# GHS Series Volume I

# Social Grants

## In-depth analysis of the General Household Survey data

## 2003–2007

**Embargoed until:**

**23 July 2009**
**12:00**

## Contents

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## List of Acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| ADR | Aged Dependency Ratio |
| CDR | Child Dependency Ratio |
| CL | Confidence Limits |
| CPI | Consumer Price Index |
| CS | Community Survey |
| CSG | Child Support Grant |
| DSD | Department of Social Development |
| ECD | Early Childhood Development |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GHS | General Household Survey |
| HSRC | Human Sciences Research Council |
| IES | Income and Expenditure Survey |
| ISRDP | Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Program |
| LFS | Labour Force Survey |
| OAG | Old Age Grant |
| SASSA | South African Social Security Agency |
| SOCPEN | Social Pensions Database |
| TDR | Total Dependency Ratio |
| URP | Urban Renewal Program |

## 1.     Introduction

The direct transfer of national revenue to the vulnerable and needy through social grants has increased incrementally during the past fourteen years and currently amounts to more than three per cent of the GDP (SASSA 2008). The increased efficiency with which national revenue reaches the poor can be attributed to the development of improved targeting systems, enhanced and decentralised delivery systems and improved management and administrative systems. Social grants are primarily aimed at helping the elderly, people with disabilities, and children younger than 14 years. The South African Social Security Agency Act (Act No. 9 of 2004) and Social Assistance Act (Act No. 13 of 2004) regulate the administration and provision of social assistance in South Africa. SASSA was established to create a unitary service delivery mechanism that controls the management and payment of social grants, whilst the act provides the norms and standards to be used.

This volume focuses on the analysis of social grant-related information that was collected during the General Household Surveys (GHS) conducted in July 2003 and July 2007. Instead of presenting the information of individuals benefiting from grants, the data are presented at household level offering a slightly different perspective from most of the social grant-related analysis done thus far for South Africa.

## 2.     Overview of the social grant system

Since 1994 and more particularly during the past five years, the social grants system has expanded significantly. The introduction of the Child Support Grant (CSG) and the gradual extension of the qualifying age limit is probably the single most important contributor towards the incremental expansion in the uptake and use of the social grants system. Quantitative changes in the social grant system for the period under review (2003–2007) are summarised in Table 1. The system is set to expand even further as SASSA's activities for the period 2008–2010 (SASSA 2008) will focus on:
- Supporting the execution of the Early Childhood Development Plan (ECD);
- Gradually extending the child support grant to include more age groups; and
- Reducing the eligibility age for men for the old-age grant to 60 years.

A number of studies have been conducted in relation to social grants. Several authors investigated the merits and demerits of the social grants approach to poverty alleviation, as well as other issues surrounding the targeting of social grants recipients. For example, Meth (2002) investigated alternatives, particularly the trickle-down benefits of economic growth as opposed to direct transfers in the form of social grants. He concluded that redistributive policies, albeit only raising people at 'the bottom of the income distribution from utter destitution', can contribute towards socio-economic healing in South Africa and that it is inappropriate to pin all hopes on the socio-economic upliftment of the poor on growth-based policies alone. Barnes and Noble (2006) published a study in which they modelled eligibility for child support grants. Their focus was primarily on developing a logistic regression model that reflects some of the factors underlying eligibility for child support grants. They concluded that eligibility could be used as a proxy for poverty if some adjustments were made to their model. Until fairly recently one of the most lively policy debates has been about the abolishment of the means test and the introduction of a *basic income grant*, which would be a universal grant extended to all South Africans. It was argued that this would bring about significant savings in administrative costs and assist the poorest households in remote rural areas that do not have identity documents to access grants (ODI 2006).

In a detailed review of targeting mechanisms, means tests and values for South Africa's social grants, Samson et al (2007) recommended that the means test for targeting beneficiaries should be completely eliminated and that the grants be made formal universal in order to increase their impacts and benefits. They also recommended that grant levels should be flexible and indexed against the Consumer Price Index (CPI) for the lowest quintile.

**Table 1: Social grant provision in South Africa 2003 and 2007**

| September 2003 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Grant type** | **Value of grant per applicant** | **Number of beneficiaries SASSA** | **Number of children SASSA** | **Total amount in Rands '000**[1] |
| Old age | 700 | 2 027 858 | – | 1 406 435 |
| War veteran | 700 | 4 280 | – | 2 952 |
| Permanent disability | 700 | 742 879 | – | 516 570 |
| Temporary disability | 700 | 335 873 | – | 233 253 |
| Foster children | 500 | 103 116 | 167 024 | 83 298 |
| Care dependency | 700 | 66 878 | 67 976 | 47 551 |
| Child support [2] | 160 | 2 550 894 | 3 479 205 | 556 662 |
| Grant-in-aid | 140 | 1 878 | – | 2 219 |
| Total | – | 5 846 573 | 3 714 205 | 2 849 040 |
| **September 2007** | | | | |
| **Grant type** | **Value of grant per applicant** | **Number of beneficiaries SASSA** | **Number of children SASSA** | **Total amount in Rands '000** |
| Old age | 870 | 2 210 288 | – | 1 894 597 |
| War veteran | 870 | 2 108 | – | 1 790 |
| Permanent disability | 870 | 1 139 756 | – | 984 517 |
| Temporary disability | 870 | 265 086 | – | 228 079 |
| Foster children | 620 | 289 767 | 449 009 | 278 329 |
| Care dependency | 870 | 98 540 | 100 294 | 87 244 |
| Child support | 200 | 4 779 505 | 8 053 545 | 1 610 692 |
| Grant-in-aid | 200 | 34 705 | – | 6 941 |
| Total | – | 8 819 755 | 8 602 848 | 5 092 188 |

Source: SASSA, October 2008

A detailed profile of the beneficiaries of social security grants was published by Stellenbosch University in 2006 (De Koker et al, 2006). This report and profile was based on the findings of a questionnaire survey that was administered amongst a random sample selected from the SOCPEN beneficiary database which contains records of grant beneficiaries. The study primarily looked at the demographic characteristics of beneficiaries, access to basic services for grant beneficiaries, spending of grant money, perceptions about the benefits these grants have afforded to them and their families, and use of other kinds of social assistance such as for example food aid.

The Department of Social Development published two survey reports of the 21 ISRDP and URP nodes (Everatt et al, 2006 and Everatt et al, 2008). Both these reports were based on sample surveys conducted in the poorest regions of South Africa. In both instances the researchers investigated access to services as well as the use of the Department of Social Development (DSD) services such as social support grants. One of the primary goals of this study was to measure changes in indicator values in these nodes for activities carried out by the DSD. The researchers also developed a composite measure of poverty which compared changes over time in all these nodes.

In terms of the effectiveness of the system, most researchers have argued that the system has made an important contribution towards alleviating poverty. For example, the Economic Policy Research Institute (ODI 2006) describes South Africa's social security system as effective in terms of targeting and benefiting poor households. Using data from the Labour Force Survey (LFS) (2002 and 2004), they showed that targeting is relatively good in that the gap between those who are eligible and those who reported receiving these grants was relatively small and decreased over time. Booysen and Van den Berg (2006) argued that social grants reduced inequality and decreased the prevalence, depth and severity of poverty of households affected by HIV/AIDS in two Free State communities. They also found that these transfers have disincentive effects on employment and that non-uptake is in some cases highest amongst the poorest households. As part of the ten-year review, Woolard (2003) concluded that the Social Assistance

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[1] This amount reflects the value of the grant for the specific month and does not reflect total expenditure as it excludes special payments, deductions, back pay, etc.
[2] The child support grant was extended from age 6 to 14 by means of amended legislation published in 2003. This was implemented in a phased manner with extension to age 9 in April 2003, to age 11 in April 2004 and finally age 14 in April 2005

Programme had a significant impact on reducing poverty, redistributing income and reducing inequality in South Africa. She based her findings primarily on an analysis of the 2000 Income and Expenditure Survey and 2000 Labour Force Survey data. Several studies (Posel et al, 2004; Duflo, 2000; Case and Deaton, 1998; Ardington and Lund, 1994) found that old-age pensions were an important source of income for the poor and elderly and also had other benefits such as for example improved access to credit and cash delivery to remote areas.

Even though it is now generally accepted that the social grants system provides an essential safety net for the poor and has played an important role in alleviating poverty in South Africa, poverty and inequality remains a problem. Concerns have also been raised about possible welfare dependency created by social grants. However, limited empirical evidence has thus far been presented supporting the notion of increased dependency. In order to mitigate the possible negative consequences of grant dependency, attempts are also being made to link social grants to sustainable livelihoods and economic opportunities (Social Cluster, 2008). A recent study conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) focused on policy options to leverage social grants for improved access to economic opportunities. It provided an overview of grant beneficiary characteristics using various data sources and identified a number of policy instruments and options linking social grants to complementary activities (Altman and Boyce, 2008).

## 3.      Objectives of this volume

Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) has been collecting basic information about social grants and their recipients in a number of different studies. These include the General Household Survey (GHS 2003–2007), Community Survey (CS 2007) and the Income and Expenditure Surveys (IES 2000 and IES 2005). The GHS datasets provide annual data over a period of time and can link grant recipient status to demographic as well as service delivery data. It is also based on a large representative sample of all South African households and was executed independently of the SASSA and DSD grant service delivery mechanisms.

The main objective of this study is to use the historical GHS data to develop profiles of households that benefited from grants between 2003 and 2007. More specific questions that are addressed include:
1. What are the net benefits of social grants that accrue per household in relation to the population in general and how has that changed over time?
2. What are the profiles of grant recipients and non-grant recipients amongst low earning households in terms of key demographic and service delivery variables?
3. Does the available information give an indication of how social grants can be linked to sustainable livelihood initiatives?

## 4.      Methodology and the data

This study is based on the GHS 2003 and GHS 2007 datasets. Even though the first GHS was conducted in 2002, the social grants-related questions were only introduced in the 2003 questionnaire. The two datasets are used in a comparative analysis to capture changes that took place over time in an evaluative format i.e. 'before and after' rather than focussing on changes that took place from year to year. Even though an address panel survey methodology is used for the duration of a specific master sample, this characteristic could not be utilised as different master samples were used during the five-year study period. Instead, a general comparative analysis is made, based on the premise that both samples were representative of the population of South Africa. A stratified, random sample of 26 398 households was interviewed in 2003, and 29 280 households were interviewed in 2007.

As a result of the stratification process, weights had to be applied during analysis. SAS 9.0 and SAS Enterprise Guide were used for analysis. The provincial boundaries used in the analysis reflect the boundaries as they were proclaimed in 1996. Changes made in December 2006 will be reflected in subsequent editions of the GHS series. Unless otherwise stated, T-tests were used for the comparison of means and PROC SURVEY FREQ for the calculation of the confidence intervals of percentages.

The analysis has a household focus even though the social grants data have been collected per individual household member. The results of the GHS in terms of individual grant receipts do not correspond well with official administrative figures and this can be attributed to a number of factors:
- Benchmarking and the extrapolation of findings are reliant on population estimates, which vary considerably over time and are constrained by inadequate information on, for example, the impact of HIV/AIDS on population growth.

- In the case of the old-age grant, survey officers may have erroneously included pensions received from the state by ex-employees of the state, in the section on old-age grants, resulting in an inflation of the OAG recipients in 2003.
- Weaknesses within the administrative reporting system may also contribute towards over- or under-reporting.

Within the context of these vulnerabilities, it was felt that this analysis should focus on aggregated household data rather than on the in-depth analysis of specific grants received by individuals. Focusing on the aggregated profile of the household rather than on the profile of individuals reduces some of the reporting bias that may be present in the data. For example, in cases where the CSG is linked to the attendance of education institutions, the analysis is validated by internal consistencies rather than the robustness of individual population estimates. Given that a sample survey was used to collect the data, the focus of analysis is on trends over time and associations between various household characteristics and grant receipts, rather than on the validation of administrative records and statistics.

Since the GHS is a multi-disciplinary survey, it is difficult to collect in-depth information on any specific area of service delivery. This can be problematic when it is necessary to determine household income or develop poverty classifications. In relation to household income, only income derived from earnings (salary/wage employment) is measured. The questionnaire does not include questions that give an indication of the nature and size of migrant remittances and other sources of income such as rental income, etc. An additional problem is that households with pensioners that do not receive grants will report no earnings, but could in fact have a healthy income from savings and retirement annuities. In the absence of comprehensive income data, some authors (e.g. ODI 2006) used reported expenditure data, assuming that poor households will spend all and sometimes even more of what they earn.

However, this approach was considered problematic for this study as expenditure is measured in categories with intervals that make it difficult to link inflation-adjusted expenditure for 2003 to the R1 100 cut-off selected for 2007.

In relation to migrant remittances, Jenkins (2003) found that when households receive social grants, there is a drop in the size of remittances they receive. Thus one may assume that a combination of wage/salary incomes and grant incomes may give a good indication of household income in poorer grant recipient households. The means test that determines qualification for the CSG and OAG is mainly based on earnings, and poor households typically do not get income from sources such as rent, interest, etc. It was therefore decided to use reported household earnings as a proxy for poor households in this analysis. To refine this measure, households that had low earnings, but reported spending more than R800 per month in 2003 and more than R1 200 in 2007, were removed from the low earnings category. The final filter that was used was membership of medical aid schemes, a frequently used proxy for high incomes. Households classified as low earning, using the earnings measure, but with at least one member that belongs to a medical aid scheme, could possibly fall into the 'wealthy' pensioner category and were therefore also discarded from the low earnings group.

One of the value added advantages of the GHS database is that it is possible to link general service provision with access to basic services in addition to key demographic characteristics. In order to further explore change within households and differences between households, a number of standard and new ratios were calculated for the GHS 2003 and 2007 datasets. These ratios were defined as follows:

**Total dependency ratio: (**Number of household members younger than 15 + number of household members 65 and older) ÷ number of household members aged 15 to 64

**Child dependency ratio:** number of household members younger than 15 years ÷ number of household members aged 15 to 64

**Aged dependency ratio:** number of household members 65 and older ÷ number of household members aged 15 to 64

**Unemployed ratio:** number of unemployed in the household (expanded definition) ÷ number of household members aged 15 to 64

**Not employed ratio:** number of not employed individuals ÷ number of household members aged 15 to 64

**In-household support ratio:** Number of household members aged 15 to 64 who are financially supported by someone inside the household ÷ total number of household members

**Outside-household support ratio:** Number of household members aged 15 to 64 who are being financially supported by someone outside the household ÷ total number of household members

**Educational institution attendance ratio:** Number of household members aged 5–24 attending education institutions ÷ number of household members aged 5–24

**Grd 12+ ratio:** Number of household members aged 20 and older whose highest level of education is Grade 12 or higher ÷ Number of household members aged 20 and older

**Illiterate ratio:** Number of household members aged 15 and older who have a highest level of education of Grade 7 or lower ÷ Number of household members aged 15 and older

**Medical aid ratio:** Number of household members who belong to a medical aid scheme ÷ total number of household members

## 5. Findings

### 5.1 Overview of general grant characteristics at household level

One of the main objectives of this paper is to use the GHS data to contextualise social grant receipts within households and track changes over time in general household characteristics.

Table 2 demonstrates that the percentage of households in South Africa that received at least one social grant increased from 33,5% in 2003 to 42,5% in 2007. The mean number of grant recipients per household has also increased significantly from 1,5 to 2,1 people per household. Not only has the proportion of households benefiting from social grants increased, but also the mean inflation adjusted total income from grants. Between 2003 and 2007 this increased from R810 to R880.

In line with general improvements in the economy during this same time period and in spite of the general expansion of the social grants scheme, grant recipient households have become less dependent on grants as their main source of income. Table 2 shows that the percentage of grant recipient households who said their main source of income is grants decreased significantly from 56% in 2003 to 50% in 2007.

**Table 2: Selected earning and grant income characteristics of households that received grants: a comparison between 2003 and 2007[3]**

| Characteristic | Year | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | **2003** | **2007** | **P-value difference between years[4]** |
| % of households in which at least one member received grants | 33,5 | 42,5 | Not applicable |
| Mean number of grant recipients per household (only for recipient households) | 1,5 | 2,1 | <0,0001 |
| Mean number of different grant types per household (only for recipient households) | 1,2 | 1,3 | <0,0001 |
| Inflation-adjusted mean total monthly grant value in Rand per household receiving grants | 810 | 880 | <0,0001 |
| **Main source of income of the household in which the unemployed individual lives**<br>% Salaries/wages<br>% Remittances<br>% Pensions or grants<br>% Sales of farm products<br>% Other non-farm income<br>% No income | 2,8(26,6-28,9)<br>11,6(10,7-12,5)<br>55,8(54,5-57,1)<br>0,7(0,5-0,9)<br>3,6(3,0-4,0)<br>0,6(0,4-0,9) | 37,6(36,5-38,7)<br>9,0(8,3-9,6)<br>49,9(48,8-51,1)<br>0,9(0,6-1,1)<br>2,1(1,7-2,4)<br>0,6(0,4-0,8) | Not applicable |
| % of low earning households | 44,6<br>(43,8–45,4) | 40,2<br>(39,3–41,0) | Not applicable |
| % of grant recipient households classified as low earning households[5] | 59,5<br>(58,2–60,8) | 58,1<br>(56,9–59,3) | Not applicable |

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[3] 95% confidence limits are reported in brackets
[4] Student T test-values
[5] Less than 1 100 per month from earnings inflation-adjusted for 2003; expenditure less than R800 per month (2003); expenditure less than 1 200 per month (2007); none of the household members are members of a medical aid scheme

In 2007, the total income from grants per household was less than R1 070 per month for three quarters of the population. This is significantly higher than the inflation-adjusted figures for 2003 (R1 005). Once income from grants is added to reported income from earnings, the variation between households increases significantly, with marked differences between the mean and median and, as can be expected, a positively skewed distribution towards high earning households. The median of the combined incomes from earnings and grants was R1 005 in 2003 and R1 360 in 2007. In 2007 less than 10% of the population received more than R1 740 from grants.

**Table 3: Monetary values of grants received by households which received at least one grant: a comparison between 2003 and 2007**

| Characteristic | Year | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **2003** | **2007** | **P-value difference between years[6]** |
| Inflation-adjusted mean total monthly grant value in Rand per household receiving grants | 810 | 880 | <0,0001 |
| **Percentiles for inflation-adjusted total monthly grant value in Rand:** | | | |
| Minimum | 164 | 200 | |
| 10th percentile | 187 | 200 | |
| Lower quartile (25th percentile) | 374 | 400 | Not applicable |
| Median | 818 | 870 | |
| Upper quartile (75th percentile) | 1 005 | 1 070 | |
| 90th percentile (Rand) | 1 635 | 1 740 | |
| Maximum (Rand) | 4 088 | 5 820 | |
| Inflation-adjusted mean total monthly earning plus grant income in Rand per household | 1 767 | 2 196 | <0,0001 |
| **Percentiles for inflation-adjusted total monthly earning plus grant income in Rand per household:** | | | |
| Minimum | 164 | 200 | |
| 10th percentile | 187 | 400 | |
| Lower quartile (25th percentile) | 818 | 870 | Not applicable |
| Median | 1 005 | 1 360 | |
| Upper quartile (75th percentile) | 1 775 | 2 400 | |
| 90th percentile (Rand) | 3 457 | 4 410 | |
| Maximum (Rand) | 76 738 | 80 200 | |

## 5.2 Changes in the relative contribution of the OAG and CSG to household earnings

Until fairly recently a significant proportion of poor households were dependent on incomes derived from the old-age grant (OAG). Table 4 illustrates the extent to which the introduction of the CSG has changed that. The percentage of households benefiting from at least one CSG has increased significantly from 16,8% to 29,1% for the period under review. Within households receiving the OAG, there has also been a significant increase (from 24,2% to 40,4%) of CSG receipt.

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[6] Student T test-values

**Table 4: The relative contribution of the CSG and OAG to household income from grants and earnings for grant recipient households[7]**

| Characteristic | Year | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **2003** | **2007** | **P-value difference between years[8]** |
| % of households receiving OAG | 17,5 (16,9–18,0) | 15,9 (14,4–16,5) | - |
| % of households receiving CSG | 16,8 (16,9–17,4) | 29,1 (28,3–29,8) | - |
| % of households receiving both OAG and CSG | 4,2 (3,9–4,5) | 6,4 (6,1–6,8) | - |
| % of OAG recipient households also receiving CSG | 24,2 (22,6–25,8) | 40,4 (38,7–42,2) | - |
| Mean % of total household grant income derived from OAG (in Rand and inflation-adjusted to 2007 values) | 47 (46,1–48,0) | 31 (30,6–31,9) | <0,0001 |
| Mean of the % of total household grant money derived from CSG (in Rand and inflation-adjusted to 2007 values) | 37 (36,4–38,5) | 52 (51,3–52,8) | <0,0001 |
| Mean of the % of the combined household earning and grant money derived from OAG (In Rand and inflation adjusted to 2007 values) | 39 (37.8-39.6) | 25 (24.5-25.8) | <0,0001 |
| Mean of the % of the combined household earning and grant money derived from CSG (In Rand and inflation adjusted to 2007 values) | 22 (21.2-22.6) | 29 (28.7-29.8) | <0,0001 |

A study of the correlation coefficients of the joint contribution of OAG and CSG to grant recipient household income from grants identified a strong and statistically significant positive correlation. In 2003 the correlation coefficient was 0,74 (p=<0,0001) and 0,72 (p=<0,0001) in 2007. The joint contribution of these two grants is also statistically significantly positively correlated with household income in general, but with lower correlation coefficients than when only considering grant income. There has also been a decrease in the correlation coefficients from r=0.14 in 2003 to r=0.08 in 2007.

Between 2003 and 2007, the relative contribution of the OAG towards household grant income decreased from 47% to 31%, whilst the mean contribution of the CSG towards household grant income increased from 37% to 52%. The relative contribution of OAGs to total household grant income and earnings in grant recipient households also decreased from 39% to 25% during the same period. For the child support grant the mean contribution of the CSG has increased from 22% to 29% of the combined total grant and earning income of households. All these changes were statistically significant.

Given the household perspective of this analysis, changes over time in the profiles of households benefiting from grants are also of interest. These changes would be a function of an expansion of the social grant beneficiary definitions[9], especially in relation to the child support grant for the period 2003 and 2007. Other factors, such as for example the more efficient identification and uptake of grant benefits by qualifying households and the general changes in access to basic services that have taken place in South Africa over the same period may also have influenced observed differences.

## 5.3 General characteristics of grant recipient households

Table 5 shows the changes that took place within grant recipient and non-grant recipient households between 2003 and 2007. The most important trends are:

*Dependency ratios*
- In both years under review, households receiving grants had significantly more members than households not receiving grants. This may be related to the expansion of grants and particularly the CSG, leading to the inclusion of more children.
- The mean total dependency ratio, child dependency ratios and aged dependency ratios are higher in grant recipient households than in non-grant recipient households.

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[7] 95% confidence limits are reported in brackets
[8] Student T test-values
[9] The CSG qualifying age was gradually expanded from below 6 to 14 and younger between 2003 and April 2005

- Between 2003 and 2007 there has been a reduction of the total dependency and aged dependency ratios within grant recipient households. However, the child dependency ratio has remained unchanged. The reduction in the aged dependency ratio is related to the growing importance on the CSGs in total grant income basket of households.

*Not employed and unemployed ratios*
- In both 2003 and 2007 the unemployed and not employed ratios were higher in grant recipient households than in non-grant recipient households. All these differences were statistically significant and are explored further in section 5.6.
- The unemployed ratio decreased significantly in both grant recipient and non-grant recipient households between 2003 and 2007, whilst the not employed ratio did not change significantly in grant recipient households.

*Education ratios*
- The mean educational institution attendance ratio (ages 5–24) is significantly higher in the grant recipient population than amongst households not receiving grants, and has increased significantly between 2003 and 2007 for grant beneficiary households. In the case of non-grant beneficiary households the lower educational institution attendance ratios may be attributed to the broad age band used for the analysis and lower unemployed ratios within households that do not receive grants. There is a statistically significant negative correlation (r= -0,26) between the unemployed ratios and educational institution attendance ratios (p=<0,0001). Households with a lot of unemployed members are therefore less likely to have members aged 5–24 attending an educational institution.
- Changes in the mean Grade 12+ ratio and illiterate ratios mirror the findings of the GHS and other surveys indicating that there has been a general improvement in the highest level of education of South Africans aged 20 years and older. In grant recipient households and non-grant recipient households the Grade 12+ ratio has increased since 2003, whilst the illiteracy ratio has decreased. The differences between these two ratios (both for people aged 20 and older) indicate that even though there has been some improvement in educational attainment between 2003 and 2007, grant recipient households still have a significantly smaller pool of educated members than non-grant recipient households to draw on. This is partly due the increased dominance of the CSG in overall grant receipt. Households with children aged 0–14 years generally do not have a lot of people who had a chance to complete Grade 12 or higher. Illiteracy is also more common amongst the elderly who typically make up a significant proportion of grant recipient households through their qualification for the OAG.

*Other ratios*
- Between 2003 and 2007 the mean number of rooms per household has increased significantly in grant recipient households, but has changed relatively little in households who do not get any grants. Medical aid ratios also declined significantly in the grant recipient category, whilst increasing marginally in the non-grant recipient households.
  Non-grant recipients have significantly higher outside-house support ratios than grant recipient households.

With the exception of housing, the living conditions of households accessing social grants have improved significantly since 2003 (Table 6). This corresponds with similar changes in the non-grant recipient population and the population of South Africa in general (GHS 2007). Grant recipient households are significantly less likely to have access to basic services than non-grant recipients. With the exception of housing, the general living conditions of households accessing social grants have improved since 2003 (Table 6). This corresponds with similar changes in the non-grant recipient population and the population of South Africa in general (GHS 2007).

**Table 5: Dependency and other ratios within households[10] that received grants and non-grant recipient households for 2003 and 2007**

| Indicators and ratios | 2003 Households who received at least one grant compared to households who did not receive any grants | | | 2007 Households who received at least one grant compared to households who did not receive any grants | | | Households who received grants |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Grant N=9 115 | No grant N=17 278 | P-value Difference between groups | Grant | No grant | P-value Difference between groups | P-value Difference between 2003 and 2007 |
| Mean number of household members | 5,3 | 3,1 | <0,0001 | 5,0 | 2,6 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |
| Mean total dependency ratio | 1,08 | 0,41 | <0,0001 | 1,04 | 0,30 | <0,0001 | 0,0064 |
| Mean child dependency ratio | 0,87 | 0,39 | <0,0001 | 0,88 | 0,28 | <0,0001 | 0,54 |
| Mean aged dependency ratio | 0,21 | 0,01 | <0,0001 | 0,17 | 0,02 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |
| Mean unemployed ratio | 0,35 | 0,23 | <0,0001 | 0,30 | 0,16 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |
| Mean not employed ratio | 0,69 | 0,23 | <0,0001 | 0,58 | 0,21 | <0,0001 | 0,11 |
| Mean in-house support ratio | 0,31 | 0,19 | <0,0001 | 0,29 | 0,18 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |
| Mean outside-house support ratio | 0,05 | 0,13 | <0,0001 | 0,06 | 0,11 | <0,0001 | 0,04 |
| Mean educational institution attendance ratio | 0,74 | 0,67 | <0,0001 | 0,77 | 0,64 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |
| Mean Grd 12+ ratio | 0,17 | 0,39 | <0,0001 | 0,19 | 0,44 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |
| Mean illiterate ratio | 0,37 | 0,20 | 0,0007 | 0,31 | 0,15 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |
| Mean medical aid ratio | 0,054 | 0,24 | <0,0001 | 0,049 | 0,25 | <0,0001 | 0,02 |
| Mean total number of rooms in dwelling | 2,5 | 3,6 | <0,0001 | 4,0 | 3,4 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |

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[10] The GHS defines a household as follows: A household is a person, or group of persons, who occupied a common dwelling unit (or part of it) for at least four nights in a week on average during the past four weeks prior to the survey interview. They live together and share resources as a unit

**Table 6: A comparison of the basic living condition indicators for households that received grants and non-grant recipient households for 2003 and 2007[11]**

| Access to Services Indicator | 2003 | | | 2007 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Grants Yes N=9115 | Grants No N=17278 | **All N=26393** | Grants Yes N=14326 | Grants No N=14928 | **All N=29254** |
| **Housing type** | | | | | | |
| % Informal or traditional | 30,8 (29,6–31,9) | 20,8 (20,0–21,6) | 24,1 | 30,7 (29,6–31,7) | 21,7 (20,7–22,7) | 25,5 |
| % Other | 69,2 (68,0–70,4) | 79,2 (78,4–80,0) | 75,9 | 69,3 (68,3–70,4) | 78,3 (77,3–79,3) | 74,5 |
| **Housing type 5 years ago** | | | | | | |
| % Informal or traditional | 34,3 (33,1–35,5) | 23,0 (22,1–23,9) | 26,9 | 34,5 (33,5–35,6) | 23,1 (22,0–24,2) | 28,1 |
| % Other | 65,7 (64,5–66,9) | 77,0 (76,1–77,9) | 73,1 | 65,5 (64,4–66,5) | 76,9 (75,8–78,0) | 71,9 |
| *Access* **to water** | | | | | | |
| % Piped or tap water in house or yard | 53,6 (52,4–54,8) | 74,3 (73,5–75,1) | 67,4 | 59,4 (58,4–60,3) | 80,2 (79,3–81,1) | 71,3 |
| % Other | 46,4 (45,2–47,6) | 25,7 (24,9–26,5) | 32,6 | 40,6 (39,7–41,6) | 19,8 (18,9–20,7) | 28,7 |
| **Sanitation** | | | | | | |
| % Flush toilet with on or off-site disposal | 38,7 (37,6–39,8) | 65,1 (64,2–66,0) | 56,3 | 42,4 (41,5–43,3) | 72,7 (71,7–73,8) | 59,8 |
| % Other | 61,3 (60,2–62,4) | 34,9 (34,0–35,8) | 43,7 | 57,6 (56,6–58,5) | 33,5 (26,2–28,2) | 40,2 |
| **Refuse/waste** | | | | | | |
| % Rubbish removed by municipality | 42,7 (41,6–43,8) | 64,0 (63,1–64,9) | 56,9 | 52,4 (51,5–53,3) | 70,9 (69,8–71,9) | 61,0 |
| % Other | 57,3 (56,2–58,4) | 36,0 (35,1–36,9) | 43,1 | 47,6 (46,7–48,5) | 29,1 (28,0–30,2) | 39,1 |
| **Electricity mains** | | | | | | |
| % Connected to mains | 72,3 (71,1–73,4) | 80,3 (18,9–20,5) | 77,6 | 78,7 (77,8–79,5) | 83,6 (82,6–85,6) | 81,5 |
| % Not connected | 27,7 (26,6–28,9) | 19,7 979,5–81,1) | 22,4 | 21,4 (20,5–22,2) | 16,4 (15,4–17,4) | 18,5 |

Grant recipients are significantly less likely to have access to basic services than non-grant recipients. In 2007 the biggest gap between these two groups was for access to flush toilets (30,3%), access to piped or tap water in the house or yard (20,8%) and refuse removal by the municipality (18,5%). The lowest difference between these two groups was for connection to the mains electricity supply (4,9%).

In terms of relative change between 2003 and 2007, the gap between grant recipients and non-grant recipients narrowed slightly in terms of access to piped or tap water in the house or yard, and significantly for refuse collection and connections to the mains electricity supply. However, the gap between these two groups widened when it comes to accessing better sanitation as comparatively more non-grant recipients gained access to flush toilet facilities.

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[11] 95% confidence limits are reported in brackets

**Table 7: A comparison of agricultural and location indicators for households that received grants and non-grant recipient households for 2003 and 2007[12]**

| Access to Services Indicator | 2003 | | | 2007 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Grants Yes<br><br>N=9115 | Grants No<br><br>N=17278 | **All**<br><br>**N=26393** | Grants Yes<br><br>N=14326 | Grants No<br><br>N=14928 | **All**<br><br>**N=29254** |
| **Agricultural activities** | | | | | | |
| % None | 77,9<br>(76,9–78,9) | 92,0<br>(91,5–92,5) | 87,3 | 84,7<br>(84,0–85,4) | 95,2<br>(94,8–95,7) | 90,8 |
| % Small scale | 21,8<br>(20,8–22,8) | 7,2<br>(6,8–7,7) | 12,1 | 14,6<br>(14,0–15,3) | 3,8<br>(3,5–4,2) | 8,4 |
| % Medium-Large | 0,2<br>(0,1–0,3) | 0,8<br>(0,6–0,9) | 0,6 | 0,6<br>(0,5–0,8) | 0,9<br>(0,6–1,2) | 0,8 |
| **Location (Column %)** | | | | | | |
| % Primary and secondary urban | 24,8<br>(23,8–25,8) | 45,4<br>(44,4–46,3) | 38,5 | 30,3<br>(29,3–31,2) | 53,7<br>(52,5–54,8 | 43,7 |
| % Rural urban and formal | 16,8<br>(15,9–17,7) | 22,5<br>(21,6–23,4) | 20,6 | 15,7<br>(15,1–16,4) | 21,7<br>(20,7–22,7 | 19,2 |
| % Tribal | 47,6<br>(46,5–48,7) | 19,6<br>(18,9–20,2) | 29,0 | 44,0<br>(43,2–44,7) | 14,4<br>(13,9–14,9 | 27,0 |
| % Informal | 10,8<br>(9,9–11,8) | 12,6<br>(11,9–13,2) | 12,0 | 10,1<br>(9,2–10,9) | 10,3<br>(9,4–11,1 | 10,2 |
| **Location (Row %)** | | | | | | |
| % Primary and secondary urban | 21,6<br>(20,6–22,6) | 78,4<br>(77,4–79,4) | Not applicable | 29,4<br>(28,1–30,7) | 70,6<br>(69,3–71,9) | Not applicable |
| % Rural urban and formal | 27,3<br>(25,8–28,8) | 72,7<br>(71,2–74,2) | | 34,9<br>(33,4–36,5) | 65,1<br>(63,5–66,6) | |
| % Tribal | 55,1<br>(53,7–56,4) | 45,0<br>(43,6–46,3) | | 69,3<br>(68,2–70,5) | 30,7<br>(29,5–31,9) | |
| % Informal | 30,3<br>(27,9–32,7) | 69,7<br>(67,3–72,1) | | 42,1<br>(39,0–45,1) | 58,0<br>(54,9–60,9) | |

## 5.4 General characteristics of households classified as low earning households

Given that non-grant recipient households are per definition more affluent than grant recipient households, additional analysis was done to determine whether the observed changes between grant recipients and non-grant recipients took place regardless of a household's socio-economic status. In the absence of comprehensive income and expenditure data it was decided to use reported household earnings from wages and salaries as a proxy of socio-economic status as explained in section 2. 'Low earning households' were defined as households who earned less than R1 100 from wages and salaries in 2007. The same benchmark was used for the inflation-adjusted reported earnings in the 2003 dataset. In 2003, 45% of households were classified as low earning. This decreased to 40% in 2007. The percentage of grant recipient households classified as low earning remained unchanged during the same period at approximately 59%. The following trends emerged from a comparison of low earning households that received grants in 2003 and 2007 and those who did not (see Table 8):

*Dependency ratios*
- Unlike with the population in general, the mean total dependency ratio, mean child dependency ratios and mean in-house support ratio did not change for low earning, grant recipient households between 2003 and 2007.
- Amongst low earning grant recipient households there has been a significant reduction in the mean number of household members, the aged dependency ratio, mean illiterate ratio and the unemployed ratio between 2003 and 2007. The first three factors once again reflect the reduced importance of the OAG in terms of overall household grant recipient profiles and have been observed regardless of whether the household is classified as low earning or not.

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[12] 95% confidence limits are reported in brackets

*Employment ratios*

- Grant recipient as well as non-grant recipient households also experienced an increase in the ratio of people who were classified as not employed between 2003 and 2007. However these changes were not statistically significant.
- Even though the mean unemployed ratio was similar for both groups in 2003, it decreased more significantly amongst the non-grant recipient households than amongst grant recipient households in the five-year period up to 2007.

*Education ratios*

- The mean illiterate ratios within households reduced equally and statistically significantly in both groups between 2003 and 2007. However, even amongst low earning households the illiterate ratio is still lower in the non-grant recipient group than in the grant recipient group. In low earning households the Grade 12+ ratio is low in both groups, but still significantly higher for non-grant recipient households than for grant recipient households.
- The mean educational institution attendance ratio is higher for grant recipient households than for non-grant recipient households. This is not only a factor of grant recipient households having more children, as there is strong evidence that if only households with children aged 5–19 are compared for low earning, grant recipient and non-grant recipient households, grant recipient households are statistically significantly more likely to send all their children of school-going age to school.

*Other indices*

- The average number of rooms per dwelling increased significantly for low earning grant recipient households between 2003 and 2007 and reduced slightly for non-grant recipient households. In 2007, grant recipient households were on average living in bigger dwellings than non-grant recipient households. Even though the number of rooms of a dwelling can be used as a proxy for socio-economic status, in this instance the smaller household sizes of the non-grant recipient households as well as the increased prominence of households with children (CSG) in grant recipient households associated with 2007 have to be taken into consideration when interpreting this finding.
- The outside-house support ratio is significantly higher in low earning, non-grant recipient households than in low earning, grant recipient households. The same observation is true for non-grant recipient households in the population in general (Table 5).

The in-house support ratio is lower in low earning non-grant recipient households than in grant recipient households. This could perhaps be attributed to the smaller number of possible income sources available to non-grant recipient households. Further analysis of low earning households that did not receive grants in 2007, showed that 97,9% of them had no household members aged 65 and older and 76,3% did not have any children younger than 15 years. Given that the largest percentage of grant recipient households receive a CSG or OAG, it is possible to construct a crude measure of general grant qualification using age-specific cut-off points (have at least one child younger than 15 years and/or one person older than 64 years). In 2007, 29,8% of the low earning households qualified as having at least one member of the right age for a grant, but who was not receiving a grant at present. When isolating these 'qualifying' households who do not get grants and form part of the low earning household group, they had the following profiles: Most of them resided in tribal areas (56,0%) and secondary and primary urban areas (19,5%). In terms of their geographical distribution 21,5% lived in Eastern Cape, 21,2% in KwaZulu-Natal, 17,7% in Limpopo and 11,0% in Gauteng. Slightly more than a quarter of the qualifying low earning households currently not receiving grants (37,3%), lived in informal or traditional houses and 81,4% were not engaged in any agricultural activities.

**Table 8: A comparison between households classified as low-earning households[13] who received grants and non-grant recipient households for 2003 and 2007**

| Indicators and ratios | 2003 Low earning households N=11 455 | | | 2007 Low earning households N=13 425 | | | Low earning households who received grants |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Receive grant | No grant | P-value difference between groups | Receive grant | No grant | P-value difference between groups | P-value difference between 2003 and 2007 |
| % of low earning households | 46,1 (45,0–47,3) | 53,9 (52,7–54,9) | Not applicable | 62,5 (61,2–63,8) | 37,5 (36,2–38,8) | Not applicable | Not applicable |
| Mean number of household members | 5,0 | 2,9 | <0,0001 | 4,60 | 2,08 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |
| Mean total dependency ratio | 1,2 | 0,4 | <0,0001 | 1,17 | 0,24 | <0,0001 | 0,51 |
| Mean child dependency ratio | 0,98 | 0,43 | <0,0001 | 0,99 | 0,24 | <0,0001 | 0,27 |
| Mean aged dependency ratio | 0,21 | 0,01 | <0,0001 | 0,18 | 0,01 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |
| Mean unemployed ratio | 0,41 | 0,40 | 0,26 | 0,36 | 0,34 | 0,0033 | <0,0001 |
| Mean not employed ratio | 0,64 | 0,21 | <0,0001 | 0,66 | 0,26 | <0,0001 | 0,29 |
| Mean in-house support ratio | 0,30 | 0,18 | <0,0001 | 0,30 | 0,16 | <0,0001 | 0,36 |
| Mean outside-house support ratio | 0,07 | 0,31 | <0,0001 | 0,08 | 0,34 | <0,0001 | 0,0006 |
| Mean educational institution attendance ratio | 0,74 | 0,62 | <0,0001 | 0,79 | 0,58 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |
| Mean Grd 12+ ratio | 0,10 | 0,14 | <0,0001 | 0,11 | 0,15 | <0,0001 | 0,035 |
| Mean illiterate ratio | 0,44 | 0,34 | <0,0001 | 0,39 | 0,30 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |
| Mean total number of rooms in dwelling | 3,96 | 2,88 | <0,0001 | 3,82 | 2,56 | <0,0001 | <0,0001 |

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[13] The number of cases that had unreported information or refusals for earnings from wages and salaries was much higher in 2007 than in 2003, hence the lower absolute numbers of households that could be used for classification as 'low earning' households during the analysis of the 2007 data

Given that the largest percentage of grant recipients receive a CSG or OAG, it is possible to construct a crude measure of general grant qualification using age-specific cut-off points (have at least one child younger than 15 years and or one person older than 64 years). The analysis found that 29,8% of the low earning households had at least one member of the right age for a grant, but were not receiving a grant at present.

When isolating these 'qualifying' households who do not get grants and form part of the low earning household group, they had the following profiles: Most of these resided in tribal areas (56,0%) and secondary and primary urban areas (19,5%). In terms of their geographical distribution 21,5% lived in Eastern Cape, 21,2% in KwaZulu-Natal, 17,7% in Limpopo and 11,0% in Gauteng. Slightly more than a quarter of the qualifying low earning households, currently not receiving grants (37,3%), live in informal or traditional houses and 81,4% are not engaging in any agricultural activities.

**Figure 1: Changes in access to piped or tap water in the house or yard for households receiving grants and those not receiving grants: a comparison between 2003 and 2007**
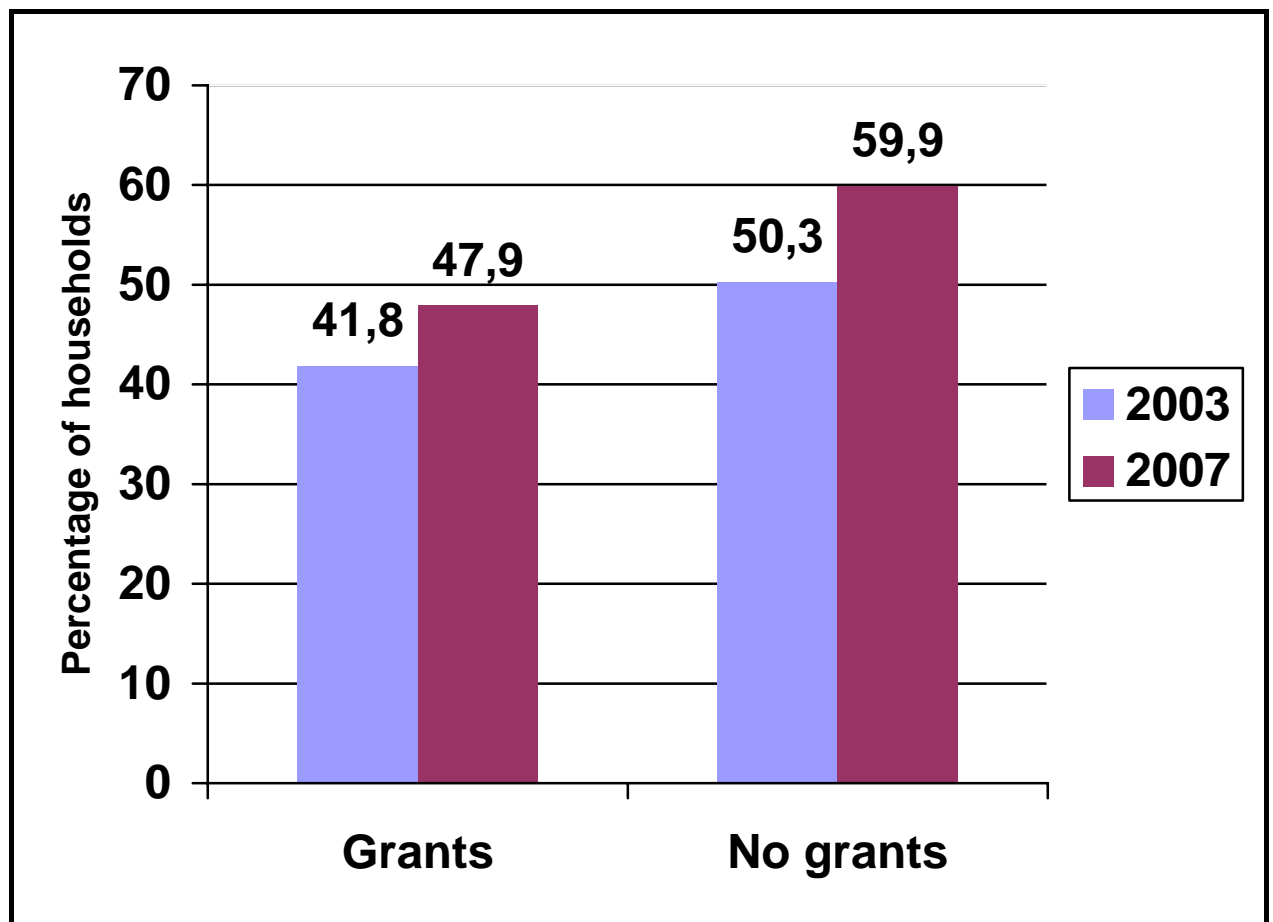
The social grants system is one of the primary vehicles used by the government of South Africa to strengthen the safety net of the poor. During the past five years there has been a significant increase in the percentage of 'low earning' individuals and households that receive social grants. Table 9 illustrates the extent of the shift that took place since 2003. It summarises provincial data on the percentage of low earning households that receive at least one grant and compares the data of 2003 with 2007. A significant improvement in coverage was observed in all provinces, except Gauteng and Western Cape. The biggest changes for this period were found in the North West (31,5% points increase), Limpopo (28,5% points increase) and Free State (24,1% points increase).

**Table 9: Distribution of grant recipients amongst low earning households per province (2003 and 2007)[14]**

| Province | Low earning households 2003 N=11 455 | | Low earning households 2007 N=13 425 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *% with at least one grant* | *% with no grants* | *% with at least one grant* | *% with no grants* |
| Western Cape | 52,6 (45,1–60,2) | 47,4 (39,8–54,9) | 55,5 (48,4–62,6) | 44,5 (37,4–51,6) |
| Eastern Cape | 53,3 (50,7–55,8) | 46,7 (44,2–49,3) | 69,2 (65,8–72,7) | 30,8 (27,3–34,2) |
| Northern Cape | 44,3 (38,9–49,7) | 55,7 (50,3–61,1) | 64,4 (60,2–68,6) | 35,6 (31,4–39,8) |
| Free State | 46,7 (43,1–50,2) | 53,3 (49,8–56,9) | 68,1 (64,8–71,4) | 31,9 (28,6–35,2) |
| KwaZulu-Natal | 42,3 (39,6–44,9) | 45,7 (42,4–49,0) | 66,4 (64,0–68,7) | 33,6 (31,3–35,9) |
| North West | 32,1 (28,7–35,5) | 67,9 (64,5–71,3) | 63,6 (59,4–67,9) | 36,4 (32,1–40,6) |
| Gauteng | 41,6 (38,2–45,0) | 58,4 (54,9–61,8) | 38,9 (34,7–42,9) | 61,1 (57,0–65,3) |
| Mpumalanga | 54,6 (51,9–57,3) | 45,4 (42,7–48,1) | 65,2 (61,7–68,7) | 34,8 (31,2–38,3) |
| Limpopo | 40,2 (39,3–41,0) | 59,8 (58,9–60,7) | 68,7 (65,9–71,4) | 31,3 (28,6–34,0) |

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[14] 95% confidence limits are reported in brackets

**Table 10: Basic living condition indicators for low earning households which received grants and those that did not for 2003 and 2007**

| Access to services indicator | Low earning households – 2003 | | | Low earning households - 2007 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Grants N=5219 | No grants N=6234 | **All N=11453** | Grants N=8747 | No grants N=4663 | **All N=13410** |
| *Housing type* | | | | | | |
| % Informal or traditional | 38,3 (36,7–39,9) | 35,9 (34,4–37,5) | 37,1 | 36,8 (35,4–38,2) | 38,0 (35,8–40,2) | 37,3 |
| %Other | 61,7 (60,1–63,3) | 64,0 (62,5–65,6) | 62,9 | 63,2 (61,8–64,6) | 61,9 (59,8–64,2) | 62,7 |
| *Housing type 5 years ago* | | | | | | |
| % Informal or traditional | 42,6 (40,9–44,3) | 39,5 (37,9–41,1) | 40,9 | 41,4 (39,9–42,8) | 40,2 (37,9–42,5) | 40,9 |
| % Other | 57,4 (55,7–59,0) | 60,5 (58,9–62,1) | 59,0 | 58,6 (57,2–60,0) | 59,8 (57,5–62,1) | 59,0 |
| *Access to water* | | | | | | |
| % Piped or tap water in house or yard | 41,8 (40,3–43,3) | 50,3 (48,8–51,8) | 46,4 | 47,9 (46,5–49,2) | 59,9 (57,8–62,2) | 52,4 |
| % Other | 58,2 (56,7–59,7) | 49,7 (48,2–51,2) | 53,6 | 52,1 (50,8–53,5) | 40,0 (37,8–42,2) | 47,6 |
| *Sanitation* | | | | | | |
| % Flush toilet with on- or off-site disposal | 26,2 (24,9–27,6) | 65,3 (63,9–66,6) | 30,8 | 29,3 (28,0–30,6) | 44,5 (42,2–46,8) | 35,0 |
| % Other | 73,8 (72,5–75,1) | 34,7 (33,4–36,1) | 69,2 | 70,7 (69,4–71,9) | 55,5 (53,2–57,8) | 65,0 |
| *Refuse/waste* | | | | | | |
| % Rubbish removed by municipality | 30,7 (29,3–32,1) | 61,8 (60,4–63,3) | 34,7 | 35,4 (34,0–36,7) | 47,1 (44,8–49,3) | 39,8 |
| % Other | 69,3 (67,9–70,7) | 38,2 (36,7–39,6) | 65,3 | 64,6 (63,3–65,9) | 52,9 (50,7–55,2) | 60,2 |
| *Electricity mains* | | | | | | |
| % Connected to mains | 64,5 (62,9–66,2) | 62,3 (60,8–63,9) | 63,4 | 72,8 (71,6–74,1) | 68,6 (66,2–71,0) | 71,3 |
| % Not connected | 35,5 (33,8–37,1) | 37,7 (36,1–39,2) | 36,6 | 27,2 (25,9–28,4) | 31,4 (28,9–33,7) | 28,8 |

A significantly smaller proportion of grant recipient households (Table 6) have access to basic services. When grant recipients and non-grant recipients in the low earning group are compared, the same pattern is observed, i.e. non-grant recipients have better access to services than grant recipients. The only exceptions are for housing type now and five years ago and for the connection to the mains electricity supply (Table 10) where there were no statistically significant differences between the two groups for 2007.

The gap between the grant recipients and non-grant recipients were significantly smaller than for the population in general. For the 'low earning' households the biggest gap in 2007 between those who received grants and those who did not, was also for access to flush toilets (15,2%), access to piped or tap water in the house or yard (12,0%) and refuse removal by the municipality (11,7%). This was to some extent expected as most of the low earning households who do not receive grants, find themselves in urban areas, whereas most of the grant recipients live in tribal areas, where access to services has historically been very poor. Between 2003 and 2007 there has been a significant reduction in the non-grant recipient group in terms of access to piped or tap water, flush toilets and refuse removal by the municipality. This probably reflects the improved targeting of social grants as well as the expansion of the system.

**Table 11: A comparison of agricultural and location indicators for low earning households which received grants and those that did not for 2003 and 2007[15]**

| Access to services indicator | Low earning households – 2003 | | | Low earning households - 2007 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Grants N=5219 | No grants N=6234 | **All N=11453** | Grants N=8747 | No grants N=4663 | **All N=13410** |
| **Access to land for agricultural activities (excludes access to tribal grazing land)** | | | | | | |
| % None | 72,1 (70,7–73,5) | 86,2 (85,1–87,2) | 79,7 | 80,6 (79,5–81,6) | 92,3 (91,4–93,2) | 84,9 |
| % Up to 10 hectares | 27,7 (26,3–29,1) | 13,7 (12,7–14,8) | 20,2 | 18,9 (17,8–19,9) | 7,4 (6,5–8,3) | 14,6 |
| % 10 hectares or more | 0,2 (0,09–0,35) | 0,1 (0,02–0,15) | 0,2 | 0,6 (0,4–0,8) | 0,3 (0,2–0,5) | 0,5 |
| *Location (Column %)* | | | | | | |
| % Primary and secondary urban | 15,4 (14,3–16,4) | 22,4 (21,1–23,6) | 19,2 | 19,9 (18,7–21,2) | 30,8 (28,6–32,9) | 24,0 |
| % Rural urban and formal | 15,0 (13,9–16,2) | 22,4 (21,2–23,7) | 19,0 | 14,7 (13,7–15,6) | 22,8 (20,7–24,8) | 17,7 |
| % Tribal | 59,2 (57,7–60,6) | 39,0 (37,7–40,4) | 48,3 | 56,4 (55,1–57,7) | 31,8 (30,2–33,5) | 47,2 |
| % Informal | 10,4 (9,2–11,7) | 16,2 (14,9–17,4) | 13,5 | 8,9 (7,9–9,9) | 14,7 (12,7–16,6) | 11,1 |
| *Location (Row %)* | | | | | | |
| % Primary and secondary urban | 37,0 (34,5–39,5) | 62,9 (60,5–65,5) | Not applicable | 51,9 (48,9–55,0) | 48,0 (44,9–51,1) | Not applicable |
| % Rural urban and formal | 36,5 (33,9–38,9) | 63,5 (61,0–66,0) | | 51,8 (48,6–54,9) | 48,2 (45,1–51,4) | |
| % Tribal | 56,5 (54,9–58,1) | 43,5 (41,9–45,1) | | 74,7 (73,4–75,9) | 25,3 (24,0–26,6) | |
| % Informal | 35,6 (32,0–39,2) | 64,4 (60,8–67,9) | | 50,3 (45,4–55,3) | 49,7 (44,8–54,6) | |

## 5.5     The child support grant

One of the expected outcomes of the CSG is that households benefiting from this grant would be more likely to send their children to school, thereby increasing their chances of receiving basic education and becoming economically active in the future. The data presented in Table 12 suggest that in 2007 low earning households who received any kind of grant had statistically significantly higher school attendance ratios for the 5–19 age group than their counterparts who did not receive any grants. Even though a higher percentage of the CSG grant receiving households were sending all their children in this age group to school in 2007, this difference is not statistically significant. The percentage of low earning households which receive any kind of grant and that were sending all their children aged 5–19 to school, increased significantly from 73% in 2003 to 81% in 2007. Even though there was also an improvement amongst non-grant recipients during the same period, it was much smaller as testified by the increase from 73% in 2003 to 76% in 2007.

Once the same comparison is made for the population in general, it was found that the reverse is true: Non-grant recipients are more likely to send all their children in this age group to school. However, these differences are not statistically significant. This is to some extent expected as the general population has more resources for education than low earning households. What is interesting though is that the attendance ratio for individuals aged 5–19 is higher in households who receive grants than those who did not receive. The provincial data for 2007 in relation to CSG coverage amongst low income households per province (Table 13) and school attendance by 5–19-year-olds amongst social grant recipient, low earning households per province (Table 14) illustrates significant differences between provinces in terms of accessing social grants and also regarding the relationship between the receipt of grants and school attendance.

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[15] 95% confidence limits are reported in brackets

The provinces with the highest proportion of low earning households with children younger than 15 years that did not access a child support grant in 2007 were: Gauteng (39%), Western Cape (33%) and Northern Cape (30%). Provinces with the best coverage are Mpumalanga with 80% of the qualifying households receiving CSGs, Limpopo and North West with 77% and Eastern Cape with 76%. Differences between 2003 and 2007 reflect not only higher uptake, but also changes in the qualifying age for the CSG. Within low earning, grant recipient households the biggest progress in terms of sending all their children aged 5–19 years to school were made in Northern Cape, Mpumalanga, Gauteng and Eastern Cape (Table 14). The percentage point change over time is 14% in the Northern Cape, 13% in Mpumalanga and 9% in Gauteng and Eastern Cape. The provinces with the lowest proportions of grant recipient, low earning households that had all their children enrolled in 2007 were Western Cape (72%), KwaZulu-Natal (75%) and North West (76%).

**Table 12: A comparison of educational institution attendance indicators in households with individuals aged 5–19 and various grant recipient classifications for 2003 and 2007[16]**

| School attendance indicator | 2003 | | | 2007 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Low earning CSGs N=2 224 | Low earning No CSGs N=9 229 | P-value | Low earning CSGs N=3 502 | Low earning No CSGs N=7 811 | P-Value |
| *% of households for which all individuals aged 5–19 attend school* | 70,7 (68,3–73,1) | 74,3 (72,8–75,9) | | 80,2 (78,7–81,7) | 78,6 (76,5–80,7) | |
| *School attendance ratio of individuals aged 5–19* | 0,86 | 0,85 | 0,18 | 0,90 | 0,85 | <0,0001 |
| **School attendance indicator** | Low earning Any grant N=5 219 | Low earning No grant N=6 234 | | Low earning Any grant N=8 747 | Low earning No grant N=4 663 | |
| *% of households for which all individuals aged 5–19 attend school* | 72,9 (71,2–74,7) | 73,3 (71,3–75,3) | | 80,6 (79,3–81,9) | 75,7 (72,6–78,8) | |
| *School attendance ratio of individuals aged 5–19* | 0,87 | 0,82 | <0,0001 | 0,90 | 0,81 | <0,0001 |
| **School attendance indicator** | Any grant N=9 115 | No grant N=17 278 | | Any grant N=14 928 | No grant N=14 326 | |
| *% of households for which all individuals aged 5–19 attend school* | 74,4 (73,1–75,7) | 78,4 (77,3–79,5) | | 80,7 (79,7–81,7) | 82,5 (80,8–84,1) | |
| *School attendance ratio of individuals aged 5–19* | 0,87 | 0,86 | 0,03 | 0,90 | 0,87 | <0,0001 |

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[16] 95% confidence limits are reported in brackets

**Table 13: CSG grant recipient status amongst low earning households with children younger than 15 years per province for 2003 and 2007**

| Province | Low earning households with children younger than 15 years | |
|---|---|---|
| | % with at least one CSG 2003 (age limit 5 years) | % with at least one CSG 2007 (age limit 14 years) |
| Western Cape | 54,3 (43,5–65,2) | 66,8 (55,9–77,7) |
| Eastern Cape | 37,2 (33,9–40,4) | 76,3 (71,3–81,4) |
| Northern Cape | 36,9 (29,9–43,9) | 69,6 (64,1–75,0) |
| Free State | 38,6 (34,1–43,1) | 75,7 (71,8–79,7) |
| KwaZulu-Natal | 32,8 (29,4–36,2) | 71,7 (69,3–74,1) |
| North West | 37,3 (33,0–41,6) | 77,3 (71,5–83,0) |
| Gauteng | 39,2 (33,5–44,9) | 61,1 (54,4–67,7) |
| Mpumalanga | 42,8 (38,1–47,5) | 79,5 (75,8–83,3) |
| Limpopo | 44,9 (41,6–48,2) | 76,8 (73,9–79,8) |

**Table 14: School attendance indicators for social grant receiving, low earning households per province for 2003 and 2007[17]**

| Province | Any social grant recipient, low earning household 2007 | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % of households with children aged 5–19 for which all children attend school | | Mean school attendance ratio of children aged 5–19 for households with children aged 5–19 | | Mean TDR and CDR 2007 | |
| | 2003 | 2007 | 2003 | 2007 | TDR | CDR |
| Western Cape | 75,5 (65,6–85,4) | 72,2 (62,1–82,3) | 0,82 | 0,82 | 0,83 | 0,71 |
| Eastern Cape | 70,4 (66,5–74,3) | 79,1 (76,1–82,1) | 0,87 | 0,89 | 1,30 | 1,08 |
| Northern Cape | 64,4 (55,5–73,3) | 77,9 (72,9–82,9) | 0,79 | 0,87 | 0,96 | 0,82 |
| Free State | 77,5 (72,5–82,5) | 85,5 (81,8–89,2) | 0,89 | 0,91 | 0,99 | 0,86 |
| KwaZulu-Natal | 67,1 (62,7–71,5) | 75,2 (72,6–77,8) | 0,84 | 0,88 | 1,23 | 1,07 |
| North West | 73,8 (68,8–78,8) | 75,9 (71,4–80,6) | 0,89 | 0,87 | 1,10 | 0,91 |
| Gauteng | 76,6 (69,5–83,7) | 86,0 (80,7–91,3) | 0,88 | 0,92 | 0,94 | 0,78 |
| Mpumalanga | 70,3 (64,1–76,4) | 83,6 (79,4–87,7) | 0,89 | 0,92 | 1,14 | 0,99 |
| Limpopo | 79,7 (76,4–83,1) | 86,3 (83,3–89,2) | 0,92 | 0,93 | 1,31 | 1,10 |

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[17] 95% confidence limits are reported in brackets

One of the questions that arises as a result of the observed percentage of households considered eligible for the CSG, but who are not accessing it is: What are the patterns of relationships among the dependent variables, more specifically the ratio indicators developed for this study when considering the group with low earnings, with children younger than 15 years and who do not have a child support grant?

Principal component analysis (PCA) was selected for the tool to answering this question. PCA is a non-parametric analytical method that reveals simple underlying structures in complex datasets. It also provides a measure which describes the relative importance of each dimension or factor in describing the variability of data. Rotations are often used in principal component analysis to reduce 'noise' so that the underlying patterns can emerge more clearly. This is achieved by rotating the axes defined by the PCA in such a way that the sum of the variances of factor loadings are maximized. If a Varimax Rotation is used, the eigenvectors remain orthogonal.

The results of the principal component analysis identified four factors that jointly explain 78,7% of the variation of the variables studied for the households not accessing social grants and 76,9% for households who do access grants. The four most prominent patterns that could be identified can be called: 1) an old-age/pensioner factor; 2) in-house dependency and support factor; 3) employment and educational institution attendance factor; and 4) level of education and wealth factor.

The presence of an 'aged' factor as represented by the aged dependency ratio, not employed ratio, OAG receipt and number of rooms in the dwelling suggests that eligible households currently not accessing the CSG, may be households where the elderly take care of young children or in households with older people who are dependent on the OAG.

The dependency and support factor (Factor 2) suggests strong relationships between the total dependency ratio, child dependency ratio and the extent to which unemployed and not employed household members aged 15–64 are dependent on other household members for survival (in-house support ratio).

The employment and educational institution attendance factor (Factor 3) reflects the ratios of people who are unemployed, not employed and attending educational institutions. The negative factor loadings on the not employed and education institution attendance ratios suggest that as the value of the unemployed ratios increases; the value of the other two factors decreases and vice versa.

Factor 4 relates to education and wealth and includes indicators related to membership of medical aid schemes, number of rooms in the dwelling and the ratio of household members with Grade 12 or higher as their highest level of education. The negative factor loading for the illiteracy ratio in factor 3 indicates that as the values of the other three variables increase, the values of the illiteracy ratio decrease. The third variable in this group is the number of rooms in the household, which also carries a positive factor loading.

**Table 15: Factor pattern and factor loadings per factor for principal component analysis using Varimax rotation for low earning households, with children aged younger than 15 and who do not access the child support grant (2007)**

| Variable | Factor 1<br>Old-age/pensioner factor<br><br>Var=2,53 | Factor 2<br>In-house dependency and support factor<br><br>Var=2,39 | Factor 3<br>Employment and educational institution attendance factor<br>Var=1,51 | Factor 4<br>Level of education and wealth factor<br><br>Var=1,44 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aged dependency ratio | 0,88 | | | |
| Not employed ratio | 0,73 | | -0,50 | |
| Amount of OAG received | 0,86 | | | |
| Child dependency ratio | | 0,88 | | |
| Total dependency ratio | | 0,93 | | |
| In-house support ratio | | -0,77 | | |
| Educational institution attendance ratio | | | -0,71 | |
| Unemployed ratio | | | 0,83 | |
| Grade 12+ ratio | | | | 0,75 |
| Number of rooms | 0,42 | | | 0,44 |
| Illiteracy ratio | | | | -0,71 |

**Table 16: Factor pattern and factor loadings per factor for principal component analysis using Varimax rotation for low earning households, with children younger than 15 years and who do access the child support grant (2007)**

| Variable | Factor 1<br><br>In-house dependency and support factor<br>Var=2,47 | Factor 2<br><br>Old-age/pensioner factor<br><br>Var=2,39 | Factor 3<br><br>In-house dependency and support factor<br>Var=1,45 | Factor 4<br><br>Level of education and wealth factor<br><br>Var=1,39 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aged dependency ratio | | 0,87 | | |
| Not employed ratio | | 0,71 | -0,51 | |
| Amount of OAGs received | | 0,85 | | |
| Child dependency ratio | 0,95 | | | |
| Total dependency ratio | 0,92 | | | |
| In-house support ratio | -0,73 | | | |
| Educational institution attendance ratio | | | -0,61 | |
| Unemployed ratio | | | 0,85 | |
| Grade 12+ ratio | | | | 0,78 |
| Number of rooms | | 0,45 | | |
| Illiteracy ratio | | | | -0,73 |

In order to verify whether the 'aged' factor is indeed significant, the same factor analysis was done on low earning households with children younger than 15 years who receive grants. The results are summarised in Table 16. It shows that the same factor patterns are present in the grant recipient group. However, in the latter group the factor that contributes most to total variance is not the 'aged' factor, but rather the in-house support factor. The 'aged' factor in the grant recipient group explains 2,39 of the variance as opposed to the 2,53 in the non-grant recipient group.

As a result of the patterns that were observed during the principal component analysis, T-tests were done on the variables identified as the most prominent underlying factors of CSG qualification with no CSG uptake. The results are summarised in Table 17. It was found that households who qualify, but do not access the CSG, have significantly smaller total dependency ratios, child dependency ratios and in-house support ratios than those who receive grants. However, they have significantly higher age dependency ratios, income from OAGs, not employed ratios, and illiteracy ratios. There were no statistically significant differences between the two groups in terms of the mean Grade 12+ ratio and the mean number of rooms in the dwelling unit.

**Table 17: A comparison of CSG receipt for low earning households with children younger than 15 using key indicators and ratios as identified with the principal component analysis**

| Indicators and ratios | 2007 Low earning households with children younger than 15 years | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | CSG N=5 575 | No CSG N=2 083 | P-value Difference between groups |
| Mean total dependency ratio | 1,35 | 1,11 | <0,0001 |
| Mean child dependency ratio | 1,22 | 0,97 | <0,0001 |
| Mean aged dependency ratio | 0,12 | 0,14 | 0,0011 |
| Mean unemployed ratio | 0,40 | 0,35 | <0,0001 |
| Mean not employed ratio | 0,54 | 0,60 | <0,0001 |
| Mean in-house support ratio | 0,30 | 0,27 | <0,0001 |
| Mean OAG receipt value | 259 | 287 | <0,0001 |
| Mean Grd 12+ ratio | 0,13 | 0,11 | 0,10 |
| Mean illiterate ratio | 0,34 | 0,37 | 0,0003 |
| Mean number of rooms | 3,83 | 3,76 | 0,25 |

## 5.6      General employment statistics

The preceding discussion highlighted four important employment related observations for the five-year study period:

i.      In the population in general, the unemployed ratios within households reduced significantly for grant recipient and non-grant recipient households.
ii.     Even though low earning, grant recipient and non-grant recipient households started off with similar unemployed ratios in 2003, the latter experienced a much bigger reduction in unemployed ratios after five years.
iii.    The not employed ratios of grant recipient households did not change statistically significantly between 2003 and 2007.
iv.     Amongst low earning households, the not employed ratios within households that received grants and households that do not receive grants increased. However, these differences were not statistically significant.

These observations are explored further in Table 18. The first set of indicators in Table 18 shows the employment statistics of individuals aged 15 years and older and grouped into the categories to which their households belong (receive at least one grant or receive no grant). The same is repeated for low earning households. The main trends in Table 18 are:

- Households that receive grants have nearly twice as many individuals who classify themselves as not economically active when compared to those that do not receive grants. Amongst low earning households the same trend is true although the gap between the two groups is not as big. In the population as a whole the percentage of individuals that classify themselves as not economically active has decreased from 51% to 49% over the study period, whilst the same group amongst low earning households has increased from 54% to 56%. When examining the reasons of the not economically active for not being active, no clear pattern emerges. Even though those saying that they are studying increased significantly, similar increases were observed in the low earning, non-grant recipient group and the population as a whole. The percentage of individuals from low earning, grant recipient households that classify themselves as not economically active has increased from 54% to 56%.
- The percentage of unemployed individuals decreased significantly for grant and non-grant recipients. There has been a similar, albeit smaller decrease in the proportion of unemployed persons for the two groups amongst low earning households.
- Employment has increased significantly in both grant and non-grant recipient households, but with bigger gains for the households who do not receive grants. In the population in general 10% more non-grant recipients were employed in 2007 compared to 6% more in the grant recipient groups. Similar differences are evident in the low earning group although less incremental with 5% more employed amongst non-grant recipients and 2% amongst grant recipients. The same trends are observed for low earning households, although the differences over the five-year period are smaller than in the population in general. This may be a function of better education ratios within non-grant recipient households, but may also reflect the better targeting of social grants in that more vulnerable households with high levels of unemployment have been removed from the non-grant recipient group.

**Table 18: General employment statistics for grant and non-grant recipient households**[18]

| Indicators and ratios | 2003 All households | | 2007 All households | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Household receives grant | Household receives no grant | Household receives grant | Household receives no grant |
| **Individual employment status**[19] | | | | |
| % Not economically active | 51,3 (50,5–52,0) | 27,1 (26,5–27,6) | 49,4 (48,7–50,0) | 25,4 (24,7–26,2) |
| % Employed | 17,5 (16,9–18,1) | 47,6 (46,9–48,3) | 23,4 (22,8–23,9) | 57,4 (56,6–58,3) |
| % Unemployed | 31,2 (30,6–31,9) | 25,3 (24,7–25,9) | 27,2 (26,6–27,8) | 17,1 (16,5–17,8) |
| **Selected reasons for not working during the past seven days** | | | | |
| % Scholar/student | 21,4 (20,8–22,0) | 27,8 (27,0–28,6) | 23,7 (23,1–24,3) | 32,0 (30,9–33,2) |
| % Housewife/homemaker | 4,9 (4,6–5,3) | 9,0 (8,5–9,6) | 4,3 (4,0–4,6) | 9,7 (8,8–10,5) |
| % Retired and prefers not to work | 1,9 (1,7–2,1) | 3,0 (2,7–3,4) | 1,6 (1,3–1,9) | 3,3 (2,6–3,9) |
| % Illness/invalid/disabled | 9,4 (9,0–9,9) | 4,1 (3,7–4,4) | 10,0 (9,6–10,4) | 3,4 (3,0–3,8) |
| % Too young/old to work | 22,2 (21,6–22,8) | 4,3 (3,9–4,6) | 20,9 (20,2–21,5) | 6,8 (6,1–7,4) |
| % Cannot find any work | 17,0 (16,8–18,1) | 23,0 (22,2–23,8) | 32,4 (31,7–33,1) | 34,9 (33,7–36,1) |
| **Selected reasons of the not economically active for not working during the past seven days** | | | | |
| % Scholar/student | 34,5 (33,6–35,4) | 54,0 (52,8–55,3) | 36,9 (36,0–37,7) | 53,8 (52,2–55,6) |
| % Housewife/homemaker | 8,0 (7,4–8,6) | 17,6 (16,6–18,5) | 6,7 (6,2–7,1) | 16,3 (14,9–17,7) |
| % Retired and prefers not to work | 3,1 (2,8–3,5) | 5,9 (5,2–6,6) | 2,5 (2,1–3,0) | 5,5 (4,5–6,5) |
| % Illness/invalid/disabled | 15,2 (14,5–15,8) | 7,9 (7,2–8,5) | 15,6 (14,9–16,2) | 5,7 (5,0–6,3) |
| % Too young/old to work | 35,8 (34,9–36,7) | 8,3 (7,7–9,0) | 32,4 (31,6–33,3) | 11,4 (10,3–12,4) |
| % Cannot find any work | 0,5 (0,4–0,7) | 1,0 (0,7–1,3) | 2,7 (2,5–3,0) | 3,0 (2,5–3,5) |
| Indicators and ratios | 2003 Low earning households | | 2007 Low earning households | |
| | Household receives grant | Household receives no grant | Household receives grant | Household receives no grant |
| **Individual employment status** | | | | |
| % Not economically active | 54,0 (53,1–55,0) | 31,7 (30,6–32,7) | 56,2 (55,4–57,1) | 31,2 (29,7–32,8) |
| % Employed | 9,7 (9,1–10,3) | 27,2 (26,2–28,2) | 11,3 (10,7–11,8) | 32,6 (30,7–34,4) |
| % Unemployed | 36,3 (35,3–37,2) | 41,2 (40,1–42,3) | 32,5 (31,7–33,3) | 36,2 (34,5–38,0) |
| **Selected reasons for not working during the past seven days** | | | | |
| % Scholar/student | 20,9 (20,1–21,7) | 24,2 (23,1–25,3) | 23,5 (22,7–24,2) | 27,1 (25,4–28,9) |
| % Housewife/homemaker | 4,7 (4,2–5,2) | 5,3 (4,7–0,3) | 3,7 (3,4–3,9) | 3,9 (3,1–4,7) |
| % Retired and prefers not to work | 1,1 (0,9–1,3) | 0,6 (0,4–0,8) | 0,9 (0,5–1,3) | 0,6 (0,3–0,9) |
| % Illness/invalid/disabled | 9,4 (8,8–10,0) | 5,5 (4,9–6,2) | 10,5 (9,9–11,0) | 5,5 (4,7–6,3) |
| % Too young/old to work | 21,6 (20,7–22,4) | 4,6 (4,0–5,1) | 21,2 (20,4–21,9) | 5,0 (4,3–5,8) |
| % Cannot find any work | 16,4 (15,6–17,1) | 24,4 (23,3–25,6) | 33,2 (32,3–34,0) | 47,8 (45,8–49,9) |
| **Selected reasons of the not economically active for not working during the past seven days** | | | | |
| % Scholar/student | 34,9 (33,7–36,2) | 55,8 (53,9–57,8) | 37,1 (36,0–38,2) | 58,8 (56,2–61,5) |
| % Housewife/homemaker | 7,9 (7,1–8,7) | 12,2 (10,9–13,5) | 5,8 (5,3–6,3) | 8,5 (6,7–10,2) |
| % Retired and prefers not to work | 1,9 (1,5–2,2) | 1,4 (0,9–1,8) | 1,4 (0,8–2,0) | 1,2 (0,6–1,9) |
| % Illness/invalid/disabled | 15,7 (14,8–16,7) | 12,8 (11,5–14,1) | 16,6 (15,8–17,4) | 11,9 (10,2–13,7) |
| % Too young/old to work | 36,1 (34,8–37,3) | 10,6 (9,4–11,8) | 33,5 (32,4–34,5) | 10,9 (9,4–12,5) |
| % Cannot find any work | 0,6 (0,4–0,8) | 1,1 (0,5–1,7) | 2,7 (2,3–3,0) | 4,9 (3,8–6,1) |

[18] 95% confidence limits of percentages are reported in brackets
[19] According to the expanded definition of unemployment for individuals aged 15 years and older

The main reasons given for not working or running a business are similar in the population in general and for low earning households. The main reason for not working is being 'a scholar or student' or 'unable to find work'. This is true regardless of whether an individual is from a grant recipient household or non-grant recipient household.

Being too young or old to work features strongly in the grant recipient groups, but is not as important for individuals from non-grant recipient households. This can most likely be attributed to the relatively high load of old-age grant recipients in the group receiving grants. There were small changes between 2003 and 2007 in the general percentages of individuals in each category, but none of them were significant enough to indicate major shifts in the reasons why people are unemployed or not economically active.

## 5.7    Household unemployed ratios and alternative economic opportunities

The data presented in the preceding section suggest that even though it appears as if slightly more households in the low earning, grant recipient group receive grants, no clear patterns emerge from the reasons individuals give for not being employed. In terms of unemployment, the section showed that unemployment rates have decreased significantly in grant recipient and non-grant recipient households over time, regardless of whether the household is from the general population or from low earning households. There is also no indication that grant receipts as such have contributed towards higher proportions of household members classifying themselves as not economically active or unemployed. However, what is clear is that households receiving grants are still significantly less likely to find employment than those who do not receive grants, regardless of whether it is a low earning household or not.

Table 19 illustrates the main characteristics of the unemployed living in low earning households. There are no significant differences in the highest level of education attained of the unemployed in grant recipient and the unemployed in non-grant recipient households. Approximately 21% of the individuals in grant recipient households and 18% in non-grant recipient households completed their secondary education. The median age of both groups is similar at 33 years for the former and 32 years for the latter. The unemployed in grant recipient households are more likely to be female. The provinces and settlement types where these two groups are located also differ significantly. Most of the unemployed from non-grant recipient households find themselves in Gauteng and KwaZulu–Natal, and are likely to live in primary and secondary urban settlements. The unemployed of grant recipient households are predominantly from the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo, and are most likely to live in informal settlements.

Sixty nine per cent of the unemployed from low earning, grant recipient households live in households for which the main source of income is grants. The unemployed in non-grant recipient households on the other hand are mainly dependent on remittances (43%) and salaries/wages (22%). What is also significant for the latter group is that 22% come from households with no income sources.

One of the potential alternative livelihood strategies for households unable to find employment in the formal or informal sectors is agriculture. The data show that the unemployed in both the grant recipient and non-grant recipient groups have limited access to agricultural land.

**Table 19: Characteristics of unemployed individuals living in low earning, grant and non-grant recipient households** [20]

| Indicators and ratios | 2007 Low earning | |
|---|---|---|
| | Grant recipient household N=23 909 (8 659 842)[21] | Non-grant recipient household N=7 827 (3 159 796) |
| **Province** | | |
| % Western Cape | 3,8 (3,0–4,6) | 7,5 (5,7–9,2) |
| % Eastern Cape | 17,4 (16,2–18,6) | 11,3 (9,8–12,9) |
| % Northern Cape | 2,2 (1,9–2,4) | 2,3 (1,9–2,8) |
| % Free State | 7,4 (6,7–8,1) | 5,6 (4,6–6,5) |
| % KwaZulu-Natal | 22,6 (21,4–23,8) | 16,0 (14,2–17,7) |
| % Northwest | 8,5 (7,7–9,2) | 6,8 (5,5–8,1) |
| % Gauteng | 11,9 (10,6–13,2) | 33,0 (29,8–36,3) |
| % Mpumalanga | 7,9 (7,1–8,6) | 6,9(5,8–8,0) |
| % Limpopo | 18,3 (17,2–19,5) | 10,5 (9,0–12,0) |
| **Rural-urban classification** | | |
| % Primary and secondary urban areas | 21,5 (20,1–22,9) | 36,1 (33,2–38,9) |
| % Rural towns | 13,3 (12,4–14,1) | 13,8 (12,4–15,3) |
| % Informal settlements | 55,2 (53,7–56,7) | 30,9 (28,8–33,2) |
| % Tribal areas | 10,0 (8,8–11,3) | 19,2 (16,2–22,1) |
| **Gender** | | |
| % Male | 38,8 (37,2–40,3) | 56,4 (53,5–59,3) |
| % Female | 61,2 (59,7–62,8) | 43,6 (40,7–46,5) |
| **Highest level of education** | | |
| % None | 5,2 (4,6–5,8) | 6,0 (4,9–7,1) |
| % Some primary | 16,3 (15,3–17,4) | 18,2 (16,1–20,3) |
| % Primary | 9,1 (8,1–10,1) | 9,0 (7,2–10,8) |
| % Some secondary | 46,6 (45,0–48,1) | 47,2 (44,2–50,2) |
| % Secondary | 21,1 (19,8–22,3) | 17,8 (15,6–20,0) |
| % Tertiary | 1,6 (1,2–2,0) | 1,6 (1,0–2,3) |
| % Other | 0,2 (0,0–0,3) | 0,2 (0,0–0,4) |
| **Main source of income of the household in which the unemployed individual lives** | | |
| % Salaries/wages | 12,8 (11,8–13,8) | 22,2 (19,9–24,4) |
| % Remittances | 14,6 (13,4–15,8) | 42,7 (39,8–45,5) |
| % Pensions or grants | 68,6 (67,1–70,1) | 4,0 (2,9–5,0)[22] |
| % Sales of farm products | 0,6 (0,4–0,8) | 2,9 (1,1–4,6) |
| % Other non-farm income | 1,5 (1,1–1,9) | 5,6 (4,0–7,1) |
| % No income | 1,4 (0,9–1,8) | 21,9 (19,3–24,4) |
| % Unspecified | 0,4 (0,3–0,6) | 0,8 (0,2–1,5) |
| **Access to land for agricultural activities (excludes access to tribal grazing land)** | | |
| % None | 83,2 (82,1–84,2) | 92,9 (91,8–94,1) |
| % Up to 10 hectares | 16,3 (15,3–17,4) | 6,7 (5,6–7,8) |
| % 10 hectares or more | 0,5 (0,3–0,7) | 0,3 (0,1–0,6) |

The grant recipient group is the only group for which a significant portion of households have access to land. Sixteen per cent of these individuals have access to up to 10 hectares of land. Most of the unemployed persons (93%) who reported that they had access to up to 10 hectares of land were living in informal settlements at the time of the survey. They were also predominantly from provinces that have large pockets of tribal land, more specifically in Eastern Cape (45,9%), KwaZulu-Natal (29,1%) and Limpopo (19,6%). Forty-four per cent indicated that their households owned the land and 53% made use of tribal land.

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[20] 95% confidence limits are reported in brackets
[21] The number of unemployed individuals for which the analysis was done with the weighted and extrapolated numbers in brackets
[22] The option 'pensions and grants' in the questionnaire did not exclude pensioners other than OAG recipients, hence the 4% of pensioners in this category

## 6.        Discussion and conclusions

*General characteristics of grant recipient households*

The household-based analysis confirms that there has been a significant increase in the proportion of South African households that benefited from the social grants safety net during the past five years. The percentage of households that received at least one social grant increased from 33,5% in 2003 to 42,5% in 2007. Total monthly earnings adjusted for inflation also increased significantly over the same period from R810 to R880 per household. In 2003, 75% of grant recipient households received R1 005 or less per month (inflation adjusted) from grants. In 2007, 75% of the households in this group earned R1 070 or less per month. The increase in the mean and third percentile value suggests that not only more people have been benefiting from grants, but that the compounded income from grants per household increased in real terms during the five-year period. Once income from grants is added to reported income from earnings, the variation between households increases significantly, with marked differences between the mean and median and skewed towards high income earning households. The median of the combined incomes from earnings and grants per household was R1 005 in 2003 and R1 360 in 2007. The general economic growth that took place during the five year period under review is also reflected in the data. In line with having less household members who are unemployed, a significant percentage of households also reduced their dependency on grants as their main source of income.

A number of authors (e.g. Case A and Deaton A, 1998; Duflo E, 2000) highlighted the relative importance of the OAG for the survival of particularly poor, rural households. The GHS data support this, but also show that since 2003, increased coverage by the CSG has proportionally increased the relative contribution and importance of the CSG towards household grant income. In this period the mean contribution of the CSG towards household income from grants increased from 37% to 52%. This was to be expected as during this period the coverage of social grants was extended from targeting all children younger than 6 years to all children younger than 15 years. During the same period the contribution of the OAG towards total grant income of grant recipient households decreased from 47% to 31%. Even though it decreased, the OAG still provides an estimated one-third of the income of grant recipient households. The mean contribution of the CSG to income from grants and earnings within households that receive grants has increased from 22% in 2003 to 29% in 2007.

A comparison of the basic characteristics and access to services of households that receive grants with those who do not, showed that households who receive at least one grant are generally bigger, have higher child dependency, aged dependency and total dependency ratios. This was to be expected as the two most widely used grants, the CSG and OAG, are aimed at children and the aged. Even though the qualifying age for the CSG was increased from 6 years in 2003 to 14 years in 2007, the child dependency ratios within grant recipient households did not change significantly during the same period.

The analysis of key labour and employment ratios, i.e. the unemployed and not employed ratios within grant and non-grant recipient households in the population in general also confirmed anticipated outcomes. Grant recipient households have significantly higher unemployed and not employed ratios than those who do not receive grants. Even though the unemployed ratios dropped in both groups between 2003 and 2007, the reduction was more significant in the group that did not receive grants. Higher not employed ratios can be explained by the fact that the aged, disabled and scholars are targeted by social grants and one would therefore expect more of the not employed in the grant recipient group. When evaluating this finding, one has to consider that grant recipient households are at a significant disadvantage when trying to reduce their unemployed ratios, as they are significantly less educated (high illiteracy and low Grade 12+ ratios) and therefore less employable than non-grant recipient households.

The data also confirm that grant recipient households have reduced access to basic services and are more likely to have sub-optimum access to basic services such as water, sanitation and refuse removal, when compared to those who do not receive grants. If one accepts that grant recipients represent the poorer households in South Africa, the gap in terms of access to basic services between them and non-grant recipients is a symptom of historical inequalities. However, some progress is being made. When access to services in 2007 is compared with 2003, there has been a more significant improvement in access to most basic services in the grant recipient group than in the non-grant recipient group. In 2007 the most pronounced differences between grant recipient and non-grant recipient households were for sanitation (30% point difference), followed closely by water (21%) and refuse removal by the municipality (18,5%). Most grant recipients live in tribal areas which explains to some extent the big backlog in access to flush toilets. Clearly more progress needs to be made in providing piped or tap water in the dwelling or yard in especially these areas. Even though there still is a gap in access to electricity, the gap is the smallest when compared to all the other living condition indicators.

*Low earning households*

The concept *low earning households* as defined by reported earnings, reported expenditure and membership of medical aid schemes was used extensively in this study. Using this definition, 45% of households were classified as low earning in 2003 and 40% in 2007. A comparison of low earning households who receive grants with those who do not receive grants is of interest because the social grant system is largely targeted at them. The data suggest that a large percentage of households that are not classified as 'low earning' using our definition receive one or more social grants. This is most likely the result of either the definition used in the study (derived from a number of variables) and may not adequately cover all qualifying households, or it may reflect the variation in qualifying cut-off points used by the provinces when applying the means test. Alternatively, applicants may be submitting false information when applying for grants.

A comparison of low earning households that received grants in 2003 and 2007 and those who did not, showed that households receiving grants had the same profiles in 2003 and 2007 in terms of the mean total dependency ratio, mean child dependency ratios and mean in-house support ratio in their households. During the same period these households experienced a significant reduction in the mean number of household members, the aged dependency ratio, unemployed ratio and the mean illiterate ratio. These findings probably reflect the positive impact that the child support grant had on reducing household dependency on the OAG and expanding grant coverage to households with younger children.

The fact that the unemployed ratios within both groups decreased, reflects the general improvement in economic prospects during the period studied. The mean educational institution attendance ratio is higher for grant recipients than for non-grant recipients, but the mean illiterate ratio within households dropped equally and statistically significantly in both groups between 2003 and 2007. There was a slight increase in the not employed ratios of grant recipient households, but this change was not statistically significant. The findings also suggest that the grant recipient households had significantly higher educational institution attendance ratios than their counterparts. Students normally classify themselves as 'not employed' as they are not available for employment.

When evaluating access to basic services, the same pattern is observed in the low earning group than in the population in general, i.e. non-grant recipients have better access to services than grant recipients. The only exceptions are for housing type now and five years ago and for the connection to the mains electricity supply where there were no statistically significant differences between the two groups for 2007.

The gap between the grant recipients and non-grant recipients was significantly smaller than for the population in general. For the 'low earning' households the biggest gap in 2007 between those who receive grants and those who do not, was also for access to flush toilets (15,2%), access to piped or tap water in the house or yard (12,0%) and refuse removal by the municipality (11,7%). This was to some extent expected as most of the low earning households who do not receive grants, find themselves in urban areas, whereas most of the grant recipients live in tribal areas, where access to services has historically been very poor. Between 2003 and 2007 there has been a significant reduction in the non-grant recipient group in terms of access to piped or tap water, flush toilets and refuse removal by the municipality. This probably reflects the improved targeting of social grants, as well as the expansion of the system.

*Child support grant*

The child support grant has been linked to several positive outcomes (e.g. Williams 2007). The trends in the GHS data suggest that children living in low earning households that receive a child support grant and children living in households that receive any kind of grant are more likely to attend school (school attendance ratios) than those who live in households that do not receive grants. Even though a similar trend was observed for complete attendance by eligible children in the 5–19-year age group, this was only statistically significant for low earning households who receive any kind of grant.

In terms of coverage the GHS data show that most low earning households with children of qualifying age were receiving CSGs in 2007. Provinces with the lowest coverage in 2007 were Gauteng, Western Cape and Northern Cape and provinces with the best coverage were Mpumalanga, Limpopo, North West and Eastern Cape. Possible reasons for low coverage in Gauteng and Western Cape could be the presence of immigrant populations without the necessary documentation to qualify for the CSG.

Within the low earning, grant recipient household group, the biggest progress related to sending all children aged 5–19 years to school were made in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal and Northern Cape where 9% points more households had all their children enrolled in 2007 in comparison to 2003. This may reflect the expansion of the cut-off to fourteen years for the population in general. The provinces with the lowest proportion of grant recipient, low earning households with all their children attending school in 2007 were: Western Cape (72%), KwaZulu-Natal (75%) and North West (76%).

The findings indicate that a large proportion of the low earning households that do not receive grants, do not have persons older than 65 years and younger than 15 in their households and therefore do not qualify for the most widely used grants (OAG and CSG). A principal component analysis of low earning households that have children younger than 15 years that do not receive grants, showed that they live in households that have a higher old-age ratio and are more likely to receive OAGs. They also live in households with relatively high illiteracy ratios and are more likely to be in tribal areas. This may indicate that the unreached children live with older people who receive OAGs, but may not have the information needed to apply for CSGs for the children in their care. Alternatively, the children may have been registered for CSG by parents who live elsewhere without the knowledge of the household where they were at the time of the survey. In these cases the grant money is most likely being used by the applicants and not by the households caring for the children.

One of the secondary objectives of the study was to contextualise social grant receipt within the context of livelihoods, identify trends in the employment status of individuals who find themselves in grant recipient and non-grant recipient households, and look at the implications in relation to sustainable livelihoods.

*Employment and social grants*

Once we divert our attention to the employment profiles of grant recipient and non-grant recipient households, a less clear-cut picture emerges. This is partly due to the fact that none of the panel attributes of the GHS could be used during the data analysis, as the five-year study period spanned two different master samples. This made the measurement and more especially the attribution of change more arduous. The study showed that the mean unemployed ratios decreased significantly for both grant recipient and non-grant recipient households, in the general population and amongst low earning households, between 2003 and 2007. However, these changes were not similar in magnitude as the non-grant recipient households reduced their unemployed ratios more significantly than grant recipient households. During the same period, the not employed ratios of grant recipient households reduced for both grant recipients and non-grant recipients even though these changes were not statistically significant. Amongst low earning households, the not employed ratios within households that received grants increased slightly over the same time period even though these differences were not statistically significant. The not employed ratios represent the proportion of people within households that describe themselves as unwilling or unable to work. Some questions commonly asked in relation to grant receipt are: Does grant receipt contribute towards increased dependency and reduce the willingness of household members to see themselves as able participants of the labour force and to find work and make a contribution towards household income? Furthermore, what does this mean in terms of development goals such as promoting and enhancing sustainable livelihood strategies?

As a result of the absence of true panel data, these questions will have to be addressed using circumstantial evidence. Members of households that receive grants are nearly twice as likely to be classified as not economically active, when compared to individuals who live in households that do not receive any grants. Amongst low earning households the same trend is true, although the gap between grant recipient households and non-grant recipient households is less pronounced. The available information indicates that there have been no significant shifts that apply only to the grant recipient households in terms of why people have been classified as 'not economically active' in 2003 and 2007. If people are reclassified as not economically active as a result of being complacent with the social grants system, one would typically expect increases in the categories 'housewife/homemaker', but instead we observe a decrease in this category for both the population in general and for low earning households. This is accompanied by significant increases in 'scholar/student' as a reason for the population in general and low earning households, whilst 'illness/invalid/disabled' as a reason increased amongst low earning households. 'Too young or old to work' also makes up a significant proportion of the reasons at 32% of the

responses in the population in general and 34% in low earning households. Since 2003 there has been a slight reduction in the percentage of not economically active individuals providing this reason. These observations may suggest that the increases in the not employed ratios amongst households receiving grants may be more related to the improved coverage of the social grants system, i.e. increased inclusivity of those who are unable to work rather than a shift in economic status classification per se. The increase of 'scholar/student' being given as a reason for classification as not economically active, can also not be clearly linked to grant receipt, as the increases in the non-grant recipient group were higher for low earning households.

Do members of households receiving grants tend to be less economically active? The findings discussed in the previous paragraph, combined with individual employment data suggest that this is not true for low earning households. The differences in the employment status distribution amongst grant recipient, low earning households and non-grant recipient low earning households are similar in terms of unemployment with a smaller gap between grant recipient households and non-grant recipient households in 2007 when compared with 2003. Amongst low earning households the main differences are between those who are not willing or able to work and those who are employed. Considering that grants target the aged and disabled, as well as the reasons provided for being not economically active, individuals in grant recipient, low earning households appear to be making nearly as hard an effort to become employed as individuals in non-grant recipient households.

Livelihood support programmes are best aimed at those who have the time and ability to devote to livelihood activities. In terms of reducing dependency and improving the socio-economic status of poor households, these programmes should ideally be targeted at the unemployed in low earning households. Table 8 illustrated that even though low earning grant recipient and non-grant recipient households have unemployed ratios that do not differ greatly, the profiles of the unemployed within those two groups are very dissimilar. The only exceptions to this are the highest level of education – approximately one-fifth have completed Grade 12 and are of median age (32 years). More than a third of the unemployed in the non-grant recipient group find themselves in Gauteng and in primary and secondary urban areas. These particular locations could mean better social networking (social capital) into the formal economy, greater access to assets such as formal housing, as well as access and exposure to a greater variety of livelihood opportunities. The fact that their households have salary/wage earners as well as links with people sending remittances means they also have some established networks that could provide them with possible access to employment.

On the other hand, unemployed individuals in grant recipient households are predominantly female, reside in informal settlements and the main source of income of their households are pensions/grants. This indicates limited assets as well as limited social capital in the form of networks into places where employment opportunities are available. However, a small proportion of these unemployed individuals (16%) come from households that have access to land. Land is an important component of financial capital and its relative value as a livelihood asset is largely determined by its size, location and quality. The data suggest that more than half of these individuals whose households have access to land moved from tribal areas to informal settlements in urban areas and a further 44% come from households who own their agricultural land. Thus, there is some potential in their cases for improving livelihood options through agriculture.

## 7.    Recommendations

Some progress has been made in addressing unequal access to basic services, but clearly more work needs to be done. The study found that the social grants system has improved its efficiency and targeting at various levels during the past five years. A number of additional changes may also contribute towards further increasing its effectiveness. These are:
a) Strengthening targeting and delivering mechanisms in rural and tribal areas, especially in Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo. This will not only increase the effectiveness of grant delivery but may contribute towards reducing rural-urban migration.
b) Designing a special information campaign aimed at recipients of the old-age grant, informing them that if they have children younger than 15 years in their care the children are eligible for a CSG. This recommendation is based on the finding that there are still some low earning households that have children younger that 15 years that do not receive the child support grant, and this appears to be linked with the elderly who receive AOGs.

In terms of livelihoods and the creation of more sustainable livelihood options, the unemployed living in grant recipient households have limited physical and financial assets. Some of their time may have been freed, because of receiving some financial support through grants and that can be regarded as an asset. In terms of educational attainment, their capabilities are low and it is unlikely that they will be accommodated in the formal sector of the economy. In the case of women who are unemployed, their relatively young age and child-care responsibilities may be a further limitation. It is therefore recommended that the main thrust of livelihood programmes should be geared towards equipping the unemployed to find a niche for themselves in the informal sector of the economy. The biggest limitation that they will face will be their lack of financial assets and skills to start their own enterprises. The optimal delivery mechanism of these kinds of livelihood programmes should be at the point of grant receipt, clearly targeting grant recipients and reinforcing the link between grant receipt and efforts to help the unemployed pursue more sustainable livelihood options.

An additional factor that was identified in the study was that even though most of the unemployed in low earning, grant recipient households found themselves in informal settlements, some have access to land for cultivation somewhere else, possibly in tribal areas. If the delivery mechanisms of grants are improved in tribal areas it will not only contribute towards stemming the rural urban flow, but could also begin to link the distribution of agricultural input packages to grant receipt. This could further strengthen the understanding that grants should be seen as a contributor towards increasing a household's resource base and that it should ideally be used as a mechanism to increase the household's chances of pursuing more sustainable livelihood options.

## 8.    Limitations of the data

The GHS data is based on a random sample of South African households and as such is representative of the households of South Africa. However, the sample cannot reproduce the absolute number of individuals or households that benefit from the Social Grants system and the findings should therefore not be compared with administrative data. The main reason for this is that Social Grant receipt is not distributed evenly amongst South African households, but it is clustered within poor communities and within the poorer provinces. The GHS data is therefore likely to underreport the absolute numbers of individuals and households benefiting.

The study relies on information that was collected for individuals. This information was then combined into household level information in order to link it to service delivery and other relevant household characteristics. Thus the value of the study is in providing information related to households and highlighting relationships and trends, rather than on providing absolute numbers about grant receipt.

A number of ratios were used in the study. These ratios were developed to create household level statistics for information that was only available at individual level, for example employment ratios. These ratios are employed as a tool to explore relationships and trends within households further. The mean ratios reported for groups should not be used as absolute measurements as a result of their large standard deviations.

The income data that was used to classify households as low earning households was reported in a categorized form for some households and was not very detailed. The classification 'low earning' is therefore a best effort based on the limited historical information that was available.

## 9.    Technical notes

Reported N is the number of cases in the database available for analysis of a particular variable and not the weighted totals. All analysis was done with the sampling weight variable, thus correcting the sample for the total population of South Africa. A number of new variables were created for this analysis. These were defined as follows:

*Low earning households*

If at least one member of the household provided a valid value for earnings or grants, a total value was calculated for the household. Missing values in calculated household totals for income represent cases where all cases for a household had missing values or where one or more of the household members did not give a response to the question on earning and the remainder of the members had 0 earning. Households with at least one member receiving medical aid as well as households where reported monthly

expenditure was more than R1 200 (2003) and more than R1 800 (2007) were regarded as non-low earning households. The reason for increasing the expenditure limits above the R1 100 cut-off is that low earning households will typically also earn some of their income from grants which will increase their expenditure. Because categories were used in the expenditure question, the cut-off points could not be as exactly matched as was the case in the earnings question. In relation to grant totals, missing values represent households for which the question was not completed for any of the household members.

*Rural urban classification*

The GHS questionnaire does not collect information that classifies areas as rural or urban. However, the primary sampling units (PSUs) of the master sample used for the GHS are linked to census enumeration areas (EAs). All of these EAs have a rural urban classification, even though different systems were used for the 1996 and 2001 Census. One of the limitations of these classifications, especially from the perspective of service delivery, is that the formal urban classification is used for all kinds of settlements regardless of the size or nature of economic activities; thus a town such as Bethlehem is grouped with a metro such as, for example, Ekhurhuleni. For the purpose of this analysis, the category 'formal urban' was therefore further subdivided into two sub-groups: primary and secondary urban areas and rural formal towns.

Primary and secondary urban areas correspond with the definitions used by the CPI division in Stats SA (Everts et al, 2006). Primary urban areas are typically metropolitan areas and centres of high economic activity within provinces, whilst secondary urban areas would not be metros, but would be large cities that play a significant socio-economic role within their provinces.

Farms in rural areas other than tribal areas, were grouped with rural formal towns as less than 6% of the sampled households fall into this category and it is too small to form a category on its own. Inhabitants of these areas often share characteristics with people living in rural towns in terms of housing and socio-economic status. However, access to services would be different as this category often uses underground water sources and electricity from sources other than the mains. Since the sub-group is so small it was decided that the potential negatives of isolating this as a separate sub-group outweigh the problems with differences in access to services. Informal settlements, regardless of whether they were urban or rural, were grouped together into one category, namely informal settlement. Tribal areas refer to areas designated by the Surveyor General as Tribal.

**Variable categorisation used**

| Variable | Categories | Recoding |
|---|---:|---:|
| Housing type A now | 01 | Formal |
| | 02 | trad |
| | 03..06 | formal |
| | 07..08 | informal |
| | 09..11 | other |
| | 99 | missing |
| Housing type B now | 01 | Other |
| | 02 | informal |
| | 03..06 | other |
| | 07..08 | informal |
| | 09..11 | other |
| | 99 | missing |
| Housing type A five years ago | 01 | Formal |
| | 02 | trad |
| | 03..06 | formal |
| | 07..08 | informal |
| | 09..11 | other |
| | 99 | missing |
| Housing type B five years ago | 01 | Other |
| | 02 | informal |
| | 03..06 | other |
| | 07..08 | informal |
| | 09..11 | other |
| | 99 | missing |
| Household ownership type | 1..2 | Owner |
| | 3..6 | not owner |
| | 9 | missing |
| Water source for drinking | 01..02 | Piped tap |
| | 03..13 | other |
| | 99 | missing |
| Type of toilet | 11..23 | Flush |
| | 32..73 | other |
| | 99 | missing |
| Refuse removal system | 1..2 | local authority |
| | 3..8 | other |
| | 9 | missing |
| Connections to mains | 1 | Yes |
| | 0 | No |
| | 9 | Missing |
| Ownership of agricultural land | 1 | Own_trib |
| | 2..3 | other |
| | 4 | Own trib |
| | 6..9 | missing/unspecified |
| Land sizes | 1..4 | small |
| | 5..6 | medium_large |
| | 7..9 | missing/unspecified |

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