

# **Gender and Trade Network for Africa [GENTA]**



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## ii. GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS & TERMS

<b>AoA</b>	Agreement on Agriculture
<b>GATS</b>	General Agreement Trade in Services
<b>GEAR</b>	Growth Employment and Redistribution
<b>GENTA</b>	Gender & Trade Network in Africa
<b>GMOs</b>	Genetically modified organisms
<b>IFI</b>	International Financial Institution
<b>IGTN</b>	International Gender & Trade Network
<b>SADC</b>	Southern African Development Community
<b>SMME</b>	Small Medium and Micro Enterprise
<b>TRIPS</b>	Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights
<b>TNC</b>	Trans-national Corporation
<b>WB</b>	World Bank
<b>WTO</b>	World Trade Organisation

## 1. Executive Summary

The concept of poverty in South Africa is rarely addressed in relation to coalescence between absolute poverty and the feminisation of poverty although the two are closely linked. The prevailing multilateral trade regimes are premised on the popular opinion that these agreements benefit all countries and their citizens equally. This is derived from the assumption that each country has a comparative advantage and that this facilitates growth through the increased levels of output and production. The reality is that the experience of trade liberalisation for women has been mixed with positive and negative consequences depending on level of education, location within the workforce, access to health care and other socio - economic indicators. The current socio economic framework is based more on market access, movement of capital and free trade with a de-emphasis on social expenditure.

Women being the principal end users of services experience the effects of social disinvestment more immediately and acutely than men. Race, class and income delineations mean that African women particularly in rural and peri urban areas in South Africa are the most affected by these policy choices. One of the challenges of addressing poverty is a fundamental one of definition. A groundswell states that true development lies beyond growth and efficiency. They go on to state that it is in fact a function of enabling dignified lives. However there remains a measure of reluctance to concede that the prevailing trade regimes need to be radically reconfigured from using market criteria and their social impact indicators to examining social relations such as gender and race which inform the context of policymaking.

The World Bank Poverty Report of 1990 defines poverty as “the inability to attain a minimal standard of living”. This definition hinges on three aspects:

- A measurement of the standard of living;
- A clear conception of a minimal standard of living; and
- Encapsulating the severity of poverty in a single index (World Bank, 1990:25).

However poverty surpasses concrete living conditions and material circumstances to encompass access to processes, to tools and instruments that effect meaningful transformation. Poverty is an interlocking multidimensional social phenomenon. Poverty can be defined as pain. Poverty can be physical pain that comes with too little food and long hours of work; Poverty can be emotional pain stemming from the daily humiliations of dependency to make choices – such as whether to use limited funds to save the life of a family member, or use those same funds to feed their children.<sup>1</sup>

Gender relations largely been ignored within most development theory and practice. The role of Women as owners, as workers and as engines of social reproduction illustrates the systemic mechanisms that ensure by commission or omission that women are excluded from social development considerations. Women continue to be marginalised from policy formulation processes, from large scale income generating projects and from control over premium resources such as labour and land, which are critical for sustained economic development.

Gender equity is defined as the power relationship that allows both men and women to have equal access to the scarce and valued resources of their society. These include wages, employment, leisure, health care, education, personal autonomy and decision-making. Using this yardstick, most women may have an interest in not so much 'reducing the role of the state and increasing the role of the market' or vice versa. Women may find it in their interest to know what kind of market growth and what kind of state-led development would improve particular aspects of gender equity in South Africa, and how both markets and states may be restructured to be more responsive to women's needs and contributions as both producers and reproducers.

While the existence of state in South Africa has seen the rise of ethnicity, the surrendering of control to international and local private sector and corporations, the growth of violence and social disintegration, the strong state has equally created problems in terms of authoritarianism, bureaucratic rigidity, promotion of certain class interest, and often, the enforcement of patriarchal values. The issue here is not whether women are for or against the state; it is instead, what kind of state-led development would recognise and support women as producers.

South Africa offers an opportunity to witness the manner in which women are confronted with a number of inequalities. A critical question is whether women are poorer than men and why this is the case. An investigation into income alone does not produce a comprehensive or fully responsive answer. Investigation of statistics on health, nutrition, education and labour force participation begin to more meaningfully confirm that women are severely impoverished. Women with low or no incomes are confronted by a plethora of cultural, social, legal and economic constructs that even socio economically deprived men are spared.

Privatisation and the resulting decrease in social expenditure truncate access to basic services such as health care, water and education. The total cost of women's labour to compensate for the State's disengagement from basic delivery whether through outsourcing or discontinuing provision is uncalculated. In the wake of increased intellectual flight of South Africa teachers and nurses to the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and the Middle East, the situation is exacerbated. In liberalising trade in the area of services through the General Agreement in Trade in Services (GATS) has the potential to further exacerbate women's ability to access and afford basic services.

Women in South Africa are six times more likely than men to contract the HIV/AIDS virus. The Trips Agreement [Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property] of the World Trade organisation enforces this cycle by obstructing the right of all but the most resourced women and men to seek treatment. The patenting of plant forms and encroachment of traditional knowledge is a point of departure and the health and agricultural consequences are experienced by indigenous women across the world, South Africa being but one site of contestation.

It is unsurprising that the World Bank's World Development Report [2000] has revised its definition of poverty to include the concept of powerlessness in addition to social and physical lack and deprivation. In terms of gender relations, powerlessness and limited access to options remain fundamental obstructions to any real sense of development. The hypothesis that this paper presents is that:

- Due to their different location within and access to resources and processes within the economy women and men are differently impacted by trade policy;
- That the consequence of these gender differences is that trade liberalisation instead of yielding the positive results may instead exacerbate social inequalities;
- That all trade and development policies should be formulated within the context of gender relations and the inequalities arising thereof.

## **2. Poverty in the South African Development Milieu**

Trade liberalisation is typically part of a package of fiscal discipline, social service disinvestment, privatisation of those very services and deregulation. The Structural Adjustment Programme of the 1980's and 1990's contains lessons for the

South African situation. The anomalous history of development in South Africa still bears the acute consequences of the policy of Separate Development and of deliberate and sustained disinvestment in the African population majority. Sampie Terreblanche describes them as problems that have been “shaped and created over a very long period by the power structures on which the systems of colonialism, segregation and apartheid were based”. As such they are systemic and structural requiring considered and deliberate intervention.

Four poverty traps at the centre of the current socio-economic context of the most impoverished majority are:

- High and increasing levels of unemployment ;
- Institutionally entrenched inequalities in the distribution of property, power, and opportunities between the European and African elite and the poorest section of the populous;
- Dislocated and uneven social structures and the syndrome of chronic cross generational poverty among the poorest 50% of the population ;
- The enforcing of mutually interlinked tendencies towards violence, criminalisation and ill health and resulting indigence.

The systemic use of black labour to generate capital through a labour intensive strategy of intensification of extractive and agriculture sectors may not have been sustainable. The Verwoerdian policy of creating a skewed European economy in Africa for the small minority of White people meant that the supply for skilled workers could not be met by White employees. In 1970 the supply in African labour was 68% out of a population share concentration totalling 70%. This decreased to 59% of the workforce with a population that grew to 76.5% of the total share. Women were and remain the most disadvantaged as result. By 1995 female unemployment among all racial groups was higher than among men. For African women it is estimated at over 60%. Added to this the fact that 65% of Africans aged between 16 and 25 are unemployed we are faced with an entire generation of women who have never nor will ever work in their entire lives. This aggravates the acute pauperisation across generations and impedes the opportunities of social or economic mobility for most women.

Another useful index to examine is education particularly as a primary vehicle for women's upward social development. The difference is not only across gender lines but also race confirming that African women and European women overall do not share the same concrete experiences. Across all populations there is a higher enrolment rate among girls. Enrolment ages of boys are also slightly higher. However across provinces gender differences that existed before apartheid are replicated. Out of the total of 4, 6 million respondents aged over 20 years old surveyed for the 2001 census, with no schooling the number of women with no education is reported at 2, 8 million. Given that the population of women is 53.6 % in this age group, there is cause for concern.

The completion rate for girl children is anecdotally assumed to be lower than that of boys due to financial and societal factors such as early marriage, lack of resources, pregnancy and the propensity to invest more in boys than in girls. However some data suggests that the situation for the women who are indeed able to reach tertiary level is more equitable than earlier in their school career suggesting that if women can “hang in there” their aspirations may be met. However the social, cultural, financial, economic, emotional and physical hurdles are prohibitively high mountains for a young woman in the Eastern Cape, in Polokwane or any rural area to climb. Added to this the circumstances which mean that children are walking as much as ten hours per day to and from school the obstacles become even greater since young women are more vulnerable to sexual violence and rape during those long treks.

A brief perusal of trends indicates that the policy choices currently in force are not adequately redressing the daunting legacy of the Apartheid era. The Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy [GEAR] was intended to address so called development backlogs.

### 3. Recent Development Trends

In responding to the daunting challenge of equitable social redistribution, the South African government has **set** in place three strategic objectives:

- A pro-poor growth strategy driven by government;
- Mainstreaming the eradication of poverty;
- Transforming the labour market by removing racial and gender barriers.

Thus the critical areas of anti-poverty strategies rest on five pillars:

- Developing macro-economic stability;
- Meeting basic needs;
- Providing basic safety;
- Developing human resources;
- Job creation.

Although the phenomena of poverty is understood to be multi dimensional, the government initially prioritised human resource development and skills identified as a key priority, this has not been located within a poverty eradication context much less a gendered one. It is more closely located within the paradigm of economic growth and the capacity of SMEs

Within this period of trade-liberalisation in South Africa, gender analysis needs to make two major shifts:

- Firstly, since globalization is primarily a removal of national barriers to trade and investment, gender analysis needs to move beyond the exclusively 'domestic' model of analysis (which is either limited to the household or country) towards an understanding of gender relations between actors at the global level.
- Secondly, gender analysis needs to move from the 'impact' and 'victim hood' model of thinking which focuses on 'the end result'. It needs to adopt a 'structural' and 'transformative' mode which addresses the underlying forces that form society in order to effect change. At present, most gender analysis is limited to how the global economy impacts on women. However, global financial, trade and corporate institutions impact on men and women, the rich and poor, in different ways.

This is because they are 'gendered' institutions and structures. That is, they are institutions created, dominated and controlled by men. Institutions like DTI are therefore being shaped by a particular gender and class of humans. They are expressions and vehicles of the preferred vision aspirations and assumptions of this particular group in South Africa.

Gender analysis of trade liberalisation in the South Africa cannot therefore limit itself to the impact on women. It needs to take into account the patriarchal basis of paradigms or models, processes, policies and projects of South Africa's trade structures. It needs to take into account how women's concerns priorities and perceptions are excluded in defining the trade agenda in South Africa. Excluded from how trade liberalisation problems and solutions are proposed and implemented.

Research has confirmed that structural adjustment measures like GEAR and trade liberalisation measures can create starvation and famine by removing tariff barriers and allowing the flow of cheap food which displaces poor women and destroys their entitlements.

Food insecurity for example may be linked to the removal of import barriers and the destruction of the market for domestic producers. Lowering of import barriers and flooding the market with imported grains sold at low prices

because of many levels of hidden subsidies can actually contribute to hunger and starvation in primarily agricultural communities in South Africa. While lower food prices might be good for societies with hardly any farmers, they are devastating for food security in poor rural settings in South Africa.

#### **4. Gender analysis of Trade policy and Economic growth**

Systematically linking a gender-relations analysis to trade and economic policy frameworks is a difficult task, given the blindness to gender issues in economic discourse. Gender relations can be defined in terms of the interplay between historical practices that are distinguished according to masculine and feminine (theories and ideologies, including religious ideas), institutional practices (such as state and market), and material conditions (the nature and distribution of material capabilities along gender lines).

Gender relations are social constructions (social forces and historical structures) that differentiate and circumscribe material outcomes for women and men. This definition of gender relations recognizes that the interplay of race, class and sexuality underpins the form and structure of actual gender relations.

Most economic discourse is dominated by neo-classical conceptions of markets that function on the basis of perfect competition.

As a result, economic analysis is rooted, in its basic theoretical assumptions, in a gender-neutral abstraction of markets functioning with *“homogeneous labour inputs. However, markets do have a gender dimension to them. A gender-relations analysis focuses precisely on how market relationships that appear gender-neutral implicitly infer the male standpoint”*. (Whitehead, 1979; Elson, 1993).

This bias is circumscribed and shaped primarily in ways in which society organises the relationship between paid work and raising children (unpaid work). Women engaged in child rearing do not have an independent entitlement to resources and are dependent on partners, husbands and the state to meet their needs. Markets operate without recognising that the unpaid work of social reproduction and maintenance of human resources contributes to the functioning and realisation of formal market relations. The market functions because women make it possible through the many unpaid functions they conduct! Women’s unpaid work in social reproduction and family maintenance can be seen as a “tax” what women are required to pay before they can engage in income-generating activities (Palmer 1991). Ingrid Palmer argues that gender relations based on hierarchy of resources and unequal terms of exchange between women and men lead to resource misallocation that can be viewed as ‘gender-based market distortions’

South Africa has a National Gender Policy Framework. The framework is guided by a vision of human rights that acknowledges the equality of men and women. Gender equality is one of the key stated principles enshrined in the constitution [Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996)]. The gender policy framework articulates South Africa’s vision for attaining gender equality. It provides guidelines that act to remedy the legacy of apartheid history, and facilitates equal access to goods and services for both women and men. The National Gender Policy Framework is meant to move away from addressing gender issues as an afterthought.

South Africa’s trade policy has structural biases. It is critical to assess the gender biases in trade institutional structures and their operational procedures in order to integrate gender, particularly when translating policies into action. In the past few decades, while there have been changes in macro-economic plans and policies that influence trade development attention given to women’s problems and issues, the basic framework of operation has remained virtually unchanged. In order to carry out women’s plans and programs, separate structures have been created such as women ministries, bureaus, units, division and offices on the status of women. The



creation of separate structures to operationalise women's plans and programs has led to two kinds of effects of the biases:

1. The creation of 'minor' sector with a small share of resources and the notion of being a special group with regard to antipoverty and basic needs programs. This is recognised by the Office on the Status of Women's documents. If the unit focuses on issues of economic empowerment for poverty eradication, political decision-making, women's legal capacity, training, education and employment, there are going to be major structural deficiencies if there are no linkages to macro-economic and trade policies.

2. The marginalisation of women in the structural mechanism of the economy, trade and industry where the bulk of resources and implementation mechanisms exist. If for example no linkages are made to how women's empowerment against poverty eradication can be solved within the growth model of the industry and trade policy and implementation, women will remain on the periphery of these so-called 'mainstream' policy areas.

Therefore, the lack of an appropriate operational framework has prevented the consideration of gender as a variable in planning as well as in the implementation process of the South Africa's Trade Policy.

The National Gender Policy Framework recognises the challenges of shifting South Africa towards a non-racial and non-sexist society. It further acknowledges the obstacles that need to overcome in order to make the transformation of gender relations central to broader institutional change.

The National Gender Policy Framework recognises poverty as a major problem for women in South Africa. It states that government needs to move towards alleviating and finally eradicating poverty.

Over the past eight years the distortions and dynamics of apartheid continue to reproduce poverty and perpetuate inequality. According to well know economist Sampie Terreblanche, the poverty trap set by apartheid remain a critical factor in explaining the persistence and the worsening poverty in South Africa. This is despite increased social spending since 2003. The poverty trap in South Africa can be categorised:

- a. Institutionalised inequalities in the distribution of power, poverty, opportunities between elite white and Africans and the poorest half of the population;
- b. Mutually reinforcing dynamics of violence, criminality and ill-health and the process of deepening pauperisation;
- c. Disrupted and fragmented social structures and the syndrome of chronic community poverty among the poorest 50% of the population;
- d. High and rising levels of unemployment in the background of high economic growth.

The members of the poorest half of the population are still relatively uneducated, unskilled, not participating in the formal sector, and deprived of information about their right and access to opportunities. According to Statistics South Africa, households that spent R600 or less a month in 1996 could be regarded as very poor, whereas households that spent R601 – 1000 a month could be regarded as poor (2000: 59). Even those households that spent R1001- 1800 a month can be regarded as relatively poor and vulnerable.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In 1996, 81.4% of African households and 47.2% of coloured households spent less than R1, 800 per month. This could imply that the daily expenditure of 25 million African and 1.6 million coloureds was US\$2 or less per day.

Levels of poverty are much higher in rural than in urban settings. According to one measurement, the poverty rate in rural areas is 63%, compared with 22% in urban areas. Many rural areas have households headed by women. There is also a strong correlation between educational achievement and poverty. Individuals with no education or less than seven years of primary education are more likely to be poor than individuals with higher levels of education. Poverty and unemployment are closely linked. Women bear the greatest burden of poverty. According to a 2005 survey, the poverty rate was 60% among female-headed households compared to 31% among male-headed households. It is also estimated that between 2 – 3 million South Africans are malnourished (Leibbrant and Leibbrant 2000: 6 -11, tables 8-14; see also section 11.3.3 for South Africa's position on the UNDP's human development index).

Policy makers in South Africa have limited analytical tools in establishing the relationship between economic growth and poverty reduction. One is whether economic growth leads to poverty reduction. The other is whether economic growth is necessary for sustained poverty reduction.

In reviewing the documents from the Department of Trade and Industry, it is difficult to determine the relationship between economic growth and poverty reduction in the country reports. Two sets of questions that should be posed to policymakers are:

- 1). How and in what ways has economic growth lead to poverty reduction in South Africa?
- 2). Is economic growth a prerequisite for sustained poverty reduction especially the impact on women compared to men?

These are important questions because they would show the pattern of growth and economic management much more than simply the rate of growth in affecting South Africa's ability to deal with poverty. The distributional structure along gender, class and race and affect resource allocation and access to development benefits in particular would be important mediating factors to consider.

The DTI's documents do not consider economic growth and gender equity. These are two factors that should be considered here. The first relates to work and earning. The issues here are the impact of economic growth on patterns of employment and wage rates across gender. The documents do not indicate the way economic growth affects these patterns or whether this is dependent on the character of growth itself and the relative share of the fruits of such growth in industry, agriculture, formal/informal sector and in the informal sector where the rate of growth and the potential for growth are relatively low.

In the industrial and service sectors, where the growth rates are much higher, the majority of women are concentrated in the unskilled/semi-skilled categories and hence have limited access to the opportunities and benefits of economic development, compared to those in the higher categories. For women to take advantage of future trends related to economic development it is important that they be capacitated with skills development.

The documents do not have indicators that relate to the ways in which government policies and programmes deal with social development. For example, how does foreign direct investment link to the social development needs for people?

Economic policies and decisions are increasingly being driven by the short-term horizon that operates within financial markets. Social reproduction and care are inherently long-term processes.

## 5. Bias in Trade Policy in South Africa

Trade is not new. It is as old as human economic activity. Women have played and continue to play a significant role in local trade. International trade too has an ancient history. "Free trade" is not a new experiment either it has been tried before. Prior to the advent of colonialism, the region used to dominate international trade. Colonialism distorted the terms of trade and Third World countries were transformed from being exporters of manufactured commodities to being suppliers of raw materials and a market for British manufactures.

The import substitution policies after independence were in part guided by a need to reverse the de-industrialisation induced by colonial trade regimes. Protectionism was a necessary part of the reversal in South Africa.

International trade in this era of protectionism for decolonisation was governed by the General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs (GATT). GATT is a trading agreement between signatory countries, which came into force in 1948. It was supposed to be replaced by the Havana Charter and International Trade Organisation (ITO). However, the US Congress did not ratify these instruments, as it would have meant surrendering some part of US sovereignty to the ITO as well as agreeing to forego some rights of the US Congress and the US Government in the area of trade policy.

That trade has not been a force for gender equality is supported by data and even its major proponents the WTO (1995), UNCTAD (2003). UNIFEM (2005) shows the extent of the divergence as at 1995: lowest 56.04% of world population account for 4.89% of global GNP and, the top 16%, 81.34%. While the World Bank (2004) ranks more than 40 sub-Saharan African countries among the least developed, UNDP Human Development Report rank the same countries as worse performers on the human and gender development index.

The current strong underpinning of South Africa's trade policy on macro-economic free trade theories causes the policies to fail to look at the impact and distribution of the benefits and losses. For instance, trade policy reports provide aggregate macro-economic and trade figures and information about government policies, but do not provide information about the impact of trade on society (e.g. on workers, consumers, poor people). The reality of South African women's lives, multiple burden and concerns are ignored at all levels in South Africa's trade policy discussions, decision-making, negotiations, and implementation. A gender perspective has not begun to enter mainstream of the trade agenda and decision-making structures. No analysis is made of the existing potential effects of current trade policies on men and women respectively, let alone there being any such analysis of projected impacts before decisions are reached. Trade agreements and rules are assumed to have gender-neutral effects. It is assumed that women and men can participate equally in the benefits of trade, that the impacts are not different in principle between men and women, and that the rules will neither affect nor be affected by the relationship between men and women. In this way, South Africa's trade policy regime can be said to be 'gender-blind'.

This bias is circumscribed and shaped primarily in ways in which South Africa organises the relationship between paid work and raising children (unpaid work). Women engaged in child rearing do not have an independent entitlement to resources and are dependent on partners, husbands and the state to meet their needs. Markets operate without recognising that the unpaid work of social reproduction and maintenance of human resources contributes to the functioning and realisation of formal market relations.

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Different kinds of gender biases are contained in the South African Trade policy wither explicitly or implicitly. When these policies and strategies are brought into action, their biases become manifest in the ways they adversely affect women.

## **6. Conceptual biases in trade policy formulation in South Africa**

Conceptual biases against women in South Africa's trade policy have to do with the dichotomised manner in which developers of trade policy conceptualise growth and equity. Growth is conceived in terms of the productive sector of the economy which contributes to the process of accumulation, whereas the concept of equity is associated with the social development sector and linked with anti-poverty and basic needs programs, also regarded as the unproductive reproductive or 'soft' sector. This is generally where women are located in these policy formulations.

It is no accident, those officials in the Department of Trade and Industry when defining 'stakeholders' or their target group for these policies; they speak of businessmen, and define the private sector as though it is an amorphous gender neutral entity. This is clearly articulated throughout their documents. In the documents it states, "on their part, South Africa should: put in place measures that will enhance the participation of the private sector". In essence, it is the productive and not the reproductive sectors which have gained greater importance, attention and a share of resource allocation. Social development sectors receive fewer resources and their accountability is weak. At the national level, SME's are not seen or conceptualised as productive sectors. It is only in rhetoric in speeches that SME's are seen as the engine of growth but unaccompanied by the resources needed to reach this goal.

## **7. Ideological biases in trade policy formulation in South Africa**

Ideological biases South Africa's Trade policy has ideological and attitudinal biases. It ignores the question of gender issues in economic development. It is not simply one of economic or social problems. It involves social relations of gender and the problems of deconstructing the ideology of gender relations, which includes a redistribution of power. This ideology of the cultural representation of gender is reflected in trade plans and policies formulated by the Department of Trade and Industry. However, any indication of radical departure from such ideology encounters resistance among trade officials, negotiators and policy makers.

In formulating trade policies and intervention strategies women are still viewed as a means to achieve some economic or social goals rather than individuals who in their own capacity are agents of change. For example under the market economies, the need to increase productivity of women is stressed for the success of the total development effort and also so that they may provide a pool of labour to serve the growth of market structures.

From the vantage point of poor women South Africa's trade rules and policies are not impartial and non-political. On the contrary, they are quite partial and highly political. Trade rules are generally made in isolation to broad national consultation processes. They focus on the interest and concerns of 'stakeholders' who are exporters and large business in the national economy and multi-national corporations in the international economy. The interests, rights of women workers and women business owners is ignored or treated as an after-thought. Ironically women's labour is offered in many cases of trade negotiations.

Trade policy, which simply liberalises domestic credit markets or changes bank/financial regulations, may further constrain women's access to credit. Given the international trade agreements expansion into services, trade related investment and intellectual property rights, there will be even greater integration and subordination of national social and economic policies to South Africa's trade imperatives.

In South Africa, trade policy is not isolated from other macro-level policies (such as development aid, GEAR, investment policies, etc.) Gender must play an important role in the formulation of all such policies.

South Africa's trade policy does not implicitly or explicitly promote gender equality. Trade policy does not take into consideration existing gender inequality and male bias which adversely affect the outcome of trade in promoting development. It reproduces the status quo, and may introduce new forms of inequality and bias, because trade liberalisation is not inherently welfare producing; it can produce and re-produce inequality, social disparities and poverty at the same time as it expands wealth. The role women are able to play in society is a crucial determinant of efficiency and productivity in the economy. Thus gender constraints should be a key concern in the formulation of trade policy.

Generally, investment occurs in the paid labour market and export promotion such as increased credit flows, tax breaks, subsidies etc., are usually earmarked for crops and industries in which men dominate. Very rarely are export promotion schemes designed to improve markets in which women dominate so that women too can benefit from export growth. As a result, there is very little technological improvement or innovation in the traditional economic domain of women's, especially in relation to food production. Ultimately, real development requires the full utilisation of all the talents of women and men in society.

In order to ascertain who actually gains from trade the ownership of the trader must be ascertained. In too many instances, these owners are foreigners that have claims on mining resources or agricultural land. Foreign direct investment is pervasive as capital searches for highest returns throughout the globe. Nationals participate in trade mostly as consumers and workers. As such the divide between rich and poor people is perpetuated.

South Africa is currently going through a period of trade liberalisation and economic reform. These changes are having a profound impact on men and women in South Africa, who for decades operated under extensive levels of protectionism and with limited access to international markets. This phenomenon is not unique to South Africa but rather follows a global trend of the extended internationalisation of domestic economies leading to a world without barriers. It is partly because of technological development, improving communications and transportation. But more likely, stems from a steady reduction of official barriers to trade and deregulations affecting foreign investment and international capital flows. Free trade is increasingly seen as a sole panacea for achieving higher levels of development and growth and frequently adopted by countries of varied political orientations.

Trade liberalisation which takes the form of removal of tariffs (i.e. taxes on imported goods); removals of quotas (limitations on the amount or quantity of a certain good that can be imported); removal of limitations on how much a firm or industry can be owned by foreigners.

Trade liberalisation and new global trading practices represent one of several major economic factors that are increasingly affecting the economic outlook and development perspectives for South Africa. The current trend towards privatisation, deregulation and the growing power of multinational corporations further contribute to the creation of a new political context.

It is not atypical to hear policy makers argue that trade leads to higher growth and poverty reduction. While poverty is seen to have many dimensions, economic growth is articulated as the single most important factor influencing poverty. There is also a need to interrogate South Africa's trade policy framework in its assumption that trade liberalisation is pro-poor. There is now a general agreement in South Africa, that trade is essential to national development and growth. However, there is still a denial by policy makers that the benefits of expanding trade are unevenly distributed in terms of gender, class and race.

## **8. KEY GENDER ISSUES**

That trade has not been a force for gender equality is supported by data and even its major proponents the WTO (1995), UNCTAD (2003). UNIFEM (2005) shows the extent of the divergence as at 1995: lowest 56.04% of world population account for 4.89% of global GNP and, the top 16%, 81.34%. While the World Bank (2004) ranks more than 40 sub-Saharan African countries among the least developed, UNDP Human Development Report rank the same countries as worse performers on the human and gender development index.

Women constitute a growing majority of the workforce in modern export industries and Multinational Corporation based in free trade areas such as Industrial Development Zones (IDZ) and Spatial Development Initiatives (SDI's). These fall into the category of Economic Zones. These are commonly known as around the world by different names such as Export Processing Zones (EPZ's) these economic zones are demarcated areas set aside from the rest of the country's economic activity. In these zones local or foreign investors can engage in production of goods mainly for the world market.

The aim of the IDZ's are to:

- I. Promote export orientation amongst South African firms
- II. Earn foreign exchange
- III. Ensure sustainable job creation
- IV. Ensure better utilisation of infrastructure
- V. Broaden the ownership base of the economy

The key features of IDZ's are:

- I. Linked to an international port or airport like the Gauteng IDZ
- II. World-class infrastructure often built by the South African government with specifications of the investor
- III. Suited for exported-oriented production
- IV. Duty-free imports, zero rate on VAT, and finished good regarded as imports to South Africa

In South Africa these economic zones were announced shortly after the replacement of the RDP by GEAR in 1996. They are a key feature of GEAR. Under GEAR the South African economy is supposed to focus on

attracting foreign investors and producing for the export market. The Department of Trade and Industry refers to SDI's and IDZ's as 'the practical implementation of GEAR.

Most of South Africa's economically active women are operating in the informal sector producing goods that are often extremely sensitive to external competition. There are numerous cases in South Africa where international competition and de-regularised import controls have eradicated small cottage and handicraft industries as cheap mass-produced, imported goods flood local markets such as Republic of China and Taiwan. This is a particular threat for South Africa where more than 70% of the economically active women derive their income from the informal sector.

Many women are linked indirectly to the international market through small subcontracted workshops or as piece-based home-workers to export industries. In increasing numbers, the segment of the workforce that consists of casual labour, involves women more than men.

The majority of South African women work in the agriculture sector and produce goods for the domestic markets and contribute to the production of agricultural exports crops. Biodiversity, land and water are three vital resources that the majority of people depend on for their livelihood and survival.

Intellectual property rights are emerging as an important mechanism for taking away the living resources and Biodiversity from women and converting them into corporate monopolies. Seeds, medicinal plants, which have been the basis of women's livelihoods in agriculture and health care, are being appropriated through new patent regimes. The issues of Genetically Modified Organisms have been challenged legally by organisations like Biowatch.

The World Bank Policy Paper recommends the creation of 'markets in tradable water rights'. It is argued that rights to the delivery of water can be freely bought and sold, women farmers with new crops or in new areas will be able to obtain water provided if they are willing to pay more than its value to existing users, and established users will take account of its sale value in deciding what and how much to produce. This institution of tradable water rights is a guarantee for diverting water from small farmers to larger corporate super farms. Tradable water rights will lead to water monopolies. This issue will play a critical role on how South Africa manages its negotiations on the General Agreement in Trade and Services in the World Trade Organisation.

Women in South Africa dominate in sectors such as agriculture, textile and clothing, which since the Marrakech Agreement have been closely integrated into the global trading system. The South Africa Textile Union reports that over 40,000 jobs have been lost in South Africa. The majority are women.

Any changes that trade expansion brings to the natural environment or to the State's ability to service citizens are likely to have a direct impact on women, who in their role as societal reproducers, family caretakers and home managers, depend upon regular access to basic social services, goods, infrastructure and a healthy environment.

Thus far, not much attention has been paid to the gender differentiated impact of expanded trade and the gender dimensions have systematically been overlooked in South Africa's trade policy-making processes. Despite manifestations that trade liberalisation has a direct impact on people's lives rarely, if ever, have South Africa's trade policies or agreements made any reference to gender or social issues. Neither do they consider the significant contribution women make to both domestic and foreign trade

Many organisation concerned with development are also raising trade issues as one of the key impediments to poverty eradication. They argue that South Africa will not be able to create sustainable development unless the inequities in the structure governing the global trading system are removed.

Many gender advocates in the SADC region therefore feel an urgent need to better document how trade and trade policies have affected vulnerable groups in the current world order, stimulate debate

and promote the development of advocacy and resistance strategies by the victims of the emerging systems.

## 9. Differentiated Impact of Trade Liberalisation

The study of human development should move us beyond the blanket investigation of households to also examine the conditions of individual members. Vulnerability is increased due to gender inequalities resulting in limited access to productive inputs such as micro credit, control over land and property, power over income and expenditure and a gender biased labour market. Even though labour may be an abundant asset among unemployed or low /no income communities, women's control over the realisation of that labour for profit and gain is often frustrated by deficit power relations between themselves and their husbands [or fathers]. These relations may manifest through physical, emotional and verbal abuse. While gender inequalities breed intergenerational poverty of families, communities and sometimes entire nations impact on growth performance with consequences on poverty reduction and social amelioration strategies.

- Policy makers in South Africa have limited analytical tools in establishing the relationship between economic growth and poverty reduction. One is whether economic growth leads to poverty reduction. The other is whether economic growth is necessary for sustained poverty reduction in countries experiencing low growth rates;
- Economic policies and decisions are increasingly being driven by the short-term horizon that operates within financial markets. Social reproduction and care are inherently long-term processes.
- Fluctuations in capital flows and cyclical instability disadvantage women more than men. Singh and Zammit make a strong case for re-regulation of capital of international capital flows, especially portfolio flows. For the poorest countries, which receive little external capital, debt cancellation and an increase in official aid and lending are proposed;
- Women's labour market participation and work hours increased for example during the Asian crisis, while men experienced greater "idleness" due to unemployment and shorter work hours. These results are consistent with the idea that during crisis, women in South Africa are the provisioners of last resort or the *de facto* safety net in societies which do not have social safety nets in place;
- Insufficient analytic clarity regarding the Department of Trade and Industry's (DTI) work and, in particular, its changing role during the recent period of globalisation and liberalization of economies;
- The absence of a clear conceptual understanding of how gender is linked to that role;
- Non-conducive institutional structures and ethos within which Trade and Industry Department functions;
- A weak understanding of the attitudes prevalent among those who work within DTI, and how these have changed over time;
- Insufficient knowledge and capacity among women's organisation to engage effectively in trade policy debates;
- It is well documented in the literature, that women work longer hours than men throughout the SADC region, yet women's productive and social reproductive work is not recorded in the Systems of National Accounts (SNA). i.e. it is estimated that almost 60% of female activities in South Africa are not captured by the SNA, compared to 20% of male activities;
- Gendered rights to property are important determinants of labour supply allocation decisions. The



growth of non-traditional agricultural export sector brings greater benefits to women if they control production and have access to markets, this may be offset by inadequate transportation, marketing structure and other physical and social infrastructure;

- Macroeconomists in DTI ignore factors affecting the productivity of non-market work, including fertility and urbanization; institutional factors such as educational access, the public provision of childcare and enforcement of child support responsibilities; and bargaining and inequality in the household;
- A micro-level analysis shows a picture of gender based asset inequality acting as a constraint to growth and poverty reduction. Case studies in South Africa point to patterns of disadvantage women face, compared with men, in accessing the basic assets and resources. These gender differences affect supply response, resource allocation within the household, and, significantly, labour productivity. i.e. the decline of agricultural growth in many South Africa is due to gender inequality and affects food security. Several studies show that the lack of access to key inputs, such as labour and fertilizer, lead to marked productivity differentials, and different supply responses, between plots controlled by men and those controlled by women;
- Bias such as deflationary bias, commodification bias and male-breadwinner bias, influence approaches to trade policy making which emphasize market based criteria which keep women invisible in the contours of trade policy making and negotiations;
- Limited access, transparency and accountability in institutions at all levels of trade policy-making, whether it is multilateral institutions, regional trade agreements. This limits participatory approaches and denies women space for dialogue in policy formulation of trade;
- Greater exposure to the world economy has uneven effects on women and men in South Africa, which are imperfectly understood, making it hard to design appropriate policies;
- The worsening HIV/AIDS epidemic in the South Africa impacts negatively on women's economic position. Recent research indicates that there are complex interlinkages between poverty, inequality, and, especially gender inequality. The fact that gender inequality causes and is caused by AIDS should be a key concern for trade policy makers in South Africa;
- Gender-based violence affects women's health and wealth of society at large by diverting scarce resources to the treatment of a largely preventable social ill. Some predictors of violence against women in society are economic inequality between men and women, male authority and control of decision-making in the home;
- The lack of access to land and other land-based resources, considered directly productive assets, for women is embedded in complex socio-economic, cultural, and political structures. With increased scarcity and sale of land to private companies, land and water rights for women and households is being eroded;
- Women and men have different access to paid labour. The scarcity of secure jobs as well as decent labour remuneration, i.e. men earn over twice the share received by women in South Africa. These differences between men and women create differences in their social command over labour and resources at the household and community levels and prohibit their participation in trade. Gender inequality ~ in access to formal sector employment ~ may influence economic growth. Discriminatory access to employment for females may reduce the ability of a country to draw on its best talents, which may affect output and productivity of its formal economy;
- The labour market in South Africa is highly segmented by gender. Women tend to be concentrated in sensitive sectors such as manufacturing for export, textiles and garments, where low labour costs are a crucial part of international competitiveness. Women are cited as being more desirable in the export processing zones (EPZ) or industrial development zones (IDZ) because of "their obedience and being

less prone to worker unrest than men.” These sectors are also among the most insecure for women, and are prone to moving to cheaper areas of production without notification.

- Women in South Africa still experience gender differences in access to financial services. Research done by the Women’s World Banking indicates that less than 2% of low-income entrepreneurs have access to financial services. Women receive less than 10% of the credit to small farmers and 1% of the total credit to agriculture. Women face gender-specific barriers in accessing financial services, including lack of collateral (usually land); and they have less time and cash to undertake the journey to a credit institution;
- Cross-regional macro data on gender differences in education and formal employment consistently shows a direct correlation between education and growth. Studies conclude that gender inequality in education and employment is estimated to have reduced *per capita* income growth in the 1960-2002 period by 0.8 percentage points per year, and appear to account for up to one-fifth of the difference in growth performance between Africa and East Asia. Women experience low levels of literacy, numeracy, education. This has a direct impact on women’s ability to participate in trade activities that enable them to compete in the market place effectively;
- Women’s lack of access to education can depress growth in several ways. By directly limiting human capital of the population and allocating scarce resources for investment in human capital on the basis of sex rather than ability.
- A major challenge for development policy is to enable a more equitable distribution of the gains and costs associated with trade. This requires a better understanding of why the benefits and costs from the expansion of world trade are not felt equally across sectors, regions, countries or social or income groups.

With any economic policy, trade reforms have a different impact on women relative to men as a result of unequal gender relations. Increasing recognition is given to the fact that failing to take into consideration important aspects of gender relations, such as women’s unpaid reproductive work, and their limited access to resources both within the household and in the wider market economy, does not lead to an accurate evaluation of impacts of economic liberalisation (Catagay, Elson and Grown, 1995).

- As Haddad (1995: 893) ‘In order to participate women must own factors of production, or have access to them, and must be able to reallocate them in line with the new economic incentives that trade liberalisation precipitates’. But access to, control of, and ability to move productive economic sectors are gender differentiated.
- The majority of women in lower to middle income groups in South Africa are less likely to own or have access to resources, and they are less able to reallocate the few resources they do command. Even when export expansion disproportionately promotes female employment, it is important to assess whether the types of employment that are created are the types of employment that enhance capabilities. To the extent that some type of work is capable of depleting (by causing deterioration of health and safety) they contribute to increasing human poverty. Moreover, strategies which rely on increasing women’s labour in the paid sphere without a corresponding distribution of unpaid reproductive work to men or the state sphere are unsustainable because of women’s times (Catagay, 1998).
- Trade policy reform causes relative prices of goods to change. This has an impact on production/employment and consumption. Production and employment, because where the relative prices of goods change, production is expected to shift towards those goods which have become more profitable; this in turn , by altering incentives, induces reallocation of factors of production (e.g. labour) among sectors that use them with different intensities, and therefore changes in their remunerations (wage/employment effect). For example, if prices of

garments relative to cars increase, more garments will be produced; as the clothing industry employs generally more labour and less capital as compared to the car industry, demand for labour and wages will go up.

- Consumption, because a change in product prices changes real incomes, with different impact on different social groups (price effects). For example if the price of meat increases relative to the price of vegetables, vegetarians become richer compared to meat eaters. Finally, another important effect of trade liberalisation is to reduce tariff revenues for the government (unless the shift is only from non auctioned quotas to tariffs), which may result in changes in the composition of government expenditure (public provision effect)

## 10. Intersection between Trade policy and Social Policy

South Africa has been concerned with market growth and minimising state-led development and poverty eradication. South Africa has a tendency to view the market and the state as opposing dichotomies. The state is seen as having intervened and distorted markets through labour market policies, such as minimum wages, job security regulations, social security taxes and other regulations

While there is recognition that women face all manner of cultural, social, legal and economic obstacles that men - even poor men - do not. Women are seen as having to balance several roles in coping with poverty and having to balance several strategies.

Promoting gender equity under social policy encounters institutional problems. South Africa's trade policy is linked with social policy by trade policy-makers. Assessing the social impact is neither a consideration nor a priority.

South Africa's trade and policy frameworks do not integrate gender in their approach. If they do, it is piecemeal and scattered. There is no analysis of gender relations and the implications of statements made on gender are not followed through in the overall approach and diagnosis. It does not get to the root of the problem which is the way gender relations are structured so that many women are responsible for social reproduction and nurturing of human capacities without necessary access and control over resources or the benefits derived from them.

Trade policy coupled with the theory of a global free trade markets to which South Africa subscribes to, tend, to treat issues of trade liberalisation as gender neutral. It makes the assumption that all players have equal potential on a level playing field. Any questions of power or systemic inequalities are made invisible. In looking at the relationship between social policy and trade policy, it is critical to acknowledge that the two are inherently linked. Social policy poses questions about how women are protected from poverty, discrimination, and other socially undesirable conditions. Trade policy in South Africa, at the macroeconomic level, has not addressed or acknowledged the effect it has on the lives of women. Yet, both sets of policies permeate all manner of women's work – formal work, and informal work and social reproductive work.

Both these sets of policies can at one level take away jobs for some, and create jobs for others. Some households may through these policies be pushed deeper into poverty, while others prosper. These changes impact on women's work and benefits. When the South African economy is upset by changes brought on by trade policy, social policy needs to be responsive. As South Africa pursues trade liberalisation, social policy must ensure that the larger social goals are not compromised.

## 11. South African's women's labour in the global economy

The question posed by feminist economists posing is whether the link between trade liberalisation and women's employment can actually lift income levels of poor women thus leveraging greater choices and empowerment. Trade reform tends to benefit the medium and large producers. Women who are often custodians of entire nation's food security are marginalised out of accruing any benefits available such as micro credit, technological advancement, business marketing training required to access new markets. Given that even economies which produce increased employment for women create tension and competitive among women and between women and men, job losses in the informal sector are most likely to affect women. This is due mainly to the concentration of poor women in low skill [and low paid], labour intensive industries largely in formal and unregulated. It is a great irony that the increase of women's employment is occurring when workers' rights are generally diminishing largely as a result of labour market deregulation intensified by government imperatives to remain competitive in a globalised world.

The key competitive advantage that women thus have is in fact their low wages and accompanying poor working conditions. The engine of the global economy is driven out of Industrial Development Zones [IDZs] in areas like Gauteng, KZN, North West and Limpopo and Eastern Cape. These enclaves mostly function like supra states within countries, oblivious to domestic regulations, beyond censure or redress and immune from paying taxes that would enable any benefits of these zones to be experienced by the very communities fuelling profit and growth.

According to research done by ILRIG (International Labour Resource and Information Group) based in Cape Town, report that the majority of these IDZ's are characterised by;

- low wages, extremely long hours,
- 'flexible' regulations that normally favour the owner at the expense of the employee, that young women populate these establishments,
- trade union bashing and the criminalisation of any form of organising or open dissent, sexual abuse, infringements of young women's reproductive rights through pregnancy testing and forced terminations and the virtual impossibility of any vertical mobility to more skilled work.
- The qualitative consequences of these working conditions also include physical effects such as dizziness, respiratory disorders , impaired vision, skin disease, chronic back aches, miscarriages and nose bleeds due to strenuous work, unprotected exposure to toxic chemicals and severe over exertion.

It is critical that any gendered assessment of trade liberalisation examine the unpaid reproductive care economy as well as women's paid employment opportunities and the working conditions thereof. The increase in women's participation in paid employment is not typically accompanied by the decrease in their social reproduction. This essentially means that a woman in the Free State working for ten hours a day in a factory still has to collect water, wash clothes, cook, clean her home and care for her children. Often some of these tasks are unmet with the result that children may not have adequate supervision with their school work. A critical equation of human development that is normally obscured is the right for women in this country to have a leisure time. The link between a lack of time and poverty is only expressed peripherally to conventional human development constructs.

Given the gruelling working conditions described above, the impact on women's basic health, on personal, familial and community well being and involvement in social outlets such as church and societies is extremely detrimental. An often bypassed facet of poverty is spiritual and emotional well

being including various layers of superstition that have been constructed to keep women in this country under subjugation such as the targeting of women as witches . Another economically and emotionally constraining is belief that widows bring death. Their businesses are often avoided or they are prohibited from going to work thus contributing to their marginalisation socially, financially and emotionally. The poverty of dignity, humanity and a sense of spiritual community may not be easily quantifiable but contributes to the emotional depletion of women in these circumstances.

## **12 Recommendations for an Alternative Framework on Gender & Trade in South Africa**

A fair trading system in South Africa is one that supports gender justice, and requires policies and rules that (Mariama Williams 1998) describes as:

- anchored in a sustainable development framework that is both gender aware and gender sensitive. Grounded in a comprehensive approach to human rights in all its dimensions: civil, cultural, economic, political and social.
- provide adequate resources at national, regional and international levels for programmes and projects whose ultimate goal is the expansion of women's and men's capabilities. In order for this to occur they must ensure the necessary prerequisites of development. This means that there can be no side stepping or paying lip-service to :issues of land reform especially in terms of women access to land, inheritance, credit, food security and food self-sufficiency, gender equity and equality in all economic and social policies, the provision of basic health care, safe water and affordable, sustainable fuels and energy,.
- promote and grounded in governance and democracy both at the national, regional and international level. Governance, democratisation, decentralisation and human rights are fundamentally about promoting women's and men's ability to secure sustainable, meaningful livelihoods, as such, may require that government take actions which may not be in line with the trade liberalisation imperative. It is important that trade rules allow for government flexibility to develop such programmes.

Governance should also be about creating special programmes for the vulnerable. It is not simply about setting up 'democratic' mechanisms to facilitate foreign investors and financial and credit markets;

- Trade policy in South Africa should be driven by an underlying commitment to governance and should hold multinational corporations accountable and not imply/create pro-corporate investment rules. Such trade policy seeks to create a sustainable level for social development and the protection of women and men's economic and social rights; rather than simply creating a 'level' playing field for international competition.

Precisely because women in South Africa predominate in sectors that are very sensitive to changes in the trade area, notably textiles and agriculture, it is most likely that the general move toward more external trade will have a considerable impact on their lives. While analysing these trends, it is important to take a holistic view and assess how trade expansion relates to women in their multiple roles as producers, providers of labour, consumers or social

reproducers.

- Those sectors likely to suffer most from international competition should be targeted for public support and financial and technical assistance. On the other hand, many new income opportunities are emerging with globalization. Efforts should be made to identify such potential growth areas and women should be provided with the necessary skills, training, information and contacts to be able to take full advantage of these openings.
- Since most women in South Africa operate within the informal sector, it is necessary to extend the analysis of globalization and trade liberalisation to the sector as well. Within this sector, handicraft, cottage and home-based industries need particular attention.
- Mechanisms should be worked out in South Africa for women to be consulted and represented on various trade policies - making fora and bodies, at all levels, in order to voice women's needs, opinions, tactics, concerns and alternative strategies.
- For South Africa, it will be important to examine how new trade policies are translated at the state level.
- In the midst of deregulation trends and the downsizing of governments, there will be a strong need for public support at micro-level in order to advance women's economic empowerment.
- Produce gender-desegregated data all levels and for all sector of society in a continuous and systematic fashion. Such information would demonstrate women's contributions to economic development and enable a better assessment of the gender specific impact of global changes. Guidelines should be developed for national data-generating agencies instructing them how to break down statistics by gender.
- Conduct surveys and gather statistics about women's income and employment status and how these have been affected by recent trade liberalisation.
- Undertake sectoral case studies (and meso-analysis) to document how trade policy and trade liberalisation will impact on women operating within specific sectors i.e. textiles, agriculture and services.
- Undertake a cross-national study on various sectors and conduct a gender impact assessment of how trade policy and trade liberalisation affects the current situations for women in the sectors.
- Establish regional and national information/research mechanisms to review and monitor existing and new trade policies and their effect on women.
- Research and promote the development of alternative economic models and organisational structures that will guarantee a larger return of trade benefits directly to small-scale producers.
- Identify alternative income opportunities for women employed in sectors that are threatened or displaced as a result of economic reforms and globalization. Identify and provide the kind of direct support needed by producers in these sectors to be able to better respond to new

demands of the international market and to grasp emerging export opportunities.

- Set up marketing centres where women can display their products and approach local and foreign buyers.
- Undertake gender sensitisation training of decision-makers and trade development planners.
- Advocate for safeguarding livelihood and food security as central objectives of any economic reform plans and trade policy negotiations.
- Advocate for labour legislation that ensures fair and equitable working conditions in industrial development zones.
- Lobby for an ILO convention on home-based workers.
- Advocate for simplified trading procedures and rules for small-scale producers.
- Develop regional information network with national centres where women can exchange information about trade opportunities and about research on trade policies and practice and their effect on women.
- Undertake regional case studies on common problems and issues related to trade liberalisation which are of concern to all SADC women.
- Develop a practical tool for negotiators, decision-maker and analysts. The tool poses questions in a checklist format that could be used for analyses. The situation of women will vary between countries and nationally. The tool example is as follows:

### **13. A Tool for Gender analysis for Trade policy**

#### **1.1 Women's employment and production in general**

Do export production and trade increase the gendered division of labour?

Is export production based on mostly female labour?

Is export production and trading controlled by men?

Does import liberalisation particularly affect sectors with a majority of female labour?

Do export promotion, trade liberalisation rules increase or reduce women's role in trading at the local and regional level?

#### **1.2 Women in Agriculture**

How do trade-related price changes influence women's production?

Are farmers and producers of indigenous crops affected by import and exports and are more women than men producing these crops?

Does the expansion of agriculture and other exports jeopardise domestic food production by women?

What is the accumulated impact on women's ability to provide food for their families, i.e. on an overall food security?

### 1.3 Women & Trading

How are women taking opportunities in trade and marketing and what strengthens their comparative advantage?

Will trade policies implement institutional changes which might make commercial conditions for women traders easier?

Are women traders discriminated against in trading activities e.g. during negotiating deals?

### 1.4. Trade Policy & Gender Policy

How do trade decision-makers try to achieve the stated aims of the SADC Trade Protocol?

Do trade rule and trade regimes prevent government and business from taking positive measure for women?

Do they undermine positive measures or reinforce them?

Are trade policies based on a masculine model and vision of the global economy based on competition and survival of the fittest which ignore reproductive tasks?

In order for trade policy to contribute to such an endeavour it must also be a key cornerstone in a broad based development-centred approach that creates mechanisms to stop the haemorrhage of funds from poor to rich people and poor to rich countries via interest, dividends, debt services and unfavourable terms of trade liberalisations, but must also focus on the eradication of poverty and the economic and social empowerment of women.

Such attempts are not automatically/ supported, however, and in fact may be contravened or contradicted by conventional growth oriented trade liberalisation strategies that emphasised capital and profit accumulation, structural adjustment and perpetuation of external debt.

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