-0.29]	1.9472 [1.33-2.56]

¹⁶ This is calculated as: (wife's age less husband's age).¹⁷ This is calculated as: (wife's education less husband's education).

Table 5: Decision-Making Index (DMI) (utilising the index parameters of Smith et al., 2003)

	1998*	2003**
Eastern Cape	40.7074 [38.50-42.92]	41.0331 [34.73-47.34]
Free State	37.7766 [35.83-39.72]	37.0218 [33.92-40.12]
Gauteng	39.7212 [37.09-42.35]	43.7485 [38.85-48.65]
KwaZulu-Natal	42.1771 [39.54-44.81]	46.1405 [41.51-50.77]
Limpopo	34.4169 [31.56-37.27]	34.3551 [31.03-37.68]
Mpumalanga	36.3396 [33.31-39.37]	37.6205 [33.03-42.21]
Northern Cape	40.2615 [37.62-42.91]	41.8213 [37.07-46.57]
North West	39.9493 [37.53-42.37]	38.9833 [34.05-43.91]
Western Cape	43.0951 [40.62-45.57]	42.4099 [39.19-45.63]
RSA	39.9296 [38.96-40.90]	41.3969 [39.48-43.31]

Table 6: Decision-Making Index (DMI) (utilising the index parameters from South Africa's sample values)¹⁸

	1998*	2003**
Eastern Cape	45.5200 [41.99-49.05]	40.8514 [28.55-53.15]
Free State	40.8395 [37.73-43.95]	33.0288 [26.99-39.07]
Gauteng	43.9450 [39.74-48.15]	46.1470 [36.60-55.70]
KwaZulu-Natal	47.8672 [43.66-52.08]	50.8117 [41.78-59.84]
Limpopo	35.4740 [30.91-40.04]	27.8284 [21.35-34.81]
Mpumalanga	38.5446 [33.71-43.38]	34.1964 [25.24-43.15]
Northern Cape	44.8079 [40.58-49.03]	42.3885 [33.12-51.65]
North West	44.3093 [40.45-48.17]	36.8540 [27.24-46.47]
Western Cape	49.3332 [45.38-53.29]	43.5364 [37.26-49.81]
RSA	44.2779 [42.73-46.83]	41.5609 [37.83-45.30]

¹⁸ As an alternative to using the index parameters (by means of which to normalise the values to an index ranging between zero and 100) used by Smith et al. (2003), the maximum and minimum values were taken from within the South African sample, resulting in somewhat different DMI values. While these values have value within a South African context, it precludes international comparison.

Data Sources

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APPENDIX VIII

The Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS)¹⁹

$$\text{TMWS} = \frac{\text{Sum of indicator scores}^*}{\text{Maximum value achievable for number of indicators}^{**}}$$

* *performance above threshold level = 1*

performance under threshold level = 0

performance unclear = 0.5

** *if observations for all indicators are available, this value would be 29*

Method:

Find whether (nationally and provincially) the following thresholds are met (from Kishor & Neitzel, 1996:90-94):

1. The sex ratio is lower in 'richer' households (as measured by the 'high' and 'medium-high' categories of the Assets and Possessions Index (API) than in 'poorer' households ('medium' and 'low' API categories), with the sex ratio being the number of men per 100 women. A lower sex ratio indicates a relatively advantageous position for women. (A lower sex ratio in only one of the 'rich' categories would require that an 'unclear' be assigned, and therefore a score of 0.5).
2. More than 20 per cent of households are headed by women.
3. The sex ratio in female-headed households is 100 or more, excluding the head of household.
4. At most, 25 per cent of female-headed households consist of one adult with children.
5. Women with no education are less likely to be heads of households than women with education.
6. Female-headed households are just as likely, or more likely, to be 'rich' (as reflected by the 'high' and 'medium-high' API categories) than male-headed households, i.e. women are not more likely to be socially disadvantaged than men.
7. At least 50 per cent of women have four or more years of education.
8. At least 20 per cent of women have secondary or higher education.
9. The percentage of women with secondary or higher education increases as age decreases.
10. The sex ratio of the population with primary education is 101 or less.

¹⁹ The data contained in this appendix pertain to analyses done in Papers IV and V.

11. The sex ratio of the population with secondary or higher education is 110 or less.
12. The sex ratio of the population with no education increases from older to younger cohorts.
13. One-third or less of rural women have no exposure to media.
14. One-third or more of women have discussed their desired number of children with their husbands.
15. At least 50 per cent of women are employed.
16. At most 15 per cent of employed women work without cash earnings.
17. Labour force participation increases with education: participation of women with secondary and higher education must both be higher than participation of women with no and primary education to qualify for a 'yes'. If only either secondary or higher education participation is higher, an 'unclear' is assigned.
18. Labour force participation increases with socio-economic status, as measured by the API categories. (Labour participation has to be higher in both the 'high' and 'medium-high' categories than both the 'medium' and 'low' categories, to qualify as a 'yes'.)
19. At least 10 per cent of women work in 'modern' occupations, i.e. professional, managerial, technical and clerical positions.
20. At least 10 per cent of women have primary education and work in modern or mixed occupations. Mixed occupations refer to sales and manual labour.
21. Less than 50 per cent of women provide child care while they work.
22. The dependency ratio is 0.9 or less.
23. Less than 25 per cent of women aged 15 – 19 are married, or are ever married.
24. Less than 25 per cent of women aged 15 – 19 have given birth.
25. The percentage of women who have given birth before the age of 20 declines from older to younger cohorts.
26. At least 50 per cent of wives have equal or more advanced education than their husbands.
27. At least 25 per cent of wives work for cash and have at least the same level of education as their husbands.
28. Wives of husbands who work in modern occupations are the most likely to be employed.
29. At least 20 per cent of women whose husbands work in agricultural occupations work in non-agricultural occupations themselves.

[The calculations were performed using Stata Version 9]

Table 1.1: Sex ratio²⁰ per Amenities and Possessions Index²¹ (API) category (without household sample weights)

	1998				2003			
	Low API	Medium API	Medium-high API	High API	Low API	Medium API	Medium-high API	High API
Eastern Cape	110.81 [98.87-122.75]*	117.98 [113.13-122.84]	120.21 [112.42-128.00]	116.20 [106.2-126.2]	N/a ²²	N/a	N/a	N/a
Free State	-	114.75 [104.97-124.53]	118.61 [108.69-128.53]	119.45 [106.24-132.68]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
Gauteng	-	106.69 [96.69-116.69]	117.23 [108.28-126.19]	124.36 [115.23-133.49]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	102.08 [83.16-121.01]	118.65 [110.25-127.04]	118.03 [110.26-125.80]	125.14 [115.52-134.76]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
Limpopo	95.5 [65.48-125.51]	112.02 [103.81-120.23]	115.23 [104.46-126.00]	112.64 [93.27-132.01]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
Mpumalanga	108.33 [26.30-190.36]	121.02 [111.52-130.52]	111.23 [102.24-120.21]	115.41 [94.95-135.87]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
Northern Cape	66.66 [-]**	125.79 [114.09-137.49]	116.90 [106.59-127.26]	121.21 [110.51-131.91]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
North West	0	119.99 [109.86-130.11]	121.11 [111.03-131.19]	131.08 [109.40-152.76]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
Western Cape	-	135.01 [118.87-151.15]	129.15 [119.02-139.27]	132.66 [121.79-143.54]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
RSA	108.79 [98.71-118.87]	118.2 [115.31-121.07]	118.74 [115.65-121.82]	123.71 [119.65-127.76]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a

* figures in parenthesis reflect the confidence interval at a 95 per cent level ** a missing standard error is the result of a stratum with a single sampling unit

²⁰ The sex ratio is defined as the number of men per 100 women.

²¹ The API categories comprise the following:

Access to, and possession of:

High API: bottled water or water piped into the residence (or property) for both drinking and non-drinking purposes, own (not shared) flush toilet, electricity, and all four consumer durables namely radio, television, refrigerator and car;

Medium-high API: any kind of drinking and non-drinking water source other than surface water, any kind of flush or pit toilet latrine or 'other' toilet facilities, may or may not have electricity, and at least two of any of the four consumer durables;

Medium API: (the residual category) any kind of drinking and non-drinking water source including surface water and 'other' water source, any kind of toilet facility including those listed under no facility and 'other', may or may not have electricity, any combination of the four consumer durables, including none;

Low API: only surface water for drinking and non-drinking purposes, no toilet facility, no electricity and none of the four consumer durables (Kishor & Neitzel, 1996:6)

²² Due to data problems with the 2003 SADHS (see Booysen-Wolthers, 2007d: 30 {footnote 32}), these values could not be calculated.

Table 1.2: Sex ratio per Amenities and Possessions Index (API) category (with household sample weights)

	1998				2003			
	Low API	Medium API	Medium-high API	High API	Low API	Medium API	Medium-high API	High API
Eastern Cape	110.81 [-]	117.58 [112.47-122.69]	120.25 [112.09-128.40]	116.47 [106.49-126.46]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
Free State	-	114.78 [104.83-124.72]	118.50 [108.81-128.18]	119.38 [105.74-133.02]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
Gauteng	-	107.21 [96.56-117.86]	117.16 [108.33-125.99]	124.21 [115.27-133.15]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	102.08 [-]	117.72 [109.78-125.66]	118.32 [107.79-128.86]	124.49 [115.71-133.27]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
Limpopo	95.50 [-]	112.02 [103.72-120.31]	115.36 [104.58-126.13]	112.55 [98.15-126.95]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
Mpumalanga	108.33 [-]	121.40 [112.57-130.23]	112.16 [102.66-121.67]	115.19 [93.10-137.29]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
Northern Cape	66.66 [-]	125.73 [115.55-135.92]	117.37 [106.93-127.82]	121.03 [111.54-130.53]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
North West	0	120.15 [108.39-131.91]	120.83 [109.86-131.80]	130.82 [110.41-151.24]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
Western Cape	-	134.74 [116.93-152.55]	128.93 [119.52-138.35]	132.54 [122.44-142.63]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a
RSA	106.30 [-]	116.88 [113.72-120.04]	119.03 [115.39-122.68]	124.51 [120.07-128.95]	N/a	N/a	N/a	N/a

Table 2.1: Percentage of households that are headed by females (without household sample weight)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	51.28 [50.46-52.1]	55.39 [51.64-59.14]
Free State	34.96 [33.46-36.45]	42.65 [39.37-45.92]
Gauteng	33.42 [32.04-34.81]	30.34 [27.03-33.64]
KwaZulu-Natal	42.48 [41.39-43.57]	30.27 [27.87-32.65]
Limpopo	57.37 [56.00-58.74]	56.24 [52.75-59.73]
Mpumalanga	44.28 [42.86-45.71]	48.51 [45.05-51.96]
Northern Cape	33.26 [31.84-34.67]	38.52 [35.24-41.79]
North West	41.35 [39.87-42.83]	52.98 [49.67-56.30]
Western Cape	29.96 [28.54-31.38]	36.25 [32.76-39.74]
RSA	43.35 [42.93-43.77]	42.38 [41.28-43.48]

Table 2.2: Percentage of households that are headed by females (with household sample weight)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	50.35 [47.75-52.95]	54.83 [50.54-59.12]
Free State	34.99 [30.29-39.69]	44.08 [38.93-49.22]
Gauteng	33.21 [28.97-37.45]	31.70 [27.00-36.39]
KwaZulu-Natal	45.53 [41.40-49.66]	35.54 [31.14-39.93]
Limpopo	57.45 [53.29-61.61]	56.95 [52.54-61.37]
Mpumalanga	44.27 [39.46-49.07]	48.10 [43.29-52.91]
Northern Cape	33.11 [28.48-37.74]	38.12 [33.32-42.92]
North West	41.33 [36.90-45.76]	53.12 [49.2-57.01]
Western Cape	30.15 [25.83-34.47]	37.49 [33.14-41.85]
RSA	42.56 [41.00-44.12]	44.43 [42.77-46.08]

Table 3.1: Sex ratio of female-headed households, excluding head of household (without household sample weight)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	135.25 [128.27-142.22]	N/a
Free State	123.58 [109.89-137.29]	N/a
Gauteng	135.62 [120.35-150.89]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	128.68 [119.00-138.36]	N/a
Limpopo	130.20 [120.07-140.32]	N/a
Mpumalanga	124.42 [111.43-137.41]	N/a
Northern Cape	119.00 [104.09-133.92]	N/a
North West	120.32 [110.24-130.40]	N/a
Western Cape	138.13 [120.07-140.32]	N/a
RSA	129.85 [126.13-133.57]	N/a

Table 3.2: Sex ratio of female-headed households, excluding head of household (with household sample weight)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	134.27 [126.82-141.71]	N/a
Free State	123.59 [110.91-136.27]	N/a
Gauteng	135.62 [119.77-151.47]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	131.63 [120.70-142.56]	N/a
Limpopo	130.24 [121.78-138.69]	N/a
Mpumalanga	126.70 [112.32-141.07]	N/a
Northern Cape	119.18 [105.88-132.49]	N/a
North West	120.32 [112.26-128.39]	N/a
Western Cape	138.20 [124.54-151.87]	N/a
RSA	130.90 [126.72-135.08]	N/a

Table 4.1: Percentage of female-headed households consisting of one adult plus children (without household sample weight)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	32.90 [30.61-35.19]	N/a
Free State	25.65 [21.04-30.25]	N/a
Gauteng	18.58 [14.72-22.43]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	25.12 [22.12-28.12]	N/a
Limpopo	35.27 [31.34-39.21]	N/a
Mpumalanga	25.83 [21.65-30.01]	N/a
Northern Cape	24.49 [19.93-29.05]	N/a
North West	23.99 [19.78-28.20]	N/a
Western Cape	15.19 [11.00-19.38]	N/a
RSA	27.60 [26.39-28.82]	N/a

Table 4.2: Percentage of female-headed households consisting of one adult plus children (with sample weight)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	31.87 [29.01-34.74]	N/a
Free State	25.64 [21.01-30.27]	N/a
Gauteng	18.61 [14.35-22.88]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	28.68 [24.18-33.18]	N/a
Limpopo	35.31 [30.86-39.77]	N/a
Mpumalanga	25.68 [20.78-30.59]	N/a
Northern Cape	24.56 [19.47-29.66]	N/a
North West	23.91 [18.98-28.84]	N/a
Western Cape	15.21 [10.77-19.65]	N/a
RSA	26.71 [26.04-28.36]	N/a

Table 5.1: Education status of women heading households (percentage) (without household sample weight)

	1998		2003	
	No education	Education	No education	Education
Eastern Cape	27.19	72.81 [70.64-74.97]	N/a	N/a
Free State	25.57	74.43 [69.83-79.02]	N/a	N/a
Gauteng	12.08	87.92 [84.67-91.16]	N/a	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	25.03	74.97 [71.96-77.97]	N/a	N/a
Limpopo	44.25	55.75 [51.68-59.82]	N/a	N/a
Mpumalanga	40.38	59.62 [54.93-64.31]	N/a	N/a
Northern Cape	23.62	76.38 [71.88-80.89]	N/a	N/a
North West	27.81	72.19 [67.75-76.64]	N/a	N/a
Western Cape	7.22	92.78 [89.73-95.83]	N/a	N/a
RSA	27.32	72.68 [71.47-73.89]	N/a	N/a

Table 5.2: Education status of women heading households (percentage) (with household sample weight)

	1998		2003	
	No education	Education	No education	Education
Eastern Cape	26.04	73.96 [70.24-77.68]	N/a	N/a
Free State	25.71	74.29 [68.86-79.72]	N/a	N/a
Gauteng	12.05	87.95 [84.65-91.25]	N/a	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	30.43	69.57 [64.11-75.03]	N/a	N/a
Limpopo	44.31	55.69 [49.80-61.58]	N/a	N/a
Mpumalanga	38.56	61.44 [55.19-67.7]	N/a	N/a
Northern Cape	23.65	76.35 [71.41-81.30]	N/a	N/a
North West	27.64	72.36 [66.36-78.37]	N/a	N/a
Western Cape	7.19	92.81 [89.48-96.14]	N/a	N/a
RSA	26.76	73.24 [71.26-75.21]	N/a	N/a

Table 6.1: Percentage of female- and male-headed households within the high and medium-high API categories (without household sample weight)

	1998				2003			
	Medium-high API		High API		Medium-high API		High API	
	Female-headed households	Male-headed households	Female-headed households	Male-headed households	Female-headed households	Male-headed households	Female-headed households	Male-headed households
Eastern Cape	48.31 [44.54-52.07]	51.69	14.23 [10.03-18.43]	85.77	53.80 [46.82-60.79]	46.20	25.00 [8.65-41.35]	75.00
Free State	39.76 [35.07-44.45]	60.24	6.29 [2.68-9.89]	93.71	49.25 [44.36-54.15]	50.75	24.00 [15.58-32.42]	76.00
Gauteng	42.59 [38.35-46.82]	57.41	16.98 [13.18-20.77]	83.02	40.07 [34.53-45.60]	59.93	16.17 [11.45-20.89]	83.83
KwaZulu-Natal	48.67 [44.90-52.44]	51.33	18.39 [14.57-22.21]	81.61	39.23 [34.80-43.66]	60.77	15.64 [12.47-18.82]	84.36
Limpopo	57.55 [52.10-62.99]	42.45	16.67 [6.01-27.33]	83.33	56.59 [48.69-61.31]	43.41	28.57 [11.52-45.63]	71.43
Mpumalanga	45.62 [40.98-50.25]	54.38	16.87 [8.76-24.98]	83.13	54.71 [50.52-62.65]	45.29	18.29 [9.87-26.72]	81.71
Northern Cape	37.75 [33.03-42.46]	62.25	15.58 [10.89-20.27]	94.42	46.05 [40.94-51.16]	53.95	22.60 [16.41-28.78]	77.40
North West	39.91 [35.36-44.46]	60.09	15.74 [8.84-22.64]	84.26	54.52 [49.62-59.36]	45.48	34.25 [23.28-45.22]	65.75
Western Cape	39.41 [34.86-43.97]	60.59	16.98 [12.88-21.07]	83.02	43.30 [38.11-48.50]	56.70	22.41 [17.13-27.69]	77.59
RSA	44.50 [43.02-45.97]	55.50	15.72 [14.13-17.31]	84.28	48.07 [46.32-49.82]	51.93	19.74 [17.70-21.78]	80.26

Table 6.2: Percentage of female- and male-headed households within the high and medium-high API categories (with household sample weight)

	1998				2003			
	Medium-high API		High API		Medium-high API		High API	
	Female-headed households	Male-headed households	Female-headed households	Male-headed households	Female-headed households	Male-headed households	Female-headed households	Male-headed households
Eastern Cape	48.43 [44.41-52.44]	51.57	14.30 [9.71-18.90]	85.70	54.40 [47.93-60.88]	45.60	25.38 [7.95-42.82]	74.62
Free State	39.80 [34.70-44.89]	60.20	6.24 [2.54-9.94]	93.76	51.45 [45.02-57.88]	48.55	23.33 [13.79-32.87]	76.67
Gauteng	42.43 [37.86-47.00]	57.57	16.88 [12.70-21.07]	83.12	41.00 [34.39-47.61]	59.00	17.12 [11.35-22.90]	82.88
KwaZulu-Natal	48.77 [43.79-53.74]	51.23	18.24 [14.19-22.29]	81.76	43.45 [37.48-49.42]	56.55	19.36 [11.75-26.96]	80.64
Limpopo	57.57 [51.81-63.33]	42.43	16.65 [5.30-28.00]	83.35	56.27 [49.96-62.57]	47.74	29.51 [5.78-52.52]	70.49
Mpumalanga	45.62 [40.26-50.98]	54.38	16.96 [8.36-25.57]	83.04	55.46 [48.88-62.04]	44.54	18.23 [6.92-29.54]	81.77
Northern Cape	37.71 [32.81-42.61]	62.29	15.64 [10.36-20.93]	84.36	45.75 [39.87-51.63]	54.25	21.98 [14.64-29.31]	78.02
North West	39.99 [34.52-45.46]	60.01	15.72 [6.93-24.51]	84.28	55.25 [50.62-59.87]	44.75	34.45 [23.85-45.05]	65.55
Western Cape	39.64 [34.26-45.03]	60.36	16.99 [12.38-21.59]	83.01	42.86 [36.64-49.09]	57.14	24.64 [18.24-31.04]	75.36
RSA	44.74 [42.85-46.62]	55.26	16.15 [14.12-18.18]	83.85	47.77 [45.36-50.17]	52.23	20.80 [17.50-24.09]	79.20

Table 7.1: Percentage of women with 4 or more years of education (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	77.48 [76.27-78.69]	N/a
Free State	79.99 [77.85-82.12]	N/a
Gauteng	92.62 [91.36-93.87]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	79.21 [77.68-80.75]	N/a
Limpopo	66.00 [63.67-68.32]	N/a
Mpumalanga	70.77 [68.48-73.06]	N/a
Northern Cape	79.14 [77.09-81.19]	N/a
North West	77.75 [75.58-79.91]	N/a
Western Cape	91.47 [89.99-92.95]	N/a
RSA	78.99 [78.39-79.59]	N/a

Table 7.2: Percentage of women with 4 or more years of education (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	78.64 [76.26-81.01]	N/a
Free State	79.89 [76.83-82.94]	N/a
Gauteng	92.68 [90.85-94.50]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	73.51 [69.04-77.97]	N/a
Limpopo	65.89 [61.87-69.91]	N/a
Mpumalanga	71.82 [68.56-75.09]	N/a
Northern Cape	78.97 [75.42-82.52]	N/a
North West	77.85 [74.58-81.11]	N/a
Western Cape	91.69 [89.08-94.30]	N/a
RSA	79.94 [78.58-81.31]	N/a

Table 8.1: Percentage of women with secondary or higher education (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	14.38 [13.92-15.46]	N/a
Free State	18.58 [16.39-20.77]	N/a
Gauteng	34.59 [32.19-36.99]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	24.93 [23.20-26.66]	N/a
Limpopo	14.06 [12.21-15.90]	N/a
Mpumalanga	18.53 [16.42-20.64]	N/a
Northern Cape	17.58 [15.54-19.61]	N/a
North West	19.42 [17.24-21.59]	N/a
Western Cape	25.54 [23.12-27.96]	N/a
RSA	20.16 [19.53-20.78]	N/a

Table 8.2: Percentage of women with secondary or higher education (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	15.67 [13.26-18.09]	N/a
Free State	18.51 [14.81-22.21]	N/a
Gauteng	34.71 [30.55-38.87]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	20.06 [16.62-23.51]	N/a
Limpopo	13.94 [10.85-17.03]	N/a
Mpumalanga	19.38 [15.72-23.04]	N/a
Northern Cape	17.54 [13.66-21.43]	N/a
North West	19.62 [15.75-23.50]	N/a
Western Cape	25.76 [21.27-30.25]	N/a
RSA	22.18 [20.74-23.62]	N/a

Table 9.1: Percentage of women with secondary education per age group (without household sample weights)

	1998			2003		
	19-24 years	25-34 years	35-49 years	19-24 years	25-34 years	35-49 years
Eastern Cape	23.78 [20.41-27.15]	24.84 [21.77-27.90]	14.59 [12.32-16.86]	N/a	N/a	N/a
Free State	25.13 [19.08-31.17]	31.27 [26.07-36.47]	17.90 [13.72-22.08]	N/a	N/a	N/a
Gauteng	55.82 [49.64-62.01]	40.76 [35.91-45.61]	30.26 [26.08-34.43]	N/a	N/a	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	43.03 [38.22-47.84]	37.35 [33.38-41.31]	22.80 [19.53-26.06]	N/a	N/a	N/a
Limpopo	18.41 [13.84-22.99]	29.49 [24.42-34.56]	11.76 [8.24-15.28]	N/a	N/a	N/a
Mpumalanga	32.76 [27.38-38.15]	27.90 [22.97-32.83]	12.05 [8.54-15.56]	N/a	N/a	N/a
Northern Cape	31.38 [24.73-38.04]	22.77 [18.20-27.34]	14.58 [11.07-18.08]	N/a	N/a	N/a
North West	34.84 [28.54-41.14]	32.51 [27.39-37.63]	15.17 [11.04-19.31]	N/a	N/a	N/a
Western Cape	50.72 [43.89-57.55]	31.56 [26.46-36.66]	17.94 [13.86-22.03]	N/a	N/a	N/a
RSA	33.84 [32.03-35.64]	30.83 [29.33-32.33]	17.85 [16.67-19.03]	N/a	N/a	N/a

Table 9.2: Percentage of women with secondary education per age group (without household sample weights)

	1998			2003		
	19-24 years	25-34 years	35-49 years	19-24 years	25-34 years	35-49 years
Eastern Cape	25.39 [21.03-29.76]	25.95 [22.11-29.79]	16.11 [12.55-19.67]	N/a	N/a	N/a
Free State	24.99 [17.43-32.54]	31.11 [24.05-38.18]	17.87 [12.75-22.96]	N/a	N/a	N/a
Gauteng	56.06 [49.22-62.90]	40.92 [33.69-48.16]	30.33 [24.51-36.16]	N/a	N/a	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	37.01 [30.73-43.29]	30.54 [24.80-36.28]	18.08 [13.67-22.50]	N/a	N/a	N/a
Limpopo	18.27 [13.04-23.50]	29.33 [22.32-36.34]	11.63 [7.28-15.99]	N/a	N/a	N/a
Mpumalanga	34.14 [26.51-41.77]	28.42 [22.34-34.51]	13.00 [7.71-18.29]	N/a	N/a	N/a
Northern Cape	31.21 [23.07-39.35]	22.82 [16.83-28.80]	14.50 [9.01-20.00]	N/a	N/a	N/a
North West	35.02 [27.40-42.65]	32.77 [24.87-40.66]	15.50 [9.10-21.90]	N/a	N/a	N/a
Western Cape	51.05 [43.05-59.06]	31.94 [24.93-38.93]	18.07 [11.55-24.59]	N/a	N/a	N/a
RSA	37.1 [34.57-39.63]	32.32 [29.80-34.83]	19.62 [17.54-21.70]	N/a	N/a	N/a

Table 10.1: Sex ratio of population with primary school education (older than 15 years)

	1998		2003	
	Without household sample weights	With household sample weights	Without household sample weights	With household sample weights
Eastern Cape	74.42	75.46	N/a	N/a
Free State	98.37	98.22	N/a	N/a
Gauteng	85.09	85.21	N/a	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	92.67	92.33	N/a	N/a
Limpopo	84.29	84.35	N/a	N/a
Mpumalanga	88.93	89.35	N/a	N/a
Northern Cape	88.11	88.20	N/a	N/a
North West	91.24	91.22	N/a	N/a
Western Cape	94.80	94.73	N/a	N/a
RSA	86.60	87.75	N/a	N/a

Table 10.2: Components of the sex ratio of population with primary school education (older than 15 years)²³

	1998			
	Without household sample weight		With household sample weight	
	Denominator: % of women in age group with primary education	Numerator: % of men in age group with primary education	Denominator: % of women in age group with primary education	Numerator: % of men in age group with primary education
Eastern Cape	59.32 [57.91-60.75]	58.99 [57.35-60.63]	61.09 [58.08-64.10]	61.09 [57.88-64.31]
Free State	63.37 [60.80-65.94]	71.04 [68.46-73.62]	63.22 [59.30-67.13]	70.88 [66.76-75.00]
Gauteng	82.53 [80.71-84.35]	84.17 [82.25-86.09]	82.66 [79.96-85.36]	84.30 [81.34-87.26]
KwaZulu-Natal	65.81 [64.02-67.60]	74.31 [72.49-76.13]	58.48 [53.40-63.57]	67.42 [61.84-73.00]
Limpopo	54.27 [51.78-56.67]	69.0 [66.21-71.79]	54.10 [50.09-58.11]	68.91 [65.08-72.73]
Mpumalanga	57.08 [54.59-59.57]	62.38 [59.68-65.08]	58.07 [54.07-62.06]	63.50 [58.76-68.25]
Northern Cape	62.38 [59.94-64.83]	66.35 [63.73-68.97]	62.19 [57.57-66.82]	66.14 [61.29-70.99]
North West	62.68 [60.16-65.19]	64.29 [61.65-66.94]	62.87 [58.62-67.13]	64.49 [59.84-69.15]
Western Cape	78.56 [76.36-80.73]	77.88 [75.63-80.13]	78.91 [74.85-82.97]	78.22 [73.74-82.71]
RSA	64.16 [63.46-64.87]	68.65 [67.89-69.41]	66.09 [64.45-67.73]	71.19 [69.51-72.87]

Table 11.1: Sex ratio of population with secondary school education (older than 19 years)

	1998		2003	
	Without household sample weights	With household sample weights	Without household sample weights	With household sample weights
Eastern Cape	81.83	83.54	N/a	N/a
Free State	115.56	115.45	N/a	N/a
Gauteng	92.16	92.26	N/a	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	103.85	102.66	N/a	N/a
Limpopo	88.54	88.55	N/a	N/a
Mpumalanga	85.54	86.79	N/a	N/a
Northern Cape	96.20	96.23	N/a	N/a
North West	81.78	81.96	N/a	N/a
Western Cape	97.49	97.48	N/a	N/a
RSA	93.45	93.92	N/a	N/a

²³ Since the method of calculation does not allow for confidence intervals for the ratios as such, the component areas are shown with their respective 95 per cent confidence intervals.

Table 11.2: Components of the sex ratio of population with secondary school education (older than 19 years)

	1998			
	Without household sample weight		With household sample weight	
	Denominator: % of women in age group with secondary education	Numerator: % of men in age group with secondary education	Denominator: % of women in age group with secondary education	Numerator: % of men in age group with secondary education
Eastern Cape	14.38 [13.29-15.46]	16.65 [15.28-18.09]	15.67 [13.26-18.09]	18.24 [15.24-21.24]
Free State	18.58 [16.39-20.77]	25.49 [22.81-28.17]	18.51 [14.81-22.21]	25.4 [20.04-30.76]
Gauteng	34.59 [32.19-36.99]	39.61 [36.86-42.35]	34.71 [30.55-38.87]	39.70 [34.88-44.52]
KwaZulu-Natal	24.93 [23.20-26.66]	32.87 [30.76-34.99]	20.06 [16.62-23.51]	27.28 [23.01-31.55]
Limpopo	14.06 [12.21-15.90]	21.60 [18.72-24.48]	13.94 [10.85-17.03]	21.46 [16.96-25.96]
Mpumalanga	18.53 [16.42-20.64]	20.78 [18.26-23.30]	19.38 [15.72-23.05]	21.91 [17.49-26.33]
Northern Cape	17.58 [15.55-19.61]	21.05 [18.62-23.48]	17.54 [13.66-21.43]	21.00 [16.22-25.78]
North West	19.42 [17.42-21.59]	18.88 [16.53-21.22]	19.62 [15.75-23.50]	19.11 [15.11-23.11]
Western Cape	25.54 [23.12-27.96]	27.26 [24.67-29.84]	25.76 [21.27-30.25]	27.51 [22.33-32.69]
RSA	20.16 [19.53-20.78]	24.53 [23.76-25.30]	22.18 [20.74-23.62]	27.00 [25.29-28.71]

Table 12.1: Sex ratio of population with no education, per age group (without household sample weights)

	1998			2003		
	15-24 years	25-49 years	50+ years	15-24 years	25-49 years	50+ years
Eastern Cape	175.00	79.05	45.90	N/a	N/a	N/a
Free State	166.70	66.67	55.00	N/a	N/a	N/a
Gauteng	200.00	43.75	62.79	N/a	N/a	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	85.71	53.85	48.25	N/a	N/a	N/a
Limpopo	50.00	25.55	34.75	N/a	N/a	N/a
Mpumalanga	250.00	52.59	55.96	N/a	N/a	N/a
Northern Cape	90.00	81.25	66.90	N/a	N/a	N/a
North West	77.78	71.83	67.68	N/a	N/a	N/a
Western Cape	300.00	57.14	76.00	N/a	N/a	N/a
RSA	121.80	58.30	50.80	N/a	N/a	N/a

Table 12.2: Sex ratio of population with no education, per age group (with household sample weights)

	1998			2003		
	15-24 years	25-49 years	50+ years	15-24 years	25-49 years	50+ years
Eastern Cape	182.17	78.99	46.16	N/a	N/a	N/a
Free State	171.08	66.58	55.05	N/a	N/a	N/a
Gauteng	200.00	43.75	62.79	N/a	N/a	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	75.91	53.89	51.01	N/a	N/a	N/a
Limpopo	50.00	25.60	34.75	N/a	N/a	N/a
Mpumalanga	269.87	52.91	56.10	N/a	N/a	N/a
Northern Cape	88.46	81.21	67.23	N/a	N/a	N/a
North West	77.44	71.56	67.70	N/a	N/a	N/a
Western Cape	294.92	56.93	74.40	N/a	N/a	N/a
RSA	108.67	52.45	50.69	N/a	N/a	N/a

Table 12.3: Components of the sex ratio of population with no education: 15-24 years

	1998			
	Without household sample weight		With household sample weight	
	Denominator: % of women in age group with no education	Numerator: % of men in age group with no education	Denominator: % of women in age group with no education	Numerator: % of men in age group with no education
Eastern Cape	1.34 [0.69-1.99]	2.26 [1.43-3.09]	1.23 [0.58-1.88]	2.19 [1.34-3.03]
Free State	0.88 [-0.11-1.88]	1.32 [0.17-2.48]	0.88 [-0.11-1.87]	1.36 [0.19-2.54]
Gauteng	0.25 [-0.24-0.73]	0.52 [-0.20-1.24]	0.25 [-0.24-0.73]	0.52 [-0.19-1.22]
KwaZulu-Natal	2.98 [1.73-4.24]	2.41 [1.31-3.51]	3.45 [1.78-5.11]	2.45 [1.03-3.87]
Limpopo	1.97 [0.76-3.18]	1.02 [0.13-1.92]	1.98 [1.62-3.80]	1.03 [0.19-1.87]
Mpumalanga	1.19 [0.24-2.13]	3.16 [1.59-4.74]	1.09 [0.29-1.88]	3.12 [0.90-5.34]
Northern Cape	2.86 [1.11-4.61]	2.57 [0.91-4.23]	2.92 [1.01-4.83]	2.58 [0.8-4.36]
North West	2.44 [0.86-4.02]	1.66 [0.44-2.88]	2.42 [0.99-3.85]	1.64 [0.5-2.79]
Western Cape	0.60 [-0.2-1.45]	1.50 [0.31-2.7]	0.61 [-0.23-1.46]	1.49 [0.34-2.64]
RSA	1.66 [1.29-2.02]	1.94 [1.56-2.33]	1.63 [1.15-2.11]	1.71 [1.28-2.15]

Table 12.4: Components of the sex ratio of population with no education: 25-49 years

	1998			
	Without household sample weight		With household sample weight	
	Denominator: % of women in age group with no education	Numerator: % of men in age group with no education	Denominator: % of women in age group with no education	Numerator: % of men in age group with no education
Eastern Cape	8.72 [7.38-10.06]	8.92 [7.38-10.47]	8.18 [6.48-9.87]	8.20 [6.3-10.1]
Free State	6.66 [4.71-8.6]	4.94 [3.15-6.72]	6.71 [3.69-9.74]	4.98 [3.07-6.89]
Gauteng	3.72 [2.45-4.98]	1.94 [0.93-2.95]	3.68 [2.24-5.13]	1.93 [0.84-3.02]
KwaZulu-Natal	10.75 [9.01-12.5]	7.04 [5.45-8.63]	14.88 [10.39-19.37]	9.98 [6.70-13.25]
Limpopo	21.57 [18.37-24.78]	9.86 [6.75-12.97]	21.64 [16.30-26.97]	9.93 [5.67-14.19]
Mpumalanga	17.82 [14.88-20.76]	11.57 [8.84-14.31]	16.97 [13.59-20.35]	10.98 [7.69-14.26]
Northern Cape	11.17 [8.86-13.48]	11.11 [8.56-13.66]	11.34 [7.48-15.21]	11.29 [7.61-14.97]
North West	11.58 [9.05-14.12]	9.22 [6.81-11.63]	11.51 [7.81-15.20]	9.12 [5.64-12.61]
Western Cape	3.18 [1.84-4.52]	1.89 [0.83-2.96]	3.10 [1.69-4.50]	1.84 [0.65-3.03]
RSA	10.13 [9.45-10.80]	7.25 [6.61-7.90]	10.02 [8.74-11.29]	6.44 [5.51-7.36]

Table 12.5: Components of the sex ratio of population with no education: 50+ years

	1998			
	Without household sample weight		With household sample weight	
	Denominator: % of women in age group with no education	Numerator: % of men in age group with no education	Denominator: % of women in age group with no education	Numerator: % of men in age group with no education
Eastern Cape	36.69 [33.42-37.97]	31.32 [28.28-34.36]	34.07 [29.79-38.36]	29.67 [25.46-33.89]
Free State	36.75 [31.89-41.59]	31.69 [25.82-37.55]	36.89 [30.60-43.18]	31.89 [24.57-39.20]
Gauteng	10.70 [7.67-13.72]	9.44 [6.04-12.84]	10.59 [7.35-13.83]	9.24 [5.42-13.07]
KwaZulu-Natal	32.91 [29.61-36.2]	26.44 [22.44-30.44]	39.86 [33.20-46.52]	36.03 [28.11-43.96]
Limpopo	67.18 [62.86-71.51]	49.07 [42.39-55.76]	67.37 [59.53-75.21]	49.33 [39.50-59.16]
Mpumalanga	60.22 [55.17-65.27]	51.91 [45.51-58.32]	57.97 [49.54-66.39]	50.48 [41.78-59.17]
Northern Cape	31.98 [27.64-36.33]	30.06 [25-35.13]	32.07 [25.97-38.17]	30.21 [23.37-37.05]
North West	37.44 [32.90-41.98]	38.54 [32.91-44.17]	37.32 [31.50-43.15]	38.47 [32.66-44.27]
Western Cape	13.09 [9.7-16.48]	13.57 [9.55-17.59]	12.71 [7.07-18.34]	12.96 [4.90-21.00]
RSA	36.04 [34.75-37.32]	30.37 [28.78-31.96]	34.51 [32.17-36.86]	28.66 [26.06-31.26]

Table 13.1: Percentage of rural women with no media exposure (de facto region) (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	36.97 [34.7-39.25]	N/a
Free State	9.92 [6.3-13.55]	N/a
Gauteng	10.34 [-0.94-21.63]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	28.57 [24.75-32.39]	N/a
Limpopo	21.97 [19.33-24.62]	N/a
Mpumalanga	16.01 [13.32-18.71]	N/a
Northern Cape	15.67 [11.31-20.03]	N/a
North West	14.46 [11.56-17.36]	N/a
Western Cape	7.21 [2.37-12.04]	N/a
RSA	24.72 [23.55-25.90]	N/a

Table 13.2: Percentage of rural women with no media exposure (de facto region) (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	36.95 [33.58-40.38]	N/a
Free State	9.88 [5.76-13.99]	N/a
Gauteng	7.50 [-5.21-20.20]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	28.69 [22.68-34.69]	N/a
Limpopo	21.98 [17.84-26.12]	N/a
Mpumalanga	16.04 [11.71-20.38]	N/a
Northern Cape	15.68 [10.07-21.28]	N/a
North West	14.45 [10.25-18.65]	N/a
Western Cape	7.19 [-0.68-15.05]	N/a
RSA	23.54 [21.37-25.71]	N/a

Table 14.1: Percentage of women who have discussed desired number of children with husband (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	3.97 [2.89-5.04]	N/a
Free State	11.07 [8.43-13.70]	N/a
Gauteng	8.29 [6.09-10.5]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	5.78 [4.24-7.32]	N/a
Limpopo	4.29 [2.7-5.87]	N/a
Mpumalanga	8.75 [6.31-11.20]	N/a
Northern Cape	4.34 [2.64-6.04]	N/a
North West	10.72 [7.79-13.65]	N/a
Western Cape	5.26 [3.29-7.23]	N/a
RSA	6.42 [5.79-7.04]	N/a

Table 14.2: Percentage of women who have discussed desired number of children with husband (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	4.26 [3.01-5.51]	N/a
Free State	11.01 [7.36-14.67]	N/a
Gauteng	8.19 [5.93-10.46]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	5.36 [3.97-6.75]	N/a
Limpopo	4.29 [2.5-6.09]	N/a
Mpumalanga	9.24 [6.75-11.73]	N/a
Northern Cape	4.35 [2.72-5.97]	N/a
North West	10.88 [7.50-14.25]	N/a
Western Cape	5.25 [3.31-7.19]	N/a
RSA	6.79 [5.99-7.58]	N/a

Table 15.1: Percentage of women being employed ('currently working' de facto population) (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	20.92 [19.4-22.45]	18.61 [15.22-22.01]
Free State	38.89 [35.76-42.01]	28.39 [25.24-31.54]
Gauteng	38.88 [35.93-41.83]	36.71 [33.16-40.25]
KwaZulu-Natal	32.91 [30.75-35.07]	38.24 [35.49-40.99]
Limpopo	20.39 [18.04-22.74]	18.40 [15.68-21.13]
Mpumalanga	29.32 [26.66-31.98]	27.63 [24.47-30.79]
Northern Cape	33.78 [30.90-36.67]	28.76 [25.56-31.95]
North West	26.86 [24.01-29.71]	22.04 [19.06-25.02]
Western Cape	51.64 [48.4-54.89]	47.94 [44.25-51.63]
RSA	30.62 [29.78-31.45]	30.37 [29.29-31.45]

Table 15.2: Percentage of women being employed ('currently working' de facto population) (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	22.67 [19.77-25.55]	20.72 [15.75-25.70]
Free State	38.98 [34.1-43.87]	28.58 [24.43-32.73]
Gauteng	38.88 [34.69-43.07]	35.94 [31.95-39.94]
KwaZulu-Natal	29.98 [25.66-34.30]	34.14 [28.61-39.68]
Limpopo	20.26 [16.23-24.30]	19.95 [15.52-24.39]
Mpumalanga	29.86 [26.22-33.50]	28.45 [23.39-33.51]
Northern Cape	33.83 [28.20-39.46]	29.40 [25.58-33.22]
North West	27.05 [22.25-31.86]	22.70 [18.20-27.20]
Western Cape	51.55 [47.71-55.39]	46.87 [42.40-51.35]
RSA	32.48 [30.88-34.08]	31.46 [29.74-33.18]

Table 16.1: Percentage of women employed without cash earnings (without household sample weights)²⁴

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	3.48 [1.98-4.99]	0 [-]
Free State	1.11 [0.02-2.18]	7.80 [4.23-11.37]
Gauteng	1.96 [0.61-3.30]	3.88 [1.51-6.24]
KwaZulu-Natal	2.35 [1.13-3.57]	2.18 [0.84-3.52]
Limpopo	7.42 [4.01-10.8]	18.71 [12.20-25.21]
Mpumalanga	1.84 [0.38-3.30]	4.27 [1.53-7.00]
Northern Cape	3.70 [1.72-5.68]	1.82 [0.05-3.59]
North West	4.44 [1.87-7.00]	4.91 [1.58-8.24]
Western Cape	0.64 [-0.08-0.13]	4.79 [2.50-7.09]
RSA	2.69 [2.16-3.22]	4.77 [3.86-5.68]

Table 16.2: Percentage of women employed without cash earnings (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	3.48 [1.63-5.32]	0 [-]
Free State	1.11 [0.03-2.17]	8.65 [4.74-12.56]
Gauteng	1.94 [0.51-3.36]	4.19 [1.57-6.81]
KwaZulu-Natal	2.40 [1.19-3.57]	1.43 [0.04-2.82]
Limpopo	7.50 [3.08-11.93]	18.50 [12.24-24.75]
Mpumalanga	1.88 [-0.09-3.85]	4.12 [1.49-6.76]
Northern Cape	3.67 [1.3-6.04]	1.78 [0.04-3.53]
North West	4.51 [1.48-7.55]	4.52 [1.06-7.98]
Western Cape	0.65 [-0.08-1.38]	3.66 [1.57-5.74]
RSA	2.48 [1.86-3.10]	4.47 [3.37-5.57]

²⁴ The 1998 questionnaire offered only the choices of 'yes' and 'no', whereas the 2003 questionnaire refined this question and distinguished between 'cash only', 'cash and in kind', 'in kind', and 'not paid'. The pronounced increase in the percentage of women working without cash earnings between the two years may therefore be due to an undercounting in 1998.

Table 17.1: Labour force participation, by level of education (percentage) (without household sample weights)

	1998				2003			
	None	Primary school	Secondary school	Higher	None	Primary school	Secondary school	Higher
Eastern Cape	17.33 [11.25-23.42]	16.21 [12.20-20.21]	38.06 [32.45-43.67]	56.40 [48.95-63.84]	6.25 [-6.04-18.54]	20.93 [8.60-33.26]	16.92 [7.73-26.12]	69.44 [54.15-84.74]
Free State	54.76 [39.50-70.02]	32.94 [22.88-43.00]	51.08 [42.73-59.43]	66.67 [54.91-78.42]	36.36 [19.64-53.09]	26.47 [15.88-37.06]	31.21 [23.52-38.89]	37.74 [24.53-50.94]
Gauteng	25.81 [10.12-41.49]	38.57 [27.07-50.07]	43.39 [37.13-49.65]	58.25 [48.67-67.84]	35.14 [19.48-50.79]	34.09 [19.89-48.29]	47.37 [40.24-54.49]	60.44 [50.32-70.56]
KwaZulu-Natal	19.01 [12.53-23.50]	29.71 [22.05-37.37]	43.58 [38.43-48.72]	63.23 [55.6-70.85]	27.27 [8.15-46.39]	45.10 [31.27-58.92]	45.23 [40.63-49.84]	67.86 [60.08-75.64]
Limpopo	22.14 [15.23-29.06]	13.54 [6.65-20.43]	29.66 [21.38-37.94]	48.00 [36.6-59.4]	28.89 [15.45-42.33]	4.84 [-0.56-10.24]	23.20 [15.76-30.64]	54.72 [41.16-68.27]
Mpumalanga	34.43 [25.95-42.90]	33.73 [23.49-43.98]	34.42 [26.88-41.95]	50.70 [38.98-62.43]	33.33 [19.35-47.31]	20.90 [11.06-30.73]	33.81 [25.91-41.71]	70.77 [59.60-81.94]
Northern Cape	41.86 [31.36-52.36]	22.58 [15.18-29.98]	49.30 [41.04-57.55]	75.47 [63.76-87.18]	26.76 [16.35-37.19]	25.00 [14.90-35.10]	36.21 [27.42-45.00]	64.15 [51.09-77.21]
North West	26.03 [15.88-36.18]	25.27 [16.29-34.26]	28.37 [20.9-35.84]	53.33 [41.95-64.72]	19.23 [8.37-30.09]	26.15 [15.36-36.95]	27.59 [20.28-34.89]	54.90 [41.08-68.72]
Western Cape	36.84 [14.52-59.16]	46.43 [35.69-57.17]	59.04 [51.53-66.54]	62.64 [52.63-72.65]	41.67 [12.43-70.91]	54.76 [39.49-70.03]	62.65 [55.26-70.04]	74.51 [62.41-86.61]
RSA	27.20 [24.12-30.29]	25.50 [22.92-28.08]	42.20 [39.88-44.51]	58.97 [55.68-62.27]	28.23 [23.27-33.09]	27.24 [23.38-31.10]	39.73 [37.28-42.18]	62.39 [58.48-66.30]

Table 17.2: Labour force participation, by level of education (percentage) (with household sample weights)²⁵

	1998				2003			
	None	Primary school	Secondary school	Higher	None	Primary school	Secondary school	Higher
Eastern Cape	18.97 [11.19-26.75]	17.25 [12.08-22.42]	40.52 [33.98-47.06]	56.96 [48.66-65.26]	4.93 [-5.27-15.14]	26.94 [7.39-46.49]	18.71 [9.82-27.60]	68.46 [50.45-86.47]
Free State	55.36 [38.55-72.18]	33.22 [21.65-44.78]	51.12 [41.41-60.83]	66.67 [54.25-79.08]	32.48 [11.62-53.35]	25.78 [14.80-36.75]	33.28 [24.00-42.56]	37.54 [24.69-50.40]
Gauteng	25.81 [8.85-42.76]	38.31 [26.63-49.99]	43.41 [36.55-50.27]	58.18 [47.93-68.43]	36.75 [18.44-55.05]	36.10 [19.16-53.05]	44.55 [37.55-51.54]	59.01 [45.17-72.84]
KwaZulu-Natal	17.65 [8.73-26.56]	28.10 [19.73-36.47]	41.10 [34.67-47.52]	63.11 [53.79-72.42]	26.13 [3.85-48.42]	34.79 [19.47-50.10]	40.16 [34.06-46.25]	76.00 [64.12-87.88]
Limpopo	22.00 [12.53-31.48]	13.48 [6.36-20.61]	29.35 [18.69-40.01]	47.93 [34.76-61.10]	28.84 [10.38-47.30]	4.40 [-0.30-9.10]	25.53 [17.25-33.82]	57.26 [42.26-72.26]
Mpumalanga	33.95 [24.37-43.53]	34.52 [24.29-44.75]	35.47 [26.85-44.08]	50.96 [40.36-61.56]	34.49 [21.72-47.27]	20.87 [10.03-31.71]	35.00 [28.11-41.90]	71.63 [58.22-85.04]
Northern Cape	42.15 [25.21-59.21]	22.66 [12.40-32.93]	49.38 [40.22-58.54]	75.43 [62.00-88.87]	25.74 [14.65-36.82]	25.47 [16.54-34.41]	37.47 [28.04-46.88]	64.79 [49.75-79.84]
North West	25.72 [13.67-37.77]	25.13 [16.05-34.21]	28.62 [19.39-37.85]	53.83 [42.96-64.70]	18.76 [6.67-30.84]	27.22 [15.47-38.97]	28.37 [19.98-36.78]	56.35 [41.87-70.83]
Western Cape	36.80 [12.15-61.45]	46.35 [36.21-56.47]	59.20 [50.49-67.91]	62.52 [51.54-73.71]	42.98 [10.06-75.89]	55.83 [38.46-73.19]	62.18 [53.62-70.74]	72.89 [60.79-85.01]
RSA	24.72 [20.33-29.12]	28.49 [25.20-31.78]	42.47 [39.40-45.55]	58.39 [54.31-62.47]	29.40 [21.65-37.14]	29.95 [24.13-35.78]	40.22 [37.09-43.34]	63.36 [57.16-69.55]

²⁵ This indicator can be interpreted as either an education profile of the working group, or as the employment profile per education level. The latter interpretation was chosen for this study.

Table 18.1: Labour force participation, by socio-economic status (percentage) (without household sample weights)

	1998				2003			
	Low API	Medium API	Medium-high API	High API	Low API	Medium API	Medium-high API	High API
Eastern Cape	3.45 [0.92-5.98]	14.19 [12.47-15.90]	30.39 [26.98-33.79]	55.66 [48.95-62.37]	6.67 [-0.85-14.19]	15.12 [10.73-19.50]	24.28 [17.87-30.69]	50.00 [24.67-75.33]
Free State	-	31.62 [26.75-36.50]	36.41 [31.75-41.06]	61.68 [54.28-69.08]	0	28.31 [22.94-33.68]	27.53 [23.28-31.78]	36.62 [25.32-47.92]
Gauteng	-	29.13 [22.91-35.35]	34.54 [30.47-38.62]	52.17 [46.5-57.85]	-	23.08 [16.44-29.71]	33.24 [28.31-38.17]	53.59 [46.30-60.88]
KwaZulu-Natal	10.81 [0.62-21.00]	22.64 [19.31-25.98]	30.94 [27.54-34.34]	54.36 [49.41-59.31]	33.33 [-33.32-99.99]	24.53 [19.82-29.24]	36.04 [31.63-40.46]	51.47 [46.61-56.33]
Limpopo	25.00 [-7.23-57.23]	16.10 [13.26-18.94]	20.97 [16.82-25.11]	52.94 [40.98-64.90]	0	17.73 [14.15-21.30]	17.59 [13.32-21.86]	44.00 [24.12-63.88]
Mpumalanga	-	28.21 [23.98-32.44]	29.15 [25.5-32.8]	42.42 [30.4-54.45]	50.00 [-49.98-149.98]	25.70 [20.26-31.14]	25.40 [21.31-29.49]	44.44 [33.54-55.34]
Northern Cape	-	29.31 [24.52-34.10]	29.70 [25.56-33.85]	50.46 [43.77-57.15]	0	23.85 [18.18-29.53]	28.19 [23.64-32.75]	39.51 [31.95-47.06]
North West	-	20.40 [16.16-24.64]	25.11 [21.2-29.01]	58.70 [46.57-68.81]	-	18.18 [13.52-22.85]	19.85 [15.95-23.75]	50.74 [38.67-62.82]
Western Cape	-	37.84 [30.00-45.68]	49.34 [44.76-53.92]	61.69 [56.13-67.26]	-	43.00 [33.24-52.76]	43.18 [38.04-48.31]	59.28 [52.78-65.77]
RSA	5.17 [2.42-7.94]	21.14 [19.98-22.32]	31.80 [30.47-33.13]	55.29 [52.99-57.59]	8.06 [1.09-15.04]	22.64 [20.92-24.36]	28.78 [27.23-30.33]	50.08 [47.29-52.88]

Table 18.2: Labour force participation, by socio-economic status (percentage) (with household sample weights)

	1998				2003			
	Low API	Medium API	Medium-high API	High API	Low API	Medium API	Medium-high API	High API
Eastern Cape	3.45 [-]	14.83 [12.09-17.58]	30.93 [26.64-35.21]	55.86 [47.51-64.20]	6.63 [-]	16.83 [11.84-21.82]	24.76 [16.68-32.85]	50.00 [18.24-81.67]
Free State	-	31.99 [24.14-39.85]	36.46 [31.48-41.45]	61.67 [52.88-70.46]	-	28.86 [22.87-34.83]	27.46 [22.14-32.78]	37.05 [26.43-47.66]
Gauteng	-	28.99 [21.96-36.02]	34.47 [30.28-38.67]	52.30 [45.64-58.95]	-	23.49 [17.57-29.41]	32.95 [28.96-36.94]	53.71 [46.36-61.06]
KwaZulu-Natal	10.81 [-]	21.76 [15.72-27.79]	29.74 [25.89-33.60]	54.87 [48.47-61.28]	33.33 [-]	24.42 [17.04-31.79]	34.72 [28.61-40.84]	50.45 [39.71-61.19]
Limpopo	25.00 [-]	16.11 [11.87-20.35]	20.84 [15.70-25.98]	52.93 [38.45-67.42]	-	18.83 [13.58-24.08]	18.93 [13.61-24.25]	44.16 [17.03-71.29]
Mpumalanga	-	28.25 [21.88-34.62]	29.90 [25.31-34.48]	42.37 [30.41-54.33]	56.40 [-]	26.45 [17.78-35.13]	25.87 [21.22-30.52]	44.65 [32.50-56.80]
Northern Cape	-	29.47 [20.22-38.72]	29.76 [25.48-34.04]	50.41 [40.62-60.19]	-	22.50 [15.52-29.49]	29.47 [25.06-33.87]	40.09 [31.50-48.67]
North West	-	20.38 [15.84-24.93]	25.14 [19.75-30.53]	58.84 [47.06-70.63]	-	18.08 [11.29-24.87]	20.50 [15.30-25.69]	50.65 [41.22-60.09]
Western Cape	-	37.45 [29.78-45.13]	49.06 [43.94-54.19]	61.80 [55.51-68.09]	-	43.77 [33.25-54.30]	43.06 [37.84-48.27]	57.31 [51.14-63.48]
RSA	7.48 [-]	22.10 [20.03-24.16]	32.67 [30.92-34.42]	55.44 [52.30-58.58]	8.74 [-]	22.97 [20.54-25.40]	30.56 [28.61-32.51]	51.90 [47.86-55.93]

Table 19.1: Percentage of working women working in modern occupations (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	27.23 [23.58-30.87]	47.87 [37.71-58.03]
Free State	25.69 [21.18-30.20]	22.69 [17.08-28.29]
Gauteng	33.09 [28.52-37.66]	46.06 [39.92-52.21]
KwaZulu-Natal	28.52 [24.89-32.15]	56.39 [51.82-60.96]
Limpopo	26.99 [21.19-32.79]	29.71 [22.05-37.37]
Mpumalanga	17.24 [13.09-21.39]	37.14 [30.59-43.70]
Northern Cape	30.32 [25.45-35.19]	42.45 [35.77-49.13]
North West	27.53 [21.96-33.11]	31.06 [23.88-38.23]
Western Cape	24.36 [20.47-28.24]	36.75 [31.55-41.94]
RSA	26.99 [25.53-28.47]	40.95 [38.82-43.07]

Table 19.2: Percentage of working women working in modern occupations (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	27.74 [22.82-32.65]	48.74 [38.05-59.43]
Free State	25.32 [19.14-31.50]	24.77 [16.19-33.36]
Gauteng	33.21 [27.75-38.67]	43.34 [36.51-50.17]
KwaZulu-Natal	25.02 [20.25-29.27]	53.62 [46.48-60.75]
Limpopo	26.77 [19.46-34.07]	31.59 [21.36-41.82]
Mpumalanga	18.16 [12.49-23.83]	37.14 [26.06-48.23]
Northern Cape	30.08 [22.81-37.35]	44.88 [36.61-53.15]
North West	28.20 [20.18-36.22]	31.98 [23.05-40.90]
Western Cape	24.75 [18.98-30.52]	33.53 [27.07-40.01]
RSA	27.40 [25.17-29.63]	40.98 [37.80-44.16]

Table 20.1: Percentage of women with primary education and working in modern or mixed occupations (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	16.78 [15.38-18.17]	64.89 [55.19-74.60]
Free State	28.91 [26.00-31.82]	50.93 [44.24-57.61]
Gauteng	34.72 [31.85-37.60]	67.32 [61.54-73.11]
KwaZulu-Natal	27.43 [25.38-29.48]	82.16 [78.63-85.69]
Limpopo	13.50 [11.51-15.50]	56.52 [48.22-64.83]
Mpumalanga	17.66 [15.43-19.90]	53.81 [47.05-60.57]
Northern Cape	23.16 [20.58-25.73]	55.66 [48.95-62.37]
North West	20.99 [18.37-23.61]	55.28 [47.57-62.99]
Western Cape	42.75 [39.54-45.95]	61.14 [55.89-66.40]
RSA	23.72 [22.95-24.50]	63.54 [61.47-65.62]

Table 20.2: Percentage of women with primary education and working in modern or mixed occupations (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	18.39 [15.72-21.06]	67.76 [57.21-78.31]
Free State	28.89 [24.60-33.18]	52.75 [43.67-61.83]
Gauteng	34.73 [30.87-38.58]	64.39 [57.17-71.62]
KwaZulu-Natal	23.46 [19.79-27.13]	73.27 [66.91-79.64]
Limpopo	13.39 [10.29-16.49]	58.62 [45.84-71.40]
Mpumalanga	18.27 [15.20-21.33]	54.54 [43.72-65.36]
Northern Cape	23.07 [18.96-27.21]	58.61 [50.57-60.67]
North West	21.30 [17.15-25.46]	56.67 [45.30-68.04]
Western Cape	42.80 [38.78-46.83]	58.84 [51.26-66.43]
RSA	25.89 [24.46-27.32]	63.09 [59.79-66.39]

Table 21.1: Percentage of working women providing childcare while working (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	17.27 [12.81-21.72]	N/a
Free State	6.20 [2.02-10.38]	N/a
Gauteng	12.33 [6.97-17.68]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	8.79 [5.19-12.39]	N/a
Limpopo	19.83 [12.69-26.97]	N/a
Mpumalanga	20.11 [14.22-26.00]	N/a
Northern Cape	8.50 [4.06-12.93]	N/a
North West	7.27 [2.39-12.15]	N/a
Western Cape	7.29 [3.6-10.98]	N/a
RSA	12.28 [10.64-13.92]	N/a

Table 21.2: Percentage of working women providing childcare while working (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	15.98 [10.84-21.12]	N/a
Free State	6.23 [2.23-10.22]	N/a
Gauteng	12.33 [6.66-17.99]	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	9.60 [5.24-13.97]	N/a
Limpopo	20.02 [11.83-28.21]	N/a
Mpumalanga	20.16 [14.98-25.35]	N/a
Northern Cape	8.74 [3.40-14.08]	N/a
North West	7.16 [2.65-11.66]	N/a
Western Cape	7.13 [3.42-10.84]	N/a
RSA	11.86 [9.91-13.82]	N/a

Table 22.1: Dependency ratio²⁶

	1998		2003	
	Without household sample weights	With household sample weights	Without household sample weights	With household sample weights
Eastern Cape	1.26	1.20	N/a	N/a
Free State	0.76	0.76	N/a	N/a
Gauteng	0.66	0.66	N/a	N/a
KwaZulu-Natal	0.86	0.97	N/a	N/a
Limpopo	1.07	1.08	N/a	N/a
Mpumalanga	0.90	0.88	N/a	N/a
Northern Cape	0.89	0.89	N/a	N/a
North West	0.90	0.90	N/a	N/a
Western Cape	0.74	0.74	N/a	N/a
RSA	0.94	0.89	N/a	N/a

Table 22.2: Components of the dependency ratio²⁷

	1998			
	Without household sample weight		With household sample weight	
	Denominator: women aged 15 to 49	Numerator: dependents	Denominator: women aged 15 to 49	Numerator: Dependents
Eastern Cape	53.12 [51.79-54.44]	25.25 [24.54-25.69]	53.08 [51.71-54.45]	24.81 [23.93-25.69]
Free State	50.73 [48.49-52.96]	19.00 [17.77-20.22]	50.76 [48.82-52.70]	19.03 [17.68-20.37]
Gauteng	53.23 [51.22-55.23]	18.74 [17.60-19.89]	53.25 [51.59-54.91]	18.74 [17.46-20.02]
KwaZulu-Natal	52.31 [50.69-53.92]	20.96 [20.06-21.86]	52.54 [50.35-54.73]	22.34 [20.92-23.76]
Limpopo	57.58 [55.41-59.75]	24.72 [23.52-25.92]	57.57 [55.72-59.43]	24.74 [23.41-26.07]
Mpumalanga	53.50 [51.40-55.60]	22.52 [21.32-23.73]	53.35 [51.52-55.18]	22.27 [20.97-23.58]
Northern Cape	53.24 [51.06-55.42]	22.43 [21.17-23.68]	53.22 [51.47-54.98]	22.43 [20.91-23.96]
North West	49.97 [47.76-52.18]	20.81 [19.59-22.03]	49.98 [47.91-52.05]	20.78 [19.45-22.11]
Western Cape	48.99 [46.83-51.14]	18.86 [17.64-20.07]	48.97 [47.18-50.77]	18.85 [17.22-20.49]
RSA	52.61 [51.97-53.24]	20.24 [21.88-22.59]	52.63 [51.93-53.33]	21.67 [21.16-22.17]

²⁶ The dependency ratio is defined as number of persons aged younger than 5 years and older than 60 years, per women aged 15 to 49 years. This differs from the dependency ratio calculations used in Paper I (Booyesen-Wolthers, 2007a:30) as a result of differences in the age group parameters, differing definitions of the provider group, and different data sources.

²⁷ Since the method of calculation does not allow for confidence intervals for the ratios as such, the component areas are shown with their respective 95 per cent confidence intervals.

Table 23.1: Percentage of women ever married and aged 15 to 19 years (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	4.65 [3.05-6.26]	4.07 [5.58-7.57]
Free State	4.79 [1.54-8.04]	4.65 [1.49-7.81]
Gauteng	1.94 [-0.24-4.11]	5.61 [1.22-9.99]
KwaZulu-Natal	2.33 [7.30-3.92]	0.89 [-0.34-2.13]
Limpopo	10.55 [6.91-14.18]	8.30 [4.71-11.19]
Mpumalanga	3.00 [0.94-5.05]	5.52 [2.01-9.04]
Northern Cape	2.78 [3.69-5.19]	4.79 [1.54-8.04]
North West	0.59 [-0.57-1.75]	1.47 [-0.56-3.50]
Western Cape	4.67 [1.28-8.06]	5.43 [1.50-9.35]
RSA	4.21 [3.41-5.02]	4.55 [3.48-5.63]

Table 23.2: Percentage of women ever married and aged 15 to 19 years (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	4.23 [2.34-6.11]	3.23 [0.02-6.43]
Free State	4.85 [1.77-7.92]	4.19 [1.21-7.16]
Gauteng	1.90 [-0.25-4.05]	5.84 [1.17-10.52]
KwaZulu-Natal	2.90 [0.57-5.23]	0.13 [-0.06-0.33]
Limpopo	10.59 [5.36-15.81]	8.09 [4.70-11.48]
Mpumalanga	2.96 [0.78-5.13]	5.36 [1.98-8.74]
Northern Cape	2.86 [3.12-5.40]	4.21 [1.17-7.24]
North West	0.57 [-0.52-1.66]	1.53 [-0.59-3.65]
Western Cape	4.36 [3.79-8.35]	5.54 [1.88-9.20]
RSA	4.12 [3.02-5.22]	4.38 [3.11-5.65]

Table 24.1: Percentage of women aged 15 to 19 years having given birth (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	15.47 [12.72-18.21]	8.13 [3.28-12.98]
Free State	8.38 [4.17-12.60]	13.95 [8.76-19.15]
Gauteng	9.03 [4.50-13.56]	11.21 [5.20-17.23]
KwaZulu-Natal	13.66 [10.02-17.30]	1.34 [-0.17-2.85]
Limpopo	14.91 [10.69-19.13]	14.85 [10.23-19.47]
Mpumalanga	19.48 [14.71-24.24]	12.88 [7.72-18.05]
Northern Cape	15.00 [9.77-20.23]	13.17 [8.02-18.32]
North West	11.24 [6.46-16.02]	10.29 [5.16-15.42]
Western Cape	14.00 [8.43-19.57]	10.08 [4.86-15.30]
RSA	14.24 [12.84-15.65]	10.55 [8.97-12.13]

Table 24.2: Percentage of women aged 15 to 19 years having given birth (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	14.82 [12.02-17.63]	7.53 [3.05-12.00]
Free State	8.42 [3.64-13.19]	12.33 [7.69-16.97]
Gauteng	8.87 [4.53-13.20]	11.20 [5.06-17.33]
KwaZulu-Natal	13.77 [9.33-18.20]	1.75 [-0.41-3.91]
Limpopo	14.92 [10.45-19.38]	14.11 [8.71-19.50]
Mpumalanga	18.80 [13.18-24.43]	12.25 [7.36-17.13]
Northern Cape	15.17 [9.45-20.09]	12.91 [7.62-18.19]
North West	11.03 [7.02-15.04]	10.52 [5.45-15.60]
Western Cape	13.74 [8.44-19.04]	10.51 [4.81-16.22]
RSA	13.21 [11.59-14.82]	9.63 [7.76-11.50]

Table 25.1: Percentage of women who have had their first births before age 20, by age group (without household sample weights)

	1998			2003		
	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years
Eastern Cape	60.07 [56.06-64.07]	44.79 [41.05-48.53]	37.10 [32.88-41.33]	50.00 [40.04-59.69]	44.66 [35.01-54.31]	41.07 [31.91-50.23]
Free State	57.44 [50.48-64.40]	48.58 [42.74-54.43]	42.51 [34.99-50.40]	52.66 [45.11-60.22]	44.38 [36.86-51.90]	49.68 [41.83-57.53]
Gauteng	48.33 [42.00-54.67]	46.26 [40.42-52.11]	41.81 [35.45-48.17]	52.55 [44.15-60.95]	41.88 [34.86-48.91]	49.69 [41.88-57.49]
KwaZulu-Natal	59.48 [54.79-64.17]	45.45 [41.01-49.90]	39.51 [34.17-44.84]	48.08 [40.20-55.95]	26.91 [21.89-31.93]	28.46 [22.88-34.03]
Limpopo	66.67 [61.48-71.86]	59.79 [54.15-65.44]	46.79 [38.94-54.65]	63.24 [56.27-70.22]	57.74 [50.24-65.24]	50.83 [41.84-59.82]
Mpumalanga	70.32 [65.23-75.42]	59.44 [53.32-65.55]	59.18 [52.28-66.09]	64.48 [57.52-71.44]	48.53 [41.65-55.41]	54.48 [46.01-62.95]
Northern Cape	53.44 [47.21-59.68]	45.88 [40.02-51.74]	43.26 [36.61-49.90]	50.34 [42.17-58.52]	36.41 [29.44-43.39]	45.30 [38.03-52.58]
North West	54.92 [48.66-61.77]	46.34 [40.09-52.59]	46.50 [38.66-54.33]	50.63 [42.85-58.40]	48.99 [42.00-55.98]	46.09 [37.42-54.77]
Western Cape	52.83 [45.04-60.62]	41.20 [35.28-47.11]	38.65 [31.15-46.15]	54.62 [45.63-63.61]	40.41 [33.47-47.36]	29.68 [22.46-36.90]
RSA	59.20 [57.35-61.05]	47.91 [46.14-49.68]	42.62 [40.51-44.73]	54.66 [52.00-57.32]	42.08 [39.74-44.42]	42.60 [40.01-45.20]

Table 25.2: Percentage of women who have had their first births before age 20, by age group (with household sample weights)

	1998			2003		
	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years
Eastern Cape	59.48 [55.19-63.77]	43.95 [40.00-47.90]	37.31 [32.76-41.85]	46.57 [36.24-56.90]	44.52 [35.04-54.00]	44.95 [35.44-54.46]
Free State	57.36 [48.32-66.40]	48.78 [42.02-55.54]	42.63 [34.84-50.42]	53.25 [43.29-63.21]	42.66 [35.73-49.59]	51.60 [43.64-59.55]
Gauteng	48.24 [41.02-55.47]	46.22 [40.13-52.32]	42.11 [34.72-49.51]	53.36 [44.18-62.55]	41.87 [35.34-48.40]	52.82 [43.32-62.32]
KwaZulu-Natal	60.77 [55.08-66.46]	47.52 [41.86-53.19]	38.74 [31.51-45.96]	54.21 [43.40-65.03]	30.49 [24.56-36.22]	28.58 [21.15-36.01]
Limpopo	66.68 [60.16-73.19]	59.82 [53.81-65.83]	46.70 [36.68-56.72]	62.50 [54.88-70.13]	57.77 [48.86-66.68]	49.86 [39.59-60.13]
Mpumalanga	70.18 [64.87-75.49]	58.54 [51.92-65.16]	59.16 [51.65-66.67]	64.06 [57.26-70.87]	48.93 [41.91-55.95]	53.67 [43.14-64.20]
Northern Cape	53.50 [46.31-60.70]	46.01 [39.32-52.70]	43.15 [35.69-50.61]	49.32 [40.29-58.35]	34.37 [27.46-41.27]	44.76 [37.95-51.57]
North West	54.74 [48.12-61.35]	46.24 [39.81-52.67]	46.22 [38.86-53.58]	50.89 [43.99-57.79]	49.43 [41.81-57.05]	45.69 [37.08-54.31]
Western Cape	52.38 [42.52-62.23]	40.93 [34.79-47.06]	38.68 [30.76-46.60]	55.26 [46.48-64.02]	39.90 [32.10-47.71]	29.93 [22.59-37.26]
RSA	58.02 [55.52-60.53]	47.99 [45.77-50.21]	42.34 [39.46-42.22]	54.69 [51.20-58.17]	42.53 [39.70-45.35]	44.23 [40.46-47.90]

Table 26.1: Percentage of women who have equal or higher education than their husbands (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	79.01 [76.53-81.50]	73.15 [66.01-80.30]
Free State	71.79 [67.53-76.06]	74.58 [69.60-79.56]
Gauteng	73.52 [69.62-77.43]	68.28 [63.09-73.48]
KwaZulu-Natal	73.31 [70.10-76.53]	75.24 [71.54-78.94]
Limpopo	69.78 [65.88-73.69]	67.57 [62.22-72.91]
Mpumalanga	65.71 [61.14-70.27]	70.98 [65.71-76.25]
Northern Cape	74.58 [70.68-78.48]	68.28 [63.09-73.48]
North West	77.43 [73.04-81.82]	71.22 [65.00-77.44]
Western Cape	76.96 [72.87-81.05]	77.23 [72.66-81.80]
RSA	74.10 [72.87-75.33]	72.10 [70.41-73.79]

Table 26.2: Percentage of women who have equal or higher education than their husbands (with household weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	78.79 [76.28-81.31]	71.88 [64.27-79.50]
Free State	71.78 [67.22-76.34]	73.32 [68.53-78.11]
Gauteng	73.33 [69.73-76.93]	68.47 [63.21-73.72]
KwaZulu-Natal	73.07 [69.03-77.11]	78.87 [73.77-83.98]
Limpopo	69.72 [66.12-73.23]	67.52 [62.19-72.85]
Mpumalanga	65.64 [61.16-70.12]	70.37 [65.52-75.20]
Northern Cape	74.59 [70.61-78.56]	68.81 [64.41-73.48]
North West	77.41 [72.58-82.25]	71.85 [65.84-77.85]
Western Cape	77.02 [72.91-81.13]	78.94 [74.08-83.82]
RSA	73.59 [72.13-75.05]	72.45 [70.82-74.62]

Table 27.1: Percentage of wives who work for cash and have the same level of education as their husbands (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	46.67 [40.86-52.47]	52.50 [36.81-68.19]
Free State	52.63 [46.13-59.13]	46.15 [37.07-55.23]
Gauteng	51.98 [45.80-58.17]	43.23 [35.39-51.06]
KwaZulu-Natal	50.64 [45.08-56.20]	58.06 [52.26-63.87]
Limpopo	46.31 [38.27-54.35]	30.43 [20.97-39.90]
Mpumalanga	36.77 [29.15-44.39]	53.64 [44.27-63.01]
Northern Cape	48.88 [42.30-55.46]	45.83 [36.87-54.74]
North West	42.41 [34.67-50.14]	43.82 [33.44-54.20]
Western Cape	59.84 [53.80-65.87]	47.62 [40.84-54.40]
RSA	49.40 [47.22-51.59]	48.27 [45.45-51.08]

Table 27.2: Percentage of wives who work for cash and have the same level of education as their husbands (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	46.80 [41.02-52.58]	51.99 [36.68-67.31]
Free State	52.55 [45.48-59.61]	47.22 [37.98-56.47]
Gauteng	51.77 [44.54-58.99]	40.98 [30.99-50.98]
KwaZulu-Natal	49.76 [43.80-55.72]	68.37 [61.01-75.73]
Limpopo	46.23 [39.27-53.19]	30.06 [19.92-40.21]
Mpumalanga	36.71 [29.20-44.21]	54.46 [43.10-65.83]
Northern Cape	48.89 [42.43-55.35]	45.13 [36.37-53.89]
North West	42.57 [34.09-51.05]	45.12 [35.02-55.21]
Western Cape	59.85 [53.68-66.02]	48.73 [41.90-55.56]
RSA	50.34 [47.60-53.08]	48.17 [44.05-52.29]

Table 28.1: Percentage of wives, with husbands working in modern occupations, with and without employment (without household sample weights)

	1998		2003	
	Employed	Not employed	Employed	Not employed
Eastern Cape	55.70 [44.65-66.74]	44.30	62.50 [37.95-87.10]	37.50
Free State	60.00 [47.97-72.03]	40.00	44.83 [31.89-57.77]	55.17
Gauteng	61.19 [49.41-72.98]	38.81	55.13 [44.00-66.26]	44.87
KwaZulu-Natal	61.70 [51.80-71.60]	38.30	62.70 [55.70-69.70]	37.30
Limpopo	34.18 [23.63-44.73]	65.82	56.86 [43.11-70.62]	43.14
Mpumalanga	36.67 [19.09-54.24]	63.33	58.49 [45.07-71.91]	41.51
Northern Cape	76.00 [64.02-87.98]	24.00	52.08 [37.78-66.40]	47.92
North West	61.76 [45.15-78.38]	38.24	50.00 [31.10-68.90]	50.00
Western Cape	56.14 [43.12-69.17]	43.86	69.70 [58.50-80.89]	30.30
RSA	56.04 [51.89-60.18]	43.96	58.32 [54.31-62.33]	41.68

Table 28.2: Percentage of wives, with husbands working in modern occupations, with and without employment (with household sample weights)

	1998		2003	
	Employed	Not employed	Employed	Not employed
Eastern Cape	56.50 [45.71-67.29]	43.50	65.27 [39.06-91.47]	34.73
Free State	59.76 [47.87-71.66]	40.24	45.60 [28.74-62.47]	54.40
Gauteng	61.04 [49.80-72.28]	38.96	60.01 [46.37-73.65]	39.99
KwaZulu-Natal	56.59 [44.09-49.08]	43.41	68.74 [57.18-80.29]	31.26
Limpopo	34.05 [20.71-47.39]	65.95	59.17 [44.79-73.55]	40.83
Mpumalanga	37.57 [20.59-54.56]	62.43	59.49 [42.34-76.64]	40.51
Northern Cape	76.13 [64.97-89.31]	23.87	52.31 [37.64-66.98]	47.69
North West	62.24 [46.26-78.26]	37.76	53.09 [32.45-73.72]	46.91
Western Cape	56.17 [40.30-72.04]	43.83	68.69 [57.66-79.72]	31.31
RSA	54.54 [49.47-59.62]	45.46	61.93 [56.05-67.82]	38.07

Table 29.1: Percentage of wives with husbands working in agriculture, themselves working in non-agricultural occupations²⁸ (without household sample weights)

	1998		2003	
	Non-agriculture	Agriculture	Non-agriculture	Agriculture
Eastern Cape	100 [-]	0	100 [-]	0
Free State	71.43 [33.59-109.27]	28.57	77.78 [57.73-97.83]	22.20
Gauteng	100 [-]	0	-	-
KwaZulu-Natal	50.00 [-52.59-152.59]	50.00	100 [-]	0
Limpopo	-	-	100 [-]	0
Mpumalanga	-	-	30.77 [4.28-57.26]	69.33
Northern Cape	100	0	70.00 [49.10-90.90]	30.00
North West	-	-	27.30 [-0.73-55.27]	72.70
Western Cape	100	0	68.75 [44.95-92.55]	31.25
RSA	89.29 [77.07-101.50]	10.71	62.79 [52.37-73.21]	37.21

²⁸ This indicator can be viewed as either scrutiny of all women with husbands working in agriculture (therefore a larger sample), or as scrutiny of employment patterns amongst *employed* women with husbands who work in agriculture. We chose the latter interpretation, which is presented in Table 19. Should one choose the former interpretation, the percentages are as follows:

Employment and occupational status of women with husbands working in agriculture (without household sample weights)

	1998			2003		
	Employed: non- agriculture (%)	Employed: Agriculture (%)	Not employed (%)	Employed: Non- agriculture (%)	Employed: Agriculture (%)	Not employed (%)
Eastern Cape	75 [42.09-107.91]	0	25	26.67 [3.36-49.97]	0	73.33
Free State	45.45 [13.20-77.11]	18.18	36.36	30.43 [16.91-43.96]	8.70	60.87
Gauteng	100 [-]	0	0	-	-	-
KwaZulu-Natal	33.33 [-33.69-100.35]	33.33	33.33	21.43 [-0.01-43.87]	0	78.57
Limpopo	-	-	-	11.11 [-10.80-33.02]	0	88.89
Mpumalanga	0 [-]	0	100	22.22 [2.34-42.11]	50.00	27.78
Northern Cape	50 [28.06-71.94]	0	50	29.17 [16.09-42.24]	12.50	58.33
North West	0 [-]	0	100	12.00 [-1.10-25.08]	32.00	56.00
Western Cape	100 [-]	0	0	42.31 [22.82-61.79]	19.23	38.46
RSA	51.02 [36.51-65.53]	6.12	42.86	26.87 [20.69-33.05]	15.92	57.21

These results would somewhat alter the TMWS scores of Mpumalanga and North West in 1998, and Limpopo and North West in 2003.

Table 29.2: Percentage of wives with husbands working in agriculture, themselves working in non-agricultural occupations (with household sample weights)

	1998		2003	
	Non-agriculture	Agriculture	Non-agriculture	Agriculture
Eastern Cape	100 []	0	100 []	0
Free State	71.43 []	28.57	83.39 []	16.61
Gauteng	100 []	0	-	-
KwaZulu-Natal	68.51 []	31.49	100 []	0
Limpopo	-	-	100 []	0
Mpumalanga	-	-	30.00 []	70.00
Northern Cape	100 []	0	70.00 []	30.00
North West	-	-	26.39 []	73.61
Western Cape	100 []	0	68.27 []	31.73
RSA	85.60 []	14.40	66.18 []	33.82

Table 30.1: Partial TMWS scores (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	0.8000	0.8000
Free State	0.7667	0.7000
Gauteng	0.8000	0.8214
KwaZulu-Natal	0.8000	0.8333
Limpopo	0.7143	0.7000
Mpumalanga	0.6786	0.8333
Northern Cape	0.8000	0.8333
North West	0.8214	0.8000
Western Cape	0.8667	0.8000
RSA	0.8000	0.8333

Table 30.2: Partial TMWS scores (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003
Eastern Cape	0.8000	0.8333
Free State	0.7667	0.7667
Gauteng	0.8000	0.8214
KwaZulu-Natal	0.8000	0.8000
Limpopo	0.7143	0.7333
Mpumalanga	0.7143	0.8333
Northern Cape	0.8000	0.8333
North West	0.7857	0.8333
Western Cape	0.8667	0.7667
RSA	0.8000	0.8333

Table 31.1: TMWS scores (without household sample weights)

	1998	2003 ²⁹
Eastern Cape	0.6897	0.6897
Free State	0.6897	0.6297
Gauteng	0.8103	0.8321
KwaZulu-Natal	0.8103	0.8441
Limpopo	0.6429	0.6300
Mpumalanga	0.6607	0.8114
Northern Cape	0.8103	0.8441
North West	0.8036	0.7826
Western Cape	0.8793	0.8117
RSA	0.7586	0.7902

Table 31.2: TMWS scores (with household sample weights)

	1998	2003 ³⁰
Eastern Cape	0.6897	0.7184
Free State	0.6897	0.6897
Gauteng	0.8103	0.8321
KwaZulu-Natal	0.7586	0.7586
Limpopo	0.6429	0.6600
Mpumalanga	0.7143	0.8333
Northern Cape	0.8103	0.8441
North West	0.7857	0.8333
Western Cape	0.8793	0.7779
RSA	0.7931	0.8261

Data Sources

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²⁹ The 2003 values are estimates (see Booysen-Wolthers, 2007d: 30 {footnote 32}).

³⁰ The 2003 values are estimates (see Booysen-Wolthers, 2007d: 30 {footnote 32}).

Table 32.2: TMWS individual indicator scores for 1998 (with household sample weights)

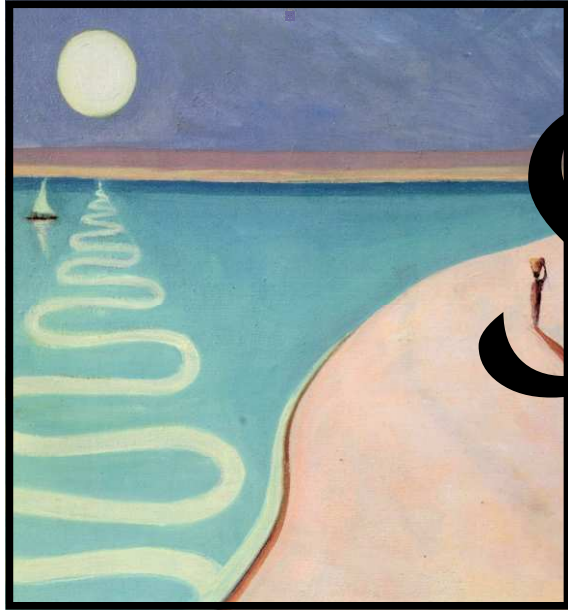
		Socio-econ. status		Female-headed households					Education and exposure								Employment and workload								Marriage and child birth			Ascribed status				29	Score
		Sex ratio is lower in rich than poor households		More than 20% of households are headed by females					At least 50% of women have four years of education								At least 50% of women are employed								Fewer than 25% of women 15-19 years are ever married			At least 50% of wives have equal or more advanced education than their husbands					
		Sex ratio of female-headed households is 100 or more		Less than 25% of female-headed households consist of one adult plus children					At least 20% of women have secondary or higher education								At most 15% of employed women work without cash earnings								Fewer than 25% of women 15-19 years have given birth			At least 25% of wives work for cash and have equal or more advanced education than their husbands					
		Women with no education are less likely to be heads of households		Percentage of women with secondary or higher education declines with age					Sex ratio of population with primary education is 101 or less								Labour force participation rises with education								Percentage of first birth before age 20 declines from older to younger cohorts			Wives of husbands in modern occupations are most likely to be employed					
		Female-headed households at least as likely to be as rich as male-headed households		Sex ratio of population with secondary or higher education is 110 or less					Sex ratio of population with no education increases from older to younger cohorts								One-third or less of rural women have no media exposure								Dependency ratio is 0.9 or less			20% or more of wives with husbands in agriculture work in non-agricultural occupations					
				One-third or more of women have discussed the number of children with husband																													
Eastern Cape	0.5	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0.5	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	20.0			
Free State	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0.5	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20.0			
Gauteng	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0.5	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23.5			
KwaZulu-Natal	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	22.0			
Limpopo	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0.5	1	0	0.5	1	1	0.5	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	-	18.0			
Mpumalanga	0.5	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0.5	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0.5	1	1	0	-	20.0		
Northern Cape	0.5	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23.5			
North West	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	-	22.0			
Western Cape	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0.5	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	25.5			
South Africa	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	23.0			

Table 33.1: TMWS individual indicator scores for 2003 (without household sample weights)

[illegible]

Table 33.2: TMWS individual indicator scores for 2003 (with household sample weights)

		Score																												
	Socio-econ. status	Female-headed households					Education and exposure								Employment and workload								Marriage and child birth			Ascribed status				15
	Sex ratio is lower in rich than poor households	More than 20% of households are headed by females	Sex ratio of female-headed households is 100 or more	Less than 25% of female-headed households consist of one adult plus children	Women with no education are less likely to be heads of households	Female-headed households at least as likely to be as rich as male-headed households	At least 50% of women have four years of education	At least 20% of women have secondary or higher education	Percentage of women with secondary or higher education declines with age	Sex ratio of population with primary education is 101 or less	Sex ratio of population with secondary or higher education is 110 or less	Sex ratio of population with no education increases from older to younger cohorts	One-third or less of rural , women have no media exposure	One-third or more of women have discussed the number of children with husband	At least 50% of women are employed	At most 15% of employed women work without cash earnings	Labour force participation rises with education	Labour force participation rises with socio-economic status	At least 10% of working women work in modern occupations	At least 10% of working women have primary education and work in modern/mixed occupations	Fewer than 50% of working women provide childcare when working	Dependency ratio is 0.9 or less	Fewer than 25% of women 15-19 years are ever married	Fewer than 25% women 15-19 years have had a birth	Percentage of first birth before age 20 declines from older to younger cohorts	At least 50% of wives have equal or greater education than their husbands	At least 25% of wives work for cash and have equal or more advanced education than their husbands	Wives of husbands in modern occupations are most likely to be employed	20% or more of wives with husbands in agriculture work in non-agricultural occupations	
Eastern Cape	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	1	0.5	1	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	12.5
Free State	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	1	1	0.5	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	1	0.5	1	1	0	1	11.5
Gauteng	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	1	1	1	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	-	11.5
KwaZulu-Natal	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	1	1	1	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	12.0
Limpopo	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	0	0.5	1	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	11.0
Mpumalanga	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	1	1	0.5	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	12.5
Northern Cape	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	1	1	1	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	12.5
North West	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	1	1	1	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	12.5
Western Cape	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	1	1	0.5	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	11.5
South Africa	n/a	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	1	1	1	1	1	n/a	n/a	1	1	0.5	1	1	1	1	12.5



SUMMARY

Summary

A search for reasons for the continued distinction of women as being the poorest of the poor, despite decades of development efforts, necessarily leads to a need for assessing the development status of women. In the case of South Africa, with its progressive policies on gender equality, such an assessment also serves as testimony to the success with which the integration of gender concerns into society has translated into the well-being of women. The development status of women in South Africa, and changes therein between 1996/98 and 2001/3, are central to this study.

A gender-disaggregated adaptation of the Human Development Index (HDI) is developed and applied to South African national and provincial data to find differences in the levels and rates of change in the development status of women, compared with that of men. The development areas on which the HDI is based are examined to identify areas of particular weakness in terms of poor female development status. Measurement of the well-being of South African women is expanded by supplementing the HDI-based measures with the Gender Development Index (GDI), the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), and two 'power status' indicators – the Decision-Making Index (DMI) and the Threshold Measure of Women's Status (TMWS). Each of these indices offers but one perspective on the development status of women, leading to a fragmented picture. In order to provide a more broad-based, holistic picture of the well-being of women, it is proposed that a suite of indices be combined into a measurement framework, called the Women's Development Status Profile (WDSP). This evaluation of the well-being of women from a number of perspectives makes for a more balanced assessment.

The findings of this study can be summarised as follows:

- Between 1996 and 2001 the development status of women in South Africa declined on a national level, in both absolute and (especially) relative terms.
- This national trend was present throughout the nine provinces, albeit in varying degrees.

- Women residing in provinces with a pre-existing weak absolute development status appear to be predisposed to also having a poor development status relative to men.
- There was a distinct difference between the provinces in their absolute and relative development levels. Although provincial ranking patterns did not change much between 1996 and 2001, interprovincial performance gaps in female development status narrowed in both absolute and relative terms.
- Whereas female economic activity was the principal area of weakness in 1996, female life expectancy emerged as a new area of concern by 2001 on an absolute level. Unemployment and illiteracy were the weakest areas in terms of relative female development. The rapid decline in female primary school gross enrolment ratios between the two years calls for further scrutiny.
- A comparison of the five gendered indices confirmed the provincial ranking positions of Western Cape and Gauteng as the best performers in terms of the development status of women, with Limpopo as the weakest performer. Other provinces had less clear patterns in this regard.
- The WDSP shows that women in the Western Cape and Gauteng enjoyed a relatively high female development status compared with other provinces, while the women of Limpopo had the weakest female development status for the years 1996/98 and 2001/03.
- The distinction between development potential and actual development afforded by the WDSP, reveals that female development potential had made significant strides between 1996/8 and 2001/3, resulting in a more balanced Women's Development Status Profile. The significant decline in the actual development status of women, in large part owing to a decline in life expectancy (and likely to be linked to the impact of HIV/AIDS), is nevertheless most disconcerting.

This thesis offers a holistic and comprehensive measurement framework by means of which to assess the development status of women that will hopefully lead to appropriate policy steps and social changes to ensure sustained development.

Opsomming

'n Soeke na redes vir die voortgesette onderskeiding van vroue as synde die armstes onder die armes, ongeag ontwikkelingspogings oor dekades, gee noodwendig aanleiding tot die behoefte om vroue se ontwikkelingstatus te evalueer. In die geval van Suid-Afrika met sy progressiewe geslagsgelykheidsbeleide, getuig sodanige evaluering ook van die sukses waarmee die integrasie van genderaangeleenthede in die samelewing neerslag gevind het in die welsyn van vroue. Die ontwikkelingstatus van vroue in Suid-Afrika, asook die veranderinge in hierdie verband tussen 1996/98 en 2001/3, staan sentraal in hierdie studie.

'n Gender-gedisaggregeerde aanpassing van die Menslike Ontwikkelingsindeks (MOI) (Engels: Human Development Index – HDI) is ontwikkel en toegepas op Suid-Afrikaanse nasionale en provinsiale data ten einde verskille in die veranderingsvlakke en –koerse van vroue se ontwikkelingstatus vergeleke met dié van mans te bepaal. Die ontwikkelingsgebiede waarop die MOI gebaseer is, is ondersoek om areas wat besonder swak vaar ten opsigte van vroulike ontwikkelingstatus te identifiseer. Die meting van Suid-Afrikaanse vroue se welsyn is uitgebrei deur die MOI-gebaseerde meetinstrumente aan te vul met die Genderontwikkelingsindeks (Engels: Gender Development Index – GDI), die Genderbemagtigingsmaatstaf (Engels: Gender Empowerment Measure – GEM), asook met twee indikatore van 'magstatus' – die Besluitnemingsindeks (Engels: Decision-Making Index – DMI) en die Drempelmaatstaf van Vrouestatus (Engels: Threshold Measure of Women's Status – TMWS). Elk van hierdie indekse bied slegs een perspektief op vroue se ontwikkelingstatus wat 'n gefragmenteerde beeld verskaf. Ten einde 'n breër-gebaseerde, holistiese beeld van vroue se welsyn te voorsien, word voorgestel dat 'n stel indekse gekombineer word in 'n metingsraamwerk, genaamd die Vroue-ontwikkelingsstatusprofiel (Engels: Women's Development Status Profile – WDSP). Hierdie evaluering van vroue se welsyn vanuit 'n aantal perspektiewe dra by tot 'n meer ewewigtige waardebeoordeling.

Die bevindinge van die studie kan soos volg opgesom word:

- Tussen 1996 en 2001 het die ontwikkelingstatus van Suid-Afrikaanse vroue op nasionale vlak afgeneem, in sowel absolute as (veral) relatiewe terme.
- Hierdie nasionale tendens was teenwoordig dwarsoor die nege provinsies, ofskoon in wisselende mate.
- Vroue woonagtig in provinsies met 'n vooraf bestaande swak absolute ontwikkelingstatus blyk voorbestem te wees om ook 'n swak ontwikkelingstatus relatief tot mans te hê.
- Daar is 'n kennelike verskil tussen die provinsies ten opsigte van hul absolute en relatiewe ontwikkelingsvlakke. Alhoewel provinsiale rangordepatrone nie noemenswaardig verander het tussen 1996 en 2001 nie, het inter-provinsiale prestasieleemtes ten opsigte van vroulike ontwikkelingstatus in sowel absolute as relatiewe terme gekrimp.
- Onderwyl vroulike ekonomiese aktiwiteit in 1996 die vernaamste swak plek op 'n absolute vlak was, het vroulike lewensverwagting teen 2001 te voorskyn getree as 'n nuwe knelpunt. Werkloosheid en ongeletterdheid was die swakste punte in terme van relatiewe vroulike ontwikkeling. Die snelle afname in vroulike laerskool bruto inskrywingsratio's tussen die twee jare verdien verdere ondersoek.
- 'n Vergelyking van die vyf gender-spesifieke indekse het die provinsiale rangordening van die Wes-Kaap en Gauteng bevestig as die beste presteerders in terme van die ontwikkelingstatus van vroue, met Limpopo as die swakste presteerder. In hierdie verband was daar by ander provinsies minder duidelike tendense te bespeur.
- Die Vroue-ontwikkelingsstatusprofiel ('WDSP') toon die relatiewe hoë ontwikkelingstatus van vroue in die Wes-Kaap en Gauteng vergeleke met ander provinsies, terwyl die vroue van Limpopo die swakste vroulike ontwikkelingstatus vir die jare 1996/98 en 2001/03 gehad het.
- Die onderskeiding wat die Profiel ('WDSP') moontlik maak tussen ontwikkelingspotensiaal en werklike ontwikkeling onthul dat vroulike

ontwikkelingspotensiaal betekenisvolle vordering gemaak het tussen 1996/8 en 2001/3, wat neerslag vind in 'n meer ewewigtige Vroue-ontwikkelingsstatusprofiel. Die beduidende afname in die werklike ontwikkelingstatus van vroue, grotendeels toe te skryf aan 'n afname in lewensverwagting (en bes moontlik verbandhoudend met die impak van MIV/Vigs), is desnieteenstaande besonder onrusbarend.

Hierdie proefskrif bied 'n holistiese en omvattende metingsraamwerk vir die evaluering van die ontwikkelingstatus van vroue, wat hopelik sal lei tot toepaslike beleidstappe en sosiale veranderinge ten einde volhoubare ontwikkeling te verseker.

Key words

Women and development
Development status
Gender
Well-being of women
Development indicators
Gender-specific indicators
Female-specific Human Development Index
Male-specific Human Development Index
Power status
Women's Development Status Profile
South African gender mainstreaming
Potential development

Sleutelwoorde

Vroue en ontwikkeling
Ontwikkelingstatus
Gender
Welsyn van vroue
Ontwikkelingsindikatore
Gender-spesifieke indikatore
Vrou-spesifieke Menslike Ontwikkelingsindeks
Man-spesifieke Menslike Ontwikkelingsindeks
Magstatus
Vroue-ontwikkelingstatusprofiel
Suid-Afrikaanse gender-hoofstroombelyning
Potensiële ontwikkeling