# UNDERSTANDING POVERTY: CAUSES, EFFECTS AND CHARACTERISTICS

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#### **Abstract**

The aim of this article is to examine the concept of poverty in terms of definition, types, causes, determinants and indicators. The relationship between inequality and poverty is also visited. The absolute and relative approaches to the definition of poverty are examined. Poverty is defined as the inability of individuals or households to attain sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living. Characteristics which determine poverty include individual, community, household and regional characteristics. Lack of access to basic services such as dwelling, electricity, water and sanitation was found to aggravate poverty. Socio-economic factors such as unemployment, education level, gender, income and household size also affect poverty. Causes, determinants and types of poverty must first be understood before poverty can be alleviated. Poverty remains a problem in South Africa twenty years after the transition to democracy. This article is thus intended to provide the public, politicians and policy makers with a better understanding of the word "poverty" and, therefore, help alleviation of poverty.

**Keywords:** poverty, inequality, poverty alleviation.

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of poverty has been a subject of debate for many centuries. The conceptualisation and definition of poverty have led to the formation of strategies to alleviate poverty. It is therefore important that concepts, definitions and measurements of poverty are applicable to the society in which they are applied (Bhorat, 2001:41). Poverty is a continuous problem which has presented political and ethical challenges to societies. It is a familiar word which everyone thinks he/she understands. Specifically, however, the meaning attached to the word poverty depends upon the basic concept people have of it. Poverty is experienced in different ways, leading to different meanings and their impact on an accurate definition (Dixon and Macarov, 1998:1).

Alleviation of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa has been debated for a number of years. The intricate challenge of developing and implementing poverty alleviation policies is evidenced through discussions and resources earmarked for this purpose. The objective of efficient anti-poverty policies has been restricted by lack of credible information regarding the degree, depth and persistence of poverty in the continent. The unavailability of accessible methods for the evaluation of the effects of poverty alleviation policies also restrains efficient anti-poverty policies (Fosu, Mwabu and Thorbecke, 2009:1).

The problem of poverty and inequality continues to trouble South Africa twenty years after the transition to democracy. It can be said that poverty in South Africa is an outcome of the now defunct Apartheid policy which discriminated against the majority of citizens. One of the key elements of Apartheid policy was large scale land dispossession. The Black population was grouped according to ethnicity and removed from their lands to poorly resourced homelands. Black labour, however, was also required in the mining and industrial sectors and this caused the development of a large scale migratory labour system, a system which worsened the problem of poverty (Aliber, 2002:2). The end of Apartheid in South Africa left the population with enormous inequalities across racial groups. Using a poverty line of R322 (at prices in 2000), at least 58% of all South Africans and 68% of Blacks were found to be living in poverty in 1995 – in the same year, none of the White population was living in poverty (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006:259).

The end of Apartheid brought high hopes of a future characterised by shared economic growth and employment creation, and thereby alleviation of poverty and its associated scourges. According to Larsson (2006:6), after more than a decade of democracy, South Africa is still a country with high levels of poverty and income inequality. In its quest to address the problems of poverty and inequality, the South African government has sought to provide a policy framework, regulations, policies and laws for integrated and coherent socioeconomic development in urban areas (ANC, 1994:25). This raises the question of what the socio-economic constraints to employment creation and poverty alleviation have been.

In order to alleviate poverty, a thorough understanding of poverty is needed. The purpose of this paper is to aid policy makers in drafting policies which will lead towards the alleviation of poverty. The article will therefore concentrate on definition, indicators, causes, and poverty and inequality.

## 2. DEFINITION OF POVERTY

People interpret and understand poverty differently. There are, therefore, different meanings attached to poverty and its impact on society. What is important about these different meanings to poverty is that they all involve a common element of material insufficiency — especially the lack of resources needed for survival. Poverty studies and definitions thus lead to an identification of goods needed by human beings in order to keep on living. An important factor regarding the definition of poverty is the ability to function as a full and active member of the society and have individual dignity (SPII, 2007:10).

The consideration of poverty from a broader perspective is derived from a global acknowledgement that poverty is more than just having enough income to live by. It is now widely acknowledged that poverty is a multi-dimensional phenomenon which includes other essential dimensions of living standards.

In addition to income and consumption, health and education are now part of the definition of poverty (Sabry, 2009:48).

Mokoena (2004:41) points out that the defining poverty is a difficult task. Public and private initiatives, as well as the direction of policy regarding poverty alleviation, will all determine how poverty is defined – to answer the question, "Who is poor?" There are varying perspectives on what poverty is. There is a need to consider the factors discussed below when defining poverty.

#### 3. DEPRIVATION OF BASIC NEEDS

According to the International Labour Office (ILO, 1992:46), definitions of poverty are based on the idea of a state of deprivation. What are regarded as basic needs or necessities by one researcher might not be regarded as such by another. More personal needs, basic needs, and wants vary from place to place and time to time. If basic needs are divided into two categories, what is regarded as a need in one area may simply be regarded as a want in another area. The first category includes minimum requirements of a family for private consumption, such as adequate food, shelter, clothing and household equipment and furniture. The second category include essential services provided by and for the community, such as clean drinking water, sanitation, public transport and health and education facilities.

According to Streeten (1982:42), there is nothing that could be described as an articulated basic needs strategy, even as a supplement to the other strategies. There is therefore very little agreement as to what constitutes a basic need and/or a state of deprivation of such a need.

#### 4. POLITICAL AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES

In South Africa, the proposition that poverty is a political issue is clear, since many definitions of poverty are attached to income, and inequalities and disparities resulting from past policies. May (1998:1) states that the Poverty and Inequality Report of 1998 does not separate the notion of poverty from inequality. There seems to be an unquestioned assumption regarding the existence of a cause and effect relationship between the two, according to PIR. A prevailing political climate can therefore underpin the definition of poverty. The population of South Africa consists of different cultural groups; therefore, people may be viewed as poor or better off, depending on the cultural group to which they belong.

#### 5. ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE APPROACH TO POVERTY

The definition of poverty is based on cash income, from all public and private sources, other than capital gains.

This definition neglects public or private non-cash benefits, such as food stamps, medical benefits and employer provided health insurance, and does not subtract taxes. It must be taken into consideration that both non cash benefits and taxes affect a family's standard of living (Pecora, Whittaker and Maluccia, 2009:91 - 92)

Baumol and Blinder (2009:448) recognise two main approaches to the definition of poverty. The first is the absolute approach which regards poverty lines as the absolute subsistence level; that is the level of living necessary to maintain health and the ability to work. The absolute approach views poverty as the failure of needs fulfilment, which impairs the ability of the individual or the family to function adequately in society. There are also certain minimum needs necessary for engaging in social life and maintaining a family which must be met, other than simply maintaining health and the ability to work. The second approach, the relative approach, regards poverty as a relative concept. The relative approach maintains that poverty can be understood only as part of a given society, and that the situation of the poor is determined by its distance from the other strata of society. According to the relative approach, those belonging to the lowest fraction of the economy are the poor.

Envisaging poverty as an absolute condition is usually based on the opinion of subsistence. Subsistence is defined as having the minimum basic needs to sustain life, and being below the subsistence level is to be experiencing absolute poverty, because one does not have enough for survival (Alcock, 1997:68). The concept of absolute poverty refers to poverty that exists independently of any reference group. It does not depend on the general living standards of the society in which it is conceived and nor does it vary over time (Alcock, 1997:70). In this instance, poverty refers to a state of deprivation defined in relation to a supposedly objective, invariant and value free external definition of basic human needs. The standard of absolute poverty supposedly does not change according to prevailing living standards of a society, or over time, or according to needs of different groups in society (SPII, 2007:24).

According to Holman (1978:2) the poor are those who have regular, though minimal, income, while the very poor are those whose income, for whatever reason, falls far below the subsistence level. The functional word in this approach is income. Income which consistently falls short of providing the basic necessities of life is regarded as the major cause of poverty. Absolute poverty therefore can be defined as having no access to the resources which meet absolute needs. The common approach in measuring absolute poverty is to estimate the cost of a bundle of goods which is deemed to be basic.

There are two flaws in the absolute poverty definition. Firstly, its determination is a matter of judgement, and levels of subsistence change over time, as do people's expectations.

Secondly, it takes no account of socio-cultural needs – namely, that an item can be seen as a luxury in one context, but as a necessity in another, provided the poverty line is not constructed using the demographics of the context in question. The absolute poverty definition goes beyond subsistence and defining poverty in relation to the accepted standard of living in a society, or the custom of the country.

The relative approach is a more subjective measure than the absolute approach. The relative definition of poverty is based upon a comparison between the standard of living of those who are worse-off and those who are generally better-off. Alcock (1997:69) proposes that people are poor if their resources fall significantly below those of the rest of the community. This means that their income is consistently below the level that would allow them to attain a specific average standard of living.

Noble, Ratcliffe and Wright (2004:4) define relative poverty from three perspectives. Firstly, the relative approach is defined in relation to living standards of a reference group. Secondly, it is defined in terms of resources required to participate fully in society and thirdly, in a narrower way, by reference to the national income and / or expenditure distribution. According to Townsend (1979:31), the relative definition of poverty compares individuals and groups according to the resources they have – the type of diet they can acquire and the living conditions and the amenities which are customary to such a particular group. Those who are poor therefore command amenities and resources that are far below those that are attained by society.

Saunders (1997:39) asserts that, when defining poverty, the following two central ideas must be taken into consideration: namely, that poverty involves involuntary restrictions on choice, and that poverty is socially specific, based on a particular society or culture. A measure of poverty is not only socially determined, but must also be acceptable to the community involved, if it is to be socially acceptable. This shows that acceptability within a certain culture or community has an important role to play in the definition of relative poverty. This implies an existence of inequality in wealth and income distribution that leads to an unbalanced societal classification and social classes.

# 6. TYPES OF POVERTY

The community would identify those who are visibly starving and unable to meet their basic nutritional requirements as being poor. However, there would likely be disagreement over whether a person who wished to own or have access to an automobile like the rest of his neighbours, and was subsequently marginalised from the benefits that its use might directly or indirectly bring, could be labelled as being in poverty (Holden, 2008:130).

There is a tradition of work on the culture of poverty that attributes the persistence of poverty to the cultural attributes of the poor groups. Poor people display a remarkable capacity to adjust to extraordinarily difficult circumstances, and it is incorrect to assert that their poverty is being derived from some unchangeable, inherited attribute. Therefore in assessing the impact of poverty, it is important to distinguish between different types of poverty (Rao and Walton, 2004:16).

Jense (2009:6) identified the following types of poverty:

- Situational poverty exists, because of a crisis or loss that has occurred and is often temporary. Events that can cause situational poverty include environmental disasters, divorce or severe health problems.
- Generational poverty occurs when there are at least two generations which have been born into poverty. Children who are born into poverty are likely to suffer from poverty. Families living in this type of poverty find it difficult to move out of their situation.
- Urban poverty occurs in metropolitan areas with a population size of at least fifty thousand people. The urban poor deal with a complex aggregate of chronic and acute stressors and are dependent on often inadequate large city services.
- Rural poverty occurs in areas with populations below fifty thousand people. In rural areas, there are more single guardian households, and families often have less access to services, support for disabilities and quality education opportunities. Programs to encourage transition from welfare to work are problematic in remote rural areas, where job opportunities are few.

## 7. CAUSES OF POVERTY

Poverty is increased not only by the incidence of depth, but by more unequal distribution of private consumption among the poor. Lack of food and nutritional security, income security, social security and human security build up the ingredients of poverty. When people have physical and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritional food to meet daily needs, and food preferences for an active and healthy life at all times, then this is referred to as food security. Income security refers to income brought home through regular employment. Social security means access to education, health services and opportunity of acquisition of skills, and human security (Das, 2006:8-9).

According to White and Killick (2001:30), the causes of poverty in Africa are multi-faceted and include economic, social and political, international and national (macro and micro) factors. The failings of the political systems and the social forces are identified as the key primary causal factors underlying the poverty problem in most Black countries.

Moore (2009:3) explains that poverty rate increases during recessions and that it is directly proportional to average income. The weak rule of law and poor governance can discourage investment and perpetuate poverty. Poor access to affordable education increases poverty and high levels of corruption undermine efforts to make a suitable impact on poverty. Moore (2009:4) further cites that healthcare services can also cause poverty. Poor access to affordable healthcare makes individuals less resilient to economic hardship and more vulnerable to poverty. Children are vulnerable to poverty if they receive inadequate nutrition, which undermines their ability to develop full human capabilities. Geographic factors such as access to fertile lands, fresh water, minerals and natural factors such as climate change can also lead to increased poverty.

According to SPII (2007:15) there are three basic explanations to the causes of poverty: namely, residual, pathological and structural. These are discussed in detail below.

- According to the residualist explanation, poverty happens as a result of being "left out". This approach assumes that "the rising tide lifts all boats". As the economy grows, almost all people are empowered; however, a few people are left out. Residualists assume that economic growth and participation counteract poverty and, as such, are often linked to explanations of the persistence of poverty which plagues the poor (SPII, 2007:15).
- The pathological explanations of poverty regard people as being responsible for their own poverty. Simply stated, those who advocate for such an analysis of the causes of poverty would argue that each individual contributes to his being poor and should be responsible for moving himself out of poverty. The pathological explanations view jobless people as being responsible for being unemployed. The pathological explanations do not take into consideration labour surplus, shortage of opportunities and cost of finding and maintaining a low paying job (SPII, 2007:15).
- The structural explanation identifies the system (growth and development) as producing poverty and inequality. To remedy this situation would be to change the system. This is very evident in the South African economy where it is believed that unemployment causes poverty. This is influenced by global and national production strategies (SPII, 2007:15).

According to the World Bank (2005:132), poverty may be due to national, sector, community, household or individual characteristics. Table 2.1 lists the different characteristics as per determinants.

Table 1: Main determinants of poverty

Individual characteristics	Age Gender Sector of employment Formal education Religion Culture
Household characteristics	Household size Dependency ratio Maximum education attained by any individual Total value of household assets Gender of head Proportion of household members that are female Ages of household members Sector of employment of household members
Community characteristics	Access to key services and infrastructure Urban or rural Farmers in the community Access to public goods and services
Regional characteristics	Climate shocks Governance and management Availability of land and itsquality Access to markets and services

Source: World Bank. 2005

#### 8. INDICATORS OF POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA

A detailed analysis of poverty extends beyond the assessment of poverty and inequality based on income measures; other key indicators of living standards are included that cannot be accounted for when using only the income approach. Access to basic services such as dwellings, clean water, sanitation and electricity has an effect on the quality of life which may lead to improvements ranging from health to productivity (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006:114).

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2005:62), poverty extends to fields such as health, education, gender, children and employment. These are discussed in detail below.

Poverty increases the risks of becoming infected with chronic illness.
These sicknesses lead poor people to die at an earlier age. While these
diseases are not caused by poverty, they worsen existing poverty and
ruin a household's economic prospects (WHO, 2005:62).

- The uneducated nation lacks awareness and action. The nation without an adequate level of education suffers from poverty. A feeling of complete isolation overcomes such a nation's people, and they become politically and economically deprived. It is difficult to warn illiterate people of the dangers of various illnesses. In this way, illiterate people, who also happen to be poor, are proved to die of illness (Soundarapandian, 2000:80).
- There is a high risk of educational underachievement for children living in low income circumstances. Children from poor families are prone to hunger, irritability, headaches and other illnesses which may hamper educational progress. There is a greater possibility that children from poor families will drop out of school at an earlier age. These children are at a higher risk than other children for retention in their grade, special placement during school hours and even not completing their high school education. Children who live at or below the poverty line will have far less success educationally than children who live above the poverty line. As mentioned above, poor children are likely to suffer from hunger, fatigue, irritability, headaches and other illnesses which could restrict their focus and concentration (Shepard and Greene, 2003:22).
- There is a further drastic effect of poverty on children. They become exposed to the vulnerability of being abused and exploited, especially when they are forced into child labour. Older children living in extreme poverty, but who are still attending school, are likely to accept dangerous jobs at the expense of attending school (Lusted, 2010:8).
- Poverty has a strong gender dimension. Research conducted by Posel and Rogan (2011) based on the data provided by the 1997 and 1999 rounds of the October Household Survey (OHS) and the 2004 and 2006 rounds of the General Household Survey (GHS) found that income poverty in post-apartheid South Africa remained a gender issue. The extent, depth and severity of poverty are significantly higher amongst females and female-headed households (Posel and Rogan, 2011:11).

The sub-sections below discuss the following indicators of poverty: dwelling, water, electricity and sanitation.

# 9. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POVERTY AND DWELLING

There are four main types of dwelling evident in most parts of the world, namely, formal, informal in backyard, informal not in backyard (squatter camp) and traditional. Formal dwellings are permanent fixtures with walls made of bricks and having tiled or corrugated roofs. These dwellings are considered to be superior. Informal dwellings have corrugated iron as walls and roofs, whilst traditional dwellings have mud walls and corrugated iron and thatch roofs. Informal dwellings in densely populated settlements, such as squatter camps, are vulnerable to unfavourable weather conditions and open fires.

Informal dwellings are more vulnerable and more easily damaged than traditional dwellings because of the materials used to construct their roofs and walls. Informal settlements (squatter camps) are common in the urban areas of the Free State, North West and Mpumalanga. Traditional dwellings are more prevalent in rural areas of Kwazulu-Natal and the Free State (STATS SA, 1996; 2001).

# 10. ACCESS TO WATER

People in poorer areas collect water of indifferent quality from sources which are far away from their homes. The supply of clean water nearer to home has a positive contribution on a households' well-being by promoting good health and giving them time to spend on other commitments. There were a significant proportion of Black households (11.9%) in 2001 which were collecting water from dams, rivers and springs for domestic use, compared to 0.1% of White households in the same year (STATS SA, 1996 and 2001). Lack of access to water decreases food production and leads to poor nutrition. Inadequate nutrition results in poor health, thus increasing or causing poverty (WHO, 2005:60).

## 11. AVAILABILITY OF ELECTRICITY

Electricity is in demand for its important input with regard to both consumption and production. A suitable supply of electricity relieves hunger and malnutrition, because it makes cooking and food conservation (by refrigeration) possible. Electricity leads to better use of production inputs such as machinery and computers. A poor supply of electricity to industry limits the use of technology that could increase production (African Development Bank, 2004:42).

Electricity is regarded as the most superior form of energy and it is used for the functioning of many different household appliances, e.g. stoves, microwave ovens and refrigerators. However, those who are poorer lack the means to access electricity (due to lack of income or infrastructure), and use wood, paraffin and candles as forms of energy. In 2001, almost one-third of Black households were using candles, wood and paraffin as a form of energy (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006:125).

#### 12. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POVERTY AND SANITATION

Lack of sanitation increases risk of being exposed to excreta-related diseases, including faecal-oral diseases and water based diseases. The majority of poor people are affected by these diseases (WHO, 2005:59). Sanitation is a basic right in South Africa. During the inter-censual period (1996-2001), there was an increase in the number of households with access to flush or chemical toilets in South Africa. In 2001, more than half of the households in the country had access to toilets.

The majority of Coloureds (84%), Indians (98%) and Whites (99%) had access to flush or chemical toilets while only 40% of Black households had this facility in 2001. This is an improvement from only a third of Black households who had access to toilets in 1996 (Bhorat and Kanbur, 2006:125).

# 13. INEQUALITY AND POVERTY

According to Litchfield (1999:1), there is a growing agreement among economists, policy makers and even politicians that poverty and inequality should not be treated separately. The debate about inequality is whether the definition should include ethical concepts such as the desirability of a particular system of rewards and simple resource differences in income. Inequality, unlike poverty which is a prescriptive term, is descriptive. Inequality therefore refers to the comparison of living standards across the population (Litchfield, 1999:1). Poverty is concerned with the absolute standard of living of a part of the population (i.e. the poor who are not able to attain a minimum standard of living), whereas inequality refers to the relative standards across the whole population (Ligthelm, 1993:3).

Average level of income and distribution of income are the factors upon which measurement of poverty depends. These two elements therefore focus on the situation of individuals and households at the bottom end of the distribution. These therefore broaden the definition of inequality. Inequality is defined over the entire population, unlike poverty that focuses upon a certain poverty line. Inequality is concerned with distribution of income and is better understood with regards to fundamental rights, equal opportunities, access to education, job opportunities, and fulfillment of one's potential and other freedoms (Coudouel, Hentschel and Wodon, 2002:47).

Sen (1981:15) asserts that the two concepts, poverty and inequality, are analytically distinct, as the two are related, but independent. It is misleading to use one as a marker of the other. Although they have historically been closely associated with an interest in economic and social change, they do not change at the same pace. Studies have even indicated that they may change in opposite directions. Beteille (2003:36) concludes that it is difficult to make any meaningful statement about the relationship between the two without specifying which conception of poverty and which aspect of inequality one has in mind.

## 13. FINDINGS

Poverty is increasingly regarded as a multi-dimensional concept, leading to a wide range of factors to be given attention.

Therefore, it has been found that people living in poverty are deprived from basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing and household equipment.

There are different types of poverty and each type of poverty depends on the household's characteristics. Poverty is positively related to high levels of unemployment. Poverty levels are high among females and female headed households. Poor access to affordable education and healthcare services increases poverty. Children from poor families are at high risk of educational underachievement. Children from poor families are likely to accept dangerous employment at the expense of attending school.

## 14. CONCLUSION

Firstly, it can be concluded that in order to alleviate poverty, the existence of poverty must be realised through the definition and indicators of poverty. Secondly, type of poverty being suffered must be ascertained. Lastly, the causes and determinants of poverty should be determined, as these are the keys to alleviation of poverty.

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