

Demographic and urban characteristics of Soweto: a comparison of 1993 and 2008

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1. Introduction

This article analyses the demographic characteristics of the population and compares the 2008 data with a similar research report done in 1993. The aim of the 2008 sample survey was to collect data to analyse aspects of urbanisation in Soweto. Demography is the study of the statistics of births, deaths, migration, diseases and perceptions to illustrate the conditions of life in communities. The major issue facing local communities in general and Soweto in particular is how to accommodate future population growth, while maintaining the prevailing quality of life. Moreover, economic opportunities in urban areas attract workers seeking employment and a better quality of life. The migration process to Soweto was largely determined by political decisions and the significant development of Johannesburg as the primary city in South Africa. Although the three levels of local, provincial and central government believe that they can eradicate informal settlements before 2014, this belief has contributed to the rapid migration to Soweto and continues to do so (CoGTA 2009:23).

The demographic characteristics are discussed under the following headings: theoretical base, research methodology, perceptions of the Sowetans, sample and total populations of Soweto, characteristics of households, age and gender profiles, education levels, employment status and mobility in and migration to Soweto. It concludes with a summary of the main findings and conclusions.

2. Theoretical base

The economic causes of migration are deeply rooted in the general socio-economic environment. Therefore, the value of economic models is limited in evaluating the economic causes and effects of migration. In most of the developing countries migration has often shifted underemployment from the rural to the urban sector of the economy (Mears 1997:600).

Understanding the process of population mobility and urbanisation is hampered by the general tendency to condense, over-simplify or even ignore important aspects of the elements of migration, namely space, residence, time and activity changes (Oberai 1988:17-18; Mears 1991:14). Therefore, a heterogeneous process is treated as a homogeneous one by calling it migration. Attempts to present migration as a response to a finite number of seemingly relevant causes, invariably ignore the complexities of human action and social interaction. Therefore, reliable statistics or empirical studies

compiled in accordance with sound scientific criteria, is the best way to reconcile the theory and practice of migration and urbanisation.

Migration theories generally fall into two broad categories. The first category comprises theories based on examining the forces determining the nature, scope and direction of migration. The second category comprises theories that analyse migration as an equilibrating or disequilibrating process in an economy in a process of change or transformation (Truu 1971:170). The classical or converging regional income patterns tend to bring different regions into greater conformity in terms of general economic performance. In contrast, the Keynesian or diverging income patterns increase the economic inequality between regions (Truu 1971:174). The difference between the classical or equilibrating and Keynesian or disequilibrating theories stem mainly from the postulates or assumptions that underlie the adjustment behaviour of the two systems. Both sets of theories suffer from an inadequate prognosis of human migration, because they overemphasise the employment effects of factor mobility (Lind 1996:77; Mears 1997:600). In fact, initial regional imbalances tend to increase between regions and countries as time passes.

This shows that migration may have a generally equilibrating or a generally disequilibrating effect on the spatial distribution of the population and their income. It is generally accepted that migration did not have an equilibrating effect as far as the geographical distribution of the South African population is concerned (Mears 1991:165; Mears 1997:602). This infers that migration has been economically disequilibrating in the sense that it did not close the income gap that triggered the migration process in the first place.

The dynamic nature of migration and urbanisation makes it possible to view its implications for national economic development *a priori*. It is essential to analyse the process of socio-economic change and its interaction with migration empirically as it is taking place (Oberai 1988:70). Appeals to economic history may also improve the understanding of current migration and urbanisation trends. However, a comprehensive understanding of the migration process requires a multi-disciplinary agenda and should always be viewed in its societal context (Theron and Graaff 1987:31).

The concepts *urban population growth* and *urbanisation* are often confused and used synonymously. An increase in the urban population can be the result of natural population growth, a redefinition of geographical boundaries or rural-urban migration. Urbanisation describes the process that follows when

these causal factors lead to a growing percentage of the population taking up residence in the urban area. The term rural-urban migration is also used to describe this process, for example, urbanisation has increased from say 60 to 62. This means that the rural population as a percentage of the total population has decreased from 40 to 38 (Mears 1997:596).

Therefore, an increase in the percentage of the population taking up residence in an urban area, that is urbanisation, is only possible when people move from the rural to the urban areas. Rural-urban migration in the developing countries is therefore tantamount to urbanisation (Mears 1997:597). The cumulative process of migration and urbanisation is a natural sequence of economic development. Once urbanisation is in motion, it can only be stopped or negated by measures and events that limit the natural population growth rate.

With the exception of a few mining and industrial areas that developed at a later stage, the broad pattern of black urbanisation had been laid as early as 1904 (RSA 1985:32-33). The foundations of a permanent urban black population were also laid before 1945. Since then, urban growth has partially been the result of rural-urban migration, but mainly due to the natural growth rate of the population. The urban black population overtook the urban white population in absolute numbers soon after 1946 and has since steadily increased its numerical superiority (RSA 1985:33; Mears 1997:606).

Demography is the study of the size and composition of populations according to diverse criteria, including age, gender, educational attainment and spatial distribution. Secondly, it analyses the dynamic life-course processes that change the composition such as births, deaths, marriage and migration. Thirdly, it examines the relationships between population composition and change in the broader social and physical environment in which they exist (Yankey and Anderton 2001:2). In short, demography describes the population size and composition, the determinants thereof and the consequences of these population trends.

Demographic knowledge comes from numbers and is quantitative, while demographic methods are quantitative (Riley and McCarthy 2003:52). This article is a statistical case study of the human population of Soweto, which adds to the human and explanatory dimension of the quantitative research. Many demographic issues concern inequalities surrounding race, gender, sexuality and national origin (Riley and McCarthy 2003:81). These issues are often complicated by politics in South Africa. Demography is the study of the statistics of births, deaths, migration, diseases and perceptions to

illustrate the conditions of life in communities (Reader's Digest Oxford 1993). This succinct definition says what this report tries to achieve.

3. Research methodology

Soweto comprises of the former municipalities of Soweto, Dobsonville and Diepmeadow. Portions of these townships were not indicated on the maps obtained from these municipalities in 1993 (Mears and Levin 1994:6). Moreover, these and many recent informal settlements and backyard shacks are not shown on the 2008 maps. To obtain a representative sample of the area, aerial photos and stand or site maps were purchased from the City of Johannesburg. The Department of Economics and Econometrics stratified the sample to obtain a proportional coverage in terms of population. The demarcation was based on the types of accommodation in the entire area. The nature and/or density of housing were used as criteria to divide each township or suburb into homogenous parts or strata according to the type of housing. The stratification of the sample ensured that the total population and geographical area were covered. Soweto was divided into 238 blocks and 4 questionnaires were sampled in each block. This gives a survey size of 952 households.

The questionnaire was adapted from the one used in Soweto in 1993 (Mears and Levin 1994: annexure1). This was improved to enable the calculation of the poverty gap for each household in the sample. It was designed in conjunction with the Statistical Consultation Service (STATKON) of the University of Johannesburg. STATKON also captured and analysed the data and results, including figures and cross-tabulations. Ethical clearance for the project, including an informed consent form, was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Economic and Financial Sciences. After discarding one questionnaire there were 951 households with a survey population of 4581 people.

Senior students of the Economics Department at the Soweto Campus of the University of Johannesburg were used as fieldworkers. The project leaders provided group training to fieldworkers, which included field training to check how questionnaires were completed. A pilot study was also done prior to the survey and adjustments made to the questionnaire where necessary. The completed questionnaires were thoroughly checked by the lecturers who acted as supervisors. Problems could be discussed with the supervisors and all errors had to be corrected by the fieldworkers before the questionnaires were accepted. The questionnaires were completed between April and December 2008 (see Annexure 1). Some of the questionnaires of each fieldworker were checked to determine the accuracy of the fieldwork. Where errors occurred the questionnaires were corrected or resurveyed. The data can

therefore be considered reliable, because extensive precautions were taken to ensure that the questions were well understood before they were answered and recorded.

Students were trained to deal with refusals and in all cases substitute households in the same block were allocated. Most respondents co-operated willingly. Errors were followed up and corrected when they were discovered and fieldworkers strived to ensure the accuracy of the research. The political climate in Soweto was stable during the survey, as confirmed by the perceptions of the respondents in the next section.

4. Perceptions held by the respondents about their quality of life in Soweto

Table 1 shows that the respondents were often negative about the services available on their site. Of the 951 respondents, 224 described themselves as dissatisfied with the services while 132 were very dissatisfied. This means that 37.4 percent of participants were dissatisfied, 36.1 percent were satisfied with the services available on the site and 25.7 percent saw no change. Table 1 also shows that of the 951 respondents, 448 state that the streets are clean; while 256 respondents state that the streets are dirty or in a state of disrepair. This means that 47.1 percent of participants were satisfied while 26.9 percent of households were dissatisfied with the cleanliness of the streets. This was followed by the question about the effects of smoke, where 505 respondents or 53.2 percent were not or only slightly affected by smoke, while 287 or 30.2 percent were badly or severely affected by smoke. Most respondents were also not badly affected by dust, with 43.8 percent feeling that they were not or only slightly affected by dust, while 37.6 percent of respondents were badly or severely affected by dust. This is mainly the problem in informal areas where streets are not tarred and also in areas close to old mine dumps, which are badly affected, especially during strong winds (Survey data and observations during 21 years of working in Soweto).

Although many of the services are free or highly subsidised in areas of Soweto, many of the respondents are not satisfied with the quality of the services. The quality of the services can also differ significantly between areas. For example, not one of the services was available to some residents in Dlamini in 2008 (see questionnaires 406-409). In the Ezimbuzini squatter camp in Orlando-West they all shared one tap and there were no toilets or electricity (Respondent 785). Moreover, Respondent 517 stated that they share a toilet and tap in Orlando-East. Respondent 512 stated that they also share one toilet and one tap in the Coalfields squatter camp, while on one of these sites all three people worked and earned a combined income of R15 700 per month. One respondent stated that Sowetans who do not

have money for electricity or whose electricity is cut off often bridge the meter. Yet, seven respondents stated that they have flush toilets that were not working during the survey.

Table 1: Perceptions held by respondents about their quality of life in Soweto in 2008

Question & answers	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	Total
1. How clean are the streets?	Very good / clean		Good / clean		Average		Dirty / bad		Very bad / dirty		
Number and %	136	14.3	312	32.8	247	26.0	163	17.1	93	9.8	951
2. How affected is your household by smoke?	Not affected		Slightly		Average		Badly		Severely affected		
Number and %	301	31.7	204	21.5	157	16.5	227	23.9	60	6.3	951
3. How affected is your household by dust?	Not affected		Slightly		Average		Badly		Severely affected		
Number and %	190	20.0	227	23.9	170	17.9	280	29.4	78	8.2	951
4. How often in the past year have you experienced problems to satisfy the food needs of your household?	Never		Seldom		Sometimes		Often		Always		
Number and %	220	23.1	168	17.7	334	35.1	142	14.9	84	8.8	951
5. How does the economic situation of your household compare with a year ago?	Much better		Better		The same		Slightly worse		Much worse		
Number and %	48	5.0	186	19.6	275	28.9	177	18.6	255	26.8	951
6. How do you experience the safety in your area?	Very safe		Safe		Average		Unsafe		Very unsafe		
Number and %	65	6.8	255	26.8	260	27.3	280	29.4	90	9.5	951
7. How satisfied are you with the services available on the site?	Very satisfied		Satisfied		Neutral		Dissatisfied		Very dissatisfied		
Number and %	58	6.1	285	30.0	244	25.7	224	23.6	132	13.9	951
8. How does the overall economic situation of the community compare with a year ago?	Much better		Better		The same		Slightly worse		Much worse		
Number and %	22	2.3	170	17.9	404	42.5	140	14.7	214	22.5	951

Source: Survey data 2008

When asked what other services the households would like the following wish list with the number of respondents in brackets were given: Telkom phone (73), street lights (61), RDP house (51), a park (34), a school (20), a tarred road (20), a dustbin (15), shopping mall (15), a community hall (13), jobs (13), library (11), extra room(s) (10) and patrols or security (10). Other services desired include a stadium or sports ground (9), electricity (7), taxi rank (6) ATM (4), college (4), bank (4), recreation centre (3) and pre-school centre (3).

Respondents were asked how often in the recent past they had experienced problems to satisfy the food needs of their household. Of the 951 respondents 220 or 23.1 percent state that they never had this difficulty, while 334 or 35.1 percent of respondents sometimes had problems to satisfy the food needs of their households. Another 142 or 14.9 percent of the respondents often have this difficulty, while 84 reported that they always experience problems to provide food for their households. This is directly related to the fact that 40 percent of the workforce is unemployed and the high dependency ratio, especially in poorer families (see Tables 8, 9 and 12).

Table 1 shows that 33.6 percent of respondents perceive Soweto as safe or very safe, while 38.9 percent perceive it to be unsafe or very unsafe. While some areas are relatively safe, residents in informal settlements experience more problems. These perceptions show the displeasure of the sample population with their current situation.

A deep world recession was experienced in 2008, which also affected South Africa negatively. This is reflected in Questions 9.5 and 9.8 of the questionnaire. Question 9.5 asks how the economic situation of the household compares with a year ago, while 9.8 asks how the overall economic situation of the Soweto community compares with a year ago? Only 48 or 5 percent perceived the economic situation of their households as much better and 186 or 19.6 percent as better. In contrast 255 or 26.8 percent of the households see their economic position as much worse, 177 or 18.6 percent as slightly worse and 275 or 28.9 percent see it as the same as a year ago.

Table 1 shows that only 22 or 2.3 percent of respondents see the overall situation of the community in 2008 compared with 2007 as significantly better, 170 or 17.9 percent as better and 404 or 42.5 percent as the same or unchanged. In addition, 140 respondents or 14.7 percent perceived the position as slightly worse and 214 or 22.5 percent perceive it as much worse. This shows that more people in Soweto were optimistic than pessimistic about the living conditions in Soweto. As long as the unemployment rate and dependency ratio remain high, negative responses will reflect this perception by the poor and unemployed section. Table 1 gives a snapshot of how the respondents perceive their quality of life and general satisfaction with conditions and services in Soweto during the survey period in 2008.

5. Total population and urban characteristics of Soweto compared for 1993 and 2008

Table 2 shows that although the households surveyed increased by 151 or 18.9 percent, the number of persons increased by 384 persons or 9.1 percent. The smaller households increased, except for 5

persons per household, which decreased. The households with 8 persons or more decreased or stayed the same except for 10 persons per household that increased. The smaller household sizes is the reason why the average household size decreased from 5.25 in 1993 to 4.82 in 2008. The smaller household sizes in 2008 show the demographic change or positive development in Soweto since 1993.

Table 2: Number of persons or average household size in 1993 and 2008

Household size	1993			2008			Change in persons	% Change 1993-2008
	N	Persons	%	N	Persons	%		
1 person	11	11	1.4	39	39	4.1	28	254.5
2 persons	74	148	9.3	86	172	9.0	24	16.2
3 persons	111	333	13.9	169	507	17.8	174	52.3
4 persons	156	624	19.5	198	792	20.8	168	26.9
5 persons	148	740	18.5	140	700	14.7	-40	-5.4
6 persons	105	630	13.1	106	636	11.1	6.0	1.0
7 persons	65	455	8.1	110	770	11.6	315	69.2
8 persons	53	424	6.6	44	352	4.6	-72	-17.0
9 persons	25	225	3.1	25	225	2.6	0	0.0
10 persons	13	130	1.6	14	140	1.5	10	7.7
11 persons	22	242	2.8	10	110	1.1	-132	-54.5
12+ persons	17	235	2.1	10	138	1.0	-97	-41.3
Total	800	4197	100	951	4581	100	384	9.1

Source: Mears and Levin 1994:13; Survey data

Table 3 shows that there were 1.53 households per site in 1993 and that the density increased to 1.72 households per site in 2008. This shows that the scarcity of housing has increased in Soweto and that more shacks have been erected or that more households have moved into the existing housing. This may have an effect on the planning by the metropolitan municipality to limit the size of Soweto in future. If this trend continues, it may have an impact on the infrastructure if more households use a site, leading to pressure on the services, infrastructure and their maintenance. The number of structures per site increased from 1030 or 1.29 per site for the 800 household in 1993 to 1370 or 1.44 per site for the 951 households in 2008 (Mears and Levin 1994:14; Survey data 2008). This confirms the increase in density in Soweto, which leads to more congestion, loss in quality of life and cannot be seen as development in Soweto.

Although the number of persons increased from 5214 in 1993 to 5838 in 2008, the number of persons per site decreased from 6.52 for the 800 sites in 1993 to 6.12 per site for the 951 sites in 2008 (Mears and Levin 1994:11; Survey data 2008). This is in line with the decrease in household size, but not

sufficient to stop the increase in density in Soweto. This finding has policy implications for the development of Soweto and needs further investigation by the Metropolitan and Gauteng governments.

Table 3: Households per site in 1993 and 2008

Households (HH) per site	1993			2008			Change 1993 - 2008	
	N	%	HH x N	N	%	HH x N	persons	1993-2008
1	609	76.1	609	6.0	69.9	665	56	9.2
2	85	10.6	170	94	9.9	188	18	10.6
3	45	5.6	135	82	8.6	246	111	82.2
4	35	4.4	140	61	6.4	244	104	74.3
5	13	1.6	65	26	2.7	130	65	100
6	3.0	0.4	18	13	1.4	78	60	333.3
7	5.0	0.6	35	6.0	0.6	42	7.0	20
8	1.0	0.1	8.0	1.0	0.1	8.0	0	0
9	0	0	0	1.0	0.1	9.0	9.0	∞
10	2.0	0.3	20	0	0	0	-20	-100
11	2.0	0.3	22	2.0	0.2	22	0	0
Total	800	100	1222	951	100	1632	410	33.6

Source: Mears and Levin 1994:14; Survey data 2008

Of the 800 households 96 or 12 percent indicated that they owned another house or property in 1993. The areas where households owned property correlated with the origins of the respondents and 15 or 1.9 percent owned another house in Soweto (Mears and Levin 1993:25). In 2008 only 27 of the 951 households or 2.8 percent owned another house with 4 in Soweto. Therefore, only 23 or 2.4 percent in 2008, compared to 81 or 10.1 percent owned property at their areas of birth. This is a significant decrease which shows less firm ties with areas where migrants originated from.

The 951 households with a survey population of 4581 people give an average household size of 4.82 persons per household. Fifteen years earlier in 1993, the average household size was 5.25 persons per household for 800 households and 4197 people surveyed (Mears and Levin 1994:14). The decrease from an average of 5.25 persons in 1993 to 4.82 persons per household in 2008 or by 0.43 persons per household over the 15 years is an indication of the development in Soweto. Table 4 shows that the total

population was estimated at 1 134 153 people in 2008 compared to 888 212 in 1992 or a growth of 27.7 percent over the 16 year period (HSRC 1992; Mears and Levin 1994:9; Demographic Information Bureau and POPSA undated). The sample is therefore 0.4 percent of the total population, but considered as adequate for the purposes of this research.

Table 4 shows that Soweto’s population is projected to grow slightly over the next 9 years by 9668 people or 0.01 percent per annum. Soweto’s population is estimated to decrease by 8565 people or -0.01 percent over the period 2017 to 2026. Meadowland’s population is expected to grow slightly, while Diepkloof’s and Soweto’s populations are expected to decrease and stagnate during the period 2008 to 2026. Although

Table 4: Soweto population and projections compared with other towns in the City of Johannesburg for the period 2008 to 2026

Area	2008	2017	% growth	2026	% growth
Diepkloof	96,772	85,287	-0.13	73,728	-0.16
Meadowlands	154,694	172,965	0.11	189,797	0.09
Soweto	882,687	885,569	0.00	871,731	-0.02
Greater Soweto total	1,134,153	1,143,821	0.01	1,135,256	-0.01
City of Johannesburg Metro	4,066,214	5,671,620	0.28	8,560,606	0.34
Diepsloot	93,371	203,721	0.54	436,809	0.53
Midrand	102,912	293,084	0.65	820,665	0.64
Vlakfontein	14,014	56,861	0.75	226,982	0.75
Zandspruit	21,973	66,995	0.67	200,864	0.67
Zevenfontein	21,106	66,168	0.68	203,988	0.68

Source: Demographic Information Bureau and POPSA undated document

the projections show a sharp increase in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan area’s population, the contribution of Greater Soweto to this total is projected to decrease from 39 percent in 1996 to 27.9 percent in 2008, 20.2 percent in 2017 and 13.3 percent in 2026. This is mainly due to the much higher growth rates expected in Diepsloot, Midrand, Vlakfontein, Zandspruit and Zevenfontein. These projections show that Soweto has reached its capacity, while no future growth is planned or expected. This shows that political decisions can influence demographic changes even more than economic aspects.

Table 5 shows that the government built or RDP housing increased from 47 percent in 1993 to 60.6 percent of the total housing in 2008. This gives an indication of the large number of RDP houses built

since 1993. Semi-detached houses were also provided by the government consisting of 2 or 3 units under the same roof before 1994. Semi-detached houses decreased from 34 percent in 1993 to 4.1

Table 5: Categories of housing in Soweto compared for 1993 and 2008

Type of housing	1993		2008	
	N	%	N	%
1 Formal scheme housing (RDP)	520	47	576	60.6
2 Individual designed	78	12	62	6.5
3 Site and services	-	-	128	13.5
4 Semi-detached	117	34	39	4.1
5 Informal housing	85	7.0	142	14.9
6 Not recorded/missing	-	-	4.0	0.4
Total	800	100	951	100

Source: Mears and Levin 1994:11; Survey data 2008

percent of the total housing in 2008. In total, all government housing decreased from 81 percent in 1993 to 64.7 percent in 2008. Individually designed housing and site and services only are grouped together because respondents design their own houses. These categories of housing increased from 12 percent in 1993 to 20 percent in 2008. This shows that privately built housing has increased over the last 15 years. Informal housing is also provided privately, although owners pay nothing or very little for the site and services. This has more than doubled from 7 percent in 1993 to 14.9 percent in 2008. This shows that the government's share in providing houses is decreasing, which is a step in the right direction and an indication of the economic development in Soweto.

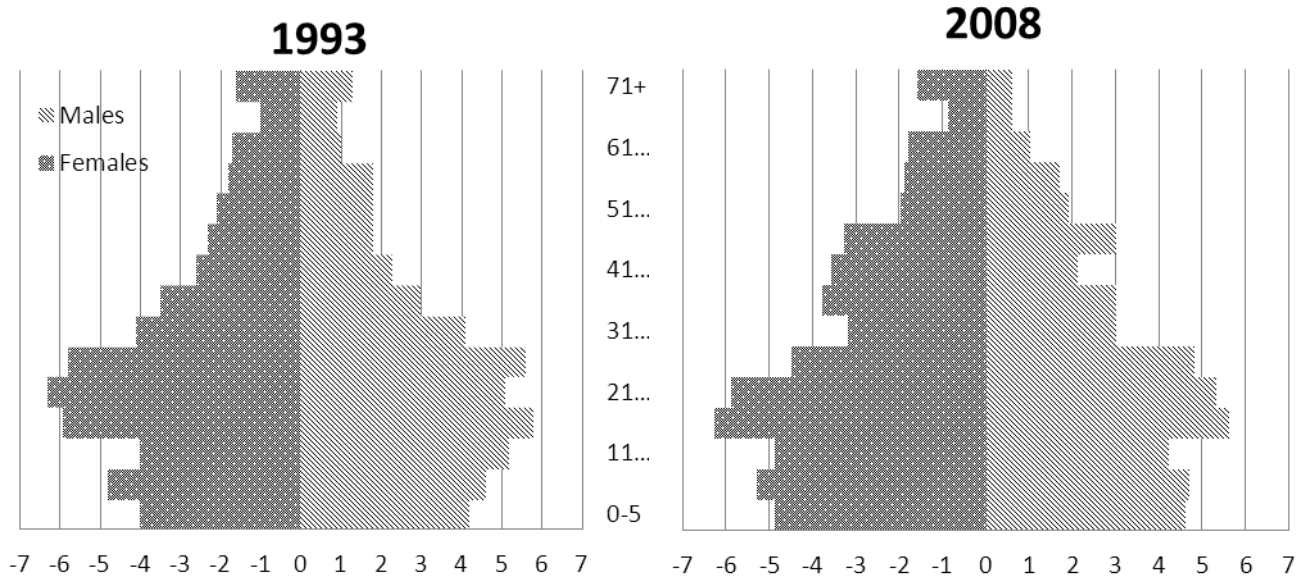
Table 6 and Figure 1 shows the age and gender profile of Soweto in 1993 and 2008. It shows that the percentage of males decreased from 48.5 in 1993 to 46 in 2008, while that of females increased from 51.5 in 1993 to 53.9 in 2008. For males this decrease is most obvious in the age categories 11-15, 31-35 and 71 and older, while for females the change is most obvious in the age categories 11-15, 41-45 and 46 to 50. Although the exact reason for this demographic change is not clear, it is a significant change of 2.4 percent over the 15 year period. This is not clearly supported by the findings in Table 7, except for sons that decreased sharply by 5.1 percent. Other members of households increased sharply by 6.1 percent, but this figure included both males and females. This shows that households and families are not the same, but that households is an economic unit. Non-family members join a household and contribute to the budget, mainly because it is economically feasible to do so in today's world. Many of these households consist of extended families with three generations in the same household.

Table 6: Comparison of age and gender profiles in Soweto for 1993 and 2008

1993				2008		
Age	%	%	Total	%	%	Total
Category	Males	Females	N	Males	Females	N
0-5	4.2	4.0	344	4.6	4.9	435
6-10	4.6	4.8	395	4.7	5.3	455
11-15	5.2	4.0	389	4.2	4.9	415
16-20	5.8	5.9	491	5.6	6.3	548
21-25	5.1	6.3	479	5.3	5.9	508
26-30	5.6	5.8	479	4.8	4.5	430
31-35	4.1	4.1	343	3.0	3.2	284
36-40	3.0	3.5	272	3.0	3.8	313
41-45	2.3	2.6	204	2.1	3.6	259
46-50	1.8	2.3	171	3.0	3.3	291
51-55	1.8	2.1	162	1.9	2.0	179
56-60	1.8	1.8	153	1.7	1.9	167
61-65	1.0	1.7	116	1.0	1.8	125
66-70	0.9	1.0	79	0.6	0.9	71
71+	1.3	1.6	120	0.6	1.6	101
Total	48.5	51.5	4197	46.1	53.9	4581

Source: Mears and Levin 1994:17; Survey data 2008

Figure 1: Population pyramid comparing the Soweto population by age and gender in 1993 and 2008



Source: Mears and Levin 1994: 18; Survey data 2008

The population pyramid for 1993 shows that the population growth rate decreased during the previous 15 years. This is confirmed by the enrolment figures of pupils in Grade 1 to 7 which were less than for Grade 8 to 12 (Mears and Levin 1994:18-19). This pyramid shows a definite narrowing of the base, which confirms the decrease in the birth rate.

Table 7: Status of household members in Soweto in 1993 and 2008

Status of member	1993			2008		
	Frequency	% of N	% of HH	Frequency	% of N	% of HH
1 Father	527	12,6	65.9	529	11.7	55.6
2 Mother	694	16,5	86.8	698	15.4	73.4
3 Son	1051	25,0	131.3	902	19.9	94.8
4 Daughter	1024	24,4	128.0	948	21.0	99.7
5 Grandfather	16	0,4	2.0	20	0.4	2.1
6 Grandmother	55	1,3	6.9	63	1.4	6.6
7 Grandson	309	7,4	38.6	403	8.9	42.4
8 Granddaughter	304	7,2	38.0	414	10.0	43.5
9 Other	217	5,2	27.1	508	11.3	53.4
Total percentage		100	524.6		100	472.5
Total members and HHs	N=4197		800	N=4581		951

Source: Mears and Levin 1994:16; Survey data 2008

Table 7 shows that almost 66 percent of households had a father and 87 percent had a mother in 1993. This has decreased to 56 percent fathers and 73 percent mothers in 2008. The numbers of sons and daughters per household have also decreased in 2008, while grandsons, granddaughters and other members of households have increased. Although most households comprise of natural families, the definition was designed primarily to obtain information on socio-economic relationships and not family size.

6. Comparison of education and employment status in Soweto for 1993 and 2008

Table 8 shows a comparison of the education and employment status for 1993 and 2008. It shows that there was a significant decrease in the number of the formally employed population with qualifications below Grade 12, while the numbers increased for those with a Grade 12 or higher qualification. In the case of the economically non-active population, the people with qualifications below Grade 12 increased, while there was a sharp decrease in those with a Grade 12 and higher qualification. This shows that there is a direct correlation between the economic activity and the education level.

Table 8: Cross-tabulation of employment status and education levels in Soweto in 1993 and 2008

Qualifications	Formally employed		Informally active		Unemployed		Economically non-active		Total population	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1993										
No-Education	21	4	11	2.1	30	5.7	464	88.2	526	12.5
Grade 1-7	186	15.4	41	3.4	182	15.1	794	66.0	1203	28.7
Grade 8-11	461	28.1	95	5.8	410	25.0	676	41.1	1642	39.1
Grade 12+	381	46.1	37	4.5	156	18.9	252	30.5	826	19.7
Total	1049	25.0	184	4.4	778	18.5	2186	52.1	4197	100
2008										
No-Education	9	1.5	6	1	18	3.0	567	94.5	600	13.1
Grade 1-7	72	7.0	36	3.5	87	8.4	840	81.1	1035	22.6
Grade 8-11	269	20.3	90	6.8	338	25.4	631	47.5	1328	29.0
Grade 12+	776	48.0	84	5.2	462	28.5	296	18.3	1618	35.3
Total	1126	24.6	216	4.7	905	19.8	2334	50.9	4581	100

Source: Dladla, Mears and Levin 1994: 18-19; Survey data 2008

Table 8 shows that the main reason for the increase in the participation rate in the labour force is the sharp increase in education during the period 1993 to 2008. During this period the education level of the formally employed increased significantly, especially in the higher education categories. For example, it increased from 46.1 percent in 1993 to 48 percent in 2008 for those workers with Grade 12 or higher, while it decreased from 15.4 percent in 1993 to 7 percent for workers with Grade 1-7. The same trend occurred in the unemployed and to a lesser extent for the informally active workers. However, the economically non-active population increased from 88.2 percent in 1993 to 94.5 percent in 2008 for the people with no education and from 66 percent to 81.1 percent for those with Grade 1-7. The category Grade 12 or higher decreased from 30.5 to 18.3 percent in the same period for the economically non-active. The low education level is the main reason why these people cannot find employment and why such a large number of people are dependent on state transfers to alleviate poverty.

In total the people with no education increased from 12.5 percent in 1993 to 13.1 percent in 2008, while it decreased for those with Grade 1-7 from 28.7 percent in 1993 to 22.5 percent in 2008. In the category Grade 12 and higher the total increased from 19.7 percent in 1993 to 35.4 percent in 2008, which shows a significant improvement or development in the education level in Soweto. However, the quality and standard of many Grade 12 qualifications are much lower now than in 1993.

The economically non-active categories increased except for Grade 12 and higher. This shows that the position of this 50.9 percent of the sample population has deteriorated over the last 15 years, mainly due to their poor education.

Table 9: Education levels in 1993 compared with 2008 by employment status

Categories/ levels	Formally employed		Informally active		Unem- ployed		Economically non-active		Totals 2008		Totals 1993	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
None	9	1.5	6	1.0	17	2.8	565	94.6	597	13	526	12.5
Grade 1	7	5.2	2	1.5	1	0.7	125	92.6	135	2.9	118	2.8
Grade 2	1	0.9	1	0.9	3	2.8	104	95.4	109	2.4	119	2.8
Grade 3	4	3.8	2	1.9	4	3.8	96	90.6	106	2.3	128	3.1
Grade 4	12	7.7	4	2.6	10	6.5	129	83.2	155	3.4	148	3.5
Grade 5	5	3.4	5	3.4	14	9.7	121	83.4	145	3.2	163	3.9
Grade 6	14	7.9	9	5.1	24	13.5	131	73.6	178	3.9	197	4.7
Grade 7	28	14.1	12	6.0	29	14.6	131	65.3	200	4.3	330	7.9
Grade 8	54	18.5	16	5.5	63	21.6	159	54.5	292	6.4	442	10.5
Grade 9	28	15.4	16	8.8	50	27.5	88	48.4	182	4.0	326	7.8
Grade 10	100	8.8	40	9.0	104	11.5	199	45.0	443	9.7	542	12.9
Grade 11	87	21.0	19	4.6	122	29.4	187	45.1	415	9.1	332	7.9
Grade 12	510	40.4	72	5.7	420	33.2	261	20.7	1263	27.6	622	14.8
Diploma	183	71.8	11	4.3	38	14.9	23	9.0	255	5.6	137	3.3
Degree	60	73.2	1	1.2	6	7.3	15	18.3	82	1.8	56	1.3
Postgrad	24	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	24	0.5	11	0.3
Total	1126	24.6	216	4.7	905	19.8	2334	50.9	4581	100	4197	100
1993	1079	25.7	189	4.5	818	19.5	2111	50.3	4197	100		

Dladla, Mears and Levin 1994:18-19; Survey data 2008

Although Table 8 gives a good summary, Table 9 gives a clearer picture of the changes in education for each employment status or activity group in Soweto. Unfortunately only the totals are comparable with 1993. It shows that the percentage of people with Grade 1 to 6 was much lower than those in the category 7 to 12 in 1993. This means that the education level had already increased significantly by 1993 and that this development had improved further by 2008, especially for Grade 12 and higher. The fact that the economically non-active decreased from 52.1 percent to 50.9 percent and the unemployed increased from 19.5 to 19.8 percent during the period 1993 to 2008, shows that the quality of life of over 70 percent of the total population have not improved.

Table 10: Economically active sample population by sector for 1993 and 2008

Years, numbers and percentage	1993		2008	
	N	%	N	%
Sectors				
Agriculture	6	0.5	14	1.1
Mining, quarrying	27	2.1	13	1.0
Manufacturing	210	16.5	123	9.3
Electricity, water, gas	60	4.7	64	4.9
Construction	48	3.8	63	4.8
Commerce and accommodation	247	19.4	-	-
Wholesale, retail, trade, catering	-	-	233	17.7
Transport, storage, communication	110	8.6	140	10.6
Financing, insurance, real estate	108	8.5	116	8.8
Community, social or personal services	220	17.3	353	26.8
Informal activity	147	11.5	196	14.9
Unspecified	91	7.1	3	0.2
Total	1274	100.0	1318	100.0

Source: Mears, Levin and Pieterse 1994:22; Survey data 2008

7. Income, expenditure and poverty in Soweto in 2008 compared to 1993

Table 11: Total and average income in Soweto per Quintile in 2008

Totals 2008							
Totals	Income Y	Expenditure E	Y-E	MLL	Y-MLL	E-MLL	Old age pension
Quintile 1	232408	360595	-128187	389966	-157558	-29371	77
Quintile 2	495333	396267	99066	421905	73428	-25638	68
Quintile 3	855849	565012	290837	465653	390196	99359	57
Quintile 4	1444576	867799	576777	479694	964882	388105	49
Quintile 5	3153095	1518514	1634581	472427	2680668	1046087	35
Totals	6181261	3708187	2473074	2229645	3951616	1478542	286
1993	1239982	741635	498347	-	-	-	-
Averages 2008							Child grants
Quintile 1	1217	1888	-671	2042	-825	-154	145
Quintile 2	2607	2086	521	2221	386	-135	154
Quintile 3	4504	2974	1531	2451	2054	523	175
Quintile 4	7603	4567	3036	2525	5078	2043	136
Quintile 5	16595	7992	8603	4286	14109	5506	62
Averages	*6500	3899	2600	2345	4155	4555	672
1993	1694	840	854	-	-	-	-

Source: Mears, Levin and Pieterse 1994:19; Survey data 2008

* Averages do not add up to the total.

Table 10 shows that while mining and quarrying decreased, agricultural workers in Soweto increased slightly in the primary sector. In the secondary sector manufacturing decreased sharply, while construction increased. The tertiary sector shows a growth in all the comparable categories with community, social and personal services showing the highest growth. The unspecified section decreased sharply showing that this question was better understood or answered in 2008.

Table 11 shows the total and average income, expenditure and minimum living levels per quintile in 2008 for the 951 households surveyed. The first quintile has 191 households and the next four 190 each. Only the total and averages are shown because the table of 951 households is too lengthy to include with 21 pages of 47 rows each, even in an appendix. The table shows that the average expenditure in the first quintile is R671 more than the income. Therefore, they had higher average expenditures than their incomes, showing that they dissaved or used other means to survive. Using the minimum living levels (MLL) minus expenditure shows that Quintiles 1 and 2 were negative, which indicate that 40 percent of the population lived on an income below their MLL in 2008 (see Annexure 2 for the calculation of the MLL). The high poverty level is another reason why females have to work to increase the household income. This has contributed to the participation rate of females in Soweto in the labour market as is the case with all the race groups in South Africa. Comparable figures for minimum living level (MLL) figures were not done in 1993, while only the total and average figures can be compared.

Table 11 shows that the average income increased from R1694 per household in 1993 to R6500 in 2008, that is by 383.7 percent in 15 years. The average expenditure increased from R840 to R3899 during the same period or by 464.2 percent. The income minus expenditure increased from R854 to R2600 or by 304.4 percent, which means that less was available to consume and save in 2008. This shows that the cost of living increased more than the income over this period, which affected the poor more adversely than the rich.

Table 12 shows that income was only recorded for households in 1993, but per household member in 2008. The same figure for expenditure was used for the income of the household that is all households had an income in 1993, while many household members had no income in 2008. The fact that the income increased by 383.7 percent during the period 1993 to 2008 makes comparisons per income category impossible. While all households received an income in 1993, 45.2 percent of the household

Table 12: Comparison of income categories by type of economic activity for 1993 and 2008

Income Category	Formally employed		Informally active		Unemployed		Economically non-active		Total			
									N		%	
	1993	2008	1993	2008	1993	2008	1993	2008	1993	2008	1993	2008
0	0	3	0	1	0	821	0	1244	0	2069	0	45.2
1 -250	1	6	0	2	10	14	0	668	11	710	1,4	15.5
251-500	0	6	14	14	31	21	24	21	69	62	8,6	1.4
501-750	14	18	10	27	27	5	23	27	74	77	9,3	1.7
751-1 000	29	29	7	34	51	24	26	263	113	350	14,1	7.6
1 001-1 250	35	24	4	14	26	5	19	23	84	66	10,5	1.4
1 251-1 500	28	61	6	19	33	2	27	23	94	105	11,8	2.3
1 501-1 750	23	28	2	5	12	2	14	11	51	46	6,4	1
1 751-2 000	22	110	6	21	23	4	8	19	59	154	7,4	3.4
2 001-2 250	22	27	2	4	10	1	15	4	49	36	6,1	0.8
2 251-2 500	33	73	3	7	8	3	16	5	60	88	7,5	1.9
2 501-2 750	10	19	1	4	3	0	2	1	16	24	2,0	0.5
2 750-3 000	24	113	3	14	3	1	7	3	37	131	4,6	2.9
3 001-3 250	5	20	0	0	1	0	1	1	7	21	0,9	0.5
3 251-3 500	11	43	0	9	3	0	7	0	21	52	2,6	1.1
3 501-3 750	6	19	0	1	1	0	0	1	7	21	0,9	0.5
3 751-4 000	7	79	1	8	2	0	4	0	14	87	1,8	1.9
4 001-4 250	3	15	0	0	0	0	2	0	5	15	0,6	0.3
4 251-4 500	3	38	0	6	1	0	1	0	5	44	0,6	1
4 501-4 750	4	9	0	1	0	0	1	0	5	10	0,6	0.2
4 751-5 000	4	55	0	4	1	0	0	0	5	59	0,6	1.3
5 001-6 000	9	86	0	4	1	0	4	0	14	90	1,8	2.0
6 001-7 000		57		2		0		0		59		1.3
7 001-8 000		63		5		1		0		69		1.5
8 001-9 000		36		1		0		0		37		0.8
9 001-10 000		28		7		1		0		36		0.8
10 001-15 000		43		1		0		0		44		1
15 001+		18		1		0		0		19		0.4
Total HH	293		59		274		201		800	951	100	100
Total	1049	1126	184	216	778	905	2186	2334	4197	4581	100	100

Source: Mears, Levin and Pieterse 1994:24; Survey data

members received no income at all in 2008. Although incomes increased in real terms in Soweto since 1993, the increases are not high and only 19 households received more than R15 001 per month in 2008. Therefore, the high female participation rate is part of the development process and a combination of many factors. The higher education leads to higher wages, which again leads to better employment opportunities and higher demand for luxury goods and services.

Table 12 shows that 45.2 percent of the total population received no income in 2008. The majority of the 15.5 percent received the child grant of R220 per month in the second category and the same is true for the 7.6 percent who received old age or disability grants of R980 in Category 5 in 2008. This shows that 26.2 percent of the total population received less than R1001 in 2008. If it was not for the government transfers of 286 old age and disability pensions and 672 child grants, nearly 70 percent would not have received any income. This shows the high dependency ratio and the extent of poverty

Table 13: Comparison of income categories by gender in Soweto for 1993 and 2008

Income categories		2008						1993	
Monthly	Annually	Male		Female		Total		Total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
0	0	912	43.2	1157	46.9	2069	45.2		
1-250	1-3 000	335	27,9	375	28,6	710	28,3	11	1,4
251-500	3 001-6 000	25	2,1	37	2,8	62	2,5	69	8,6
501-750	6 000-9 000	31	2,6	46	3,5	77	3,1	74	9,3
751-1 000	9 001-12 000	127	10,6	223	17,0	350	13,9	113	14,1
1 001-1 250	12 001-15 000	24	2,0	42	3,2	66	2,6	84	10,5
1 251-1 500	15 001-18 000	42	3,5	63	4,8	105	4,2	94	11,8
1 501-1 750	18 001-21 000	18	1,5	28	2,1	46	1,8	51	6,4
1 751-2 000	21 001-24 000	86	7,2	68	5,2	154	6,1	59	7,4
2 001-2 250	24 001-27 000	20	1,7	16	1,2	36	1,4	49	6,1
2 251-2 500	27 001-30 000	44	3,7	44	3,4	88	3,5	60	7,5
5 501-2 750	30 001-33 000	13	1,1	11	0,8	24	1,0	16	2,0
2 751-3 000	33 001-36 000	71	5,9	60	4,6	131	5,2	37	4,6
3 001-3 250	36 001-39 000	12	1,0	9	0,7	21	0,8	7	0,9
3 251-3 500	39 001-42 000	23	1,9	29	2,2	52	2,1	21	2,6
3 501-3 750	42 001-45 000	11	0,9	10	0,8	21	0,8	7	0,9
3 751-4 000	45 001-48 000	50	4,2	37	2,8	87	3,5	14	1,8
4 001-4 250	48 001-51 000	11	0,9	4	0,3	15	0,6	5	0,6
4 251-4 500	51 001-54 000	22	1,8	22	1,7	44	1,8	5	0,6
4 501-4 750	54 001-57 000	4	0,3	6	0,5	10	0,4	5	0,6
4 751-5 000	57 001-60 000	33	2,8	26	2,0	59	2,3	5	0,6
5 001-6 000	60 001-72 000	48	4,0	42	3,2	90	3,6	14	1,8
6 001-7 000	72 001-84 000	24	2,0	35	2,7	59	2,3		
7 001-8 000	84 001-96 000	31	2,6	38	2,9	69	2,7		
8 001-9 000	96 001-108 000	24	2,0	13	1,0	37	1,5		
9 001-10 000	108 001-120 000	31	2,6	5	0,4	36	1,4		
10 001-15 000	120 001-180 000	28	2,3	16	1,2	44	1,8		
15 000+	180 001+	12	1,0	7	0,5	19	0,8		
Percentages of total		2112	46.1	2469	53.9	4581	100	800	100

Source: Mears, Levin and Pieterse 1994:24; Survey data 2008

in Soweto. Of the 905 unemployed people, 821 received no income at all that shows how small the safety net is for this group. Few unemployed people are able to find temporary employment and income or qualify for unemployment insurance. Except for transfers from government, very few of the economically non-active population receive an income and only 15 of the 2334 receive more than R2000 per month in 2008.

Table 13 confirms that 80 percent of the sample population received less than R1001 per month and nearly half no income at all. There were 1 200 males and 1 312 females who received an income in 2008.

Except for those who received no income the income category 0 to 250 is by far the largest, because 335 boys and 375 girls received income here. Most of these income earners received R220 per month for the child grant as explained above. The second highest income category was 751 to 1 000, where many of the 127 males and 223 females received the old age or disability pensions of R980 per month. This shows that over 40 percent of the income earners in Soweto receive transfers from the government. Excluding these numbers Table 13 shows that 738 or 34.9 percent males and 714 or 28.9 percent females receive a monthly income. This shows that a lower percentage of women than men were employed, but no comparable data is available for 1993 to show the change in the participation rate. The fact that discriminations based on gender has been addressed, especially since 1994 has contributed to a higher participation rate of woman.

8 Mobility in and migration to Soweto

The pattern of unequal population and income distribution makes spatial mobility inevitable. The growing horizontal and vertical mobility of the population affect the urban infrastructure adversely. Many of the black families in the outer periphery have not yet migrated, because of a combination of difficulties that control or hamper migration, the system of temporary labour migration and the system of land tenure that permits a large number of households to retain access to land simply by virtue of continuous occupation (Giliomee and Schlemmer 1985:336-338). This has changed significantly in Soweto as discussed in Section 4. Although influx control has been abolished, there are many other constraints, such as distance, lack of housing and services that still make migration difficult for many families.

Empirical evidence shows that 55 percent of all migrants and 97 percent of those born in the rural areas migrated directly from the rural areas to Gauteng (Kok, Hofmeyr and Gelderblom 1985:56). There is little indication of gradual or stepwise migration and Gauteng is regarded by most migrants as the final

or only destination. This is confirmed by the demographic characteristics of the Soweto population in 1993 (Mears and Levin 1994:24). Of the 800 respondents 443 or 55.3 percent migrated directly to Soweto, while 50 or 6.3 percent moved twice. The straight line or single migration shows the absence of progressive or stepwise migration in most cases. Migration from the rural areas is important for the survival of many households and not a matter of choice (May and Nattrass 1986:25). The productive base of the peripheral rural areas has been decreased significantly due to the migrant labour system and the high migration rate since the 1990s

8.1 Preferred destinations of respondents and mobility in Soweto.

Question 16 asks respondents “If you were able to buy another house, where would you like to live?” This question explains the perceptions or desires to move in and migrate from Soweto. Although many respondents wanted to move to and from Soweto, most respondents saw this as a wish list of where they want to stay. Respondents expressed their desire to stay in the following suburbs in Soweto. The number of respondents who wish to stay in a suburb is given in brackets. The suburbs include Diepkloof (37), Dobsonville (26), Protea (22), Soweto (20), Naturena (10), Thulani (9), Naledi (8), Devland (7), Klipspruit and Braamfisherville (6 each), Pimville and Chiawelo (5 each), Lenasia and Doornkop (4 each), Bassonia, Orlando, Rockville and Zondi (3 each), Tsepisong, Nancefield, Mofolo and Mondeor (2 each) and Senoane, Dube, Gardens, Phiri, Zola and Powerpark (1 each). This shows that most of the respondents that chose Soweto selected the affluent suburbs, while many of these people stay in informal or older areas of Soweto.

Many respondents chose a town near Soweto or in the Gauteng Province. The first batch is a real wish-list and includes the most expensive suburbs, which they cannot afford. These towns or suburbs include Johannesburg (40), Sandton (33), Tshwane or Pretoria (12), Gauteng (7), Houghton, Florida and Lenasia (5 each), mainly because of its proximity to Soweto. In addition 4 respondents chose Randburg, Roodepoort, Fourways and Rosebank. Other Gauteng towns or suburbs include Kyalami, Thembisa, Kempton Park, Northcliff, Sophiatown, Ormonde and Newtown (3 each), Centurion, Germiston, Edenvale, Midrand, Yeoville, Alexandra, Bedfordview, Gold Reef City and Newlands (2 each). Finally, one respondent each chose Orange Farm, Nigel, Alberton, Vosloorus, Brits, Sebokeng, Vereeniging, Southgate, Shoshanguwe, Hammanskraal, Meredale, Glenridge, Malvern, Mulbarton, Bryanston, Krugersdorp, Riviera in Houghton, Benoni, Glenvista, Yeoville, Auckland Park, Mayfair and Winchester Hill in Gauteng.

After Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal was the most popular province and many respondents chose the largest towns. Many chose the town from where they migrated to Soweto. The destinations include Durban (18), Kwazulu-Natal (KZN) (16) Dundee (12), Pietermaritzburg (5), Richards Bay (3), Ulundi (2), Phoenix (2) and one each chose Eshowe, Umlazi, Ladysmith, Newcastle and Elangeni. Although KZN is not a town, this was the preferred destination of the respondents. In addition, 31 respondents expressed their desire to live in Mpumalanga (10), Witbank (5), Nelspruit (5), Ermelo (2) and one each in Kwa-Ndebele, Middelburg, Dennilton and Standerton. This was followed by the Western Cape with 23 households of which 22 wanted to live in Cape Town and one in George.

Moreover, 20 households expressed their desire to live in the Limpopo Province (9) in Venda (5), Malumalele (2), and one each in Lebowakgomo, Makopane, Thohoyandou and Polokwane. A further 11 households chose the Eastern Cape with Port Elizabeth (3), two each in Transkei, East London and Mount Frere and one each in Queenstown and Umtata. In the Orange Free State 8 respondents chose Bloemfontein and one Kwa-Ndebele. Finally, in the North Western Province only one respondent each chose Potchefstroom and Mafikeng as a destination where they would like to live.

8.2 Migration to Soweto

Question 21 enquires about the movement history of the people to Soweto. The first part of the question asks where the members of households were born and the second asks where their last move was from. Question 23 records the stepwise migration to Soweto. Because these two questions handle virtually the same data, they are discussed together. Of the sample population 1068 members or 23.3 percent migrated to Soweto. The largest number of 297 household members moved to Soweto from within Gauteng, followed by 186 from KwaZulu-Natal, 150 from Limpopo, 97 from Mpumalanga, 96 from the Eastern Cape and 81 from the Free State. In addition 60 respondents moved to Soweto from the North-Western Province, 37 from the Western Cape, 22 from the Northern Cape, 17 from Mozambique, 16 from Lesotho, 5 from Swaziland and one each from Botswana, Ghana, Malawi and Namibia.

In 1993 migration was only measured for the respondents, which showed that 307 or 38.4 percent of the 800 were born in Soweto. A further 443 or 55.3 percent moved directly to Soweto as discussed in Section 8. Another 50 respondents or 6.3 percent moved twice during their migration to Soweto. The reason why only 38.4 percent of the respondents, compared to 2935 or 70 percent of the total population were born in Soweto, were that the respondents were mostly elderly people or the heads of

households (Mears and Levin 1994:21+24). In comparison 3513 or 76.7 percent of the total 2008 population were born in Soweto.

Further comparisons between 1993 and 2008 are not possible, because the names of provinces and towns have changed. For example, in 1993 most migrants migrated to Soweto from the former Transvaal, which now include Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and the North West Provinces. It was therefore decided to present mobility in and migration to Soweto in paragraph form.

Of the 297 respondents of the sample population who moved to Soweto from within Gauteng, 138 came from Johannesburg, 61 from the East Rand, 46 from the West Rand, 35 from Pretoria and 17 from the Vaal region. The movement from Johannesburg included 45 respondents from Alexandra, 25 from Sophiatown, 13 from Sandton, 10 from Lenasia, 9 from the former Western Native Township, 6 from Newclare, 4 each from Houghton and Johannesburg, 3 from Alberton, 2 each from Malvern, Northcliff and Randburg and one each from Southdale, Phomolong, Crown Mines, Fordsburg, Meredale, Booyens, New Canada, Kelvin, Braamfontein, Sunninghill, Newlands, Fourways and Heidelberg.

The respondents who moved from towns in the East Rand (5) also included 7 each from Springs and Katlehong, 6 each from Benoni, Edenvale and Germiston, 4 from Thembisa, 3 each from Vosloorus and Kwa-Thema and 2 each from Boksburg, Daveton and Kempton Park.

From the West Rand (6) respondents moved to Soweto including, 14 from Kagiso, 12 from Roodepoort, 8 from Krugersdorp, 5 from Randfontein and one from Leratong. The 35 people who moved to Soweto from Pretoria (4) also came from Midrand (10), Mamelodi (8), 4 each from Centurion and Mabopane, 2 each from Shoshanguve and GaRankuwa and one from Menlyn. Finally, the migration from the Vaal region (7) also included 4 respondents each from Sebokeng and Orange Farm and one each from Evaton and Sasolburg.

The second largest migration of 186 respondents to Soweto was from KwaZulu-Natal (16) and also included 27 people from Newcastle, 10 from Durban, 9 each from Empangeni and Pietermaritzburg, 8 from Bergville, 7 from Mkandla and 6 from Mgungundlovu. In addition, 5 respondents each came from Vryheid, Ulundi, Richards Bay, Nquthu, Ladysmith and Dundee, 4 each from Estcourt, Josini, Mzinkulu, Mount Ayliff, Cala and Umlazi, 3 each from Mongoma, Pongola, Mnambithi, Matatiele, Mkuze, Mondla and Umhlanga, 2 each from Hluhluwe, Singtop, Monolo, Komani and KwaMhlanga

and lastly one each from Howick, Margate, Ezibayeni, Umsinga, Hammersdale, Tugela Ferry, Nondweni, Eshowe, Harding, Paul Pietersburg, Mthubathuba and Hlabisa.

The third largest migration to Soweto was from the Limpopo Province (9) with 150 people. In addition, 32 people came from Venda, 21 from Pietersburg or Polokwane, 19 from Musina, 13 from Bushbuckridge, 12 from Tzaneen, 9 each from Thohoyandou and Malumalele, 8 from Giyane, 4 from Vuyane, 3 each from Tafelkop and Louis Trichardt, 2 each from Seshego and GaSekukuni and one each from Naboomspruit, Phalaborwa, Mavumbuka and Mokopane.

Another 97 respondents migrated to Soweto from Mpumalanga (10) including 14 from Mbombela (Nelspruit), 10 from Secunda, 8 from Ermelo, 7 from eMalahleni (Witbank), 6 each from Carolina and Middelburg, 5 from Dennilton, 4 each from Standerton, Piet Retief, Bethal and Balfour, 3 from Komatipoort, 2 from KwaNyamazane and one each from Amersfoort, Volksrust, Leslie, Belfast, Vryheid, Malalane, Lydenburg and Sabie.

A further 96 people migrated to Soweto from the Eastern Cape (16). Another 12 came from Mount Frere, 10 from the former Transkei, 9 from Idutywa, 8 from Umtata, 6 from Willowvale, 5 from Butterworth, 4 each from Lusikisiki and East London, 3 each from Port Elizabeth, Queenstown and Matatiele, 2 each from Whittlesea, Herschel and Ciskei and one each from King William's Town, Mzimkulu, Lady Frere, Mount Ayliff, Komani, Kofimvaba and Bizana.

In addition, 81 people migrated to Soweto from the Free State (12). Another 15 respondents came from Bloemfontein, 13 from QwaQwa, 9 from Bethlehem, 6 from Harrismith, 4 from Welkom, 3 each from Reitz, Parys and Vredefort, 2 each from Memel, Senekal, Phutaditjaba and KwaNdebele and one each from Vrede, Petrus Steyn, Fouriesburg, Zastron and Tweeling.

The number of migrants from the North Western Province (11) to Soweto was the 7th largest with 60 people. In addition to those who did not give the name of the town, 18 people came from Mafikeng, 11 from Rustenburg, 5 each from Taung and Brits, 4 from Klerksdorp, 2 from Zeerust and one each from Potchefstroom, Schweizer Reneke, Tsepisong and Joubertina.

The second smallest migration to Soweto was from the Western Cape (14) with 37 people. In addition 16 came from Cape Town, 3 from Gugulethu and one each from Worcester, Fish Hoek, Khayalitsha

and Mitchell's Plain. Finally, the smallest number of migrants was from the Northern Cape (13) with 22 people. In addition to this 6 came from Kimberley, 2 from Kuruman and one from Nababeep.

The international migration to Soweto was relatively low at 42 people from African countries. Most of the international migrants came from Mozambique (17), followed by Lesotho (16), Swaziland (5) and one each from Ghana, Botswana, Malawi and Namibia. Many of the African migrants do not migrate to Soweto, because they do not speak the local languages and therefore do not adapt in Soweto. Most of these international migrants locate to former white suburbs, for example Hillbrow and Bertrams.

9. Summary of the main findings and conclusions

An important finding is that meaningful comparisons of many aspects are often not possible after 15 years, due to various reasons as discussed in this report. Migration did not have an equilibrating effect in Soweto and has been disequilibrating in the sense that it did not close the income gap that triggered the migration process in the first place. Migration has shifted underemployment from the rural areas to Soweto's economy in many instances.

Perceptions held by the respondents are often negative about the services, crime, economic situation and dust where they live. The problems are more acute in informal and poor areas due to the unequal distribution of services in Soweto. Of the 951 respondents 334 or 35.1 percent sometimes have problems, 142 or 14.9 percent often have, while 84 or 8.8 percent always experience problems to provide food for their households. This shows the level of poverty in Soweto and is directly related to the fact that 40 percent of the workforce is unemployed. As long as the unemployment rate and dependency ratio remain high, the negative responses will reflect this perception in Soweto.

The household size decreased from an average of 5.2 persons in 1993 to 4.82 persons per household in 2008. The average number of sons decreased most, followed by daughters, fathers, mothers and grandmothers. Grandfathers, grandsons and granddaughters increased slightly, while other members of households nearly doubled. The number of households per site increased from 1.53 in 1993 to 1.72 households per site in 2008. This increase in density shows the scarcity of housing and sites in Soweto, which can impact negatively on the infrastructure and quality of life. The number of structures per site increased from 1.29 in 1993 to 1.44 per site in 2008, which confirms the increase in density.

The number of people, with a second house or property in the areas where they migrated from, decreased from 81 or 10.1 percent in 1993 to 23 or 2.4 percent in 2008. This shows that ties with the areas of birth or origin are decreasing.

Political decisions can influence demographic changes even more than economic changes. This is confirmed by the decision to halt the expansion of Soweto. This is estimated to decrease the contribution of Soweto to the City of Johannesburg Metro pole from 39 percent in 1996 to 27.9 percent in 2008 and 13.3 percent in 2026.

Government housing decreased from 81 percent in 1993 to 64.7 percent in 2008. Individually designed housing and site and services only, increased from 12 percent in 1993 to 20 percent in 2008. Informal housing doubled from 7 percent in 1993 to 14.9 percent in 2008. This shows that the government's share in providing houses is decreasing. Government's promises to eradicate informal settlements can increase this commitment significantly.

The composition of the age and gender profile shows that males decreased from 48.5 percent in 1993 to 46.1 percent in 2008. The population pyramid for 1993 shows that the population growth rate decreased during the previous 15 years and further after 1993. The 2008 pyramid shows a definite narrowing of the base, which confirms the demographic and economic development in Soweto.

The comparison of education and employment status for 1993 and 2008 shows a sharp increase of Grade 12 and higher from 19.7 percent in 1993 to 35.3 percent in 2008. Notwithstanding the increase in education the unemployed increased from 18.5 percent in 1993 to 19.8 percent in 2008, while the economically non-active decreased slightly from 52.1 percent in 1993 to 50.9 percent in 2008. This means that the position of over 70 percent of the Soweto population has not improved except for the government transfers. The main reason is the poor quality and standard of Grade 12, where a student only needs 40 percent in two subjects and 30 percent average for the other four subjects to pass.

The summary of income and expenditure shows the high level of poverty in Soweto. Approximately 40 percent of the households live on an income below the minimum living level. If it was not for the old age and disability pensions and child grants received by the first two quintiles, the poverty would be much higher (see last column of Table 11)

The average income increased from R1694 per household in 1993 to R6500 in 2008 or by 384 percent over the 15 years. The average expenditure increased from R840 to R3899 during the same period or by 464 percent. This shows that the cost of living increased more than the income, which affected the poor more severely.

Of the total sample population 2069 or 45.2 percent received no income at all. Although 40 percent of the income earners received transfers from the government, these are spread over all five quintiles, with the highest number of child grants in Quintile 3. Quintile 4 received 136 and Quintile 5 received 62 child grants, while many do not qualify for grants based on their household incomes. Although incomes increased in real terms in Soweto since 1993, only 19 households received more than R15 001 per month in 2008. Nearly 70 percent of the sample population would not have received any income, was it not for the government transfers. This confirms the high dependency ratio and the extent of poverty in Soweto.

Of the sample population 80 percent received less than R1001 and nearly half no income at all. There were 1200 males and 1312 females who received an income in 2008. Excluding government transfers shows that 738 or 34.9 percent males and 714 or 28.9 percent females received a monthly income.

This confirms that migration has been economically disequilibrating in Soweto in the sense that it did not close the income gap that triggered the migration process in the first place. Of the total sample population 70 percent were born in Soweto in 1993 compared to nearly 77 percent in 2008. While approximately 30 percent migrated to Soweto in 1993, this has decreased to an estimated 23.3 percent in 2008. The largest number of 297 household members migrated from within Gauteng, followed by 186 from KwaZulu-Natal, 150 from Limpopo, 97 from Mpumalanga, 96 from the Eastern Cape and 81 from the Free State.

The perceptions or desires of respondents to move in and migrate from Soweto produced an interesting wish list of where they want to stay. It was decided to present mobility in and migration from Soweto in paragraph form, because very little is comparable with 1993 as many names of provinces and towns names changed since 1993.

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Annexure 1

FACULTY OF ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS AND ECONOMETRICS



Informed Consent to Participate

We are researchers from the University of Johannesburg's Department of Economics and Econometrics. We are doing research on the socio-economic and welfare indicators of the population of the Soweto. The purpose of this visit is to learn more about the people living in this area and to establish their needs for basic infrastructure. The information will be used to determine the poverty gap and socio-economic profile of the population. We will be conducting these interviews at 800 households from 20 November to 15 December 2007.

The project has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Economics and Econometrics of the University of Johannesburg (UJ).

We will now explain the study briefly and will then request your participation:

Activities of the project:

- We are going to ask you some questions regarding the members of your household to establish a socio-economic and demographic profile of the population;
- We ask for about 30 minutes of your time to conduct this interview;
- Should you choose to participate we will need to identify your home, which will provide the address to your house. This is only needed if we need to return for a possible follow-up to check the correctness of data.

Ethical considerations to inform your consent

- You are under no obligation to participate in the study. If you feel that you do not want

to be part of the study you are free to withdraw at any time and your information will not be included in the results of the study.

- Your family's details and the other information we want to get from you will be kept confidential at all times and not be referred to individually;
- The information we get from you will in no way be used to inform others about your family in particular. No harm to you or your family can or will arise from this information;
- You have the right to ask questions about this study. If any questions arise while I am explaining this form, please ask them whenever you are ready. I will also give you time to think – please indicate if you want this time;
- No monetary compensation is offered for your participation;
- After the study is completed and all the data has been analysed we will come back to your community and give feedback on what we have found during the study. This will be done in such a way that you, your family and your premises will not be identified;
- The final results will be disseminated to your local authorities, the region authorities, provincial and the national government. The final results might also be published in national and international science journals.

We now request you to participate in this study.

Respondent's response:

- I have heard the proposed activities of the project. The activities are clear to me;
- I was provided the opportunity and time to think about the issue and ask questions;
- I have not been pressurised to participate in any way;
- I understand that participation in this research project is completely voluntary;
- I understand that I will not receive any monetary compensation for my participation;
- I understand that I may withdraw from it at any time without supplying reasons;
- I confirm that I may speak on behalf of my family;
- I consent to supply our personal details (name and address). I understand that while it will be involved in the analysis of the results of all the participants, it will not be used in any way to breach confidentiality;
- I understand that this research project has been approved by the relevant committees of the University of Johannesburg;
- I am fully aware that the results of these projects will be used for scientific purposes and may be published. I agree to this, provided my privacy is guaranteed;
- I hereby consent to participate in this project.

Name of respondent

Signature

Place

Date

Statement by Interviewer

I have provided verbal information regarding this research project. I agree to answer any questions from the respondent concerning the project as best as I can. I will adhere to the approved research protocol.

Name of Interviewer

Signature

Place

Date

SOWETO SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND WELFARE INDICATORS QUESTIONNAIRE

Section 1. INTERVIEW INFORMATION

- 1.1. – Survey Number _____
- 1.2. – Head of Household _____
- 1.3. – Respondent Name _____
- 1.4. – Interviewers Name _____
- 1.3. – Date _____ Street and Number _____
- 1.4. – Controlled _____ Town/suburb _____
- 1.7. – Informed consent obtained

Yes	No
-----	----

Section 2. POPULATION NUMBERS (To be completed by the HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD where possible, or someone who can report on all members of the household.)

1. How many households (people who pool their income to buy food, and eat and sleep together in one or more living unit/house/hut/shack) live on this stand or site?
2. How many people live on this site for more than 3 months a year?
3. How many separate occupied houses/huts/living units are on this site?
4. How many houses/huts/units are occupied by members of your household?

Section 3. HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION

5. How many people are in your household?
- 5.1. How many people under the age of 18 are in your household?
- 5.2. How many people between the ages of 18 years and 60 are in your household?
- 5.3. How many elderly people over 60 years are in your household?
6. Please supply the following information on each member of your household.

1. Member	HH Head	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Name (for identification only)							
3. Relationship to HH (see list)							
4. Year of birth							
5. Gender (Male = 1; female = 2)							
6. Qualifications (see list)							
7. Sector of employment (list)							

7. Category of housing (to be done by fieldworker from code list).

Please draw a small map of the stand here?

8. (a) Which of the following facilities and services are already available to this household? (b) Except for the services/facilities given, which other service would you like on your stand? (c) Rank the importance of each of these services to you. Allocate a rank 1 to the most important and a rank 5 to the least important. Use each of the numbers 1 to 5 only once.

Facility/service	(a) Already Available		(c) Rank
	Y	N	
1. Water on site	Y	N	
2. Flush toilets	Y	N	
3. Electricity on site	Y	N	
4. Tarred roads to access your stand	Y	N	
5. Other would like (b)	Y	N	

9. How do you perceive the environment in which you stay in terms of each of the following?

1. How clean are the streets?	Very good / clean	Good / clean	Average	Dirty / bad	Very bad / dirty
2. How affected is your household by smoke?	Not affected	Slightly affected	Average	Badly affected	Severely affected
3. How affected is your household by dust?	Not affected	Slightly	Average	Badly	Severely affected
4. How often in the past year have you experienced problems to satisfy the food needs of your household?	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Always
5. How does the economic situation of your household compare with a year ago?	Much better	Better	The same	Slightly worse	Much worse
6. How do you experience the safety in your area?	Very safe	Safe	Average	Unsafe	Very unsafe
7. How satisfied are you with the services available on the site?	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
8. How does the overall economic situation of the community compare with a year ago?	Much better	Better	The same	Slightly worse	Much worse

10. Consumption (a) How much money does your household spend on average per month on each of the following consumable items? Enter 0 if none. (b) Where do you usually buy these items, in Soweto or in another town?

Product	Rand per month	In Soweto ✓	Outside / other towns ✓
Maize meal			
Bread			
Meat / chicken			
Vegetables			
Milk			
Other food			
Coal			
Paraffin / petrol / diesel			
Other energy			
Taxi			
Other transport			
Cleaning materials (soap & washing powder)			
Cigarettes & tobacco			
Beer, wine & spirits			

11. On average, how much money (amount in Rand) does your household spend per month on each of the following? Enter 0 if none. Indicate whether you spend the money inside Soweto or in another town(s)?

Item	Rand per month	In Soweto	Outside / other towns
Housing (Rent/Bond)			
Water			
Electricity			
Clothing			
School			
Entertainment e.g. burial society			
Medical Expenses			
Insurance			
Horseracing, casino, scratch cards (lotto)			

Savings			
Licences (e.g. TV, Vehicle) p/a			
Property taxes			
Housekeeping services e.g. garden of maintenance			
Telephone			
Cell phone			
Car Repayment			
Loan repayment to bank or micro-lender			
Furniture			
Other: Specify			
Agriculture/food garden			

12. Has any member of your household been a victim of crime in the past

Yes	No
-----	----

year?

Please indicate the nature of the(se) crime(s). (Response here will code later)

1) _____ 2) _____

3) _____

Where did the(se) crime(s) occur?

1) _____ 2) _____

3) _____

Section 4. MOBILITY AND MIGRATION OF HOUSEHOLD

13. When did you move to this site? (Please give the year and month if possible):

Year _____ Month _____

14. How long has your household been living in this area or town? Years _____

15. Do you rent this property?

OR own this property (99 years freehold)?

OR occupy this property without charge?

16. If you were able to **buy** a(another) house, where would you like to live?

Province _____ Town _____

17. If you were able to buy a(another) house, how would you prefer to finance it?

A house financed by bank, loan or bond

A house financed by S.A Housing Trust or which is subsidised

A self-help house e.g. rent of **site and services** only

18. Have you lived elsewhere (i.e. at another address) in Soweto? Please tell me about your movements in the Soweto area. _____

19. How many times has your household moved in the Soweto area?

20. Do you OWN any (other) house/property?

Yes	No
-----	----

If yes, where? _____

What type of property (see list)? _____

21. We would like to know more about the movement histories of the people of this area. We would like you to tell us (a) where each of the members of this household were born, (b) when they last moved and (c) from where they moved to the area where you live now.

MEMBERS OF HH	Where were the members born? Township & nearest large town.	Last move to this area		From where was your last move? Township & nearest large town
		Year	Month	
Head of HH				
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				

22. This question investigates the stepwise migration of household members to this area. It applies only if he/she has ever lived in another area for longer than a year.

Just to make sure that the facts are correct, have you ever lived in any area other than this area for longer than a year? Tick yes or no in list.

23. If yes, record of stepwise migration to this area. If no, end of this question.

Yes	No	Member of household	Date of move	Area where you moved from	Area where you moved to	Date of move	Area where you moved from	Area where you moved to
		Head of HH						
		1						
		2						
		3						
		4						
		5						
		6						

If any members moved more than two times, please indicate the number(s) here.

24. Please indicate whether you or any other member of your household owns each of the following items: (Mark with X)

	yes	no	If yes, indicate number
TV?			
Fridge (working)?			
Telkom phone?			
Cell phone?			
Car (in running condition)?			
Farm implements?			
Cattle?			
Sheep?			
Goats?			
Chickens?			
Pigs?			
Other?			

25. What are the 3 most common health problems in your household?

Health Problem	Code	Tick
Bilharzia	1	
Misuse of alcohol	2	
High blood pressure	3	
Malaria	4	
TB	5	
Drug abuse	6	
Diarrhoea	7	
Malnutrition	8	
Worms	9	
Influenza	10	
Skin infections	11	
Eye infections	12	
Stress	13	
Old age ailments	14	
HIV/AIDS	15	
Headaches	16	
Respiratory Infection	17	
Other	18	

Specify other: _____

25b. Has anyone in your household been affected by diarrhoea in the last 2 weeks?

Yes	No
-----	----

If yes, how many times? _____

Gender and Age of each person _____

26. What do you think causes diarrhoea?

27. The following questions refer to the income of your household.

Please indicate whether you or any member of your household:

	yes	no	Approximate total amount per month
Receives a disability grant?			
Receives an old age grant?			
Receives a pension?			
Receives a child grant?			
Receives any other grant (not mentioned above)?			
Receives interest on an investment?			
Receives financial assistance from family members / relatives or friends?			

28. Please supply the following general information about the employment /unemployment and income of your household members.

1. Member	HH Head	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Name (for identification only) please refer to question 5 for names)							
Employment status (see list)							
If employed, please indicate Income per month: Wages/salaries (take home pay)							
3. If unemployed indicated how long unemployed? (yrs)							
4. Reason for not working dismissal (list) or other. Please specify here.							
5. Minimum wage required to take a job per month							
11. Monthly income from informal activities (e.g. SMME)							
12. Monthly income from subsidies (e.g. Housing)							
13. Monthly income from interest/dividends							
14. Monthly income from food garden/ agriculture							

15. Other income per month (Specify below please)							

29. Please indicate (a) whether the household member has been seeking employment in the last 30 days. (b) Please indicate the main reason for not looking for work for all members of the household.

Member of HH	(a)		Student or too young	Too old	Family duties	Seasonal work	No work available	Ill health	Other. Please specify
	Yes	No							
Head of HH									
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR KIND CO-OPERATION.

FOR CONTROL PURPOSES

1. Number of substitutions : _____
2. Reasons for substitutions : _____
3. How substituted : _____
4. Original address : _____
5. Substituted address : _____

Code List for Fieldworkers

<p><u>Relationship to household Q6.3</u></p> <p>1 = Father 2 = Mother 3 = Son 4 = Daughter 5 = Grandfather 6 = Grandmother 7 = Grandson 8 = Granddaughter 9 = Extended family member 10. Other e.g. friend</p>		<p><u>Employed/unemployed/not active Q28.2 row 2</u></p> <p>1 = <u>Formally employed</u> If person works for a salary or shares in profits of a registered firm. 2 = <u>Informal activity</u> Person involved in informal activities for 3 days or more/food/accommodation. 3 = <u>Unemployed</u> Those who can work, want to work, but cannot find work. - Not housewives, students, sick 4 = <u>Not economically active</u> These who prefer not to work or cannot work e.g. housewives, disabled, students, sick, school children</p>	
<p><u>Age</u></p> <p>If less than 1 year, fill in '0'</p>		<p><u>Province Q21+23</u></p> <p>1 = Gauteng G 2 = Limpopo L 3 = Mpumalanga M 4 = North West Province NW 5 = Free State F 6 = Northern Cape NC 7 = Western Cape WC 8 = Eastern Cape EC 9 = Kwazulu Natal KN</p>	
<p><u>Reason for dismissal</u></p> <p>1.Retrenched 2.Fired 3.Resigned 4.Other to be noted by fieldworker please and please specify the reason</p>	<p><u>Crime categories</u> (Do not use) but give answer</p> <p>1.Assault 2.Robbery 3.Rape 4.Murder 5.Abduction 6.Other (please note this)</p>		
<p><u>Highest education qualification Q6.6</u></p> <p>0 = Never attended school 1 = Grade 1 Sub A 2 = Grade 2 Sub B 3 = Grade 3 Std 1 4 = Grade 4 Std 2 5 = Grade 5 Std 3 6 = Grade 6 Std 4 7 = Grade 7 Std 5 8 = Grade 8 Std 6 9 = Grade 9 Std 7 10 = Grade 10 Std 8 11 = Grade 11 Std 9 12 = Grade 12 Std 10 13 = Diploma 14 = Degree 15 = Post-graduate</p>		<p><u>Which sector active (formal) Use with Q6.7</u></p> <p>1 = Agriculture 2 = Mining, quarrying 3 = Manufacturing 4 = Electricity, water, gas 5 = Construction 6 = Wholesale, retail, trade, catering 7 = Transport, storage, communication 8 = Financing, insurance, real estate 9 = Community, social or personal services 10 = Informal activity 11 = Other not defined</p>	
		<p><u>Categories of housing</u></p> <p>1 = Government scheme housing 2 = Plot and plan / site and services 3 = Individually designed housing / own plans 4 = Low-density informal housing 5 = High-density informal housing 6 = Semi-detached houses or more units per structure</p>	

Annexure 2: Minimum Living Level Tables for 1996 and 2007

Household Size	1996	2007	Supplied by Bijker up to here
1	443	1,023	
2	544	1,261	
3	726	1,635	
4	903	1,998	
5	1,084	2,380	
6	1,277	2,786	
7	1,451	3,156	
8+	1,770	3,752	
9		3,852	This is useful to know the size of the household in Table 4
10		3,952	
11		4,052	
12		4,152	
13		4,252	
Adapted			
Source: Bijker 2008 and adapted for this survey			