SCHOOL OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

SOCIAL POLICY MASTERS MODULE

2013

Course co-ordinator: Richard Ballard (Office F220, MTB).

**Guest lecturers:**

Michael Noble, Director of the Centre for the Analysis of South African Social Policy (CASASP), Department of Social Policy, University of Oxford.

Gemma Wright, Deputy Director CASASP, University of Oxford.

Francie Lund, School of Built Environment and Development Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

**Module introduction**

All groupings of people such as families, communities and nations have to address the fundamental issue of how they care for and develop their members. While some members might be in a position to meet their own needs independently, others are less able to do so. Children, for example, cannot survive and develop without the support of the family and other kinds of interventions like vaccinations, schooling and so on. When people become too old to work or when they require care from others, the elderly also require a host of support mechanisms from families, the state, voluntary societies, and the private sector. Some people with impairments are unable to work. Others with disabilities may be able to work but may not be able to use conventional transport systems to get there.

While it is not controversial to say that vulnerable people require interventions there is much less consensus about what to do about problems such as poverty and unemployment. Some feel that able bodied adults should not qualify for support from the government – they should get jobs and earn a living. They say that when the state gets overly involved in the lives of individuals it gets in the way of a properly functioning economy which would do that. Others feel that in the context of unemployment, the state needs to step in and provide basic income, or even jobs. Furthermore, some jobs are so exploitative that it is difficult for employees to afford their own welfare from their wages and the state has to either subsidize their wages or to force employers to employ people fairly.

To what extent should the state be responsible for income, housing, education, and health provision? Even though these are old problems, they erupt continuously into bitter debates between groups who feel they are unfairly being asked to subsidize others and advocates of interventions on behalf of marginalised groupings. Barak Obama’s struggle to introduce health insurance in the US is just one recent example. South Africans could not agree on whether or not to introduce a Basic Income Grant to counter the deep unemployment being endured by two fifths of its able bodied adults.

The subject and practice of social policy relates to a number of fundamental questions that societies engage when considering the welfare of their members:

1. Who cares and who pays? What combinations of families, the state, the market, voluntary organisations and international donors provide for the needs of people? How is social expenditure funded, and crucially what level of tax will income earners tolerate?
2. Who are the objects of social policy? What proportion of social expenditure should be spent on the sick, those needing education, those needing housing, the elderly, the unemployed, and so on? Does social policy promote universal coverage so that everyone benefits, or only means tested coverage to target those who really need it?
3. What are the mechanisms of social policy? What kinds of services, such as education, health and housing, should the state provide? What rates of tax should the state apply to different income levels? Should contributions to welfare be linked to benefits from welfare such as social insurance schemes? Should the poor or categories of vulnerable groups simply be given money? What is the role of land reform in achieving social welfare?
4. Why care? What things spur social policy interventions? Do social interventions come into place as a result of progressive officials or are politicians attempting to retain the loyalty of parts of the electorate? Do donors provide aid because of altruism, or to ensure political stability, or access to markets? Is the aim to ensure simple survival of individuals? Does social policy seek to ‘civilize’ those considered backwards? Is the aim of social policy ‘developmental’ – to help people participate in the economy and earn their own incomes? Do interventions reduce social inequality or do they reinforce inequality?

**Aims and objectives**

Part I

The aim of the first part of the course is to build the conceptual scaffolding required for understanding social policy. The first session will examine the broad territory of social policy and examine some of the key moments in which society began implementing measures to assist the welfare and development of their citizens. The second session will use an overview of ideological positions on social policy to engage some of the broad political choices that social policy entails. The third session will consider more specifically the forms of welfare state that have emerged both in the global North and South.

Part II

The second set of seminars will consider the role of Social Policy in the global South. Welfare states are often associated with the ‘developed’ world (e.g. North America, Europe and Australia). However a variety of factors including colonial relations and progressive officials in the South saw the implementation important welfare measures in developing countries throughout the 20th century. During the 1980s, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund applied a great deal of pressure to developing countries to cut state spending, often to social programmes. However, since the 1990s, social policy has become increasingly accepted as a necessity by the mainstream. Countries like Brazil, South Africa and Mexico have all introduced cash transfer schemes which have become integral elements to the survival mechanisms of the poor. What, then, is the potential for extending the coverage of social support mechanisms in the South? How should middle income countries balance the needs of the growing middle class and the poor? How could poor countries afford to spend on those who are materially deprived?

Part III

The final part of the course will apply the frameworks and debates laid out in the first six sessions to the case of South Africa. The prevailing Keynesian thinking of the 1930s and 1940s had a strong influence on policy in South Africa and resulted in the introduction of a state maintenance grant for some women, a pension for poor white, Indian and coloured people, and unemployment insurance. The apartheid government elected in 1948 also sought to harness the state to develop poor people but their project was, of course, racially targeted. Racially differentiated support systems were dismantled in the dying years of apartheid. Despite the fiscal restraint of the ANC led government of the 1990s, it introduced the Child Support Grant which has been taken up extensively. Pensions, too, are an essential input into poor households. But debates about the coverage and nature of social policy in South Africa continue – should it provide an income to the unemployed? It has decided to implement a health insurance system but this has been critiqued by opposition parties and the health industry.

Social Policy

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|  |  | **Part I: Foundational Concepts of Social Policy** |  |
| 1 | Tue 16 Apr (13:00) | The evolution of social policy | Richard Ballard |
| 2 | Tue 23 Apr (13:00) | Social policy ideologies | Richard Ballard |
| 3 | Tue 30 Apr (13:00) | Welfare regimes | Richard Ballard |
|  |  | **Part II: Social Policy in the South** |  |
| 4 | Tue 7 May(13:00) | A quiet revolution in the South? | Richard Ballard |
|  | Tue 14 May (13:00) | Class test |  |
| 5 & | Tue 21 May (12:30-16:00) | Social security & poverty alleviation in the developing world | Gemma Wright |
| 6 |  | The pro-poor policy context: AU and SADC frameworks | Michael Noble |
|  |  | **Part III: Social Policy in South Africa** |  |
| 7 | Thu 23 May (9:00) | The Child Support Grant | Francie Lund |
| 8 | Tue 28 May (13:00) | [Field Trip: Liv Village] | Alan Beesley |
| 9 | Tue 4 Jun(13:00) | Achieving post-apartheid social citizenship | Richard Ballard |

**Attendance**

Attendance is compulsory. If you miss a class you need to provide a doctor’s note.

**Ongoing assessment:**

**Reading summaries. (3.5%)**

You will be organised into study groups of 4 people each. Each person in the group will be given a letter (a, b, c, or d) – check your university email during the first week of class. Each person is required to prepare a short summary of the readings listed in the reading list with the corresponding letters (i.e. the readings have been assigned to a, b, c, or d). These summaries will normally be narratives in the form of an abstract of 1-2 pages summarising the key points of the reading. This summary should be followed by a list of key terms and difficult words for which you offer concise definitions.

You need to upload these summaries by each stipulated deadline on the moodle page for the course. You should then familiarise yourself with the other readings, using the summaries if you wish to do this quickly, or reading in more depth where you are able to.

Come to class with a print out of your summary and be prepared to talk through your reading with your group. If you are unable to attend class (i.e. due to illness) you need to email your summary to your study group colleagues and notify them that you will not be able to attend.

Instructions for uploading your summaries: 1. Go to <http://learning.ukzn.ac.za/> 2. log on using your Novell password. 3. Click on ‘my courses’. 4. Click on social policy. 5. Under each seminar you will find a link to a wiki page with a list of student names. 6. Click on the question mark at the end of your name. 7. Paste your summary and click save. 8. If you cannot get this to work, ask a fellow group member to help you upload it. If you still cannot upload it email it to [ballardr@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:ballardr@ukzn.ac.za)

Each on time upload of a proper summary will get you 0.5% automatically (therefore 3.5% for 7 on time summaries). I will not engage in any discussion on extensions for any reason. If you bring me a doctor’s note we can talk but other than that, if you miss the deadline, you lose 0.5%.

**Test: (36.5%). Tue 14 May (13:00-15:00)**

Throughout this module you will encounter terms that are taken for granted amongst Social Policy specialists, but may be unfamiliar to those new to the subject. You can find a preliminary list of terms to define near the top of our module webpage (login via <http://learning.ukzn.ac.za/> ). As we go through the course we will add to this list.

The first part of the test will ask you to define and explain terms on the list. The test will simply ask you to succinctly define or explain some terms from this list. The second part will be an essay on social policy ideologies (concentrate on the readings for session 2 in your preparation).

**Essay: (60%). Deadline: 11 June (15:00)**

Select one major social policy intervention in the Global South from the list below to be your case study. If you would like to conduct a different case study not listed, send an email of your proposed case study at least two weeks before the deadline to [ballardr@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:ballardr@ukzn.ac.za) to check that it is a viable essay.

Write an essay on your case study in which you (i) outline the history of the social policy intervention, (ii) examine the factors (e.g. institutional, political, economic, ideological, etc) that shaped the policy and its implementation, and (iii) evaluate its impacts.

Case studies: Bolsa Familia (Brazil); Child Support Grant (South Africa); Minimum Living Standards Scheme (China); National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (India); The right to food programme (India); Progresa/Oportunidades (Mexico); Social Safety Net Scheme (Indonesia); Solidario (Chile)

Before deciding on your case study, use Google Scholar to do a preliminary literature search in order to establish whether you will find sufficient material to work off. You can use a range of material such as academic research, papers from think tanks and multilateral agencies, and also journalistic material.

The word limit: 3000 words.

Late submissions will be penalised.

Please consult the guideline on referencing provided on the web page for this course (<http://learning.ukzn.ac.za/>).

# Part 1: Foundational concepts of social policy

## 1. The evolution of social policy (Tue 16 Apr 13:00)

Alcock, Pete (2012) ‘The subject of social policy’ in Pete Alcock, Margaret May and Sharon Wright (eds) *The Student’s Companion to Social Policy*, 4th Edition, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp 5-11.

Marshall, TH (2006) ‘Citizenship and social class’ in Christopher Pierson and Francis G. Castles (eds) *The Welfare State Reader*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge: Polity Press. pp 30-39.

Titmuss, Richard (1974) *Social Policy: An Introduction*, London: George Allen and Unwin (Ch 2 ‘What is Social Policy’ pp. 23-32)

Titmuss, Richard (1958) *Essays on the Welfare State*, London: George Allen and Unwin, (Ch 2 ‘The Social Division of Welfare’, pp 34-55)

## 2. Social Policy Ideologies (Tue 23 Apr 13:00)

(a) Page, Robert M. (2012) ‘The social democratic perspective’ in Pete Alcock, Margaret May and Sharon Wright (eds) *The Student’s Companion to Social Policy*, 4th Edition, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp 70-76.

(b) Von Hayek, F. (2006) ‘The meaning of the welfare state’ in Christopher Pierson and Francis G. Castles (eds) *The Welfare State Reader*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge: Polity Press. pp 90-95.

(c) Ellison, Nick (2012) ‘Neo-liberalism’ in Pete Alcock, Margaret May and Sharon Wright (eds) *The Student’s Companion to Social Policy*, 4th Edition, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp 57-63.

(d) Powell, Martin. (2012) ‘Modernization and the third way’ in Pete Alcock, Margaret May and Sharon Wright (eds) *The Student’s Companion to Social Policy*, 4th Edition, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp 135-141.

Deadline for uploading the summary: 19 April; 13:00

# 3. Welfare Regimes (Tue 30 Apr 13:00)

(a) Esping-Andersen, G. (2006) Three worlds of welfare capitalism, in Christopher Pierson and Francis G. Castles (eds) *The Welfare State Reader*. 2nd Edition. Cambridge: Polity Press. pp 160-174.

(b) Seekings, Jeremy (2008) ‘Welfare regimes and redistribution in the South’, in Ian Shapiro, Peter A. Swenson and Daniela Donno (eds), *Divide and Deal: The Politics of Distribution in Democracies*. New York: New York University Press: 19-42.

(c) Denning, Michael (2010) Wageless life. *New Left Review*. 66: 79-97

(d) Seekings, J. (2000) ‘The Origins of Social Citizenship in Pre-Apartheid South Africa’, *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 19(4): 386–404.

Deadline for uploading the summary: 26 April; 13:00

# Part 2: Social policy in the South

## 4. A quiet revolution in the South? (Tue 7 May 13:00)

(a) Barrientos, Armando & David Hulme (2009) Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quiet Revolution. *Oxford Development Studies*. 37 (4) 439-456.

(b) Mkandawire, Thandika (2001) ‘Social Policy in a Development Context’ United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Social and Development Programme Paper Number 7.

(c) Li, Tania Murray (2009) To Make Live or Let Die? Rural Dispossession and the Protection of Surplus Populations. *Antipode* Vol. 41 No. S1 pp 66–93.

(d) Chatterjee, Partha (2008) Democracy and Economic Transformation in India. *Economic & Political Weekly*. April 19. pp: 53-62.

Deadline for uploading the summary: 3 May; 13:00

## 5. Social Security and Poverty Alleviation in the Developing World (Gemma Wright, Tue 21 May 12:30)

(a) Hanlon, Joseph (2004) Is it possible to just give money to the poor. *Development and Change*. 35(2): 375-383

(b) Houtzager, Peter P. (2008) The Silent Revolution in Anti-Poverty Programmes: Minimum Income Guarantees in Brazil. ***IDS Bulletin*** Volume 38 Number 6

(c) International Labour Office (2008) ‘Can low-income countries afford basic social security?’ Social security policy briefings Paper 3, Geneva: ILO. Available at http://www.ilo.org/public/english/protection/secsoc/downloads/policy/policy3e.pdf

(d) Molyneux, Maxine (2008) ‘Conditional Cash Transfers: A ‘Pathway to Women’s Empowerment?’, Pathways Working Paper 5. Brighton: Pathways of Women’s Empowerment, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. <http://www.pathwaysofempowerment.org/PathwaysWP5-website.pdf>

Deadline for uploading the summary: 17 May; 13:00

Additional reading:

African National Congress (1943) ‘ African Claims in South Africa’, including the “Atlantic Charter from the Standpoint of Africans within the Union of South Africa” and “Bill of Rights”. Adopted by ANC Annual Conference. Document 29b in T. Karis et al. (1987) *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882–1964: Volume 2: Hope and Challenge 1935-1952*, Stanford University: Hoover Institution Press. Also at [http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/claims.html]

Congress of the People, *The Freedom Charter*, Adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, on 26 June 1955 [http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/charter.html]

## 6. The Pro-poor Policy Context: AU and SADC frameworks (Michael Noble, Tue 21 May 12:30)

(a) Adésínà. Jìmí O. (2007) ‘Social Policy and the Quest for Inclusive Development: Research Findings from Sub-Saharan Africa,’ Social Policy and Development Programme Paper No.33, Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

(b) Devereux, S. and Sabates-Wheeler, R. (2004). ‘Transformative Social Protection’. IDS Working Paper 232. <http://www.ids.ac.uk/files/Wp232.pdf>

(c) Southern African Development Community (SADC) (2003) ‘Charter of Fundamental Social Rights in SADC’, Dar-es-Salaam, 26th August 2003. http://www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/171

(d) Noble, Michael, Phakama Ntshongwana and Rebecca Surender (2008) *Attitudes to work and social security in South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press

Deadline for uploading the summary: 17 May; 13:00

# Part 3: Social Policy in South Africa

# 7. Child support grant (Francie Lund, Thu 23 May 9:00)

(all to be downloaded by students. Each summary uploaded should also include several questions for Prof Lund based on the reading you did. You will have a chance to ask these in class.)

Lund, Francie (2008) *Changing social policy. The child support grant in South Africa.* Cape Town: HSRC Press <http://www.hsrcpress.ac.za/product.php?productid=2213&freedownload=1>

(a) Chapters 1 & 2

(b) Chapters 3 & 4

(c) Chapters 5 & 6

(d) Community Agency for Social Enquiry (2008) ‘Review of the Child Support Grant: Uses, Implementation and Obstacles,’ This report was compiled and produced for the Department of Social Development, the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) and the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) by CASE. <http://www.unicef.org/southafrica/SAF_resources_childsupport.pdf>

(d) Lund, Francie, Michael Noble, Helen Barnes and Gemma Wright (2009) ‘Is there a rationale for conditional cash transfers for children in South Africa?’, *Transformation*. 70: 70-91 <http://www.transformation.ukzn.ac.za/index.php/transformation/article/view/1023/838> (Click download this PDF file)

Deadline for uploading the summary and draft questions: 22 May; 17:00

# 9. Achieving post-apartheid social citizenship (Tue 29 May 9:00)

(a) Ferguson, James, (2007) Formalities of Poverty: Thinking about Social Assistance in Neoliberal South Africa *African Studies Review* 50(2): 71-86

(b) Seekings, J (2008) ‘Deserving Individuals and Groups: The Post-Apartheid State’s Justification of the Shape of South Africa’s System of Social Assistance’, *Transformation* 68: 28-52. <http://www.transformation.ukzn.ac.za/index.php/transformation/article/view/999/814>

(c) Barchiesi, Franco (2008) “Hybrid Social Citizenship and the Normative Centrality of Wage Labor in Post-Apartheid South Africa.” *Mediations* 24(1): 52-67

(d) Woolard, Ingrid and Murray Leibbrandt. (2010) The evolution and impact of unconditional cash transfers in South Africa. South Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, University of Cape Town, Working Paper No 51. [http://www.saldru.uct.ac.za/home/index.php?/compon ... 7/task,doc\_download/](http://econpapers.repec.org/scripts/redir.pf?u=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.saldru.uct.ac.za%2Fhome%2Findex.php%3F%2Fcomponent%2Foption%2Ccom_docman%2FItemid%2C32%2Fgid%2C367%2Ftask%2Cdoc_download%2F;h=repec:ldr:wpaper:51)

Deadline for summary: 31 June 13:00