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5. Empowerment of Women and Population

"The demographic factor is central to racial, political, and economic questions in South Africaâ\200\235.

Chimere-Dan, 1993

"It is a sad fact that one of the few profoundly non-racial institutions in South Africa is patriarchy."â\200\235

Albie Sachs, 1992

The human rights of women and the female child are an inalienable, integral and indivisible part of universal human rights

UN World Conference on Human Rights, Vienna, June 1993

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South Africa is unusual in that it has(d) a national goal, set in 1983 (88?), for its total population size,

by 2025(?). This was set at 80 million, and exceeds most views of a population size within the countryâ\200\235

carrying capacity. WDR 1993 calculates that South Africaâ\200\235 theoretical population size at stability will

be 103 million. However, it seems probable that redressing historic discrimination against women will

be much of the solution to an orderly and equitable transition to democracy and sustainability.

Empowering women as soon as possible to reach at least parity with men is overdue in such aspects as

equal access to land and farming, job creation for women, health and social security, and for girlsâ\200\235

education to match that now received by boys. Empowerment of women is nothing more and nothing

less than increasing womenâ\200\235 control over their own lives. This includes increasing the choices open to

women, especially in land reform, and womenâ\200\235 access to resources and credit.

5.1 South African Priorities for Empowerment of Women

The history of womenâ\200\235 activism in South Africa gives much hope that their increased participation

will bring fundamental benefit to South Africa in the futureâ\200\235. Both dead and alive leaders -- Lilian

Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Ruth First, Winnie Mandela, Mamphela Ramphele among many other -- show the

potential force South Africa has in its women. The first comprehensive statement on womenâ\200\235

emancipation released by any political party or organization in South Africa was that of the ANC on 2

May 1990 (Bazilli 1991). It acknowledges womenâ\200\235 contribution to the political struggle which has

brought South Africa to the eve of change; it acknowledges the persistence of gender discrimination in

all spheres and calls for "Womenâ\200\235 right to democratic participation in all decision-making must be there

in principle and in practice". The statement "within apartheid ideology, African women have been

perceived simply as the breeders of future generations of labor" does not have a complement to it that

any ideology that perceives women first as reproducers and only second as equals will cause injustice to

women as great as apartheid has.

In South Africa, most black women remain subordinate in home and society, with severely limited

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autonomy (Chimere-Dan 1993). This is an unacceptable waste at the very least. Women transmit
tradition

INCOMPLETE DRAFT >

and spark innovation and change, precisely the values so much needed by RRP. South African priorities for empowerment of women, environmental sustainability, and for population stabilization, as found in the literature (eg: Caldwell and Caldwell 1993, Beinart & Bundy 1987, Palmer and Parsons 1977, Rimmer 1991, Packard 1990, Meli 1989, Bozzoli 1991, Bazilli 1991, Himmelstrand et al. 1993, Hyden et al. 1991, Walker 1991 and others, see litt.), include the five points outlined below which constitute an approach towards a definition of women's empowerment:

1. Women's Empowerment: "the ability to take control over their own lives" (Achebe et al. 1990), parity in opportunities for development as soon as possible (Chimere-Dan 1993). Women's opportunity for informed decision-making of decisions affecting themselves and their families is essential. The means for fulfilling women's goals should be under female control. Women are agents for economic and environmental change and must be recognized for their role in managing resources and families. Equal rights for women on wages, ownership, land etc., as widely sought in the South African literature may be fundamentally effective for the success of RRP. Replication of current discrimination against urban women must be avoided in RRP by specific measures for empowerment. As all women are different, it is their decision-making that is the key, rather than any blanket principles. The most effective empowerment recognizes that some classes of women are more vulnerable than others (eg: household heads, disabled, unemployed, pregnant, aged).

2. Girls' Empowerment: Increase educational opportunities for girls, as well as increased and meaningful employment opportunities for women is an integral part of their empowerment. As incomes, education and employment opportunities for women improve the quality of life, fertility levels decline. Education of girls, at least up to that now enjoyed by boys, is arguably the most cost-effective investment to improve the human condition. Noon meals help greatly. Community-level literacy and tutoring campaigns can be highly effective. Women want truancy rates decreased (Gouws 1990). Many girls do not attend school because they have to gather fuelwood or water; fuelwood lots and well drilling or similar arrangements by RRP thus have high payoffs. RRP recognizes that women with even an elementary school education raise living standards in developing countries. Such women are thus empowered to have fewer children, take better care of those they have, and earn more when they take a job or market their products.

3. Protection of Women's Rights: Human rights policies are needed to prohibit gender discrimination. Historic discrimination against women needs to be rectified, and some of this may imply strengthening the law. Financial, agricultural, and banking arrangements may be included. Universal access of women to primary health care, including maternal and child health care through programs that are woman-centered and women-managed. In addition, empowerment of women will halt involuntary, coercive or discriminatory family planning programs.

4. Women's Unmet Needs for Reproductive Health: Support for rural women's desires will reduce teenage, schoolgirl, adolescent, accidental, premature, and extra-marital pregnancies; will delay marriage and defer the birth of the first child, and will space their children. Black

women

want to reduce today's 62% single motherhood (Kollstadt 1992). Apparently easy concealment of contraception is desired. At least urban young women want to prevent premature childbirth

INCOMPLETE DRAFT

and marriage from interfering with their education and employment (Caldwell and Caldwell 1993b). National programs admit reduction in teen pregnancies but are silent on abortion (as of 1988). Meet women's unmet demand for family planning, family size, and spacing planning.

In spite of widespread access to free birth control, black urban women want smaller families.

An average of 42% - 52% of births are unwanted (1989 or 1992 data?). Practically all (79%) low income/high fertility respondents in HSRC's 1992 survey said South Africa's 2003 population was

growing too rapidly and 75% said some form of intervention is needed.

5. Women's Equality: Rectify today's situation in which women bear most of the financial burden of raising children, while men have most of the decision-making powers on fertility. Prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, especially AIDS, empowers markedly. Patriarchy and apartheid interacted to compel black women to accept contraception under circumstances that reduced their choices (Klugman 1990). Klugman (1991) investigates the assumption underlying the concept of overpopulation. Massive information campaigns (radio, musicals, "green" theater like the protest drama that grew from Port Elizabeth) directed towards both women and men, particularly addressing the links between women's empowerment, redressing historic imbalances, and economic impoverishment.

52 Empowerment and Reproductive Health

An important aspect of empowerment of women is control over their reproductive health, as noted above. This is especially important in the context of environmental sustainability. Women's control over their own reproductive health is essential for sustainability. Denial of information, choice and decision-making cannot be democratic. Democratizing reproductive health is essential for empowerment of

women. Women must be empowered to manage their own fertility: women want to decrease today's 2003

high (42% to 52%, HSRC, 1992?) rate of unplanned pregnancies. Women are demanding contraceptive

information and technology: 20.8% of women do not have family planning needs met, and these also are

fundamental to rural development. As 38% of South Africa's 2003 population have yet to enter reproductive

ages, population stability * also is urgent. lack of population stability harms women more than men.

Indeed, rapid population growth within subsistence economies exacerbates maternal health and infant

mortality, and compounds environmental degradation (i.e. soil erosion, depletion of soil fertility,

deforestation, and indirect effects on watersheds, irrigation, etc.), thereby increasing the impact of human

activities on the local resource base.

Slowing the momentum of population growth in South Africa will not be an easy task. In South

Africa, roughly 50% (38%?) of the population is under the age of sixteen. Age structures so heavily

skewed toward the young, who have yet to live their reproductive years, generate tremendous demographic momentum, particularly as modern medicine lowers death rates (i.e., infant mortality) in

South Africa.

In the transition towards environmental sustainability, population stabilization as soon as possible is

the prudent goal, rather than just reducing the growth rate. Limiting South Africa's population growth

INCOMPLETE DRAFT

is an essential enabling condition towards an acceptable standard of living. Of course, slowing the population growth rate is an essential first step. Indeed, given the fact that South Africa fails to provide "minimum living levels" for 50 percent of the population at today's population scale, how will South Africa be capable of improving living standards when its 39 million (1992) population more than doubles to 69 million before 2025? Attaining population stability prohibits even a one percent rate of population growth, as this permits a population to double every 70 years. Population stabilization requires families to be limited to 2 children or so per family on average. South Africa's current four children per woman makes an equitable income increase practically impossible.

South Africa has achieved an impressive urban "demographic transition" (although more in declining fertility than mortality). By 1991 there were 57,240 (later 60,200) "clinical family planning service points" or twice as many locations as there were for health care. South Africa has lower fertility rates and lower preferred family size than any other country in Sub-Saharan Africa (Freedman, 1992). Unlike health services, family planning is free. Mobile family planning teams visit factories, mines, and at times even some rural villages. This is by far the most effective such program in Africa, and one of the better-funded ones in the world. Although the average advice time at such clinics is only two minutes (Kollstadt 1992), even this intensity exceeds anything ever seen in OECD countries. The extent of malpractice and coercion, which is partly responsible for the negative view of family planning on the part of many South Africans needs to be further ascertained, and future programs monitored to prevent any recurrence (Berger 1992, Sachdev 1985, Bernstein 1985). Use of the Depo-provera injectable contraceptive has politicized the issue which can only be resolved by women themselves in a society that accords them equal status.

By 1991, official statistics on South African contraceptive usage ran as high as 86.5% in sophisticated urban communities, to 50.5% in some rural communities. As these figures seem to exclude homelands and unmarried women (pregnant women? singles without children?), they overstate the success rates. Annual expenditures by 1987 were US\$10 per eligible woman or \$40 million (80 million Rand) according to the South Africa Official Yearbook 1991-1992. Caldwell and Caldwell's main (1993) question is will this qualified achievement survive democratization? For the current purposes (eg: RRP) the question becomes, will current urban fertility declines be repeated in rural areas, as women become empowered and living standards rise, or will urban fertility declines reverse in rural areas as ex-homelanders resume farming after generations away from the land?

9.3 Why is Black Fertility not Lower?

The two important demographic unanswered questions remain, according to recent leading demographic publications (Caldwell and Caldwell 1993). First, given the advanced industrial nature of South African economy and the intense family planning program, why is black fertility no lower than it

A is? Although the South African decline started 10 or even 20 years earlier than in Botswana or Zimbabwe, fertility in those countries is roughly the same as in South Africa. The second question is why, in a society with a great deal of early, premarital sexuality, and a frequent presumption that teenage and nonmarital pregnancy is largely accidental and undesired, have fertility rates under 25 years of age

Â» not been reduced? (Caldwell and Caldwell 1993). Data on abandoned children? Is it low? RRPâ\200\231s

environmental group may want to address these two questions.

The urban occupational reason - "fired if pregnant" -- is probably the strongest reason for use of contraception at present. High rates of population increase results precisely in the failure of black populations to achieve a fair share of participation in the benefits of economic development, which is literally "eaten up" by large families. Whites, with only half TFR, are able to accumulate surplus over population increases. In South Africa's deeply divided society, community and political resistance is high to a program imposed by the minority population with a clear political agenda. However, even steeply declining black fertility would make little difference to the country's racial proportions over the critical near to medium term. Political leaders on all sides are probably already convinced that smaller families and slower rates of increase would benefit the black population.

A general political consensus regarding the urgency of stabilizing the population is probably a necessary condition (Pelser et al.1992), and the sooner population is discussed and debated the sooner such political consensus may be reached. The worst case would be to defer discussion of the population issue until some later time. Chimere-Dan (1993) concludes that a national post-apartheid population policy in a future nonracist and democratic society would raise wider issues concerning rationales, organization and strategies for the delivery of family planning in South Africa. Failure to address such wider issues could guarantee failure of any policy. Family planning must be part of reproductive health services for success.

54 Over-reliance on a Demographic Transition

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What RRP seems to want is a quick completion of the demographic transition in rural areas. The urban demographic transition in South Africa is progressing, but it is very atypical. It does not seem to be the "normal" income adequacy plus education level demographic transition, for the occupational reasons noted above. Therefore, the urban track record is most unlikely to be a reliable guide for rural areas. Empirical knowledge of key demographic determinants for the black 80% of South Africa's population is very poor. Sadie's (1988) calculations suggest total black fertility rates exceeding 5 children per woman for 1985 to 1990. Urban fertility rates have fallen gradually ***% from about 1960 and more steeply from the early 1970's (Mostert et al 1991) because contraception and sterilization is used for occupational reasons. This means employers require contraceptive use before hiring (Kollstadt 1992), and may fire the employee for pregnancy. (Presumably this will no longer be politically acceptable???) Job-loss was jeopardized a woman's right to stay in the urban area instead of returning compulsorily to a homeland. In addition, live-in domestics had to send any children back to a homeland with unacceptably high mortality rates. Caldwell and Caldwell (1993b) suggest that urban program results

have reached a plateau. This means that South Africa's urban demographic transition has not been the normal education and income one experienced elsewhere. This puts into doubt the chances of a similar transition in rural areas. Although unrelated to RRP, it also casts doubt that the urban transition will persist in urban areas when apartheid and related policies cease.

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Black rural women want 20% more children than do black urban women (Mostert 1990). There is a clear urban-rural difference in implied demand for contraception. Lotter (1975) found 5.7 living children per urban woman, and 6.1 for rural women. Rural fertility rates may not be falling. Rural areas have few fixed clinics; users rely on irregular mobile services; a full 80% of black women use a monthly pill or injection both of which require highly regular, steady supplies and precisely timed use which do not yet pertain in rural areas. Because a relatively large proportion of contraceptive use is for spacing rather than for limiting numbers of births, users are likely to be less scrupulous in contraceptive practice, especially problematic with the methods used (Freedman 1992). Demographic transition theory is unable to predict the speed of fertility declines. The reasons for urban fertility declines do not pertain in rural areas, which has lower and briefer educational standards, earlier marriage, and little or no occupational reasons for family planning. Are rural infant mortality and malnutrition better or worse than in cities??

Prudence dictates that not too much reliance be put on an expectation of an automatic demographic transition to solve the rural predicament of excessive people/land ratios (Roth 199**). On the contrary, as mentioned above, liberation from overcrowded homelands to small farming communities will increase the desire for larger families. In addition, families value numbers for claiming rights to communal or redistributed lands. The AIDS virus and associated diseases (eg: TB) will exacerbate the challenge on small farmers. Farm productivity will decline, labor will become scarcer, delays, accidents and breakdowns will increase: output will suffer. Loan/credit defaulters will increase as money is needed for health costs. AIDS seems more likely to hasten land abandonment as farms are liquidated to pay debts and medical bills, rather than leading to intensification. These trends would swamp the onset of any demographic transition.

The demographic transition has an enormous way to go from a fertility rate of over 5 to replacement levels of 2.1. South African demographer Charles Simkins (1993) concludes that nothing would be more useful for South African development than a rapid drop in fertility. For the demographic transition to help the RRP, empowerment of women is probably an essential precondition -- improved income, health, educational levels of the bottom 78% have to rise. That means direct investment in empowerment will be necessary, rather than indirect or future or trickle down hopes. While acceleration of the demographic transition certainly should be a goal, it is imprudent to rely too heavily on its spontaneous rural occurrence.

Although it would be wishful thinking to believe in an automatic rural demographic transition, the transition from high birth and death rates to low birth and death rates is exactly as desirable at the transition from low to high life expectancy. For example, $B = D$ at 40/1000/year imply, at equilibrium, a life expectancy of $1000/40 = 25$ years. After transition $B = D$ of 15/100 = 67 years. Just

as-low

throughput means greater durability for a given stock of goods, so low throughput maintenance of a given population means longer average lifetime.

5.5 Immigration and Refugees

How probable is the risk that social spending on RRP and health, education, water supply, infrastructure will attract large numbers of immigrants? A recent evaluation of a labor intensive road

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project some 1000 kms from Mozambique revealed that almost 100% were male Mozambicans. Although data on illegal immigrants are not available, guesstimates suggest there are 6 million refugees already in the country. RRP's environmental group may want to expand on this theme: From Surrounding countries Zimbabwe, Malawi? Migrant labor e.g., Lesotho; contract miners; Returning exiles?; Refugees eg from Mozambique and other wars?

The other migration question RRP's Environmental Group may want to address is that of circular migration from neighboring countries such as Swaziland and Lesotho. Over half of Lesotho men work in South Africa. Many Swazi men also work in South Africa. But the total fertility rates in those two countries are substantially higher than in South Africa. Although such people return home monthly or annually and may eventually retire in their country of birth, they are contributing to the population pressures of South Africa.

Figure 5:
South African Priorities to Approach Environmental Sustainability

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. Empowerment of women to accelerate the transition towards population stability in rural as well as urban communities.

2. Increasing governmental and NGO assistance for renewable energy sources.

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. Promoting human capital formation, with a particular emphasis upon improving education, training and employment creation for girls and young women.

4. Supporting technologies which provide increased employment opportunities for unemployed and underemployed individuals in rural areas. Training on-the-job, apprenticeships, tutoring

5. Provision of improved health care for mothers, infants and children, social safety nets for the rural poor, and targeted assistance to low-income groups.

6. Providing increased support for conservation and management of natural resources such as forests, croplands and water.

Figure 6:
International Needs to Approach Environmental Sustainability

For completeness, at the international level, environmental sustainability needs:

1. Focusing upon direct assistance to the poor, rather than expecting general economic development efforts to alleviate poverty.

2. The concept of sufficiency, rather than overconsumption.

3. Internalizing environmental costs in energy prices and accelerating the transition to renewable energy sources.

4. Internalizing to the manufacturer or municipality the costs of disposal of toxic and non-toxic (eg: sewage) wastes. Halting exports of such wastes to South Africa. Such measures provide incentives to minimize toxic waste generation where it is produced.

5. Hastening technology transfers to rural areas, such that they may leapfrog environmentally-damaging stages of rural economic evolution.

6. Broadening conventional cost-benefit analysis to internalize environmental costs.

7. Increasing grants for rural areas to reach global environmental standards. World Bank's eg: Global Environmental Facility.

8. Supporting the maintenance of biophysical infrastructures upon which all economic activities

ty is built,
and financing environmental investments as extended infrastructure investments.

6. Empowerment of Women in RRP

Presumably the many means to increase income (Y) have been ranked by RRP on a least cost sequence. But income and population should be also treated independently, and there is no reason not to recognize two-way causation, with both Y and P capable of autonomous change. It is certain that of the many means to decrease population, the top options are more cost effective than latter options to increase income. This is very important because subsistence -- that state above death but below capital accumulation -- means maintaining all physiological processes including reproduction, functioning at full capacity.

Democratizing access to family planning is essential to approaching environmental sustainability. At the moment, the upper classes have the information and resources to plan their families, which are largely denied to the lower classes. As a result, this unethical situation has led to a near European-type population growth rate (TFR 1.9 for South African whites, ie: nearing replacement level), whereas Black TFR exceeds 4.6. The implications are inescapable: white population remains constant while the black population doubles within one generation. The typical upper class family with a reproduction ratio of one, and the lower class family with a reproduction ratio of two, will thus double and quadruple their numbers respectively over one generation (c. 25 years). Far from limiting anyone's freedom, democratization means extending to blacks the same options currently enjoyed by whites of limiting and spacing their progeny.

South African society is strongly bimodal. An upper class combines property ownership and controls its fertility leading to high per capita incomes. At the other extreme is a very large lower class that combines labor income with largely uncontrolled fertility. For the RRP this class will be unfortunately stable, since there is little chance of capital accumulation out of a labor income if fertility is not controlled. Democratizing access to family planning includes addressing the causes of differential fertility. Differential fertility is likely a response to differential mortality: maternal mortality is 22 times higher for blacks than whites, infant mortality seven times higher, and life expectancy 10 years lower for blacks than whites. Democratization includes meeting unmet demand for family planning which is 30% for blacks and zero for whites.

RRP seems to spend much of its attention to freeing de-skilled laborers and converting them into small farmers. Even with the many safeguards envisaged to prevent land consolidation by latifundistas from bankrupt or abandoned farms, it seems prudent to admit the possibility that many small farms will fail early on. This is made more likely because new farmers will want larger families -- more hands not less -- at the very time when the decrease in fertility is essential. If highly capitalized, well-informed whites with generations of farming experience and low population growth rates have already depleted 13% of farmland by overstocking, inept plowing, and salination of irrigated lands (**** 1993), the

challenges for RRP black farmers -- women and men -- must be minimized to the fullest extent possible.

Empowerment of women, environmental sustainability, reproductive health, training and renewable energy systems are therefore essential.

It would be a tragedy if current urban discrimination against women became replicated in RRP. A

"new" farmer is one who did not grow up on a farm and who will lack traditional knowledge that "old"

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farmers take for granted. This tendency is exacerbated because, in addition to being new farmers, they will essentially be immigrants or refugees as soon as they are liberated from homelands. The strong tendency for immigrants and refugees to boost their fertility as soon as they arrive in their refuge or new site is well documented. This means that effective components to achieve reproductive health -- safe motherhood, lower child mortality, girls's and women's education, social security, reliable tenure, contraceptive access and information -- are essential from the earliest stages of RRP.

Major provision for land laborers seems inevitable. Women are better at many forms of labor than men, such as collecting tree seeds, tending saplings, cooking and water management. Given that 50% of South African society is now unemployed, encouraging land laborers seems a major opportunity to help reverse the need for more familial hands by increased fertility. However, unless the special efforts amplified in this paper are provided for, those land laborers will remain at subsistence, not perishing but not accumulating, and may also have high fertility. There is little incentive to control fertility if there is little chance of moving beyond subsistence.

The operational significance to rise above subsistence is very clear. All rural restructuring from homeland to agriculture must be accompanied by empowerment of women including effective health, especially reproductive health services. This is arguably more important than acquiring agricultural skills. As many family beneficiaries of RRP will be illiterate, this democratization of contraception needs to be made a priority. The means of choosing to limit reproduction include the relatively cheap and simple information and access to contraceptive devices. These will be ineffective in all societies unless accompanied by the more difficult attainment of a cultural level of self-discipline and understanding sufficient to motivate their effective use. All this must be placed within the broader context of women-centered reproductive health services.

Although the case for small farmers -- equal opportunities for men and women -- with reliable tenure is generally compelling as the focus for RRP, it may not always be the first step. The possibility seems to be admitted (see: TOR RRP "Converting Group Title to Individual Title and vice versa") that providing de-skilled homelanderers with the necessary agricultural skills will take time, especially for high-value crops. Of course, traditional maize production will need less initial training; export crops much longer training will be essential. But even with maize, pest control will be important. Although South Africa's plant protection scientists lead the world in maize protection by integrated pest management (New Scientist 1993), it will be important to generalize lab results, prefer low-tech over esoteric biocides, and get the message out to the farmers.

Major effort is needed to identify homelanderers or RRP candidates who still have ideas or experience about rural cooperatives or some forms of communal land tenure, and build on them to the fullest extent

possible. As working and single mothers, often as household heads, are more a norm than an aberration, this has major implications in program implementation and project design. Possibly an interim step towards small farmers can in certain cases be multi-family communal farms with the extra roles as training centers and farmer selection. Possibly the rural cooperative itself should be divided up at the rate in which people become trained and selected to enter the propertied class. Land rights should be accorded equally to men and women.

INCOMPLETE DRAFT

To be as explicit as possible, the other end of the trends should also be admitted. While the lower classes get more children, the upper classes will shrink. Following the "swart gevaar" (black peril, e.g., Brown 1987) scare, the 1967 "Babies for Botha" campaign appealed to whites to breed faster provoked both a black and a white backlash, for different reasons. White TFR at 1.9 is now below replacement rate, compared with 4.6 for blacks. The rich must be expected to get richer and numerically smaller. The implication of this trend, which can be quantified, should be thought through by RRP's environmental group, and any opportunities recognized. On the other hand, there is no risk that reduction in black population growth rates will materially reverse blacks' current numerical dominance. Black population rates will certainly make it unnecessarily difficult for their wages to increase in the face of such an "unlimited" labor supply. Progressive empowerment has already radicalized to the extremes on both black and white sides. Therefore appropriate attention to poor whites may reduce polarization.

By definition, reproductive freedom is incompatible with population control. Paraphrasing J. S. Mill, one of the greatest champions of liberty who ever lived: First: to produce a child if that child does not have at least the ordinary chances of a decent existence is a crime against that child. Second, state laws which forbid marriage unless the couple can show they have the means of supporting a family are legitimate powers of the state, and are not violations of liberty. Third, such laws prevent injury to society. In other words, it is not an infringement of individual liberty to prevent offspring being borne into lives of "wretchedness" nor where they harm third parties or society in general.

6.1 The Argument for the Empowerment of Women in RRP

It is important to emphasize that blacks are poor in South Africa NOT solely because they have large families, nor are smaller families the only solution. But the problem is so grave that all or most non-coercive incentives probably are necessary to improve the quality of life for most South Africans in any acceptable time frame. The argument for empowerment of women, particularly for democratization of their own reproductive health includes:

1. Reduces the burden of educating the masses which is an essential pre-condition for technology transfer to de-skilled people. Without such measures the proportion of illiterates will increase.
2. Increases the savings rate by lowering the dependency ratio; improves loan/mortgage repayments; accelerates rising from subsistence to the middle class (ie: some capital accumulation).
3. Facilitates sustainable agriculture, which is not feasible where a surplus farm population depresses wages.
4. RRP should calculate the extent to which one marginal dollar spent on birth control may be more cost-effective in RRP's goal of raising per capita income, than a dollar spent on conventional development projects. Is there an ethical tradeoff to be faced by RRP: many people at low resource use

per person,
or fewer people at higher resource use per capita?

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Over half (52%) of women interviewed recently (1989, HSRC) said their last pregnancy was unintentional, and 42% recorded their last pregnancy as unwanted. Satisfying the expressed wish of women to space or limit future births averts large numbers of maternal deaths and infant deaths. Lowering these two death rates removes an incentive for large families. Safe motherhood benefits are available at low costs -- much lower than practically all other investments needed to approach environmental sustainability.

Abortion is an abomination to many, and this should be realized. However, it may often be the lesser of two evils if the alternative is infanticide, abandoned babies, and unwanted children. In addition, unsafe and illegal abortion -- conservatively estimated at 100,000 per annum (Bernstein 1985) -- kills large numbers of mothers. As a back-up to complement contraception, safe and legal abortion is a health matter (WDR 1993). The right to safe motherhood includes the possibility of safe abortion. African maternal mortality rates are the highest in the world (over 600 deaths per 100,000 live births). In 1975, perhaps to reassure the churches, an even harsher abortion law was passed in South Africa than the previous one, with conditions so difficult to meet that in 1980 there were only 464 legal abortions in the whole country, of

6.2 AIDS

Africa has more than half the world's AIDS victims. South Africa has a significant and rising proportion (***** 1993)., RRP's Environmental Group may want to address the extent to which AIDS stops people at the peak of their working career, drains agricultural labor, and increases sick time off, health insurance. AIDS also diverts money for investment and savings into health care and funerals. AIDS may retard cash crop production hence reduce household incomes. Death of head-of-household forces remaining family members to reduce their agriculture. Children may be taken out of school to replace lost farm labor.

6.3 ANC Economic Manifesto on Population

Chimere-Dan (1993), the source of this comment, notes a strong tendency within ANC leadership to narrow the concept of population policy to birth control, a cautious integrationist approach. Empowerment, which includes control of women over their own lives, especially reproductive choice, is the overarching concept embracing population. Although not specifically mentioned in ANC's July 1991 Economic Manifesto, there are three areas with implications for population policy. Family planning is subsumed under integrated social and economic programs; gender oppression; and the material base of gender oppression, especially women's unpaid labor (Chimere-Dan 1993). To the extent RRP empowers women and democratizes reproductive health, environmental sustainability will be vastly more likely.

The new constitution offers the possibility of new policy for the empowerment of women. The constitution could state that decisions about reproduction lie with women; the state could assume the

duties of education and the provision of services, according to Rees (1991). In April 1992,

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representatives of more than 60 women's organizations formed the National Women's Coalition, a response to the slowness in progress in negotiations. The coalition includes white conservatives as well as members of the ANC Women's League and though shaky, remains intact (Vollenweider 1993). It proposes to ask women with grass-roots surveys what they want in a post-Apartheid South Africa and to produce from their answers a "Women's Charter" to be incorporated into the country's new constitution. If, as Rees (1991) suggests, the problems with present contraceptive policy are poor education, poor knowledge of contraceptives by women and men, poor use and availability of contraception, and the abuse of contraceptives by health workers and the state, education and the provision of services can be the main focus of state responsibility. Women's right to democratic participation in all decisions will ensure the principle that it is a woman's responsibility to control her own fertility. It is she who must make sense of environmental sustainability and choose accordingly.

6.4 Counter Arguments: Over-reliance on a Boserup Transition X

It will be important for RRP's Environmental Group to examine the likelihood of a Boserup transition. Some, possibly the minority, African "Futures" scenarios point out the stimulus value of higher population densities. Ester Boserup and successors have observed relationships between higher population densities and agricultural intensification. The Boserup hypothesis of an autonomous adjustment through intensification and higher value crops, to population growth has not been proven in recent Poverty/Population/Nexus work in Africa in the Bank. Some Bank staff (eg: Christoffersen and Nekby) used to suspect it had been disproved at least under the least favorable farming conditions. It is undeniable that some societies intensify rural production when land has become scarce and population densities are becoming high. But according to Roth (199*??) population/land ratios will be excessive if all current homelander are able and wanting land get it. Second, Boserup's transition theory is observed over several decades. Tiffen's (1992) Machachos Kenya study showed intensification over a 50 year period. Some Boserup-type cases show that the environment has to be severely degraded before the intensification starts. It will be important to evaluate such scenarios before relying too much on Boserup optimism for the case of South Africa.

Boserup's response theory, a variant of "challenge and response" has, on occasion, been observable. But that does not mean that it is a reliable basis for an overt policy. Response is difficult enough right now without extra challenges. Maximizing opportunities should be RRP's goal rather than challenges. Countries with high fertility rates are long on challenge and usually short on response. The challenge of nearly 3% rural population increase combined with land scarcity and land degradation -- before RRP even begins -- is too great a challenge, and the risks are too high to rely on it for policy. The counter theory is much more widespread in practice and seems the more likely in rural South Africa, namely overpopulation and land degradation leads to abandonment of farms and swelling rural unemployment or

urban slums. This is plausible in South Africa as the lands are intrinsically fragile. If farms do eventually become depopulated, the remaining people could either intensify as under the Bos erup theory, or consolidate land which will have become abundant once again. Consolidation seems the more likely, but the risks are too great even to admit.

Assisting homelander to become farmers under the RRP, even over a generous schedule, may

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degrade the resource base before Boserup signals kick in. In view of the extreme scarcity of reasonable farmland in South Africa, and its relative fragility, it would be imprudent to rely on Boserup transitions. Clearly RRP wants to prevent land degradation and farm abandonment. As land is already scarce for the numbers needing it, and as capital will be scarce even to maintain current land quality, it will be especially important for RRP to prevent further degradation beyond the 11 million ha (13% of total farmland) already damaged. In this case prevention is not only cheaper than cure, land restoration may be impossible in large areas as bedrock is already exposed because of widespread land abuse. The prudent course would be to democratize family planning to the homelands preferably before or at the latest concurrent with RRP. The other Boserup-type benefit of higher populations, making electric grids, transport networks and industrial and commercial markets feasible, is moot because most of these exist already. If they don't yet exist in the overpopulated homelands, they are less likely to be brought forward by the much lower rural population densities envisaged under the RRP. Certainly RRP should foster agricultural markets as well as intensification. Land is far too scarce for extensive land use. (See Section 3.2.)

RRP's Environmental Group also may want to assess why the densely populated homelands failed to conform to Boserup's hypothesis. Many, if not most, homelands are on good to very reasonable agricultural soils, and relatively well watered (e.g., Ciskei, Transkei, Vanda, most of Natal, and elsewhere). If the Boserup transition has not yet materialized on such relatively promising sites on which populations doubled or more, what are the conclusions for RRP?

In economies little advanced over subsistence all over the world, home garden plots are often very helpful to the family. In Indonesia, the best example, a small agroforestry plot supplies fruits, nuts, roots and tubers. A few ducks are raised on the small house pond downstream from the septic leach field. Some home gardens produce enough green manure, husks and peelings to support one pig to recycle residues. In slightly more sophisticated systems, all the household cooking energy is derived from a home-built methane or biogas digester. Pond fish are the main source of protein. Such minute home gardens normally cannot support all the family's food needs, but are exceptionally useful supplements to a patch of rice, maize or cassava, depending on what country.

In the homelands, there seem to be few, if any, such resilient and sustainable systems. Instead, cattle seem to be the main form of agriculture. RRP may want to explore the implications of cattle. Home gardens are highly productive at low levels all year, and can never run down the system, no matter how neglected. On the other hand, cattle always tend to degrade their resource base unless they are scrupulously managed. In South Africa, it is the low labor requirement of poorly managed cattle which is one of cattle's main attractions. The tendency to overstock is often irresistible. Land degradation ensues and will often become irreversible throughout much of South Africa's dry and

fragile soils. If
today's highly capitalized farmers are responsible for widespread overstocking and
land degradation, there
will be less likelihood of a poorly-capitalized novice farmer doing better.

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T Biodiversity and Conservation Units

7.1 Biodiversity

Biodiversity conservation is the inverse of the expropriation of the wildlife niche by humans.

Draconian policies depopulating the countryside and a harsh climate have resulted in South Africa having a large portion of national territory in some form of conservation status. The tradeoff is between empowerment of women and a transition towards environmental sustainability on the one hand, versus increasing the appropriation of the natural environment to support ever larger numbers of humans at a low standard of living on the other. It is unlikely and would be vastly uneconomic for South Africa to convert all wildlands to human use. Even converting ALL of South Africa's National Parks to rural development would only buy a year or so's delay until demographic pressures built up once more, but with the irreversible loss of possibly South Africa's main attraction for local and foreign visitors. South Africa would be a truly impoverished country with no wildlands at all.

The question becomes how much would South Africa prefer to conserve? Certainly all conservation areas that already "pay their way" in a crude economic sense, by ecotourism or whatever. In other words those tracts that earn more in an immediate sense as they are, rather than what they would be expected to earn if appropriated for human use. = The extremes of this tack are urban zoos specializing in charismatic megafauna. Such zoos can attract many fee-paying citizens, but have almost trivial environmental value. The exception is captive breeding for eventual re-release into depopulated wildlands. But economists have not yet managed to value by far the main value of conservation, namely biodiversity. So even if a reserve is not touristically economic does not necessarily make it less valuable to society. RRP's Environmental Group may want to rank South Africa's conservation units on a rough species conserved per ha. basis, in which case the remnant moist coastal forest ecosystems may come out on top.

Certainly RRP's environmental group is unlikely to counsel "strict preservation" in most instances -
- that could become a recipe for paralysis, and may be counter-productive in the long run. Prima facie, it looks as though South Africa should conserve somewhat more wildlands than it has at present, rather than somewhat less. That is why RRP's EG may want to rank all ecosystems as yet unconverted to human use: National Parks at one end, through remnant degraded forest, to regenerating abandoned lands. And then advising RRP of the costs and benefits, including non-economic and intangibles, of their conservation or conversion. Biodiversity's bottom line is extinction of species: "The folly our descendants are least likely to forgive us" as Harvard Distinguished professor of Biology Edward O. Wilson puts it. We, today's generation, should strive to ensure that we leave for our descendants a resource bundle that we would like for our predecessors to have left for us, as Prof Bromley puts it (cf: Philosopher John Rawls's "veil of ignorance" test, tba).

RRP's biggest contribution to biodiversity conservation would be to stabilize populations. There is no way habitat can be effectively conserved in an overpopulated country with high growth rates. RRP's environmental group should be asked to advise on the status of South Africa's protected areas. The international norm of 10% minimum of national territory and 10% of each major ecosystem have not yet

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people and such receipts could become sustainable.

The scrub could become profitable if sold as charcoal or other products. The risk could be that once people get used to removing woody vegetation from inside conservation units, they may cut non-scrub when all unwanted scrub has been removed. Is it possible that elephants could be induced to trample enough scrub by themselves? Some National Parks worldwide actually use controlled fires to maintain whatever balanced boscage is felt desirable. Queen Elizabeth Rwenzori National Park in Uganda burns or is burnt almost annually. The Independent Development Trust is promoting a feasibility study of scrub clearance and its potential inside conservation units and in surrounding buffer zones.

7.4 Buffer Zones

RRP could create employment at the same time that conservation tracts are enhanced by promoting buffer zones around them. These can provide sustainable livelihoods for the surrounding people and convert them into supporters of the conserved areas rather than encroachers.....
.. tba

8. Environmental Assessment

South Africa's very reasonable environmental procedures and guidelines have already been drafted for some time. However, they are not yet enacted. Their compliance is voluntary hence sporadic. RRP's environmental group may want to review such provisions and make them mandatory for RRP or devise others. Certainly, all of RRP's program will be subject to environmental assessment as soon as project identification stages start. The Institute of Natural Resources, Pietermaritzburg, has proposed an Environmental Forum to promote the adoption of environmental assessment nationwide, which could help RRP in a big way.

In spite of highly commendable provisions, the 1989 Environmental Conservation Act (# 73) is largely ineffective because the Department of Environmental Affairs has not passed regulations which are essential for effective implementation of the Act. The only exception is the 1990 noise pollution regulation. Importantly for RRP, the act provides for environmental assessment (EA) which are now required by all multilateral and practically all bilateral development agencies, and by most governments. EAs are undertaken in South Africa, but seemingly on a voluntary basis. As RRP will probably need several EAs, it would be in its interest to strengthen EA capacity -- to assess, to review, and to ensure implementation, as well as to evaluate post hoc results. The Act also provides for a Board of Investigation. This would effectively promote the public participation so urgently needed in the EA of large projects.

The whole area of environmental legislation is of direct concern to RRP, dependant as it is on water and other common property or common access resources, biocide and agricultural substances, soil erosion, overstocking and sedimentation. Glazewski, Dodson and Smith (1993) write that envi

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