Special Issue
**Reflections on
Social Policy in Africa**

With
Jimi Adesina

Numéro spécial
**Des réflexions sur
la politique sociale en Afrique**

Avec
Jimi Adesina

In this issue / Dans ce numéro

Editorial

Over the last three decades or so, a number of scholars operating under the auspices of CODESRIA, and later UNRISD, have dedicated their energies and time to rescuing social policy in Africa from external policy manipulation and intellectual assault. The assault manifested itself in the form of reductionist neoliberal approaches that questioned the role of state in development generally and the idea and practice of social policy in particular. The external assault reduced the discourse on development privileging

market forces as the key to allocation of public goods. In this scenario, the broad meaning and context of social policy in a developmet context was emptied and reduced to a mere 'social protection' function.

The attack on social policy in the African context persist to date. This is especially the case as neoclassical economic thinking prevails and its attempt to find explanations for the failed neo-liberal project avoids the idea of transformative social policy. The brutal inequalities that neo-liberalism has engendered, made worse in recent times by the pandemic, and deepening marginalisation of some constituencies of society are all factors that urge for a notion of social policy that is developmental in orientation. And this is where the story of poverty-eradication fits in. In the context of neo-liberal reflections, once poverty was 'discovered' and became trendy, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers framework was advanced as a means of addressing poverty's debilitating effects. But this has hardly addressed the challenge of poverty. Instead, the poverty strategy framework rephrased social policy's role to that of easing the pains through the mere provision of subsides as safety nets. Governments have been coerced, cajoled or simply made to comply with this palliative framework that adopts 'solutions' that merely promise that the effects on the poor will be minimised through social assistance handouts. Shaping the debate as one between growth and equity, the proponents of the limited state, and cash assistance, seem to have won in the last few decades, especially since the emphasis on retrenching the state was given a new lease of life under the Washington Consensus.

The papers in this Bulletin are selected and summarized from the recently published CODESRIA study on *Social Policy in the African Context* (Dakar, 2021) edited by Jimi O. Adesina. The papers were first presented and discussed at the conference in Pretoria, in 2017, on Social Policy in Africa jointly organized by CODESRIA, the SARChI Chair in Social Policy at the University of South Africa (Unisa) and UNRISD. Out of the fourteen chapters published in the book, six are summarized in this Bulletin to make this work easily accessible to the academic and policy community, including civil society actors wishing to engage with these ideas.

CODESRIA's former Executive Secretary, the late Thandika Mkandawire gave a key note address at that conference together with Tade Aina. Both Thandika and Tade Aina pioneered work around social policy in Africa, and their intellectual reflections on the issues have been central to sustaining debates on social policy in the continent. The passing on of Thandika may have undermined the speed with which the rescue mission, referred to above, is being conducted. But it certainly has not stopped the desire and conviction to document the historic relevance and undeniable importance of social policy in development. Through his illustrious intellectual career, Thandika brought conceptual clarity to debates on social policy. The strength of his methodological grounding and the historical depth of his understanding of socioeconomic processes globally and in Africa left a rich but unfinished research agenda.

The unfinished research agenda revolves around the notion of transformative social policy. It is built around a set of assumptions that depart radically from the neoliberal anchors around which the dominant mainstream practice and thinking on social policy have been organised. At its core, and as Jayati Ghosh recently reminded us at the third edition of the Social Policy in Africa Conference, Thandika understood social policy to be essentially economic policy and he demonstrated the strength of framing social policy in terms of development, but also insisted that development is hollow if it is not imbued with a deeply democratic spirit. As the interventions here show, periodic handouts in the forms of cash transfers do not make social policy. Rather, social protection is treated as a neoliberal decoy aimed at diverting social policy off its transformative content and shifting it towards an ahistorical framework and anti-development agenda.

The articles in this Bulletin, if read together, suggest the need to avoid the criminalization of social policy in neoliberal societies, to borrow the title of a recent study.[1] This assertion is ably summarised in the introductory article and given greater elaboration by Katja Hujo's piece. The subsequent articles elaborate the dimensions of social policy using the conceptualisation envisioned in the transformative framework. The articles focus on the intersections of social policy with issues of gender and health, land, the dynamics in household food provisioning and the sustenance of communical support systems. The articles weigh the varied levels of effectiveness of whatever approach is used. The desire to ensure that the interventions not only contribute to development but also address issues of poverty, equity and marginalisation is notable in these essays. In other words, there is a general social justice ethos undergirding the vision of social policy that the contributors advance.

The terrain of justice, however, is murky, more so when the key institutions mandated to ensure justice are themselves weak, incapacitated or under attack. While there are broad global commitments to all forms of justice and the equity that social justice promises, few global institutions walk the talk of equity and justice in reality. This has worked to generate enormous doubt in global commitments for fairness, equity and justice, and this doubt has cascaded to regional and local institutions. The state in Africa has come under particular focus, and its role in policy-making in general and social policy in particular deserves more than a passing mention.

In Africa, doubts about the willingness, capacity and commitment of the state to further social justice goals have grown over the decades. This was framed as 'the national question' in the immediate decade after independence. There is enormous literature capturing intellectual debates and reflections on the nature of the state and state–society relations in Africa and the role of the state in development. These literature highlight, but does not sufficiently elaborate on the issue of policy sovereignty. In any case, the time when these intellectual refelctions took place was also a moment when policy spaces were dominated by external actors, many of whom had arrived in Africa as 'stickholders'.

During the Structural Adjustment Programmes and their various subsequent iterations, existing spaces of policy sovereignty were attacked and occupied by foreign merchants and marabouts of development. So vicious was this attack that government officials waited for a node from Washington DC and other capitals in the global North to take simple decisions on issues of national concern. In other cases, multilateral and bilateral donors discussed in advance and approved lists of key officials to occupy pertinent positions in key ministries. Christened the 'dream teams' in several countries, their presence and instruction to report directly to partners abroad confirmed the extent to which African governments had ceded policy spaces to external actors.

To date, much of the continent has not recovered the space for autonomous policy-making. To be sure, the external occupation of spaces for policy-making in Africa has in some cases been entreached. This therefore raises the issue of policy sovereignty as key to reflections on policy in general and social policy in particular. At the end of the day, the main issue at the heart of policy processes in Africa remains that of creating spaces for sovereign policy-making and linking them to similar experiences in the global South, creating a South–South framework for social policy thought and intervention. It is indeed our aim in CODESRIA that a major initiative be mounted to discuss policy processes in Africa with the aim of seeking to grow, within the continent, spaces of policy sovereignty. It is time to take forward the agenda for transformative social policy in Africa because it will also contribute to securing spaces for policy soveriegnity.

Note

1. Kiely Elizabeth and Swirak Katharina, 2021, *The Criminalisation of Social Policy in Neoliberal Societies,* Bristol University Press.

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Éditorial

Au cours des trois dernières décennies environ, un certain nombre d'universitaires opérant sous les auspices du CODESRIA, puis de l'UNRISD, ont consacré leur énergie et leur temps à défendre la politique sociale en Afrique de la manipulation politique externe et des attaques d'intellectuels.. Ces attaques se sont manifestées sous la forme d'approches néolibérales réductionnistes qui remettaient en question le rôle de l'Etat dans le développement en général, et l'idée et la pratique de la politique sociale en particulier. L'agression externe a réduit le discours sur le développement en privilégiant les forces du marché comme facteur clé dans l'allocation des biens publics l'allocation des biens publics. Dans ce scénario, aussi bien le contexte que le sens large de la politique sociale ont été réduits et vidés à une simple fonction de « protection sociale ».

L'attaque contre la politique sociale dans le contexte africain persiste à ce jour. C'est d'autant plus vrai que la pensée économique néoclassique prévaut et que sa tentative de trouver des explications à l'échec du projet néolibéral évite l'idée d'une politique sociale transformatrice. Les inégalités brutales que le néolibéralisme a engendrées, aggravées récemment par la pandémie, et la marginalisation croissante de certaines franges de la société sont autant de facteurs qui plaident en faveur d'une politique sociale axée sur le développement. Et c'est là qu'intervient l'histoire de l'éradication de la pauvreté. Dans le contexte des réflexions néolibérales, une fois que la pauvreté a été « découverte » et est devenue en vogue, le cadre des documents stratégiques de réduction de la pauvreté a été présenté comme un moyen de s'attaquer aux effets débilitants de la pauvreté. Mais cela n'a guère permis de relever le défi de la pauvreté. Au lieu de cela, le cadre stratégique de lutte contre la pauvreté a reformulé le rôle de la politique sociale pour en faire un moyen d'atténuer les souffrances par la simple fourniture de subventions en guise de filets de sécurité. Les gouvernements ont été contraints, cajolés ou simplement amenés à se conformer à ce cadre palliatif qui adopte des « solutions » promettant simplement que les effets sur les pauvres seront minimisés grâce à des aides sociales. Au cours des dernières décennies, les partisans du peu d'État et de l'assistance financière semblent avoir gagné pour avoir situé le débat entre la croissance et l'équité, surtout depuis que le Consensus de Washington a donné un nouvel élan au désengagement de l'État.

Les articles de ce Bulletin sont sélectionnés et résumés à partir de l'étude récemment publiée par le CODESRIA sur la *politique sociale dans le contexte africain* (Dakar, 2021), éditée par Jimi O. Adesina. Les articles ont d'abord été présentés et discutés lors de la conférence à Pretoria, en 2017, sur la politique sociale en Afrique organisée conjointement par le CODESRIA, la Chaire SARChI en politique sociale de l'Université d'Afrique du Sud (Unisa) et l'UNRISD. Sur les quatorze chapitres publiés dans l'ouvrage, six sont résumés dans ce Bulletin, afin de rendre ce travail facilement accessible à la communauté universitaire et politique, y compris aux acteurs de la société civile souhaitant s'engager dans le sujet.

L'ancien Secrétaire exécutif du CODESRIA, feu Thandika Mkandawire, a prononcé un discours introductif lors de cette conférence, en tandem avec Tade Aina. Ayant été tous les deux des pionniers dans le domaine de la politique sociale en Afrique, leurs réflexions intellectuelles sur ces questions ont été essentielles pour alimenter les débats sur la politique sociale en Afrique. Le décès de Thandika a peut-être compromis la rapidité avec laquelle la mission de sauvetage, évoquée plus haut, est menée. Mais il n'a certainement pas arrêté le désir et la conviction de documenter la pertinence historique et l'importance indéniable de la politique sociale dans le développement. Tout au long de son illustre carrière intellectuelle, Thandika a apporté une clarté conceptuelle aux débats sur la politique sociale. La force de ses fondements méthodologiques et la profondeur historique de sa compréhension des processus socio-économiques dans le monde et en Afrique ont laissé un programme de recherche riche mais inachevé.

L'agenda de recherche inachevé tourne autour de la notion de politique sociale transformatrice. Il est construit autour d'un ensemble d'hypothèses qui s'écartent radicalement des ancrages néolibéraux autour desquels la pratique et la pensée dominantes en matière de politique sociale ont été organisées. Au fond, et comme Jayati Ghosh nous l'a récemment rappelé lors de la troisième édition de la conférence sur la politique sociale en Afrique, Thandika considérait que la politique sociale était essentiellement une politique économique et il a démontré la force du cadrage de la politique sociale en termes de développement, mais il a également insisté sur le fait que le développement n'a de sens que s'il est imprégné d'un esprit profon-

dément démocratique. Comme le montrent les interventions ici, les allocations périodiques sous forme de transferts d'argent ne font pas une politique sociale. La protection sociale est plutôt traitée comme un leurre néolibéral visant à détourner la politique sociale de son objectif transformateur et à l'orienter vers un cadre anhistorique et un programme anti-développement.

S'ils sont lus ensemble, les articles de ce Bulletin, suggèrent d'éviter la criminalisation de la politique sociale dans les sociétés néolibérales, pour reprendre le titre d'une étude récente. Cette affirmation est habilement résumée dans l'article introductif et approfondie dans l'article de Katja Hujo. Les articles suivants développent les dimensions de la politique sociale en utilisant la conceptualisation envisagée dans le cadre transformatif. Les articles se concentrent sur les intersections de la politique sociale avec les questions de genre et de santé, le foncier, la dynamique de l'approvisionnement alimentaire aux ménages et le maintien des systèmes d'assistance communautaire. Les articles évaluent les différents niveaux d'efficacité de toute approche utilisée. Le désir de s'assurer que les interventions ne contribuent pas seulement au développement, mais abordent également les questions de pauvreté, d'équité et de marginalisation, est notable dans ces essais. En d'autres termes, il existe une éthique générale de justice sociale qui sous-tend la vision de la politique sociale proposée par les contributeurs.

Le terrain de la justice est cependant obscur, surtout lorsque les institutions clés qui ont pour mission de garantir la justice, sont elles-mêmes faibles, incapables ou attaquées. Si des engagements mondiaux sont pris à grande échelle en faveur de toutes les formes de justice et de l'équité que promet la justice sociale, dans la réalité, peu d'institutions mondiales tiennent un discours d'équité et de justice. Cela a contribué à générer un énorme doute sur les engagements mondiaux en faveur de l'équité, de l'impartialité et de la justice, et ce doute s'est répercuté sur les institutions régionales et locales. L'État en Afrique a fait l'objet d'une attention particulière, et son rôle dans l'élaboration des politiques en général et des politiques sociales en particulier, mérite plus qu'une mention en passant.

En Afrique, les doutes sur la volonté, la capacité et l'engagement de l'État à promouvoir les objectifs de justice sociale se sont accrus au fil des décennies. C'est ce que l'on a appelé « la question nationale » au cours de la décennie qui a suivi l'indépendance. Il existe une énorme littérature qui rend compte des débats intellectuels et des réflexions sur la nature de l'État et des relations État-société en Afrique, ainsi que sur le rôle de l'État dans le développement. Ces ouvrages mettent en évidence la question de la souveraineté politique,

mais ne l'approfondissent pas suffisamment. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'époque où ces réflexions intellectuelles ont eu lieu était également un moment où les espaces politiques étaient dominés par des acteurs externes, dont beaucoup étaient arrivés en Afrique en habits de 'facteurs' 'Stickholders'.

Pendant la période des programmes d'ajustement structurel et leurs diverses versions ultérieures, les espaces existants de souveraineté politique ont été attaqués et occupés par des marchands étrangers et des marabouts du développement. Cette attaque était si vicieuse que les responsables gouvernementaux attendaient un signal de Washington DC et d'autres capitales du Nord mondial pour prendre de simples décisions sur des questions d'intérêt national. Dans d'autres cas, les bailleurs de fonds multilatéraux et bilatéraux discutaient à l'avance et approuvaient des listes de fonctionnaires clés devant occuper des postes importants dans des ministères clés. Baptisées « *Dream Team* » ou « équipe de rêves » dans plusieurs pays, leur présence et leur injonction de rendre compte directement aux partenaires étrangers ont confirmé à quel point les gouvernements africains avaient cédé des espaces stratégiques aux acteurs extérieurs.

À ce jour, une grande partie du continent n'a pas retrouvé l'espace nécessaire à l'élaboration autonome de politiques. Certes, l'occupation extérieure des espaces d'élaboration des politiques en Afrique a parfois été entravée. Cela soulève donc la question de la souveraineté politique comme clé des réflexions sur la politique en général, et la politique sociale en particulier. En fin de compte, la question principale au cœur des processus politiques en Afrique reste celle de la création d'espaces pour l'élaboration de politiques souveraines et leur mise en relation avec des expériences similaires dans le Sud global, créant ainsi un cadre Sud-Sud pour la réflexion et l'intervention en matière de politique sociale. C'est en effet notre objectif au CODESRIA qu'une initiative majeure soit montée pour discuter des processus politiques en Afrique dans le but de chercher à développer, au sein du continent, des espaces de souveraineté politique. Il est temps de faire avancer l'agenda de la politique sociale transformatrice en Afrique car cela contribuera également à sécuriser les espaces de souveraineté politique.

Note

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For those interested in the questioning of the humanities, this is a significant contribution for rethinking the university in the Global South and in the corporatized Western academy. It is a strong critique of neo-liberal policies and practices that, together with colonial legacies and authoritarian rule, plague African higher education. The other added-value is the focus on the so-called Lusophone Africa, one that is not easily found in English.

This collective work results from an exercise to re-enact freedom in the African University(-ies). It mobilizes the concept of Public Humanities in order to reflect upon the current emptying of emancipatory possibilities in African Higher Education that has been feeding itself from the prevalence of undemocratic rule in the shadow of neo-liberal policies, transfiguring what liberation struggles set out to do into normative and disciplinary politics. But also decolonial and citizenship contemporary aspirations and the current and institutionalized attacks on critical thinking and pedagogy at the university as well as the need to qualify the relationship between the institutionalized site of the university and the production of emancipation and freedom. In the Public Humanities approach rehearsed here, humanity is not a soliloquy; it is a matter of ontological insurrections, solidarity and justice against zones of non being. Consequently, the university should not be the site of an authoritative conformity; it needs to become a sort of contemporary ondjango (a home to hold conversations) where our humanities, comprising disciplines and being, are valued and not commodified or subjugated.

"This is a major intellectual intervention since the neo-liberalisation of our universities which has had devastating effect on intellectual freedom, critical thought and creativity. It is my hope that the essays in this book will rekindle the debate on the University as a public space and reignite the struggle to reclaim education as the commons and not a commodity for sale."

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Reflections on Social Policy in the African Context:
An Introduction

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Over the last forty years, the neoliberal counter-revolution in Development Economics was a contagion that quickly spread to Social Policy. At its inception, the counter-revolution was a revolt against the 'welfare state' in its normative and institutional framings. Frederick von Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* (2007 [1944]) was an early salvo in this connection. By the 1980s in the global North, this involved efforts to retrench the state and restructure welfare provision. In the global South, and especially in the African context, this involved a comprehensive reconstitution of the way the state 'thinks' and acts concerning the economy and its citizens. From the idea of a state that 'thinks' in terms of a comprehensive obligation for securing long-term development and the wellbeing of its citizens, what emerged was a 'night-watchman' state, more recently recast in the language of the 'capable state' – one more focused on securing the space for private investors than the wellbeing of its citizens. The neoliberal counter-revolution sought to extend market transaction logic to every domain of life, not merely economic, but also social and political. Economic policy became increasingly disconnected from social policy, with a public policy orientation averse to socialised provisioning, solidaristic risk pooling, (inter-class) redistribution, and universalism. Social policy became largely residual.

Two broad contending forces have always shaped social policy. On the one hand, we have those who see its objectives as mopping up the diswelfares of the market and institutional failures. On the other hand, are those who see social policy as having an encompassing reach and coverage, integrated with economic policy, and underpinned by norms of equality and solidarity. The former takes a residual approach, with the market as first port of call for social provisioning. Public welfare is a port of last resort focused on the deserving poor who cannot meet their social provisioning. The latter addresses diswelfares in both the ways we pursue development and design production activities and respond to needs at various stages of the life-cycle.

Over the last thirty years, in response to Africa's development challenges and diswelfares its citizens face, a more residual take on social policy has mainly become hegemonic, with powerful external and local actors using the continent as the site of a range of social experiments. Much of this has been driven by anti-development thinking that imagines the solution to poverty as primarily a matter of 'just give money to the poor' – even as the 'poor' are defined in highly restrictive fashion to cover a smaller proportion of the population experiencing severe entitlement failure – or direct distribution of earnings from mineral wealth to citizens (a question of 'oil to cash'). Missing from such propositions is a structural approach to understanding the bases of entitlement failure, poverty and inequality. There is a general refusal to engage with the maladjustment of Africa's economies, deepening their structural weaknesses. The economies are no less subject to the vagaries of external forces in the second decade of the twenty-first century than they were in the eighth decade of the twentieth. The social dislocations and citizens' diswelfares, even in the context of improved growth on the back of the commodity supercycle, have not shown a commensurate reduction. In most instances, the diswelfares have deepened. Wealth-based inequality measures have worsened in much of the continent, and the poverty rate (measured at $3.10 PPP/day) is above 70 per cent of the population in several countries. It is a public policy regime sustained by an alliance of domestic and external actors.

If we understand the relations between state and citizens as a web of rights and obligations, the state's retreat from socialised and universal social provisioning undermines

its legitimacy, reinforces its more coercive face in its engagements with citizens, and undermines social cohesion. Leaving citizens to fend for themselves in the marketplace makes them subjects of the vagaries of the market. Neither is there evidence that reducing social policy to social assistance, which is narrowly focused on the deserving poor in increasingly dualistic social policy regimes, eliminates poverty or ensures quality services for the poor. The concern is getting the poor to 'cope with chronic poverty, destitution, and vulnerability' (World Bank 2018: 5).

Beyond this, of course, is the lack of appreciation that social policy (or even social protection) is not simply about the relief of poverty. Progressive social policy is fundamentally about ensuring human flourishing. It does this by enhancing the productive capacity of citizens through public investment in education, health care, housing, etc.; reconciling 'the burden of reproduction with that of other social tasks' (Mkandawire 2011); protecting people from the vagaries of life throughout the life-cycle; paying attention to the distributive outcome of economic performance; and advancing social cohesion or the nation-building objectives that are so vital in the African context. It does all these more efficiently through a 'prophylactic' approach of preventing vulnerability rather than waiting to attend to it after people have fallen through the cracks.

Whether in the more progressive welfare regimes in the global North, or the postcolonial experiences of the global South and Africa, successful advancement in human wellbeing has always involved the integration of social and economic policies and constructing social policy regimes focused on its multiple tasks. Public

provisioning of education, health care, housing as social investment, based on solidarity and advancing equality, supports economic development. Economic development grounded in the same norms of solidarity and advancing equality ensures the resources necessary to extend social policy. The objectives of social policy measures are not only prophylactic but aimed at being transformative of the economy, social relations, social institutions, and deepening democracy. This approach to social policy is defined as Transformative Social Policy (TSP). It is a take on social policy that frames several of the articles in this special issue of *CODESRIA Bulletin*. CODESRIA Books recently published the full set of papers from which this special issue draws with the title *Social Policy in the African Context.*

This special issue is a collection of seven articles that reflect on different dimensions of social policy in Africa. Katja Hujo's article is concerned with rethinking social policy in the African context from a perspective of its transformative role and power. She highlights the 'transformative role of social policy in opposition to the residual or secondary role' accorded to social policy in mainstream academia and the international 'development' community. While there was a 'social turn' in international development discourse from the 1990s onwards – initiated by the 'social dimensions of adjustment' to the current debate on inequality – Hujo emphasises the residual take on social policy in this 'social turn'. The 'turn' was in the context of the policy failures, mass entitlement failures, and rising inequalities that accompanied the neoliberal project of using countries of the global South (and Africa in particular) as open laboratories for a socio-eco-

nomic experiment in public policy. International opposition to the neoliberal experiments was most evident at the 1995 Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development, which suggested 'a more integrated approach linking poverty reduction with social inclusion and employment creation as an alternative to the neoliberal model.'

Hujo frames TSP as an alternative to the neoliberal social policy framework, focusing on enacting transformative change. While the former deploys social policy instruments 'to alleviate the worst forms of poverty' and its symptoms, the latter addresses the 'root causes of poverty, inequality and unsustainability.' TSP deploys social policy as a complement to economic policy 'to guarantee market stability, productivity and innovation, social reproduction, equal opportunities and more equal outcomes across class, gender, ethnicity, age or location, state legitimacy, social cohesion and integration.' In rethinking social policy in the African context, Hujo argues for framing the discourse around four axes: a combination of a rights-based entitlement and productivist take on social policy, the need for sustainable financing of social policy, integrating environmental challenges and inequality in framing social policy, and the politics of social policy making.

Newman Tekwa's article focuses on a critical aspect of TSP – the transformation of social relations, particularly gender relations. Tekwa offers TSP as an evaluative framework. A component of the flagship research project on the Social Policy Dimensions of Land and Agrarian Reform, at the South African Research Chair in Social Policy, it focused on the fast-track land reform programme (FTLRP) in Zimbabwe. While the FTLRP

delivered on the redistributive task of social policy and provided the basis for enhancing the productive capacity of the beneficiaries, its implications for the transformation of social relations, in particular gender relations, is the focus of Tekwa's contribution. As Mkandawire (2011: 150–1) argues, a major task of social policy is 'the reconciliation of the burden of reproduction with that of other social tasks.' This social reproduction task of social policy is essential for the transformation of gender relations. With the weakening of public infrastructure investment in Zimbabwe, a corollary of the economic crisis, women's care burden increased. Women in male-headed households spend more time than men on unremunerated household chores. In particular, women in the A1 schemes (small-scale land allotments) 'reported an extraordinarily longer working day of more than 12 hours' relative to women in the A2 schemes (medium size land allotments). Ownership of time-saving household consumer items and outsourcing household chores to hired helps reflect the internal class dimensions of the care burden among women in the A1 schemes relative to the A2 schemes. Whatever the redistributive and production impact of the FTLRP, evaluation from the perspective of the task of social reproduction demonstrates a major blind spot.

Clement Chipenda explores land reform as a social policy. It is the second of the projects within the Social Policy Dimensions and Land and Agrarian Reform research programme. In the OECD-centric debate on social policy, land reform hardly features. This is bewildering considering that the concern of social policy is in securing and enhancing human wellbeing and the objectives of social policy include redistribution, enhancing people's productive capacity, and social protection, among others. These objectives for enhancing human wellbeing are self-consciously behind most land and agrarian reform programmes. Chipenda's article reports the findings of a study of the post-2000 land reform programme in Zimbabwe in the country's Goromonzi District. The article discusses the new agrarian structure in the aftermath of the land reform programme and explores social policy outcomes of the reform. The land reform programme has been significantly redistributive and compared with the residents of the adjoining communal areas has placed larger acreage of land assets in the hands of the beneficiaries. Chipenda illustrates the ex-ante protection that access to land offered its beneficiaries in terms of relative food security, and a more intangible sense of rural homestead or *musha*. Chipenda highlights the phenomenon of livestock as 'social insurance' and as a resource that protects owners of livestock against external shocks. A reconceptualisation of land reform as a social policy instrument contributes to the bodies of knowledge in both the fields of land reform and social policy.

In her article, Marlize Rabe explores the myth of male breadwinners in South Africa within the context of high levels of unemployment in the country. While prevailing social norms expect men to be income earners and breadwinners in their households with women expected to be responsible for a considerable share of paid and unpaid care in families, the labour market situation exposes these as myths. The prevailing social assistance regime also privileges women as recipients, if not the beneficiaries, of the social grants system. The combination of prevailing high levels of unemployment and modalities of social grants suggests that men are becoming financial liabilities within households. To remedy the situation, Rabe argues, is not simply a matter of creating employment opportunities to allow men to recapture their roles as breadwinners; rather what is required is a TSP approach that ensures dual-earner households, and getting men to take up more equitable care responsibility within the household.

In his article, Omoruan offers an analysis of the national social health insurance scheme that was launched in Nigeria in 2005. Ostensibly, the objective of the Nigerian Social Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) includes bringing quality health care within reach of all Nigerians and reducing out-of-pocket health expenditure. In contrast to the universal publicly provided health care that prevailed in the country up to the late-1970s, the NHIS introduced an individual health insurance scheme in line with neoliberal thinking on injecting market transactional logic into as many domains of social provisioning as is feasible. Contrary to the promises of the NHIS, coverage remains extremely low (at 3 per cent of the population), the scheme is fragmentary with multiple health care plans and low levels of risk pooling. The prospect of expanding coverage remains limited due to premiums being unaffordable to most of the country's residents.

In the final article in this special issue, Kolawole Omomowo and Jimi Adesina explore mutual support institutions and practices in two urban townships in South Africa as the basis for social policy learning in the African context. Mutual support practices covered in the study reported by Omomowo and Adesina

range from proto-social insurance schemes such as burial societies, rotating savings and credit schemes to community-based mutual support during celebrations and funerals. As indicated in the article, people join self-help groups 'to achieve what they would not have been able to achieve alone.' Social solidarity, trust, mutual obligation, and reciprocity are vital to the functioning of the mutual support of social institutions. If Titmuss (1956) highlighted social, fiscal and occupational welfare as dimensions of the 'social division' of welfare, this study suggests that we should add 'community welfare' to the dimensions of how humans secure wellbeing. If the antecedent of mutual support institutions and practices stretch back to the 'cattle lending' and community solidarity practices of the precolonial era, their contemporary forms and practices represent nimble responses to the precarity of the prevailing capitalist environment. The normative underpinning of the mutual support institutions provides the basis for the design of locally sensitive and responsive social policy architecture beyond the residual neoliberal take on social policy design.

Conclusion

The articles in this special issue are extracts from the longer book, *Social Policy in the African Context*. Some of the articles place an accent on the TSP framework as a handle on policy making, as an analytical and heuristic device, and as an evaluative device. TSP stands in sharp contrast to the prevailing neoliberal-inspired fragmented and stratified social policy architecture which underpins the 'social protection' discourse being paraded and merchandised across the continent. Unlike the neoliberal-inspired take on social policy, TSP is concerned with addressing the root causes of poverty and vulnerability rather than its symptoms. Rather than a residual take on social policy intended to mop-up market and institutional failures, TSP is concerned with social policy that works in tandem with economic policy, underpinned by shared norms and values, that seeks to enhance productive capacity while paying attention to how the proceeds of economic growth are shared. Hujo's four-axial framing of rethinking social policy for twenty-first century Africa becomes important in this regard.

The need to pay attention to gender relations even in old social welfare systems or for policy instruments that work quite well in addressing other tasks of social policy is clearly demonstrated by Tekwa. Social policy regimes and instruments are never gender-neutral. The important message of his article is the imperative of embedding gender sensitivity in social policy designs.

The sectoral look at the social policy domain – one in the domain of health, the other in regard to land reform – by Omoruan and Chipenda offers insights into the role of the market in social policy making and the tapping of multiple tasks of social policy. The neoliberal logic of the push for a social health insurance approach to delivering quality health care services, as Omoruan's article shows, is a glaring failure. The health insurance scheme is fragmented, unaffordable to the overwhelming proportion of the population. Chipenda's article on land reform points to a neglected but important policy instrument. Land reform simultaneously presses multiple tasks of social policy – enhancing the productive capacity of the beneficiaries among the A1 farmers, addressing protection ex-ante, and being redistributive. The challenge for Zimbabwe is something highlighted – the im-perative of getting social policy and economic policy to work in tandem. Without paying attention to economic policy, the potential for social policy to deliver on the welfare of its beneficiaries will be undermined.

Rabe addresses some dimensions of a transformative approach to social policy. In the context of the labour market and modalities for delivering social assistance in South Africa, the myth of the male breadwinner becomes glaring. However, the response to the labour market challenges of unemployment and precarious employment will not be the reconstitution of the male breadwinner model but in efforts to enhance a dual-earner household model and greater male involvement in household care work. It requires combining productive (labour market) work and social reproduction (care work).

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Rethinking Social Policy in Africa: A Transformative Approach

Introduction

More than a decade ago, former UNRISD director Thandika Mkandawire developed the concept of transformative social policy (TSP), the understanding that social policy, beyond its obvious protective function, also plays productive, reproductive and redistributive roles (Mkandawire 2004; UNRISD 2006). This approach, which soon guided the entire social policy research and policy work at UNRISD, was in many regards a game changer. It encouraged a focus on the real challenges that social policy faces in a development context, characterised by the need to foster structural transformation, dynamic accumulation processes and socio-political change. It triggered a multi-disciplinary inquiry to which economists could contribute alongside sociologists, gender experts, political scientists, legal scholars, historians and anthropologists. It connected the development literature with the social policy literature, helping to overcome Western bias in social policy scholarship, and the social policy blindness of development theory. And it helped to do away with the myth that social policy was largely an instrument for rich countries, but not suited for lower-income countries lacking the basic preconditions for issues such as formal wage employment, effective state bureaucracy or fiscal space.

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In this article, I will emphasise the transformative role of social policy and talk about the 'social turn' in development thinking and practice we have witnessed in the last two to three decades, and its limitations. I will then zoom in on the African context, and finally, I discuss what rethinking social policy in Africa could imply, and which lines of thinking could inspire a new approach to social policy in the region and beyond.

The 'social turn' and its limitations

We are all familiar with the arguments that reduced the remit of social policy to a residual role. In the 1970s and 1980s, neoclassical and monetarist economists became increasingly influential, associating social policies with fiscal crisis, inflation and negative impacts on efficiency. This contrasted starkly with the preceding Keynesian paradigm that saw a mutually beneficial relationship between economic development and universal social policies for achieving a stable accumulation process via active demand management and a smoothing of the business cycle. It meant that the state had to inter-

vene by institutionalising policies that would guarantee the income of the unemployed and stabilise demand, and to respond to income loss across the life-cycle as the result of social contingencies (childhood, maternity, sickness, work accidents and disability, old age, etc.).

While the Keynesian policy approach (which also had problems in terms of its practical application, in particular the neglect of monetary constraints such as inflation) was not fully applied in the developing world, given a variety of limitations to it, there was a developmental period in the post-war era that led to significant progress in economic and social development dimensions in different regions, and which for many still serves as a benchmark for what is possible.

In contrast to the Keynesian model, interestingly the neoliberal approach was fully and radically applied in the developing world after the collapse of the previous model, to a much greater extent than in the Western hemisphere, where social-democratic and conservative continental European welfare regimes, to use the Esping-Anderson classification (Esping-Anderson 1990), demonstrated greater path dependency, resisting the dismantling of state-led development for a longer period.

The policy recommendations and conditionalities of the neoliberal turn in development and social policy were expenditure cuts, privati-

sation of social protection systems and a general shift towards social funds, safety nets and market-based schemes. Trade as well as financial and capital markets were liberalised and deregulated at a global scale, but the expected economic miracles did not materialise, the social costs of stabilisation and structural adjustment policies (SAPs) were huge, and the discussion about what role social policy had to play within the development process remained contested (Mkandawire and Soludo 1999; Adesina 2004; 2010).

Two developments in over four decades of neoliberal practices had a major impact on the policy debate: the afore-mentioned disappointing results of the model in terms of social development, as well as the wave of economic and financial crises that started in the late 1980s, continued in the 1990s and culminated in the global economic and financial crisis in 2008 (Hujo 2005).

According to Polanyi's double movement theory, after the *laissez-faire* and free market euphoria came the counter-movement demanding protection against adverse market effects (Polanyi 1978 [1944]). UNRISD has labelled this latest comeback of social policy in the international development discourse the 'social turn', defined in its 2016 flagship report as a 'combination of shifts in ideas and policies that has reasserted social issues in development agendas' (UNRISD 2016: 34). The need to re-establish a comprehensive definition of social policy had been articulated in the late 1980s, but the social turn got its real drive internationally through the World Summit for Social Development of 1995, held in Copenhagen.

The Copenhagen summit suggested a more integrated approach, which would link poverty reduction with social inclusion and employment creation as an alternative to the neoliberal model. Participants also rejected the trickle-down assumptions that link liberalisation to a virtuous circle of growth, employment generation and poverty reduction, as well as the notion that the key social function of governments should be restricted to the provision of safety nets.

Since the turn of the millennium in particular, the need for a more proactive approach to eradicate poverty, reduce inequality and protect people against risks associated with market economies, and social contingencies across the life-cycle, has gained currency. Global social policy agendas that were designed in that period, such as the Millennium Development Goals, Education and Health for all initiatives, or the ILO Social Protection Floor Recommendation No. 202, are further examples of this growing recognition (UNRISD 2016).

In practice, however, the social turn had severe shortcomings. Several of the key instruments and interventions promoted by the international donor community did very little against the drivers of social exclusion and economic stagnation (which was the result of designing policies based on a protective or welfarist approach, neglecting production and other functions of social policy). Far from being transformative, they have reproduced the problems they were meant to address. This was mainly the result of endorsing rather than questioning mainstream orthodox economic recipes such as austerity or privatisation and ignoring unequal power relations.

Another prominent example of the shortcomings of the contemporary social turn is the uncritical promotion of conditional cash transfer (CCT) and public works programmes, which often narrowly target specific populations or provide minimal benefits for a limited time period without providing a long-term solution to chronic poverty and the absence of comprehensive social protection systems.

Social policy in the African context

Social policy varies according to the political and economic models that prevail in a specific country and during a specific historical period. And while there is a certain path dependency, or continuity, associated with welfare regimes, social policy also evolves in response to different external and internal challenges and risks, or opportunities (Hujo and Yi 2016).

The global economic crisis that started in 2008 clearly highlighted the new global political and economic context in which these risks and challenges unfold: globalisation and financialisation; persistent poverty and rising inequality; technological progress coupled with a growing technological divide; post-industrial demographic change; and the rise of the service sector, characterised by the sharp contrast between sophisticated services relying on new technologies and highly skilled labour, and a growing number of poor service providers struggling for a livelihood in the informal economy. These changes are interlinked and have reinforcing and contradictory impacts on society – in the areas of global and national finance for development; employment, productivity and wages; vulnerability and poverty; inequality and the environment.

Turning to social policy in Africa, these policies have to be understood, then, in terms of their specific history

and country context, and according to whether they respond successfully or less successfully to the new challenges and risks I have outlined.

Africa, like Latin America, has been a laboratory of development models and donor practices, especially after the global debt crisis of the early 1980s paved the way for a stronger integration of African economies into global markets. To define social policy models or welfare regimes in Africa is a difficult task, not only because the traditional approaches developed in the classical literatures are often not suitable and new classifications are not entirely satisfactory, but also because the continent's more recent history has seen an increasing hybridisation of models and fragmentation of approaches, rather than a consolidation of a social model that could easily be linked to a dominant mode of production, such as a market, family or state economy.

Social policy approaches in Africa were shaped by colonial history, when rudimentary social policy systems were introduced following the respective European models. These were aligned with the requirements of a specific pattern of incorporation in the colonial economy –for example, cash crop economies in West Africa versus labour-reserve economies in Southern Africa, as Mkandawire has shown in his seminal works about colonial heritage and welfare and tax regimes in Africa (Mkandawire 2010; 2020). What I find especially interesting in this work is that contestation and rupture were crucial to adapt these models to new state visions in the post-independence era, post-conflict situations or periods of political transition, for example after the end of apartheid regimes, rectifying old injustices and adapting schemes to current challenges.

Secondly, social policy approaches in sub-Saharan Africa were influenced by factors such as economic crises, donor influence and generalised institutional crisis driven by SAPs, which had resulted in economic polarisation, fragmented social identities and a backlash against the post-independence modernisation project (Bangura 1994). This crisis in the public sector was then meant to be fixed through public management approaches and good governance reforms in the 1990s, but the neglect of social relations and an enabling environment for institutional reform led to widespread failure of this agenda; and the necessary resources and administrative capacities to expand what had started as a universal approach in many countries after independence could not be maintained (Bangura and Larbi 2006).

The traditional social policy definition (see, for example, UNRISD 2010: Chapter 5) comprises social insurance schemes, social assistance programmes and labour market policies (in addition to the social services that were the primary focus of post-independence African states), which are either directly financed and provisioned through the state, or at least regulated by the state. However, this conception of social policy could not be successfully emulated in the African context for several reasons.

Firstly, the coverage of formal contributory insurance remained low in contexts of high economic informality; secondly, it declined further when public sector workers were retrenched in large numbers during structural adjustment; and thirdly, in the case of public services such as education and health, which had started off ambitiously in many countries in the post-independence period, their subsequent privatisation and dismantling resulted in fragmented, unequal and underfunded systems, with negative impacts on access and quality.

The results of these social policy responses to a changing global context and recurrent crises have been mixed. Poverty, while reduced in some countries, has not been eliminated, and inequality has actually increased in developed and developing countries. Poverty in absolute numbers has increased in sub-Saharan Africa, and in many countries in the region the majority of the population still lives in poverty and precariousness.

In sum, the social systems that were meant to be built over several generations in tandem with economic development and in a synergistic way stalled, or more correctly, were aborted prematurely, with the state losing its steering and coordinating function in both social and economic policy. This loss of steering capacity meant reacting to and accommodating the exigencies of a globalised market economy, represented by donors, IFIs, Multinational Corporations and large investors, rather than negotiating with and responding to the claims of ordinary citizens and national interest groups to move forward a home-grown, long-term development vision.

This loss of policy space and state capacity, but also the worsening of state–citizen relations, and the fact that democratic regimes often appeared to be 'choiceless' or 'disempowered' (Mkandawire 2006) in the face of external constraints and interferences, go indeed a long way to explain the bad governance, patronage, rent-seeking and corruption that have haunted the continent.

Rethinking social policy in Africa: four ideas

In the last part of this article I would like to sketch four ideas for rethinking social policy in Africa and beyond.

Combining productivist with rights-based approaches to social policy

We have already discussed the need for a productivist approach to social policy, but certain aspects of this approach have also been criticised, especially the linking of entitlements with formal employment, as this excludes all those in the informal economy or engaged in unpaid care and domestic work. Advocating for delinking social rights from employment became popular, as the expansion of tax-financed social assistance schemes and debates on basic income demonstrate.

There are, however, many good reasons to maintain the link between labour and capital through social insurance – for example, to keep employers responsible for financing social insurance schemes and social services, and to emphasise the productive contribution of informal workers, which can enhance their bargaining position in claiming support from business and the state (Alfers, Lund and Moussié 2017).

Indeed, an either/or approach between a productivist and a rights-based approach to social policy is counterproductive, as both need to be pursued simultaneously (Alfers, Lund and Moussié 2017; Heintz and Lund 2012; UNRISD 2013).

Integrating questions of sustainable financing into social policy

Today, in a context of mounting uncertainty with regard to aid flows, and with many rich econo-

mies in crisis, the mobilisation of domestic resources is increasingly important for achieving development goals. This is highlighted in the Addis Ababa Action Agenda for Finance for Development as a key means of implementing the Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2015a; 2015b; UNRISD 2016). While more attention to financing challenges is laudable, what is often neglected are the productive, redistributive, reproductive and protective implications of different financing instruments (UNRISD 2010), the consequences of power imbalances between actors engaged in fiscal and revenue bargains, the political factors that impact on the potential to mobilise resources, as well as constraints emerging from the international context (Hujo 2020).

Broader questions, such as rising inequality and environmental problems

One of the greatest challenges of our time is the rise in inequality, within and between countries, and vertical and horizontal inequalities related to income and group differences. Economic models determine to a great extent who benefits from growth processes, and to what extent redistribution happens through tax and social policies, or other regulations for investors and wealth owners.

Social policy needs to integrate affirmative action and interventions targeted at specific groups into a universal framework that benefits and is supported by all people, in order to maintain the necessary linkages between classes, generations, genders or national groups, etc., to promote a sense of national identity and social cohesion.

Climate change and environmental sustainability are equally at the top

of the international agenda since states launched the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in 2015. Sustainability is not a new subject, but historical memory is again short. The 1970s and 1980s featured emancipatory ecological movements from below in a variety of countries, which included a different vision of the economy and society, before the topic was captured by corporate and political elites who brought in a business mindset and the commodification of nature as the solution.

What does the environmental challenge mean for TSP? In UNRISD, eco-social policies have been analysed as an integrated approach to this challenge, but social policies that have a clear environmental dimension are still rare, and often fall into the public works or CCT category –for example, the Indian MN-REGA employment scheme or the Brazilian Bolsa Verde programme. We need more debate and analysis on how to harness social policies for environmental sustainability, for example with regard to social services and infrastructure, labour market policies and social security.

Consider the politics of social policy making: who drives transformative change?

Next to structural factors, agency is a key determinant of social policy. The power of ideas, the lasting impact of a generation of African leaders who did not shy away from substantive thinking and long-term visions, and the importance of non-state actors, civil society, voters, interest groups, social partners etc. in influencing and monitoring policy processes, discourses, social innovations and behaviour of corporations should be scrutinized in any serious attempt to understand

social policy in a development context. After all, social policy is about politics and a social contract that is mutually beneficial, defining obligations and rights, creating the bonds, mutual support and trust that tie societies together, beautifully expressed in the Ubuntu philosophy as *I am because we are*.

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LES FEMMES DANS LES FORCES DE DÉFENSE ET DE SÉCURITÉ AU SÉNÉGAL

UNE INTÉGRATION MITIGÉE

SOUS LA DIRECTION DE | **SELLY BA, EL HADJI MALICK SY CAMARA & OUSMANE BA**

L'intégration des femmes dans les forces de défense et de sécurité est au cœur des processus de démocratisation des systèmes politiques africains. L'image fortement masculine des forces de défense et de sécurité intervient dans la construction d'une identité professionnelle dont les plus grandes préoccupations consistent à formater un agent capable de devenir « homme », symbole de la virilité. Par conséquent, les filles nouvellement admises dans le secteur sont formées en tant qu'agents devant faire abstraction de leur statut de femme. De ce point de vue,

introduire l'analyse genre dans les études sur les forces de défense et de sécurité (FDS), c'est donc s'interroger sur les statuts et rôles des femmes et des hommes dans cet espace, tout en appréhendant l'impact des rapports sociaux dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions.

Cet ouvrage rend compte du vécu des femmes dans les différents sous-secteurs de la force publique, à savoir l'armée, la gendarmerie et la police, au Sénégal. Dans l'optique d'appréhender leur vécu, il est important de s'interroger sur la perception des femmes en uniforme par rapport à leurs conditions de vie et d'existence. Comment sont-elles perçues par leurs homologues masculins et par la hiérarchie ? Comment les femmes négocient-elles ou du moins « bricolent-elles » entre les exigences d'une institution très contraignante et leurs aspirations matrimoniales ? Les besoins spécifiques des femmes sont-ils pris en charge dans le dispositif institutionnel ? Comment le secteur de la force publique assure-t-il leur promotion dans un espace supposé masculinisé ?

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Gender, Poverty and Land in Africa:
A Transformative Social Policy Perspective

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With land and agrarian reforms remaining critical for transformative and equitable growth on the continent, a social reproductive perspective reveals gendered asymmetries in the allocation of labour between earning and caring with concomitant gendered welfare outcomes (Kabeer 2015: 194). This perspective has not been adequately emphasised in the literature on gender, poverty and land in Africa with unequal land rights, inequalities in access to capital, credit, technologies and labour having enjoyed greater limelight (Whitehead and Tsikata 2003; see also Agarwal 1994). Using empirical evidence emerging from the latest land reform programme in Zimbabwe, I argue that attention to gender in land reforms holds potential to increase women's access to land but can inadvertently increase their social reproductive burden.

A feminist Marxist analysis of capitalist production highlighting the gendered production of labour power used to create commodities and value in a capitalist system (Bhattacharya 2013: 1; McNally and Ferguson 2015: 2) frames the arguments presented in this article. Such a theoretical perspective challenges rationale choice theories and assumptions underpinning certain strands of mainstream economics viewing labour power as 'natural' – simply presumed to be present, a given factor of capitalist production, a product of natural, biologically determined and regenerative processes (see McNally and Ferguson 2015; Budlender 2002; Razavi 2007). Rather, Marxist feminists argued that labour power is produced and reproduced outside capitalist production in a kinship-based site called family, thus arguing for labour power to be conceptualised as a 'produced' input in the capitalist economic system of production (Caren, Elson and Cagatay 2000; Bhattacharya 2013: 2). Social reproduction theory reveals that the 'production of goods and services and the production of life are part of one integrated process' (Bhattacharya 2013: 7; McNally and Ferguson 2015: 3). Thus, capitalist production of goods and services is scaffolded by social reproduction that happens in the so-called private sphere of the family (*ibid.*; see also UNRISD 2010; Razavi 2011; Folbre 2012). The theoretical efficacy of the social reproduction approach, deployed here, lies in its ability to explicate the interconnections of the work we do to reproduce ourselves on the one hand, and waged work on the other, thus presenting a completely differentiated yet nonetheless unified understanding of social reality (McNally and Ferguson 2015: 4). The 're-productive labour tax', one feminist innovation from which men are largely exempt (Palmer 1995: 81), illuminates the constraint on women's labour emanating from the gendered division of household tasks as reflected in the gendered output gap between potential and actual production (Tsikata 2009: 20). This understanding positions women at the intersection of production and reproduction; earning and caring (Folbre 1994).

Analysed within (Braunstein 2015: 11) social reproductive function comprising inputs (time, infrastructure and commodities), modes of delivery (public, private and voluntary) and outputs (human capacities, welfare, wellbeing and gender equality), data was gathered through an ethnographic field study over a period of eight months using structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and key informant interviews within an explanatory sequential mixed-methods research design. The sample of 105 survey participants comprised thirty-two medium-scale farm land beneficiaries; thirty-three small-scale farm land beneficiaries, and forty communal non-land reform beneficiaries. This was in addition to thirty households purposively selected to participate in a qualitative study comprising in-depth interviews.

Despite the well-documented redistributive outcomes of the fast track land reform programme (FTLRP) (Tekwa and Adesina 2018: 54; Moyo 2011: 944), from a social reproductive perspec-

tive empirical evidence indicates that increases in household land size were concomitant to a congruent increase in time spent by women on household chores. A disaggregation of households by gender reveals that within resettlement areas women in male-headed households expended more unremunerated time in social reproduction compared to female-headed households. Extending this to the totality of women's work, that is the cumulative time women spend on reproductive and productive work, reveals the arduous double burden on women (Chen, Vanek, Lund et al. 2005: 20). Women in resettlement areas reported an extraordinarily longer working day of more than twelve hours with high percentages of time poverty (Folbre 2012: 17). This has been exacerbated by inadequate provision of physical and social infrastructure in fast track resettlement areas relative to the surrounding communal areas. The latter was measured by access to protected water sources within standard distances, access to sanitation services, and availability of child and health care facilities comparing resettled and communal areas. This analysis revealed an inverse correlation between households cultivable land size and the provision of physical and social infrastructure. As land available to households for cultivation increased via land reform, access to physical and social infrastructure decreased pointing to a deficient infrastructure provision within resettled areas compared to communal areas.

The study then used time-use surveys to understand the effect of this deficiency in infrastructure provision on the welfare of women relative to men within resettlement areas. Findings reveal that due to poor provision of social infra-

structure (health and education) and physical infrastructure (water and electricity), the time devoted to unpaid care work by women in resettlement areas concomitantly increased. Such analyses provide insights into aspects of development not yet fully explored, particularly in the context of land reforms (Chen, Vanek, Lund et al. 2005). In the small-scale farming areas, over 90 per cent of the female respondents indicated that the nearest source of water was more than a kilometre away and a roundtrip to fetch water took them more than an hour. Adding onto that, over 80 per cent of these female respondents made more than two trips of water collection per day. As this was not enough, over 70 per cent of these women use their head as a mode of transporting water for home use. This provides little insights into the time and energy demands on women for a single social reproductive task, the collection of water for household consumption which under the Covid-19 pandemic is likely to have exponentially increased with the need for improved hygiene (see Parry and Gordon 2020: 7). Based on this accumulating evidence, this article argues that land and agrarian reforms without the concomitant provision of public and social infrastructure do little to transform gendered poverty and inequality within agrarian societies. Lack of social service provision represents one major gendered shortfall of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe.

Relatedly, findings presented in the chapter reveal a positive correlation between household cultivable land sizes and ownership of time-saving household equipment. This suggests that increased household incomes engendered by access to land through land reforms had a positive effect on ownership

of time-saving equipment such as electric stoves, fridges and washing machines including the ability to acquire the services of paid help. Ownership of such household equipment has a direct impact on the amount of time spent by women on unremunerated social reproductive work (Folbre 2012; Braunstein 2016). Irrespective, as outlined above, such ownership of time-saving household equipment by resettled farmers could not offset the time constraints imposed by deficiencies in the provision of public services, such as child and health care, water supply and sanitation. This was reflected by a positive correlation existing between increasing household land size and female time poverty. An interesting dynamic emerging from the findings relates to emerging class differentiation as reflected in the capacity to outsource unremunerated reproductive work by some resettlement households through engaging the services of paid helps.

While the option to outsource unpaid care activities, such as cooking, cleaning and fetching water, has been found to be an unaffordable luxury for most households in low-income countries (see Ferrant, Pesando and Nowacka 2014: 5) this has not been the case with some resettled households in the study sites. Enhanced household incomes had enabled some households to outsource many or part of these activities through engaging the services of housemaids, thus freeing more time for women to engage in paid work activities. In a way, this reflected emerging class differentiation in Zimbabwe's countryside engendered by fast track land reform, though it represents a research niche still to be adequately explored. Nonetheless, I argue that from a gender perspective, this is less transformative as

it represents one class of women shifting their social reproductive burden onto another class of the same gender, as most paid helps are commonly women.

Interesting to note was the effect of gendered social norms on male participation in reproductive work within resettlement areas. Though quantitative statistics indicated male participation was reflected by husbands taking part in social reproductive work, focus group discussions with men revealed the need to tackle strong gendered social norms prevailing in resettlement areas. This was exacerbated by patriarchal social relations and institutions in many African societies obliging women to provide labour on their husband's plots before they can work on their own, thus increasing the time they spend on productive work (Yngstrom 2002: 29; Amanor-Wilks 2009: 32; Tsikata and Amanor-Wilks 2009: 3). Based on these empirical findings the article makes the following policy recommendations.

State intervention in social reproduction

In managing the contradictions associated with social reproduction, African states can draw lessons from social policy in the Nordic countries, and intervene to prevent or mitigate cost-shifting by capitalists through appropriate legislation or underwriting some or most of the social reproductive costs. Paradoxically, most states in Africa, as in many other developing contexts, and emanating from neoliberal residual social policy, have increasingly intervened only to the extent of correcting market failures or failures of family provisioning by providing meagre support to the ultra- or 'deserving' poor or households (Adesina 2011: 460;

Braedley 2006: 216). By adopting residualist social policies, African states limit themselves to attempts at reducing poverty rather than focusing on the objectives of economic growth and are systematically gutting the welfare state. Consequently, social policies have been more sensitive to the needs of the capitalist economy, resulting in escalating gendered poverty and inequality in the past three decades of neoliberalism.

Public social infrastructure provision

As the household or family remains a major site for social reproduction in most agrarian societies, state support in terms of public, social and physical infrastructure remains critical in lessening the social reproductive burdens on households, particularly on women. Most land reforms are characterised by an insufficient provision of social services. The increased social reproductive burden takes up much of the time women can devote to productive work to enhance their economic wellbeing. In the study areas, the scale of the FTLRP saw the resettlement of large numbers of people with little or no provision of physical, social and economic infrastructure (Gonese and Mukora 2003: 13), posing a contradiction to the aim of creating a path to agrarian transformation. Fast-track policymakers and planners can learn from the pre-2000 Phase One Land Reforms, in which the provision of infrastructure complemented the settlement of incoming communities to ensure that they could access, within reasonable reach, necessary social services. The programme was hailed worldwide as one of the most successful land reforms (Gonese and Mukora 2003: 3). The key implication of the social reproductive approach is

the need for investment in a social and physical infrastructure that reduces the structural constraints on women's time.

Male participation in social reproductive work

Some feminists have argued that future gender equality rests on promoting the parental sharing ideal through encouraging men's care (Gornick and Meyers 2003; Fraser 1994). In the context of welfare states, policies that encourage and incentivise fathers to share caring responsibilities, such as granting paternal leave and fathers' quotas – time set for fathers' childcare – facilitate men's capacity to take solo care of young children while the mother returns to work. The involvement of fathers in caring work is likened to a better gender division of care work and better welfare outcomes for women (Mathieu 2016: 580). Within agrarian societies men can be incentivised and encouraged to take part in social reproductive work thus easing the social reproductive burden on women and enabling them to balance their time between earning and caring.

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Land Reform as Social Policy: Exploring the Redistribution and Social Protection Outcoms in Goromonzi District, Zimbabwe

Introduction

In early 2014, I joined the South African Research Chairs Initiative (SARChI) Chair in Social Policy at the University of South Africa (UNISA) as a doctoral researcher in its 'Social Policy Dimensions of Land Reform Project' headed by Professor Jimi Adesina. Together with two and later three colleagues, our brief in the project was simple. Our task was to investigate the social policy dimensions (if any) of Zimbabwe's contentious fast track land reform programme (FTLRP) which had been officially undertaken from 2000. The FTLRP which had seen over 180,000 families being resettled on over 13 million hectares of land in just over a decade (Moyo 2013) has been one of the biggest and unprecedented land reforms in modern history. It has had far reaching socio-economic and political implications in Africa and globally making it deserving of rigorous intellectual interrogation.

Coming from a background in which I had worked in the Zimbabwean civil service and NGO sector on social protection programmes, with no experience whatsoever in agrarian studies and academia, I admittedly found the task assigned to me in the project daunting. Firstly, I had self-doubt (concerning my abilities) and secondly, I wondered whether it would be feasible to undertake a nuanced and empirically grounded study that would com-

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bine the seemingly different discourses on social policy and land reform. This was in a background where Zimbabwe's land reform programme has for the past decades been subject to many antagonistic and polemical debates. Since my undergraduate days at the University of Zimbabwe in the early 2000s, the discussions I had with colleagues always ended up with the consensus that the subject was too politically sensitive and 'violent' to research. This had kept me away from doing any research on land issues in Zimbabwe, despite having a passion for working on land and rural livelihoods. Interestingly with the project, I now found myself thrust into the spotlight and having to work in an area which I had avoided for a long time. I thus wondered whether I would manage to produce work that was academically rigorous, empirically grounded and nuanced which would contribute significantly to the growing body of knowledge on the FTLRP that had been accumulating over the years. It took a lot of reading of literature on social policy and agrarian studies, intense discussions with my supervisor Professor Adesina and participation at the 2014 SARChI Chair in Social

Policy Doctoral Academy (where I met the late Professor Sam Moyo) that everything clicked, and my research agenda emerged. With Professor Adesina providing guidance on the social policy aspect of the project and Professor Moyo graciously providing guidance, his time and unmatched insight on the agrarian dimension, I realised that I had a research proposition worth pursuing. Exploring the social policy dimension of the FTLRP was not only a worthwhile intellectual contribution but was timeous and important in a context where several former settler colonies in Africa were struggling with how best to resolve their land questions (with land issues becoming topical). The emergence of contemporary developmental challenges required new thinking and policy trajectories in the areas of social policy and agrarian studies.

My initial scepticism of the project disappeared, and interestingly we were given leeway to develop and pursue our own research concepts within the confines of the overall project objectives. This gave us ownership of our individual research projects and allowed us to set and pursue our research trajectories independently. The outcome of my research was the thesis titled 'The transformative role of the fast-track land reform programme: a case study of Goromonzi District Zimbabwe' awarded in 2019 by the University of South Africa. In the

thesis I used the concept of transformative social policy (TSP) to explore the social policy outcomes of the FTLRP. The research that informed the thesis was undertaken in a rural district of Zimbabwe called Goromonzi. A key contribution of the thesis is to provide empirical evidence that land reform is a social policy tool which has redistributive, productive, protective and reproductive outcomes which have impacted on rural livelihoods in different ways. This is rarely acknowledged in the literature where land reform is an overlooked instrument of social policy which has developmental outcomes.

In this contribution, I present a summary of the thesis chapter titled 'Land Reform as Social Policy: Exploring the Redistribution and Social Protection Outcomes in Goromonzi District, Zimbabwe' which is my contribution to the book *Social Policy in the African Context*. The chapter is derived from my thesis and in it I explore the redistribution and social protection outcomes of the FTLRP using the TSP framework as a conceptual and evaluative tool. It is an output of the Social Policy Dimensions of Land Reform Project which I am proud of and have no regrets about participating in, despite my earlier fears at its inception. In this brief I provide a summary of some of the main issues raised in the chapter. As it touches on social policy and the social protection paradigm, it is important at this juncture to point out that with Africa facing challenges of poverty and persistent inequality and inequity, the importance of social policy and social protection cannot be overemphasised. The chapter was written at a time when the world had its challenges, but it was not burdened by the challenge of Covid-19 which has burdened social protection

systems globally and has exposed the weaknesses of current social policy regimes. In Southern Africa emerging evidence shows that there has been failure by existing social policy regimes to address the welfare needs of citizens at a time of unprecedented crisis and this is evidenced in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia (see Noyoo 2021; Chipenda and Tom 2021; Pruce 2021). This has highlighted the 'need to rethink social policy', an aspect which the chapter advocates. The chapter raises fundamental questions on land reform as a social policy instrument with the potential of strengthening individual and social resilience as well as enhancing capabilities which empower the weak and vulnerable. It argues for the need to look at land reform as a social policy instrument with the same functional equivalents as other social policy instruments like pensions, education, health, labour market reforms, and social insurance among others. It argues for land reform in Zimbabwe to be looked at as 'social policy by other means' and as having had outcomes that have significantly impacted on people's lives in small but meaningful ways. These have transformed rural livelihoods, but are rarely acknowledged in the literature. In the sections below, I briefly summarise some of the key issues raised in the chapter.

Research settings and methods

The chapter is informed by fieldwork undertaken over a fourteen-month period in Goromonzi District in 2015–16. The study targeted 150 small-scale A1 farmers who benefited from the FTLRP and have landholdings on twenty-five former large-scale commercial farms (LSCFs). In addition to these farmers, forty-eight infor-

mants drawn from key government institutions, the local community, traditional leadership and the business community participated in the study as well as sixty-six participants in six focus group discussions. These respondents were selected using a multi-stage sampling procedure. The study was based on an interpretive research paradigm which employed a mixed methods research approach. Primary data was complemented by secondary data from multiple sources.

Conceptual framework: transformative social policy

A key contribution of the chapter is to utilise the TSP framework as a conceptual and heuristic tool to unearth the social policy outcomes of the FTLRP. This is a novel approach that builds on arguments posited over the past years for land and agrarian reform to be looked at and critically analysed as a social policy instrument (see Chung 2004; Adesina 2015; UNRISD 2006). The TSP arose due to dissatisfaction with the social policy paradigm which has been criticised for being based on neoliberal orthodoxy which overemphasises the importance of social protection at the expense of other policy instruments. Mainstream social policy was considered as being grounded in the residual safety net system geared towards responding to market imperfections, being detached from the economy, and failing to deal with the structural causes of poverty. The functional linkages of social policy are seen as being largely ignored and it does not in any way ameliorate the adverse effects of poverty, neither does it facilitate the redistribution of wealth and income (Mkandawire 2004; Fine 2009; Yi and Kim 2015). For countries in the global South, this is important as it comes in a background where after almost four decades of

experimentation with neoliberal social policy reforms, they have not had the desired effect. Countries continue to face persistent challenges of inequality and poverty.

TSP is grounded in the belief that social policy must be redistributive (Titmuss 1974), effective and linked to economic policy (Fine 2009; Chung 2004; Gumede 2016), needs to have a developmental orientation, and must be prophylactic with the aim of preventing rather than responding to vulnerability (Adesina 2007). Emphasis is placed on the need to return to the 'wider vision' of social policy which is not welfarist in orientation but focuses on the fulfilment of the redistributive, protective, reproductive and social cohesion or nation-building functions of social policy. These policy linkages enhance and transform unjust socio-economic and political relations. Through the TSP lens, social policy is considered as having a potential transformative impact on the economy, human capability functioning, social relations and institutions. Of prime importance is the interconnectedness between social and economic policies that allow for balanced state social spending that caters for the needs of already impoverished populations, preventing their further compromise while addressing the challenges of structural poverty. TSP was consciously chosen for the study as it was considered ideal and best suited in providing a better understanding and analytical lens on the social policy dimensions of the FTLRP.

The redistributive outcomes of land reform

An important dimension of TSP is that it posits that social policies (including land reform) must be redistributive. Land reform thus performs the same redistributive func-

tions as other mainstream social policies in addition to some socioeconomic roles. These ensure that the proceeds of economic development are redistributed to society (Mkandawire 2011). Land reform thus becomes pivotal in redistributing wealth, equalising opportunities, improving economic growth, and addressing poverty (Prasad, Hypher and Gerecke 2013). My research explores the extent to which the FTLRP was redistributive, and this perspective is informed by the assertion that land reforms are a social policy instrument. The exploration was done bearing in mind the persistent debates on the FTLRP. The debates are premised on claims that the FTLRP was characterised by patronage, clientism, cronyism and capture and that the reforms mainly benefited the political and business elite, the politically connected and supporters of ZANU (PF). The chapter touches on these issues but is careful not to get bogged down in them, rather concentrating on contemporary issues of land reform focusing on progressive redistribution outcomes. Findings from the study indicate that the FTLRP was redistributive, benefiting 2,822 small-scale A1 farmers on 36,628 hectares previously owned by 75 LSCFs, 846 A2 beneficiaries on 84,455.72 hectares which was previously owned by 51 LSCFs. In the district, the number of peasant farm households is shown as having increased from 20,253 to 23,733. When compared with their counterparts in the communal areas, resettled A1 farmers are shown as having larger landholdings at 6 hectares compared to 3.74 hectares in the communal areas.

The chapter notes that the redistributive nature of the FTLRP has seen persons of different origins and backgrounds benefiting from

the programme. A decade and a half after land reform, the chapter shows that the story of the redistributive nature of the FTLRP is now more complex and not as simplistic as is presented in the mainstream literature. With beneficiaries coming from different backgrounds of which a significant number came from the land poor, unproductive, marginal and congested communal areas and others coming from urban areas with a significant number being unemployed or holding precarious, insecure informal or temporary jobs, the resettlement areas now comprise a mix of households of people from different backgrounds. Added to this group are the political and business elite and civil servants. The mix of these different social groupings has created interesting class structures and dynamics which are being carried over to the new generation found in the resettlement areas. Using the assertion by Moyo (2011) that the FTLRP saw the emergence of a tri-modal agrarian structure (comprising the peasantry, the middle to large capitalist farms, and the agro-estates), which replaced the largely colonial bi-modal agrarian structure, the chapter uses this configuration to analyse the redistributive outcomes of the FTLRP. It notes that there are multiple beneficiaries of the reforms and the differentiated landholdings have in different ways impacted on production patterns, markets and livelihood trajectories. Redistribution is thus shown not just in the context of addressing historical injustices in land tenure, but is also linked to redressing unjust socio-economic relations. To this end the chapter shows that the broadened agrarian structure and the opening of the previously enclosed farming areas have created conditions for empowerment and availed numerous economic opportunities for

households and local communities. Communities now have access to natural resources, agricultural value chains and on and off farm economic opportunities with amazing levels of agency being displayed. This fulfils an important objective of TSP which is for any social policy instrument to be redistributive while enhancing the productive capacities of citizens.

While looking at the redistributive dimensions of the FTLRP, the chapter highlights the position of women after land reform. It confirms findings from other studies that few women officially benefited from the FTLRP. Only 22 per cent of women are shown as having benefited in the study sample. The chapter however broadens the analysis and notes that even though women are not the primary land beneficiaries, there are multiple ways in which they are managing to access land. Through a complex interaction between socio-cultural practices and contemporary statutory enactments, women are shown as having secondary access to land. They are now playing very important productive and reproductive roles and contributing in different ways to household welfare and wellbeing. The chapter highlights that women's access to land is having symbolic, social, cultural, economic and political significance with their roles being acknowledged and appreciated at local and national levels. Women on small peasant farms are shown as forming a new class of petty commodity farm-based entrepreneurs who are becoming an integral part of the local economy involved in multiple business ventures and investments. This is considered as an important social policy outcome of the FTLRP from a redistributive productive perspective.

The social protection outcomes of land reform

TSP lays emphasis on social protection, which it argues is integral for citizens and allows them to be better positioned to respond to social and economic risks and vulnerabilities. The chapter explores the concept of social protection indicating its centrality in unearthing the social dimensions of the FTLRP. The social protection concept employed by TSP is shown as borrowing from the transformative social protection framework by Devereux and Sabates Wheeler (2004). It is shown as providing a holistic approach which encompasses participation, empowerment, rights-based interventions, protection, prevention, promotion and transformation. In the TSP context, social policy is shown as departing significantly from the World Bank-inspired Social Risk Management framework. According to Holzman and Kozel (2007), this framework places undue emphasis on the social safety net approach. This according to TSP is ineffective in reducing and addressing the challenges of vulnerability and poverty among citizens. In the post-land reform context, the chapter argues that from a TSP perspective, the FTLRP has had ex-ante rather than ex-post social protection outcomes with the multi-tasking of social policy allowing resettled communities to manage risks, disparities, vulnerabilities, challenges and inequalities. This has been facilitated by their centrality and in allowing citizens to have access to a productive resource, the land. This has enhanced their productive capacities while empowering them to be resilient and able to cope with shocks. In pursuance of this issue, the chapter departs from the conventional approach to social protection arguing that through the

TSP lens there are discernible social protection outcomes through what can be best described as 'social policy by other means', which has seen access to land transforming beneficiaries' lives and offering them social protection.

On social protection outcomes, the chapter shows that shelter is one aspect which highlights the social protection dimensions of the FTLRP. Having been allocated land, beneficiaries have managed to build houses for themselves. In the study sample 99.3 per cent of the beneficiaries indicated having managed to build affordable, accessible and culturally appropriate shelter which has guaranteed them personal safety, security and protection. In a way this has seen the realisation of their citizenship and social rights. Closely linked to the issue of shelter, the chapter shows that through land ownership, beneficiaries now have a place which they call home, the *musha*/*ekhaya* or rural home. In Shona culture, the *musha* is a home of the family or kinship group which serves multiple social, economic and cultural functions. Colonialism had seen the *musha* being found in the communal areas but with the FTLRP some households have migrated with it to the farming areas. This is to be expected as one of the initial objectives of the FTLRP was to decongest the communal areas with households moving to the acquired farms (Utete 2003).

The migration of households was thus not purely production oriented as has been portrayed in the mainstream literature, but the underlying motive was communal area decongestion with farmer production capabilities secondary, especially in the A1 sector. From the study, it is clear that the resettlement of households has resulted in distinct

social protection functions with the *musha* serving as a refuge or safety net for the nuclear and extended family. It is a place in which households engage in productive farm and off farm livelihood activities which enhance food security. It also serves other cultural functions which are important but rarely acknowledged. These include the performance of some sacred rituals and the burial of family members with grave sites being important for spiritual purposes. Having the *musha* is shown as providing dignity to beneficiaries. This is very important for those of foreign descent who for decades suffered from the stigma of being labelled *vanhu vasina musha* (people without rural homes). Now they have homes.

At the household level, the chapter shows that land access has had multi-dimensional food security outcomes, which are small and rarely acknowledged in the mainstream literature but which at a micro-level are very important for households. By having access to land, households are managing to cultivate small family gardens known locally as the *bindu*/*jeke* where they grow multiple horticultural crops (including traditional crops) that are proving to be indispensable for both household consumption and for selling. These crops are essential for supplementing household food, providing nutrition, for farmgate sells (which are cheap to undertake), and for local markets allowing households to generate extra income. Household expenses, school fees for children, the payment of bills and utilities, purchase of medications and other needs are shown as being met through productive activities undertaken in the *bindu*. This is shown as contributing to social protection outcomes. The chapter also provides an in-depth analysis

of how resettled households have adopted the African grain storage system known locally as the *dura*. This is shown as having become an important symbol for rural livelihood sustenance and is useful for post-harvest storage making it a bedrock for rural livelihoods, community food security and wealth. It is shown as being a vital tool with multiple functions which include food security and social protection.

Livestock production, which is an integral component of rural livelihoods, is looked at. It is shown as a form of insurance against risks and shocks. In the face of economic and climatic challenges facing Zimbabwean farmers in the past decade, the chapter notes that for the resettled households livestock rearing has become an important asset for accumulation, buffering households against uncertainties while generating income for them. Livestock keeping has become important for multiple purposes, which are inclusive dowry payments, rituals and as a welfare instrument which households liquidate to meet immediate or emergency needs which may arise. The integration of crop and livestock production has seen household income diversification which has had multiple protection and production outcomes.

Lastly the chapter looks at how land access has allowed beneficiaries to profit from social transfers. In a context where by virtue of owning land, beneficiaries are automatically excluded from benefiting from targeted social welfare transfers by the state and NGOs, resettled households are shown as benefiting from social transfers targeting smallholder and communal farmers. Through some state led schemes like the Presidential Inputs Scheme, these households receive agricultural inputs which

are sufficient for them to cultivate small pieces of land. These inputs to some extent guarantee them some measure of food security and are helpful for the poorest A1 farmers who face difficulty procuring inputs, thus there are some social protection outcomes.

Conclusion

The chapter is quite exhaustive in exploring the redistributive and social protection outcomes of the FTLRP which it engages through a TSP lens. Through numerous outcomes outlined above, the chapter makes a case to indicate how land reform has been pivotal in guaranteeing sustained production by the poor, allowing for enhanced income and capabilities, the capacity to deal with shocks, and the building of resilience. Its important contribution is to show that from a TSP perspective, land reform is an important social policy instrument that has had redistributive and social protection outcomes which have transformed people's lives. It presents some social dimensions of land reform from a social policy perspective which are rarely acknowledged in the mainstream literature.

In retrospect, I believe that participating in the Social Dimensions of Land Reform Project at the SAR-ChI Chair in Social Policy at the University of South Africa was a worthwhile intellectual exercise. When one looks at the research outputs, which include this article, it has been an interesting and inspirational process of growth and development. I am optimistic that this marks the beginning of greater, deeper, and more nuanced research on the social policy dimensions of land reform which is an important dynamic of unearthing and addressing the challenges of persistent poverty and vulnerability in the global South.

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The Male Breadwinner Myth:
The South African Case

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There is no singular mechanism, or proverbial silver bullet, that can address the wide variety of vulnerabilities and wishes of people. In response to the inequalities and poverty witnessed globally since the late 1980s, social policy initiatives tended to focus on social protection in the form of cash transfers or safety nets. This social policy approach originated in Western countries with specific entrenched cultural and social dynamics, but it also spread to developing countries (Kangas 2012).

In reaction to this narrow social-protection focus, the concept of transformative social policy was put forward to indicate that a far more extensive and collective approach is required to address the needs of people and develop a conducive environment for wellbeing. A transformative social policy goes beyond short term risks and has a wide range of focus areas, including production, protection, redistribution, reproduction and even social cohesion (Mkandawire 2007; Adesina 2011).

In line with this latter thinking on social policy, the gendered implications of a transformative social policy at a collective level is explored here with a focus on men. In South Africa, a country of soaring unemployment figures, men are still expected to be the primary breadwinners and are often blamed or ignored if they are not able to fulfil this role adequately. Although certain men ostentatiously have disproportionate amounts of wealth in South Africa, this wealth is by no means the norm. This emphasis on men as breadwinners, an expectation that many cannot meet, has serious implications for their gender identity and mental health and undermines their potential role as active caretakers.

Factors such as the high incidence of gender-based violence with men as perpetrators, the high incarceration rates of men and their poorer performance in education compared to women suggest an urgent revisit of the 'African masculinities in crisis' discourse. Masculinity studies (including a specific focus on African men) have grown exponentially in the last three decades (Everitt-Penhale and Ratele 2015; Langa 2020; Van den Berg and Makusha 2018) and the power hierarchies between men have been well documented (Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger 2012), but social policy documents focusing on poor and vulnerable groups of men (including perpetrators of violence) and their coping mechanisms have been more elusive. Not only 'the state' and 'the individual' are involved in social policy, but a range of other 'non-state actors' (Kangas 2012) and therefore other role players, such as non-profit organisations (NPOs), should be considered in the transformative social policy context. NPOs can play a positive role in the development and implementation of social policy, especially if they do not duplicate state services but rather augment them. The NPO sector is explored here by focusing on the work of Sonke Gender Justice as it relates to gendered caregiving.

Unemployment and state interventions in South Africa

In 2019 the overall official unemployment rate in South Africa was 29.1 per cent and the expanded unemployment rate, which includes people who have given up on seeking employment, was reported as 38.7 per cent. In addition, 32 per cent of people between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four were not in employment, education or training (the so-called NEET-category) (StatsSA 2019: 2, 7, 8).

Earlier research on the reasons why young people are not engaged in further education revealed that family commitments and pregnancies were frequently cited as barriers by women, whereas men were more likely to indicate working as a barrier (StatsSA 2013: 54). Such work commitments are often related to the informal sector.

Trying to address poverty in South Africa includes providing free basic schooling and health care to those in

need. A more direct approach is the targeted social assistance project. Roughly a third of South Africans receive a social assistance grant and far fewer people (about 14 million estimated in 2013) are formally employed (Seekings and Moore 2013). Although the targeted social assistance approach ensures tangible benefits in the short and medium term, it does not automatically lead to sustainable poverty reduction and this approach is unlikely to be sustainable in the long run.

Another approach includes work-related initiatives such as the Expanded Public Works Programme and sub-programmes, such as the Community Work Programme (National Planning Commission 2013: 154). Lofty expectations of these programmes are that they will contribute to violence prevention since they can potentially provide 'structure, meaning and dignity' especially to chronically unemployed people. Yet, young men are not necessarily keen to take up these opportunities if not on par with their expectations. Similar trends have been seen in developed countries (such as Japan and Germany) and developing countries (such as Nigeria and India), where young people were not interested in 'blue-collar artisanal trades' (Naidoo and Hoque 2017).

A more specific response to the high unemployment figures of young people is the Youth Wage Subsidy, or Employment Incentive Bill. This Bill offers a tax incentive to employers to employ young people with limited work experience (*ibid.*). However, on average workers in this age category lose jobs at the same rate at which jobs are found. Adequate mentoring can be successful in training and retaining young employees, but in an insecure economic environment, older workers may be fearful of losing their own jobs and therefore reluctant to provide adequate mentoring (*ibid.*).

Since these state-led opportunities mainly target people with low skill levels, they may not be sustainable since the current labour market in South Africa is geared towards highly skilled employees. It is thus not surprising that South Africans who did not complete Grade 12 have by far the highest unemployment levels (34.6 per cent), especially when compared with graduates (7.6 per cent) (StatsSA 2019: 12). There is general consensus that especially unskilled and semi-skilled employment are at risk as increasing technological development ensures growing mechanisation. Processes such as privatisation, restructuring and downsizing are intensified by globalisation, and all employment sectors, but especially manufacturing, agriculture and mining, are affected by them (Graham and De Lannoy 2016). Young people, and men with low skill levels, are therefore commonly excluded from secure employment.

There is a belief that the high unemployment rates in South Africa (and elsewhere) will continue for some time to come. In fact, there is a more pessimistic (or realistic) view that the idea of continuous economic growth cannot be attained and should not even be strived for since it is built on the illusion that the growth economy is desirable. Ferguson (2015: 10) argues for 'a new politics of distribution', which acknowledges that large numbers of people simply do not have (and may never have) access to wage labour and hence there is a willingness to 'just give money to the poor'. In addition, the neoliberal economic growth we have become accustomed to has a negative impact on environmental resources by slowly obliterating the natural resources many Africans depend on, and hence, it ultimately affects people's wellbeing negatively (Fioramonti 2017). Given these realities, a gendered overview of care and income follows.

Masculinities

Care work, regardless of the nature or type, is dominated by women the world over and South Africa is no exception (Rabe 2017). Whether men are employed, unemployed or underemployed, men do less care work than women. If men do care work, some struggle to reconcile it with their masculine identity (Razavi 2014).

Prior to the colonial period, older African men passed on collective understandings of masculine identities to younger men. Due to the huge impact of the mining sector in Southern Africa, the transfer of understandings of masculinity was relocated to the mining premises where men lived for increasingly longer periods. Over time, many young men became detached from their fathers but also from other adult male role models (Delius and Glaser 2002). In Southern Africa, the eroding relationships between men and their families meant that older men increasingly could no longer play a guiding and caring role, and if they could not be financial providers either, they had almost nothing left to tie them to their families.

Certain qualitative studies show that families expect adult women to earn money in some way (Wright, Noble and Ntshongwana 2014), but the male breadwinner ideology has been found to be particularly pervasive (Rabe 2017).

The targeted approach to poverty excludes healthy able-bodied men and women between the ages of eighteen and sixty from social assistance grants. If such adults do

not have (or recently had) paid employment and they live in households where children or the elderly are recipients of the grants, they inadvertently become dependent on grantholders. Since grant money is shared in poor households, 'dependents' become 'income earners' and able-bodied adults become their financial dependents. Ferguson (2015: 43) expands that if men were to be given a grant 'they might be in this way rendered "dependent" [which] is threatening to a certain imagination of masculinity within which "independence" and "autonomy" are the very ground and guarantor of male power'.

MenCare, a global fatherhood initiative, reports a particularly insightful research finding from the Democratic Republic of Congo (2015: 20): women's caregiving roles help them to 'endure the negative effects of war'. In the State of Africa's Fathers (MenCare 2015), it was reported that involved fathers are more likely than other men to cope with adverse circumstances and influence those around them positively. Men's lack of intimate social ties may be negative for those with whom they interact and themselves, for example, involving alcohol and substance abuse and neglecting their health (Slegh, Barker and Levtov 2014).

Gender socialisation, the realities in the economic sphere which assumes a 'traditional' division of labour and policies that reiterate the unequal distribution of caregiving (MenCare 2015: 20) point to restrictive masculine constructions that inhibit men from forming close social ties with family members and engaging in care work for kin members. If masculine roles become more equitable, expressive and respectful, the lives of men, women and children improve (Van den Berg, Hendricks, Hatcher et al. 2013).

Non-profit organisational interventions

If we focus on a specific aspect of social policy, such as care, it becomes clear that the term is complicated in theory and in practice since the state, the family, the market and communities (or NPOs) are all involved in providing forms of social and economic assistance. Razavi (2014: 40) explains the interconnectedness between these four sectors as a 'care diamond'. In certain countries the state may provide free care for different categories of people (for example, state-funded early childhood centres), but in other countries citizens have to either pay for care (the market) or provide it themselves (usually through kin structures).

There are hundreds of NPOs registered in South Africa, the majority of them involved in social services, culture and recreation, development and housing projects. Patel (2014: 252–3) identifies four different types of NPOs: formal public service contractors, donor-funded, faith-based and community-based organisations.

NPOs can be 'agents of the state or of international economic interests' (Meagher 2013: 25–6). Donors may also dictate to NPOs, but many NPOs may have a number of donors who usually wish to support their aims. South Africa also has an active civil society in which the NPO sector often plays a substantial role, for example, Black Sash and Gift of the Givers Foundation. Occasionally, their activist work challenges the state, but their practical support to individuals and communities supplements the care work of the state and kin networks.

I want to highlight the NPO Sonke Gender Justice here, since they focus much of their work on the gendered lives of men. Their aims include advocacy activities to influence specific social policies as well as doing the groundwork to change perceptions and gendered practices. Sonke Gender Justice, founded in 2006, has five regional offices in South Africa (Cape Town, Johannesburg, Bushbuckridge, Diepsloot and Gugulethu), and their programmes reach twenty African countries and nearly 25,000 men each year through workshops, community dialogues and community radio shows (Van den Berg, Hendricks, Hatcher et al. 2013).

Initiatives such as One Man Can and the Men Engage Alliance are aimed at encouraging men to speak up against violence against women, and to be activists in preventing the spread of HIV. The organisation casts itself as a feminist movement with almost 50 per cent female employees at all levels and working with women-led women's rights organisations. One of the prominent aims of Sonke Gender Justice is a focus on positive fathering practices, improved communication with children, different discipline strategies and socialising children to share household responsibilities in an equitable manner (Van den Berg, Hendricks, Hatcher et al. 2013). These activities reveal how difficult it is to change entrenched gender norms and practices steeped in family and community practices.

Conclusion

Men's identity is often closely associated with their ability to earn an income, an expectation which is shared by women and children. Since the economic landscape makes financial contributions from many men impossible, it has a negative effect on their self-esteem. Compared to women, men are not nearly as involved in taking care of family members or doing paid care

work. If they do care work, they often see it as 'beneath' their status. The majority of men do not qualify for any kind of social assistance grant in South Africa and in very poor households where nobody earns wages, they inadvertently become dependent on others who do qualify for grants. Even in cases where men and women qualify for grants, as in the case of people over the age of sixty, women are better able or more likely than men to share their grants with others in such a way as to alleviate poverty more effectively. On the other end of the spectrum, men who are high-income earners are held in high regard and are not necessarily expected to contribute any further support to families.

Within this social realm, Sonke Gender Justice does groundwork in changing negative gendered perceptions and practices. This type of groundwork is essential if we want societies in which men are committed to their families and care work in general regardless of the size of their income. A transformative social policy must include more equitable gender relationships and hence the work by the relevant NPOs should receive more support.

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Social Health Insurance in Nigeria:
Rethinking the Approach for Effective Health Care Delivery

Introduction

The success story of Social Health Insurance (SHI) in developed countries such as Germany, Japan, and the Republic of Korea, among others, hit developing countries by the turn of the century, and thus, the World Health Organization (WHO), one of the leading advocates for SHI, encouraged developing countries to establish SHI as a financing option for health care.

The WHO describes SHI as a strategy for funds mobilisation, risk pooling and access to equitable health care (WHO 2005). In the same way, the World Bank and other international agencies endorse SHI as a policy instrument to facilitate desirable health sector reforms in developing countries (McGregor 2014; Word Bank 1989; 1993; Hsiao and Shaw 2007). SHI became an alternative option in low-and-middle-income countries (LMICs) due to the continued rise in health care expenditure and difficulty in funding it (WHO 2010). SHI has thus been explored as a strategy that could provide more revenue and ensure a flow of funds into the health sector by a combination of risk pooling and mutual support (Talampas 2014; Dutta and Hongoro 2013).

The Nigeria model of SHI, called the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), was instituted with the mandate to ensure access to health care, protection from fi-

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nancial hardship and establishment of universal coverage. However, since its inception, expanding population coverage remains a challenge. Why is NHIS failing in its mandate? This question is increasingly important not only because NHIS is waning in terms of population coverage, but also because many LMICs are facing similar challenges (Talampas 2014; Barnighausen and Sauerborn 2002). This study attempts to address this issue by exploring the design and performance of NHIS vis-à-vis three selected countries, Germany, Thailand and Rwanda, based on their different institutional arrangements for funding, delivering and meeting Universal Healthcare Coverage (UHC). The study is organised as follows: a brief overview of the historical development of NHIS, strategies adopted to achieve universal coverage, the challenges that stem from the strategies, and lessons learned from the studied countries.

Historical development of Nigeria's health care financing

This period covers the early 1960s, when the country gained independence, to the early 1980s prior to the implementation of neolibe-

ral structural adjustment policies (SAPs) in the country. The Nigerian government in the pre-reforms era provided 'free' health care services including curative and preventive care for its citizens through general taxation. Funds realised primarily from agricultural produce was used to finance socio-economic and infrastructural development. Health care was readily available at public hospitals and clinics at no charge (Adesina 2007a). In this regard, financial barriers to health care access were avoided as social spending on health was seen as social investment to enhance economic growth and development because the idea was predicated on nationalist beliefs in the social and economic nexus. Universal provision of social services was primarily the responsibility of the government; health and other basic social services like education were seen as issues of social welfare rather than consumable goods; and thus health expenditure as a percentage of Federal Government expenditure was on an average 3.5 per cent in the 1970s (Heidhues and Obare 2011; World Bank 1980). Within this period, social services were seen as a complement to economic growth and thus were given priority (Adesina 2007b; Obono 2007). Adesina further argues that, similar to education, 'social spending on health was part of the wider objectives of defeating the triad of ignorance, poverty and disease in the immediate post-independence era of most African states' (Adesina 2008: 6). The country had four

vigorous National Development Plans for health care in the pre-reform era primarily predicated on revolutionary transformation of the country's inherited colonial health care system. These include the first National Development Plan (1962–1968), the second National Development Plan (1970–1975), the third National Development Plan (1976–1980) and the fourth National Development Plan (1981–1985) (Scott-Emuakpor 2010: 3). The nationalists recognised the need for workforce training and development of indigenous skills in health care services and thus the number of medical doctors and other health professionals increased steadily from independence. The total population per medical doctor declined drastically from 73,710 to 15,740 between 1960 and 1975, infant and under-five mortality per 1,000 live births also declined from 50 in 1970 to 22 in 1979 (World Bank 1980).

However, given the low economic growth rate and limited fiscal space of the 1980s, the international financial institutions, led by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), introduced SAPs as the prerequisite for structural adjustment loans for sub-Saharan African countries (Adesina 2007b; Obono 2007). The conditions of the loans included minimal government intervention in the economy, private participation and the introduction of User Fees for government facilities, with the claim that there would be more funds in the system through private participation, which in turn would subsequently be used to improve the quality of and increase access to health care (World Bank 1993).

On the contrary, these neoliberal policies reversed health care financing from the government to individuals and households. For instance, private health expenditure in Nigeria between 2000 and 2006 accounted for 66.5 per cent and 70.3 per cent, while government expenditure accounted for 33.5 per cent and 29.7 per cent respectively. In the same period, further analysis of private health expenditure shows that OOP payments accounted for 92.7 per cent and 90.4 per cent respectively (WHO 2009). The abrupt changes in Nigerian health care financing from the government to the individual denied the vast majority of the Nigerian population access to basic health care services. For instance, evidence reveals that in 1999 the Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR) and Infant Mortality Ratio (IMR) were 1,200 deaths per 100,000 live births and 114.70 deaths per 1,000 live births respectively (WHO 2000). In response to the criticism and failure of User Fees to attain their set objectives, the promoters shifted to a more flexible and gradual approach to budget cuts hereby increasing the role of governments in providing the necessary supports for health care, education and other social services. Thus, in the early 1990s, a new call for 'adjustment with human face' took the centre stage, which implies paying more attention to social services and the role of government in the process. The failure of User Fees resulted in reconsidering the approach and thus risk pooling via prepayment and mutual support mechanisms was considered an alternative strategy to finance health care (WHO 2010; Save the Children 2008).

The NHIS was instituted in 1999, though became operational in 2005 with a wide range of programmes/plans such as the Formal Sector Social Health Insurance Programme, Voluntary Individual Social Health Insurance Programme, Community-Based Health Insurance Programme, and Vulnerable Group Social Insurance Programme, among others (NHIS 2012). However, the population covered by the Formal Sector Programme was insignificant; and thus, the Community-Based Programme was initiated in 2008 to fast-track population coverage. Despite the introduction of the Community-Based Programme, it added no meaningful contribution to the expansion of health coverage, and coverage remains stuck at about 3 per cent of the Nigerian population (Odeyemi and Nixon 2013).

Methods of achieving UHC

There are two main options to universal coverage via SHI: full population coverage and targeting a limited group(s) at the beginning, with the aim of expanding coverage gradually to the rest of the population. The latter could be operated in two ways: first, starting coverage with formal-sector workers (a 'top-down' approach), and gradually expanding inclusion to informal-sector workers; second, initial coverage of small and informal-sector workers (a 'bottom-up' approach), then gradually including employees in the formal sector (Gustafsson-Wright and Schellekens 2013). Literature has shown that countries such as Germany, Japan and Austria, which adopted the second option, that is, the 'bottom-up' approach, moved faster in achieving universal coverage than countries such as Nigeria, Ghana and Vietnam, which started with the first option, that is, the 'top-down' approach (Nicholson, Yates, Warburton et al. 2015; Hsiao and Shaw 2004; Barnighausen and Sauerborn 2002).

Challenges to achieving universal coverage in Nigeria

A number of challenges that hinder the achievement of universal coverage in Nigeria have been identified: (i) difficulty in expanding coverage to informal-sector workers and the rural populations; (ii) lack of mutual and social solidarity among the beneficiaries of health insurance programmes/plans; (iii) inadequate resource mobilisation; and (iv) proliferation of fund pools.

Lessons from selected countries

Germany

Germany is globally considered to be the source of the SHI model of health insurance. Since the end of the seventeenth century, a number of relief funds were developed in different regions of Germany, including relief funds for journeymen, artisans and other people who could not fit into other existing funds. Statutory sickness funds evolved out of the relief funds, animated by the principles of solidarity, community self-help and social justice (Carrin and James 2004; Barnighausen and Sauerborn 2002). It is worth mentioning that the German health care system developed incrementally. For instance, in the pre-Bismarckian statutory health insurance system, laws were instituted as follows: first, rules and regulations detailing how sickness funds could be organised, including provisions for contribution, benefit packages, entry conditions and the management of the funds. Second, the character of the laws gradually changed from liberal to obligatory. In 1843, the Common Law of Trade allowed Municipal Authorities to recognise compulsory contribution to the existing voluntary funds. By 1849,

local governments were permitted to make insurance compulsory for particular groups of employees, and in 1854, all uninsured people were compelled to create insurance funds for mutual support. Third, in the same year, 1854, compulsory insurance moved from regional to supraregional levels, and for the first time one professional group in the entire region of Germany – the miners – was required to join one of the numerous miners' regional funds (Barnighausen and Sauerborn 2002). Thus, the three incremental phases in the development of Germany's health insurance system paved the way for the achievement of universal coverage.

Thailand

Prior to the universal coverage programme in Thailand, a wide range of plans existed, including universal coverage for the poor, workmen's compensation funds, and low-income scheme, among others (Talampas 2014). In 2001, the existing funds were merged into four schemes for the entire Thai population. These include: (i) the Medical Welfare Scheme (MWS), which provides coverage for the poor and vulnerable, including the elderly, children, secondary school students, the disabled and war veterans, among others; (ii) the Health Card Scheme (HCS), for non-poor households who were not eligible for the MWS; (iii) the Civil Servants Medical Benefits Scheme (CSMBS) for retired civil servants and their dependants; (iv) the Social Security Scheme (SSS) for employees of organisations with more than ten workers but not for their dependants. However, MWS and HCS were later merged to form the Universal Coverage Scheme (UCS) (Talampas 2014; Dutta and Hongoro 2013). The consolidation of the existing funds

into three major funds was a major reform in Thailand. It has been estimated that 85 per cent of Thai population were covered in 2002 because of the merger (Dutta and Hongoro 2013).

Rwanda

Rwanda has been recognised as one of the countries in Africa and Asia that has made significant progress in achieving a UHC system since 2012. The country's dramatic reform of its health care system began in 1999, and by 2000, the country was committed to universal coverage. Mutuelles de santé (Mutuelles), a Community-Based Health Insurance Scheme (CBHIS) established by the Government of Rwanda, remains the main component of the national strategic plan for universal health coverage (Rwanda Ministry of Health 2010). Although other social health insurance programmes, such as the Military Medical Scheme and La Rwandaise d'Assurance Maladie, were available, they cover a very small proportion of Rwanda's population. The CBHIS took central stage in Rwanda's strategic health plan to achieving universal coverage, with the majority of the population (90 per cent) enrolling in it (Nyandekwe, Nzayirambaho and Kakoma 2014). According to Nyandekwe, Nzayirambaho and Kakoma (2014), a considerable number of factors underscore Rwanda's commitment to the attainment of UHC. These include, among others, first a long-term strategy, Vision 2020, with strategic social protection through universal access to health care promulgated in the year 2000. Second, Rwanda's Politique Nationale de Développement des Mutuelles, promulgated in 2004. Third, Law No: 62/2007 of 30 December 2007, declared in March 2008, which

states categorically that all Rwandan residents must be affiliated to a health insurance scheme that provides quality health care (Rwanda Ministry of Health 2010).

Lessons learned

A number of lessons were learned from the three countries studied. These included the amalgamation of existing health insurance plans into smaller and manageable numbers. For example, in Thailand, a considerable number of existing schemes were merged into three, which cover different population segments of the country, yielding population coverage of 85 per cent. In the same way, in Rwanda, a large number of CBHISs were harmonised into two categories and the two categories cover about 90 per cent of the entire population. Second, in all three cases, there was strong government commitment. For instance, a range of legal frameworks were passed to support the universal coverage agenda, including mandatory health insurance, and strong financial commitment to universal access through tax revenue. Third, all three adopted a 'bottom-up' approach, establishing insurance first for low-income informal workers and rural dwellers and then graduating to high-income formal workers. This method increased the pace of achieving universal coverage in the three studied countries.

Conclusions

The 'top-down' approach adopted by Nigeria's NHIS was fraught with pitfalls. However, the success story of UHC in Germany, Thailand and Rwanda was predicated on a 'bottom-up' approach. In addition, evidence from the selected countries explored shows strong government commitment, by making health insurance mandatory and supporting the scheme with tax revenue, especially for the poor. The lessons from the three countries studied could contribute to the debate on expanding coverage in Nigeria. By adopting mandatory coverage for the entire population, coalescing existing programmes/plans, equalising risk between the programmes/plans and allocating tax revenue, Nigeria could provide basic health care for all.

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Special Issue from the Post-Colonialisms Today Project
Lessons to Africa from Africa:
Reclaiming Early Post-independence Progressive Policies

Numéro spécial du projet sur le post-colonialsme aujourd'hui
Leçons à l'Afrique par l'Afrique :
Reprendre les politiques progressistes au début de l'après-indépendance

Guest Editors / Rédacteurs invités
Tetteh Hormeku-Ajei & Adebayo Olukoshi
(Post-Colonialisms Today)

Excavating Communal Mutual Support Praxis in Two Townships in South Africa: Preliminary Notes for Social Policy Learning

Introduction

The centring of social wellbeing as the final cause (Pack 2010) of socio-economic policies is imperative to the rethinking of social policy. This thinking is informed by the notions that the history of human society is best defined by mutual aid in cooperation; socio-economic reproduction is at the heart of social policy; and social policy, in practice, transcends the provision of social welfare by the state and formal private sector to include non-formal social practices (Adesina 2009; Kropotkin 1972 cited in Katz and Bender 1976; Mkandawire 2004; Polanyi 2001 [1944]).

The arrangement of the institutions of the economy, family/households and state in the delivery of productive, individual and collective consumptions could inform the nature of social wellbeing. Wage funds, extracted from productive consumption (capital–labour nexus) in the economy, provide the primary basis for the satisfaction of individual consumption. Excess to this, formal and non-formal collective consumption is important for wellbeing achievement (Heinrich 2012; Picchio 1992; Dickinson and Russell 1986). While collective consumption is often expressed in social policy, often led by the state and formal private sector, it is the non-formal collective consumption, embedded in familial

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and communal social praxes of mutual support, that is the focus of this chapter. We argue that these non-formal mutual support praxes could be a repository of learning for formal social policy architecture.

'Wellbeing achievement' is at the heart of Sen's (2009; 2008) idea of justice and capability approach to poverty. A broad view of social policy sees social and economic policies as mutually embedded. All policies and practices that foster social wellbeing could be associated with the rethinking of social policy (Adesina 2009; Mkandawire 2004; Kangas and Palme 2009). It is this broad idea of social policy that informs our study of non-formal mutual support societies and practices in two townships in Pretoria, South Africa. We argue that organic non-formal mutual support praxis, within and without association (familial and communal), provide a knowledge reservoir that could inform formal social policy.

Mutual-aid groups and praxis

We used the 'transformative social policy' theoretical prism to study the underlying values and activities of mutual-aid groups. This posits a wider conception of social policy as capable of achieving multiple functions through multiple instruments, informed by the nature of the context under review. Contextual specific developmental functions that broadly speak to the socio-economic reproduction and social cohesion of a society, using diverse relevant policy instruments, are within the scope of social policy (Adesina 2011; Mkandawire 2007; UNRISD 2006). Central to this conception of social policy are entrenched norms and values, which inform the agenda setting of a society. Social policy should not be contained within the boundaries of the state and formal private sector; familial and communal praxes that foster social wellbeing through different structures of collective consumption could be appropriated as social policy instruments (Adesina 2009).

Mutual aid has its root in self-help groups for socio-economic benefits – a reflection of Polanyi's (2001 [1944]) idea of the relevance of social organisation to economic rationality. The social principles of reciprocity and economic rationality (which are mutually reinforcing), such as savings, cost reduc-

tion, and acquisition of indivisible goods, are viewed as accountable for their persistence (Peterlechner 2009). The activities of friendly societies (Weinbren 2005; Katz and Bender 1976) could be taken as the earliest practice of mutual aid. Cooperation to maintain livelihood, rather than competition (social Darwinism), better defines the history of human society (Kropotkin 1972 cited in Katz and Bender 1976; Glenn 2001). Mutual-aid groups and praxes seem to exist at the margins of capitalist society, yet, they complement it (O'Hearn and Grubačić 2016).

We engaged mutual-aid groups and activities by focusing on enabling social values and norms, as these provide the underlying mechanisms for its formation and practices. Their praxes could inform the broadening and construction of the architecture of collective consumption in social policy. The expression of mutual aid in self-help groups suggests enabling and sustaining values and norms, which are reinforced through social control. Lack of adherence to organisational rules by members could lead to loss of trust and respect (Low 1995; Bouman 1995a; 1995b; Bisrat, Kostas and Feng 2012).

Trust, honesty, reciprocity, mutual obligation, social solidarity, social collateral, hope, democracy, self-discipline and social capital are some of the enabling norms and values of mutual aid in self-help (Bisrat, Kostas and Feng 2012; Benda 2012). These norms and values enable the practice of mutual aid, and the practice of mutual aid, in turn, reinforces these norms in society. Trust and social solidarity are important for collective action and are central amongst enabling norms and values of mutual-aid groups and activities, especially as their rules and regulations are not le-

gally enforceable (Etang, Fielding and Knowles 2011). The achievement of social solidarity and collateral, amongst other normative value orientation, suggests that the activities of mutual-aid groups qualify as a form of collective consumption, and an organic reservoir for the crafting of formal social policy architecture, in our view.

Methodology

This is a small-scale qualitative study focused on mutual support societies and activities in Mamelodi and Atteridgevile Townships in Pretoria. The experiences and views of research participants in their social context provide in-roads into their lived world (Bryman and Teevan 2005). The study of these two cases, informed by research objectives, provides historical and contextual characteristics, and the opportunity to learn about the organisation and activities of mutual support societies in the study sites (Yin 2009; Chadderton and Torrance 2011). Purposive and snowball sampling methods were used to select participants as informed by the study objectives and referral for recruiting participants (Kumar 2005; Burgess 1984). We used one-on-one in-depth interviews and focus group discussions to collect data. Eighteen interviews and five focus group discussion were conducted in Mamelodi and twenty-nine interviews and four focus group discussions were conducted in Atteridgeville. The transcribed textual data was thematically analysed.

Mutual support in South Africa

In South Africa, mutual support takes the form of self-help groups locally referred to as *stockvel* or *societies*. However, the practice of mutual support transcends associational context to include familial

and communal social practices. *Stokvels* are often categorised in line with their primary function – burial societies, savings clubs, high-budget and investment *stokvels*. While savings (rotating or fixed-fund) overwhelmingly defines them, a few of them also grant credit to their members for interest returns (Moodley 1995; Verhoef 2001; Aliber 2001; Bophela and Khumalo 2019). *Stokvels* are defined as credit unions of voluntary people in mutual agreement to pool money together, through regular contributions, for circulation among them (Verhoef 2001). 'Mutual support societies' better captures the realities of mutual aid in South Africa in terms of their characteristics, forms and dynamics.

Mutual support groups and practices, which have their roots in apartheid South Africa among the black African population, have come to define the daily life-world of black township residents in post-apartheid South Africa. While the motivation for their initiation is often stated as the exclusion of black Africans from the formal financial system, they cannot be totally divorced from indigenous cultural praxis, such as cattle-lending (Aliber 2001; Peires 1981). The recognition of the prevalence of mutual support groups heralded the formalisation of the National Stokvel Association of South Africa in 2012 with Government Notice 404.

Findings and conclusion

Whilst there is a positive effect of the practice of mutual support on the quality of social reproduction of members and their families, there are occasional accounts of loss of money when borrowers fail to repay their debts. Social cooperation in mutual support societies and activities leads to improved consumption and wellbeing of

members. The groups foster social solidarity, which leads to helping each other, and non-members occasionally. They reflect a sense of community and care, all important ingredients for the crafting of social policy framework. There is a manifestation of self-discipline in savings culture, which allows for accumulation of capital for investment – what Rutherford (2000) called 'saving up'. There were clear accounts of how the mutual support societies facilitate the meeting of basic needs for enhanced social reproduction, which were associated with women's empowerment. Beyond mutual support within associations, there are cases of communal support and cooperation on issues of service delivery and security. Community cooperation is founded on values of mutual respect, love and 'getting along'.

In sum, at the heart of mutual support societies and practices are the expression of values of social solidarity, mutual support in collective action to sustain human dignity and wellbeing, all imperatives for the framing of social policy. Organic formal social policy could be developed from the enabling and reinforced values and norms, bottom-up, from the praxes of mutual support societies. The expression of collective consumption in the practice of mutual support, and their implications for social wellbeing, are vivid. We conclude that the rethinking of social policy, especially in a development context, could benefit from extant social praxes to provide an enduring normative platform for formal social policy.

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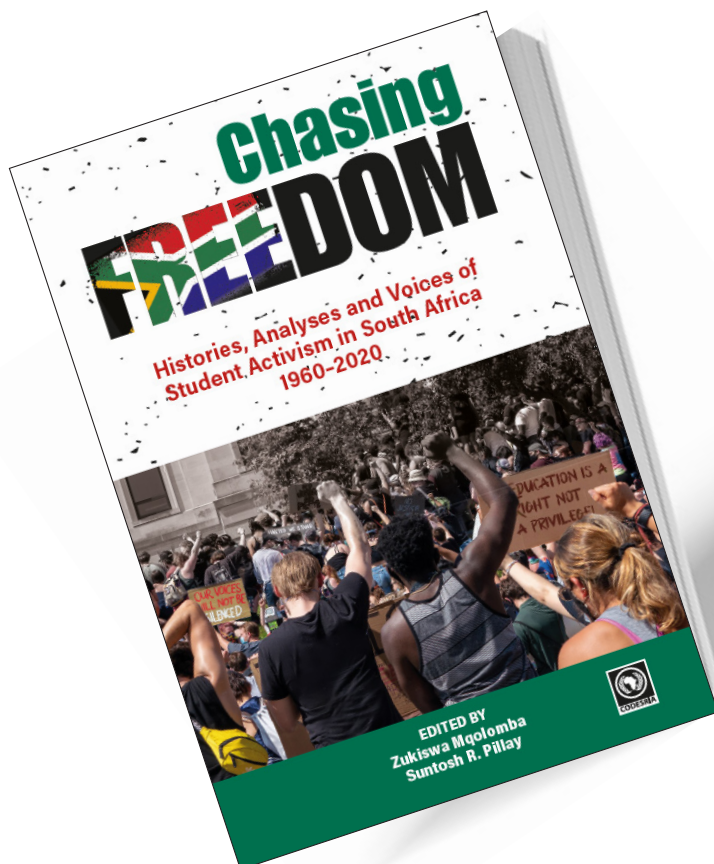
This book covers diverse histories of student movements in post-apartheid South Africa, taking note of the historical moment of the 1976 student uprisings and the evolution of student activism since that seminal event. Decolonization and reform of the higher education sector are important themes of the book. The volume aims to understand how student movements comprehend and articulate demands for the process of decolonization and Africanization of the curriculum, their transformative effect on the university and the role that a decolonized and African university should play in South African society's pursuit of freedom. The book explores transformation of universities specifically with regard to race, gender, patriarchy, sexuality, and people living with disabilities in relation to student experiences. The book also deals with aspects related to institutional racism, funding, class, access, violence, and student services. It explores the nature of contemporary student mobilization as a quest for education as freedom in a democratic country, deconstructing the Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall movements that have reignited interest in the role of student activism in South African society. This book is timeless and timely: celebrating and critiquing student activism in transforming higher education, society and our times.

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