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Social profile of South Africa, 2002–2009

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FOREWORD

The Social Profile of South Africa 2002-2009 is a new annual report produced by Statistics South Africa to analyse and explore changes in the situation of children, the youth, the elderly, women and disabled persons over time. The report uses General Household Survey (GHS) data from 2002 to 2009.

The GHS is a household survey that has been executed annually by Stats SA since 2002 in response to a need expressed by the Government of South Africa to determine the level of development in the country and the performance of programmes and projects on a regular basis. The survey was specifically designed to measure multiple facets of the living conditions of South African households, as well as the quality of service delivery in a number of key service sectors. The data therefore lends itself well to an analysis of vulnerable groups in society.

The focal areas of this study have been chosen based on the current social agenda of the Government and strategic priorities related to vulnerable groups. The report focuses on a number of broad areas within each vulnerable group, namely: household characteristics and living arrangements; vulnerability to hunger; health; poverty and social grants; economic participation; education; and finally housing and access to basic services.

The study confirms that family structures are severely disrupted and that children remain disproportionately affected by poverty. Approximately 37% of children live in households without any employed members and social grants play a vital role in cushioning the impact of poverty and improving access to food and education.

Youth, particularly those aged 15-24, are very vulnerable to poverty and hunger. Yet, they are not directly targeted by the country's advanced social assistance programmes. Youth are often forced to suspend their education and run the risk of becoming unemployable and falling into chronic systemic poverty. In 2009, more than 3,3 million youth were neither employed nor attending any educational institution.

Past race and gender based discrimination continue to affect the living conditions of older people in South Africa, and most remain dependent on government transfers. Older persons are relied upon by others to share their social grants and they are increasingly called upon to take over the nurturing responsibilities that their children are perhaps unable to perform due to illness or absence as a result of labour migration.

Although substantial progress has been made to address gender inequality and discrimination, women remain vulnerable. Poverty patterns continue to be gendered and female headed households are more likely to have low incomes, to be dependent on social grants, and less likely to have employed members. Women and female headed households are predominantly responsible for the care for children.

Pali Lehohla
Statistician-General

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Since 1994 the South African Government has increasingly adopted a social agenda, channelling a significant amount of effort and resources towards identifying vulnerable groups in society, crafting legislation that would protect their interests and developing and implementing programmes and strategies to support them. Today the vulnerabilities of children, the youth, the elderly, women and the disabled are still inextricably linked to harsh apartheid-era legislation aimed at subjugating black South Africans and are further exacerbated by systemic poverty and inequality which continuous to manifest itself along a racial divide.

Even though many programs aimed at improving the well-being of vulnerable groups have been implemented during the past 16 years, less effort has been put into establishing the extent to which service delivery has had an impact on the situation of these vulnerable groups over time. The Social Profile of South Africa is a new annual report that is produced by the Social Statistics division. It uses the General Household Survey data from 2002 to 2009 to analyse and explore changes in the situation of children, the youth, the elderly, women and the disabled over time.

1.2 Rationale

The focal areas of this study have been chosen based on the current social agenda of the Government and strategic priorities related to vulnerable groups. The Department of Social Development has been the main driver in the implementation of social policy. However, the government's social agenda and its intention to protect and develop the human potential of vulnerable groups were given more impetus by the establishment of the Department for Women, Children and Persons with Disabilities when the current administration came to power.

The legislative framework of South Africa is rooted in the constitution and encapsulated in the Bill of rights which affords all South Africans certain basic socio-economic rights such as the rights to have access to health care services; social security; sufficient food and water; adequate housing and a safe environment. Over and above these rights, additional protection afforded to children includes the right to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services, social services and protection from abuse and neglect. In as much as African children continue to be indirectly affected by the poverty and in-equal education opportunities suffered by their parents, it is also with them that the biggest opportunity currently exists to begin to eradicate many of these problems. One of the major tools aimed at directly improving the lot of children is the **Social Assistance Act** which provides a safety net for children living in poverty through the Child support Grant (CSG), Foster Care Grant (FCG) and Care Dependency Grant (CDG). The **Children's Act** (Act No. 38 of 2005, as amended by the Children's amendment act 41 of 2007) sets out principles related to the care and protection of children. Some of the most important of these include early Childhood development and compulsory education. The **National Health Act** ensures access to free primary health care, and in particular free health care to pregnant women and children less than six years old.

The age cohort 15-34 (youth) comprises 38% of the total population (Statistics South Africa, 2010) and this cohort has been growing faster than the population as a whole due to declining fertility levels. This shift presents an opportunity also referred to as the demographic 'dividend' (Bloom, Canning, Sevilla, 2002; Ross, 2004), which enables Governments to channel investments previously channelled towards children into investment in general economic development and more specifically improved healthcare. All of these measures are ultimately aimed at strengthening the work force and generate more and better employment opportunities. Currently young people represent a major focal point of policy makers, mainly because of their potential to be a major resource for national development. Another consideration may also be that they have the potential to create social upheaval unless their needs are adequately addressed. Currently the National Youth Policy 2009-2014 governs work related to the youth. This policy relies on information on the particular needs and circumstances of the country's youth to address identified gaps and challenges (National Youth Policy, 2009:5-6) and relies on the National Youth Commission Act, 1996 (Act 19 of 1996); White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997; National Youth Policy, 2000; Nation Youth Development Policy Framework, 2000-2007; and the Draft National Youth Policy, 2008-2013 for its implementation.

South Africa has one of the most rapidly ageing population in Africa and there has been a considerable increase in the absolute and relative numbers of older people in South Africa in spite of the AIDS epidemic. In addition to having special needs, older people are easily forgotten and yet they play a crucial socio-economic role. This is particularly true in the African community, where they act as caretakers of grandchildren and are often the primary source of income to poor households through old age grant receipt (May, 2008; Eckley, in Lombard and Kruger, 2009: 126). Currently this non-contributory, means tested old Age Grant form the primary support mechanism provided by the Government to older persons. Since the current age cut-off for this grant is 60 years, the elderly has been defined for the purposes of this study as individual aged 60 years and older. The **White Paper on Social Welfare** (1997) addresses the constitutional mandate to protect the human rights of older people by removing

all forms of racial discrimination and by addressing inequality in government funded services. The **Older Persons' Act, No 13 of 2006**, aims to establish a framework to empower and protect older persons and to maintain and promote their status, rights, well-being, safety and security.

The empowerment of women has increasingly been incorporated into national development agendas since the 1970's. In South Africa the constitution (Act 108 of 1996) enshrines equal rights for men and women. Various quota systems and equity mechanisms, aimed at measuring the levels of participation of women in the economy and decision making have been introduced during the past decade. The growing commitment of the Government to equity as well as the provision of development opportunities for these three vulnerable groups was further underscored by the establishment of the Department of Women, children and people with disabilities in May 2009. In addition to this four of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that South Africa has committed itself to are directly related to gender. A number of key international, regional and sub-regional commitments aimed at promoting gender equality, such as the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action, the SADC protocol on Gender and Development* have also been made by the country.

All these policies and strategies and legislative frameworks are aimed at reducing vulnerability and promoting development in the groups they target. However, not much work has been done to assess their appropriateness for, and impact on vulnerable groups.

1.3 Methodology

Between 2002 and 2009 the General Household Survey used three different master samples. The first sample was developed for the period 2002 to 2004, the second for 2005 to 2007 and then for 2008 to the present. All these samples were representative of the population of South Africa and were designed in such a way that it could provide reliable estimates at provincial level.

All samples were multi-staged, stratified random sample drawn using probability-proportional-to-size principles. First-level stratification was based on province and second-tier stratification at metro and non-metro level. Field staff employed and trained by Stats SA visited all the sampled dwelling units in each of the nine provinces for face-to-face interviews.

Between 2002 and 2007 the data has been weighted against the mid-year population estimates produced by Statistics South Africa. Since then because of changes in the execution of fieldwork, the population estimates as per mid-August have been used. The general population estimates for the country were revised extensively after the Community Survey was conducted in 2007 and as a result of better information availability about the effect of HIV/AIDS on population growth and distribution as well as improved mortality data. This, coupled with the new provincial boundaries promulgated in December 2006, made it necessary to re-weight the historical data of the GHS during 2008 and 2009. The re-weighted data was used for the analysis contained in this report.

1.4 Limitations to the data

The study is based on secondary data that has been collected as part of the General Household Survey between 2002 and 2009 and did not include questions specific to vulnerable groups, beyond the general socio-economic indicators measured by the questionnaire. The data also has some limitations in that being sourced from a general survey, none of the content areas is measured in great detail. So for example are measures of employment rough estimates, rather than the detailed and precise measures that can be provided by the Quarterly Labour Force Survey. Certain aspects, such as for example household income, were estimated for the first time for the 2009 dataset, albeit with certain provisos and conditions attached to it. Other concepts, such as disability, were measured differently in 2009 than in previous years in order to align the question better with international standards. This therefore precluded an analysis of changes over time resulting in a focus on 2009 in this report. Throughout the report these limitations are highlighted and the process of data interrogation has inevitably identified areas in which the General Household Survey questionnaire can be improved and enhanced for future use.

The sample design of the General Household Survey is based on a sample of dwellings and the sampling frame excludes institutions such as student hostels, old age homes and hospitals, but includes workers hostels and retirement villages. This is an important factor to bear in mind when considering the chapter on the elderly, as a number of them live in old age homes. Members of vulnerable groups living in the street, i.e. the homeless, were also not included in the samples.

1.5 Main findings

Almost 85% of **children** in South Africa are African and a quarter live in KwaZulu-Natal. An estimated 3,6 million children are either maternal, paternal or double orphans. In addition to this biological parents play a limited role in raising their children. Less than a third (32%) of South African children live with both their biological parents and a quarter of children do not live with either of their biological parents. The disruption of the conventional family structure is most evident amongst African children, as only 27% live with both their biological parents, compared to 48% of coloured children and approximately 80% of children belonging to the other two population groups. Even though there are a number of cultural factors that influence the observed differences, the distance between biological parents and their children may influence the extent to which resources such as for example remittances and social grants are used for the general improvement of their well-being. Other risks such as physical, emotional and sexual abuse of children may also increase. Public information and education campaigns, stressing the importance of the active involvement of parents and or caregivers in the education and development of their children may to some extent mitigate the potential negative impact that this may have on child development and well-being.

Even though child-headed households make up a very small proportion of all households in South Africa (0,6%), their proportion has remained virtually unchanged during the past 8 years, possibly indicating that more needs to be done to create safety nets for them. The fact that more than half of them had one or more of their biological parents alive may indicate that these households develop as a result of the demands of labour migration on households.

Considering trends related to vulnerability to hunger, food insecure children are the most likely to be found in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu Natal and the Free State. Male headed, child inclusive households are significantly less likely to report problems with hunger than households with children that are headed by women. This further supports the notion of female headed households generally being more vulnerable than households headed by men.

Efforts to improve the basic living conditions of South Africa's households are beginning to show progress. However, households with children generally continue to be poorer with poorer access to basic services than households in general. Their current relative vulnerability as well as the significant increase in social grant receipt between 2002 and 2009 (from 15% to more than 52%) indicate that this particular social safety net was sorely needed. Female headed households with children are significantly more likely than other households types to access child support grants (38,5%). Consideration should be given to changing the means test for grants and other basic services from household income to income per capita as this will to some extent better identify vulnerable households with children as the study identified significant variation between households in terms of levels of vulnerability, dependency ratios and household size.

Trends in the education of children suggest that participation rates are high and have increased significantly for children younger than 8 years between 2002 and 2009. However, a large proportion of children fail to pass Grade 7 by the age of 15 years and the proportion of 17 year olds yet to pass Grade 9 is even larger. These findings underscores the need for increased emphasis on improving both the quality of education as well as the engendering a culture of learning amongst South African children.

The analysis of the **youth** focussed on two sub-groups within the age cohort 15 to 34 years: firstly the 15 – 24 year group and secondly the 25-34 years. The findings suggest that there are significant differences between these groups in terms of their profiles as well as their developmental and support groups with the former significantly more vulnerable than the latter. Households headed by the younger group of youth are significantly more likely to be nuclear and single than extended. Households headed by younger youth were significantly more likely to live in households vulnerable to hunger, and less likely to depend on wages and salaries as their main source of income and more likely to live in low income households than households headed by older youth (61% as opposed to 33%). Almost 60% of youth ages 15-24 years live in households with a monthly per capita income of less than R555 per person. Youth are least likely to live in low income households in the Western Cape and Gauteng and the most likely in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape.

In addition to the fact that 38% of the South African population are aged between 15 and 34 years, slightly more than a quarter of South African households are headed by persons from this age group. Approximately a quarter of youth live in households without any employed household members, whilst 27% of youth headed households have no one who is employed. In 2009 only eight percent of youth aged 15 to 18 and four percent of youth aged 19 to 34, received social grants. This is significantly lower than the population in general (28%) and children younger than 18 years (52%).

Unfortunately low employment rates are not off-set by high levels of skills amongst the youth. Even though attendance of educational institutions is higher than 90% for 14-16 year olds, it drops sharply to 70% by age 18 years and to 10% by the age of 24 years. Despite of early drop-out remaining a problem there has been a significant improvement in the percentage of youth who completed a secondary education between 2002 and 2009 (from 26% to 31% for the ages 18 to 24 and from 29% to 34% for the ages 25 to 34). Being unemployed and out of school continues to be a big problem amongst the youth. By age 23, only 13% of youth are attending educational institutions and 30% are unemployed. An estimated 3,3 million youth aged 15 to 24 years are not attending education institutions and have not completed their secondary education. The reason cited by 36% of them for not continuing their education is a lack of money. Only 10% said it was due to poor academic performance.

At face value these findings confirm the need for support programmes that will allow youth who are neither working nor studying to complete their education, and perhaps to access some kind of post school education at universities, colleges or Further Education and Training (FET) institutions. In addition, opportunities such as internships should be explored to facilitate their entry into the labour market. The findings also underscore the urgent need to address problems in the education system that may contribute towards relatively low levels of secondary school completion by especially African youth. The vulnerability of particularly young women emphasizes the need for gender focussed interventions. Youth are currently not supported by the social safety nets that are available to children and to older persons, and the findings support the necessity to target youth in social development programmes, EPWP, social protection and social welfare services.

As a result of their special needs, the growing number of **elderly** in South Africa will need to be accommodated in policy planning, especially in terms of state provided social and health support. The study found that nearly a quarter of the country's population 60 years and older are white, whilst only 9% of the total population is represented by this sub-group. This may be the result of a number of factors, including relative longevity, reduced fertility rates and high emigration of white youth and children. This introduce a certain amount o bias to statistics about the elderly as this particular sub-group tends to be better educated and enjoy better socio-economic status. As a result the data shows for example that the elderly are more likely than the population in general to have access to piped water, flush toilets and electricity. They are also more likely to own their own homes. However, these trends tend to mask high levels of inequality along racial lines within the group. Whereas approximately 4% of Indian and white elderly were vulnerable to hunger, as many as 18% of the coloured and 24% of the African elderly had problems with hunger. When using a R1200 per month expenditure cut-off, more than half of elderly Africans lived in low expenditure households, compared to 24% of coloureds, 20% of Indians and approximately 7% of whites.

Even though the African elderly are more likely to live in extended households, which could provide a better social support network, these larger families place a lot of demands on them. This not only increase the chances that they will be made more vulnerable to hunger, but will also add extra responsibilities of looking after a number of other family members. The expansion of the eligibility for the child support grant has not only benefited children, but has taken some of the pressure of especially older persons in poor households who used to be reliant on old age grants for sustenance. However, consideration should be given to increasing the size of the old age grant to further support the improvement of the quality of life of the elderly. Community program aimed at sensitising them towards the special needs of the elderly will probably also benefit this important and growing segment of our population.

The significance of the elderly within a social and population dynamic context is rooted in the fact that in addition to the absolute number of the elderly increasing, nearly a quarter of the South African population live in households headed by the elderly. The study clearly shows that a one size fits all approach is unlikely to be appropriate for the elderly. For example in terms of family composition and social support most of the elderly African and coloured population live in extended families. However, the white elderly predominantly lived in nuclear families (60%) or single households (20%). In addition, many more live in old age homes which were not covered by the GHS. Household sizes of households headed by the elderly are also generally bigger than the national average.

The burden related to support to children, as expressed by the ratio of children to older persons within households, has declined from 1,4 in 2002 to 1,1 in 2009. However, it is still quite high in households headed by elderly females where there are 1,5 children per older person. Households headed by elderly females are also significantly more vulnerable in that they have a higher total dependency ration (on average 1) than those headed by older males (0,84). Even though gender and racial divisions persist, the study found significant increases in the percentage of elderly with education levels of at least Grade Seven.

Women constitute approximately 52% of the South African population, but as much as 58% of the population above 60 years of age, and 61% of the population above 70 years of age. Despite their numerical ascendancy, women only head approximately 38% of households in South Africa. The highest proportion of female headed households are observed in Limpopo (49%), Eastern Cape (45%) and in KwaZulu-Natal (44%). More than a quarter of female heads are older than 60 years old and their headships have probably been thrust upon them as a result of the death of their spouses (Lund, 2006). Women tend to marry at a younger age and with older partners

and their longer life expectancy means that they will often outlast their spouses. While in it self very traumatic, the death of an elderly household member often also means the loss of a source of income, particularly through government grants. On the other end of the age spectrum, many households headed by younger women are often established through divorce and separation. This deprives the household of employed adults and often leaves younger mothers to fend for one or more children as single parents. Female headed households are therefore by their very nature more likely to be lower income households and more vulnerable to hunger.

Female headed households are on average larger than male headed households (3,7 persons per household compared to 3,3 for males) with a higher total dependency ratio (0,8 to 0.4). This means that there are 0,8 dependents for each person in his/her working ages (15-64) in these households. Many of these dependents are children (on average 33% of these households consist of children compared to only a fifth for male headed households) and households are burdened by a large child dependency ratio of 0,67. The dependency ratios can however be deceptive as many of the individuals aged 15-64 in female headed households are unemployed. In fact, 43% of female headed households do not hold a single employed person. Individuals in female headed households are also less likely to be economically active than individuals living in households with male household heads.

Female headed households are more dependent on social grants and are more likely than male headed households to indicate remittances (14% to 6%) and social grants (35% to 17%) as sources of income. Almost a third of household members in female headed households receive some kind of social grant (Old Age Pension, Child Support Grant, Foster Care Grant etc), compared to 8% of persons living in male headed households. Female headed households are by contrast less likely to indicate salaries and wages as the main source of household income than male headed households (44% compared to 67%).

A burden many females and female headed households have to content with can be illustrated by the high proportion of skip-generation households. Grandparents live with, and are often responsible to care for, their grandchildren (10% of female headed households and 3% of male headed households). Skip generation households are particularly prevalent amongst Africans. This could be a consequence of HIV and AIDS, but possibly also due to the fragmentation of particularly African families through labour migration and family dissolution under the strain of poverty and unemployment.

Female headed households are more likely than male ones to be extended households (that contain other family members like brothers, sisters and nieces and nephews), and less likely to contain only a single generation (single households or households containing only siblings for instance). A solitary set of statistics often hides very important variation between different age and population groups. White female headed households are overwhelmingly more likely to be single persons households than either white male headed households, or households in general. Many of these households are headed by elderly women that have been living longer, and independently for longer, than any generation before them. Elderly women who live alone are often isolated from society and extremely vulnerable to poverty and health set-backs. Although most African women, particularly African women who are heads of their respective households, live in extended households where they are less likely to be socially isolated, households also places more demands on them to share their social grants and labour (caring for children, sick and disabled).

South Africa has made tremendous progress in providing equal access to education for boys and girls. Education participation rates have increased steadily for both boys and girls since 2002 and female participation equals that of males for the age groups 7-13, and have surpassed male participation for the ages 14-18. Education outcomes have also improved greatly for females. Although a smaller proportion of women over the age of 20 years compared to men have completed secondary school, females under the age of 20 years are doing considerably better than their male peers. It is alarming to note that 26% of males and 16% of females have not achieved Grade 7 by the time they turn 15 years old, and that 38% of males and 23% of females have not achieved Grade 9 by the time they turn 17 years old. Although the poor male performance is contributing to improving the statistic for females, it is an indictment on the South African school system that so many children continue to fail, and eventually drop out of school all together. The majority of males and females blame poor finances for dropping out of education in the age categories 14-18 and 19-25. It is troubling to note that a quarter of boys who dropped out of secondary school dismiss education as ‘not useful’. The pervasiveness of specific gender roles in our society is pointed out by the observation that a significantly higher proportion of females than males (14% to 2% for age group 14-18) dropped out of school for family related reasons. Approximately 14% of girls blamed pregnancy for dropping out of school. It is however positive to note that females are more likely than males to attend Universities and Further Education and Training Centres or colleges than males.

Although tremendous progress that has been made with the provision of basic services to the poor and vulnerable in South Africa, female headed households are still less likely than their male headed counterparts to have access to water, adequate sanitation, or access to refuse or waste removal. This might in part be caused by the location of many female headed households. Although the survey does not officially identify rural areas, the fact that many of these households are located in Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, coupled with the observation that almost a fifth of these households still reside in traditional structures, can lead one to the conclusion that many of these female headed households are located in 'rural' areas where it is much more difficult to provide basic services. This might also explain why female headed households were surprisingly more likely to fully or partially own the dwelling they inhabited. Male and female headed households are almost equally likely to have access to electricity and telephones (either fixed line or cellphone).

SOCIAL PROFILE OF CHILDREN 2002–2009

2.1 Background

The status of South Africa's children is a litmus test of the extent to which the country has managed to address the stark effects of Apartheid over the past sixteen years. The majority of children's lives continue to be disrupted by socio-economic inequalities that were shaped by harsh apartheid-era legislation and which are perpetuated even today by continued poverty and unemployment. In an effort to maintain the subjugation of black South Africans, the Apartheid system destroyed families and communities and entrenched poverty among black communities by inter alia limiting educational opportunities, restricting occupational participation and mobility while preventing equal participation in the economy. The present generation of children has become heir to many of these disadvantages and will remain less likely to have more life opportunities, better educational levels and improved health outcomes.

South Africa is committed to the progressive realisation of children's rights and a broad range of laws, policies and programmes have been introduced to achieve this. The Bill of rights affords all South Africans certain basic socio-economic rights such as the rights to have access to health care services; social security; sufficient food and water; adequate housing and a safe environment. Over and above these rights, additional protection to children includes the right to basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care services, social services and protection from abuse and neglect. A number of laws have major implications for children.

The **Social Assistance Act** addresses social security by regulating access to social grants for children living in poverty. Although seven types of grants are provided for, the Child support Grant (CSG), Foster Care Grant (FCG) and Care Dependency Grant (CDG) accounted for 38% of the total grant expenditure during 2007/8. The CSG accounted for 31% of all expenditure on its own and is widely credited with improving children's access to food, education and basic services ((Presidency, 2009: 5; Hall, 2010: 107). The Child Support Grant was first made available to children aged 0-6 years in 1998 and was slowly extended to children under 15 years of age in 2009. A 2009 amendment to the Social Assistance Act removed the age restriction to the Child Support Grant and made it accessible to the caregivers of children born after 31 December 1993 while at the same time prolonging their eligibility until the age of 18 years (Hall, 2010: 107).

The **Children's Act** (Act No. 38 of 2005, as amended by the Children's amendment Act No. 41 of 2007) sets out principles related to the care and protection of children. The Act recognises the role of Early Childhood Development (ECD) for children's growth and in preparation for formal education. School enrolment is compulsory for children between the ages of 7 and 15 years, or between grade 1 to 9, whichever is reached first. Although South Africa has almost achieved universal access to basic education and gender parity, the number of children who have never been in school, or who have dropped out remains a problem (Presidency, 2009).

The **National Health Act** ensures access to free primary health care, and in particular free health care to pregnant women and children under six years of age. Inadequate household food security poses serious challenges to the health of children and a variety of policy initiatives are used to address the underlying causes. These initiatives include the provision of social grants, the national school nutrition programme, and the integrated food security and nutrition programme (Hendricks, 2009). Although small scale agricultural production are often touted as an alternative livelihood strategy, an HSRC study (Altman, Hart and Jacobs, 2009) found that households producing their own food are not necessarily more food secure.

The health and social welfare of children is as much influenced by their access to housing and basic amenities as it is by access to health care service. The basic right of access to water is guaranteed by the **Water Services Act** and enacted through a free basic water allocation of at least six kilolitres of drinkable water per month per household (Presidency, 2009:13). The provision of basic amenities is closely related to children's housing conditions. Children in informal dwellings are much less likely to have basic services such as water and sanitation, and far more likely to live in areas that are far from school and major transport routes, thus jeopardising both their health and school attendance (Presidency, 2009: 20). A range of subsidy instruments are provided for to address the housing backlog.

The government's efforts to protect and develop the human potential of the country's children are spearheaded by the relatively new Department for Women, Children and Persons with Disabilities.

2.2 Profile of children living in South Africa

Children, defined as individuals under the age of 18 years by the Constitution, comprise almost 40% of the country's population. African children constitute almost 85% of all children in South Africa and are the largest group in all provinces apart from the Western Cape where 58% of all children are classified as coloured. Almost a quarter of all children live in KwaZulu-Natal followed distantly by Gauteng. These two provinces are also demographically the two largest provinces.

Table 1.1: Provincial distribution of children by population group and province, 2009

Province	African %	Coloured %	Indian %	White %	Total N (000)	Provincial distribution
Western Cape	32,7	57,5	0,5	9,3	1 764	9,5
Eastern Cape	93,0	4,2	0,1	2,8	2 763	14,9
Northern Cape	58,0	37,2	0,3	4,5	435	2,3
Free State	89,9	2,5	0,2	7,4	1 067	5,7
KwaZulu-Natal	92,7	0,6	4,7	1,9	4 277	23,0
North West	92,6	1,8	0,3	5,3	1 277	6,9
Gauteng	79,1	3,8	4,1	13,0	3 238	17,4
Mpumalanga	95,8	0,8	0,3	3,2	1 474	7,9
Limpopo	98,1	0,1	0,1	1,7	2 314	12,4
South Africa	**84,6**	**8,1**	**2,0**	**5,4**	**18 607**	**100**
All persons RSA	**79,4**	**9,0**	**2,6**	**9,1**	**49 382**	**100**

The proportion of orphaned and non-orphaned children living in South Africa during 2009 by province and population group is presented in Table 1.2 and Table 1.3.

An orphan is defined as a child (under the age of 18 years) whose mother, father or both biological parents have died. Children whose mothers have passed away, but whose fathers are still alive are defined as *maternal orphans*, while *paternal orphanhood* refers to the death of only the father. When both biological parents have passed away, a child is defined as a *double orphan*.

Just under a fifth (19,5%) of all children in South Africa, representing 3,6 million individuals, are orphaned. Approximately 30% of all orphans can be found in KwaZulu-Natal followed by Eastern Cape and then Gauteng. It is clear from Table 1.3 that African children constitute the largest proportion of orphans, and the large proportion of paternal orphans among African children is noticeable. When compared to the racial distribution of children in general, African children are significantly more likely to be orphaned than a child from any other population group. Meintjies and Hall (2009: 102) ascribe the large proportion of paternal orphans to higher male mortality rates together with a frequent absence of fathers. This argument is supported by the large proportion of paternal orphans in three provinces that are generally considered to be migration sending provinces, KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Limpopo.

Table 1.2: Distribution of orphans by province and population group, 2009

	Maternal	Paternal	Double	Not Orphaned
Western Cape	4,2	4,7	2,3	10,8
Eastern Cape	17,0	19,0	19,6	13,3
Northern Cape	2,1	1,9	1,6	2,4
Free State	6,5	5,8	8,6	5,4
KwaZulu-Natal	33,7	27,4	31,9	21,8
North West	8,6	6,0	6,6	6,8
Gauteng	10,4	11,8	11,6	19,2
Mpumalanga	9,1	9,0	9,4	7,8
Limpopo	8,5	14,6	8,3	12,4
TOTAL	**100,1**	**100,2**	**99,9**	**99,9**
African	93,7	95,5	97,4	81,6
Coloured	4,3	3,5	2,0	9,3
Indian	0,4	0,3	0,3	2,4
White	1,7	0,7	0,4	6,7
TOTAL	**100,1**	**100,0**	**100,1**	**100,0**
N (000)	**633**	**2 121**	**875**	**14 979**

Table 1.3: Distribution of orphans living in South Africa by province and population group, 2009

	Maternal	Paternal	Double	Not Orphaned	Total	N (000)
Western Cape	1,5	5,6	1,2	91,7	100,0	1 764
Eastern Cape	4,0	15,0	6,5	74,5	100,0	2 763
Northern Cape	3,1	9,1	3,4	84,4	100,0	435
Free State	3,9	11,7	7,2	77,1	99,9	1 067
KwaZulu-Natal	4,9	13,4	6,5	75,2	100,0	4 277
North West	4,3	10,1	4,7	80,9	100,0	1 277
Gauteng	2,0	7,6	3,1	87,4	100,1	3 238
Mpumalanga	3,9	12,7	5,6	77,8	100,0	1 474
Limpopo	2,3	13,5	3,2	81,0	100,0	2 314
South Africa	**3,4**	**11,4**	**4,7**	**80,5**	**100,0**	**18 607**
African	3,8	12,9	5,5	77,8	100,0	15 744
Coloured	1,8	4,9	1,2	92,1	100,0	1 504
Indian	0,6	1,7	0,7	97,1	100,1	363
White	1,1	1,4	0,3	97,2	100,0	997

2.3 Household characteristics and living arrangements

The deterioration of particularly African family structures as a result of labour migration and poverty has meant that many children do not grow up with their biological parents. This is indicated in Table 1.4. Whereas less than a third (32%) of children consistently lived with both parents, about 38% lived with only their mothers. Less than 4% of children lived exclusively with their fathers. A quarter of all children lived with neither of their biological parents. Of the children who did not live with either their biological parents, more than half (56%) still had both their parents alive while less that a fifth were double orphans.

The proportion of children living with both parents is the highest in the Western Cape and Gauteng and lowest in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo, while the proportion of children living with neither of their biological parents is the highest in the Eastern Cape, North West and Limpopo. The pattern varies substantially by race. Whereas more than a quarter of African children live with neither their biological parents, this is true of only about 4% of white and Indian children. The extent to which particularly African families have been disrupted is further accentuated by the observation that only 27% of African children live with both parents, compared to 48% for coloureds and more than 80% for children of other population groups.

Table 1.4: Provincial distribution of children living with only their mothers or fathers or with both their parents, 2009

Province	Mother	Father	Both	Neither	Total	Total
Western Cape	28,7	4,4	52,2	14,8	**100,1**	1 764
Eastern Cape	38,9	3,3	21,4	36,4	**100,0**	2 763
Northern Cape	41,2	2,9	31,3	24,7	**100,1**	435
Free State	35,6	3,4	33,7	27,4	**100,1**	1 067
KwaZulu-Natal	43,1	4,3	24,6	28,0	**100,0**	4 277
North West	35,4	3,7	30,4	30,6	**100,1**	1 277
Gauteng	31,2	4,0	50,2	14,7	**100,1**	3 238
Mpumalanga	42,4	3,7	27,7	26,2	**100,0**	1 473
Limpopo	45,2	1,6	22,9	30,3	**100,0**	2 313
Population group						
African	41,1	3,5	26,6	28,8	**100,0**	15 743
Coloured	31,9	5,1	48,0	15,1	**100,1**	1 504
Indian	10,7	3,3	82,1	4,0	**100,1**	363
White	12,4	3,3	80,0	4,4	**100,1**	997
South Africa	**38,2**	**3,6**	**32,3**	**25,9**	**100,0**	**18 607**

Although approximately a fifth of all children in South Africa are orphaned, about 5% are double orphans, the low proportion of children living in child headed households (Table 1.5) suggests that orphaned children are probably absorbed into existing households. Child headed households, otherwise known as child only households, are defined as households that comprise only individuals younger than 18 years of age.

Between 2002 and 2009 the proportion of children living in child headed households has consistently remained below 1% of all children as their numbers fluctuated between 95 000 and 157 000. The absolute numbers should however be used with caution as they are derived from proportions which are in turn based on mid-year estimates with additional uncertainty (Meintjies, Hall, Marera and Boulle, 2009).

The proportion of child headed households have similarly lingered between 0.5 and 0.7 per cent of all households, comprising approximately 64 000 households in 2009. Limpopo and Mpumalanga have the highest proportion of child headed households. Data should however be treated with care as extremely low sample sizes could give rise to significant variation.

Table 1.5: Proportion of children living in child-headed households by province, 2002-2009

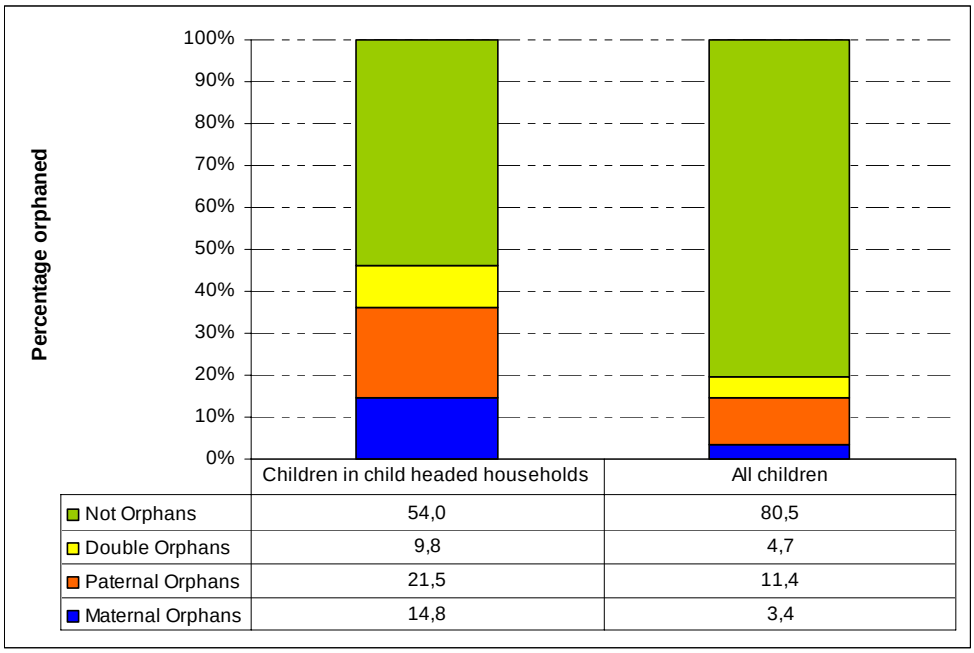
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Western Cape	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,1	1,2	0,1	0,1	0,0
Eastern Cape	1,7	0,9	0,9	1,0	1,0	1,2	1,1	0,4
Northern Cape	0,1	0,1	0,2	0,9	0,3	0,2	0,1	0,2
Free State	0,7	0,9	0,5	0,6	0,4	0,8	0,4	0,3
KwaZulu-Natal	0,4	0,8	0,6	0,4	1,0	0,8	0,3	0,6
North West	0,2	0,3	0,2	0,8	0,2	0,4	0,8	0,3
Gauteng	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,2	0,0	0,2	0,3	0,2
Mpumalanga	0,5	0,8	0,7	0,9	0,6	0,7	1,1	0,8
Limpopo	1,4	0,9	1,1	1,6	1,6	2,4	1,6	1,9
South Africa	0,7	0,6	0,6	0,7	0,8	0,8	0,6	0,6
N (000)	**128**	**105**	**95**	**123**	**146**	**157**	**120**	**103**

Table 1.6: Provincial distribution of child headed households, 2002–2009

	2002	2003	0,04	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Western Cape	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,0
Eastern Cape	1,8	1,6	1,1	1,0	1,2	1,4	1,2	0,4
Northern Cape	0,3	0,2	0,3	0,3	0,4	0,3	0,1	0,3
Free State	0,8	0,6	0,7	0,9	0,4	0,5	0,4	0,4
KwaZulu-Natal	0,5	0,5	0,6	0,5	0,9	0,8	0,4	0,5
North West	0,3	0,8	0,7	0,5	0,2	0,3	0,5	0,2
Gauteng	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,2	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,1
Mpumalanga	0,5	0,4	0,6	1,0	0,7	0,7	0,9	0,8
Limpopo	2,0	1,8	2,3	1,9	1,7	2,4	2,0	1,9
South Africa	0,7	0,6	0,6	0,6	0,6	0,7	0,6	0,5
Total	**77 315**	**72 430**	**75 487**	**77 708**	**75 090**	**91 267**	**76 695**	**63 600**

Although a larger proportion of children in child headed households are orphaned than in the general population, it is interesting to note from Figure 1.1 that less than a tenth of these children are double orphans while for half of them the parents are still alive. The majority of children who live in child headed households are therefore not orphans at all and the vast majority have at least one living parent.

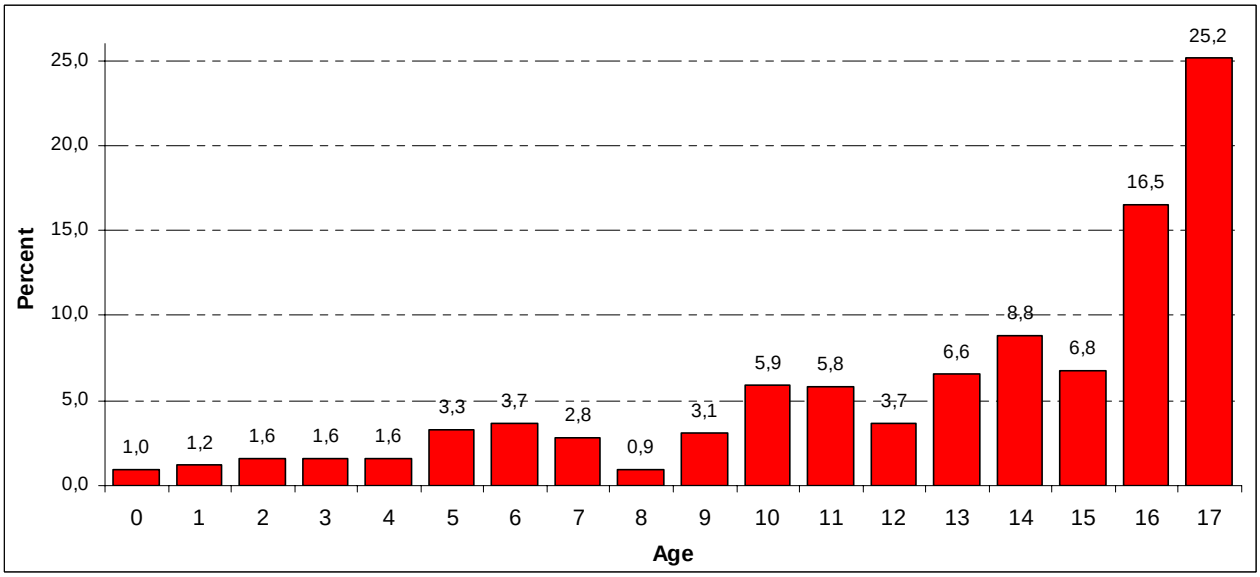
Figure 1.1: Orphan status of children living in child headed households compared to all children, 2009



	Children in child headed households	All children
Not Orphans	54,0	80,5
Double Orphans	9,8	4,7
Paternal Orphans	21,5	11,4
Maternal Orphans	14,8	3,4

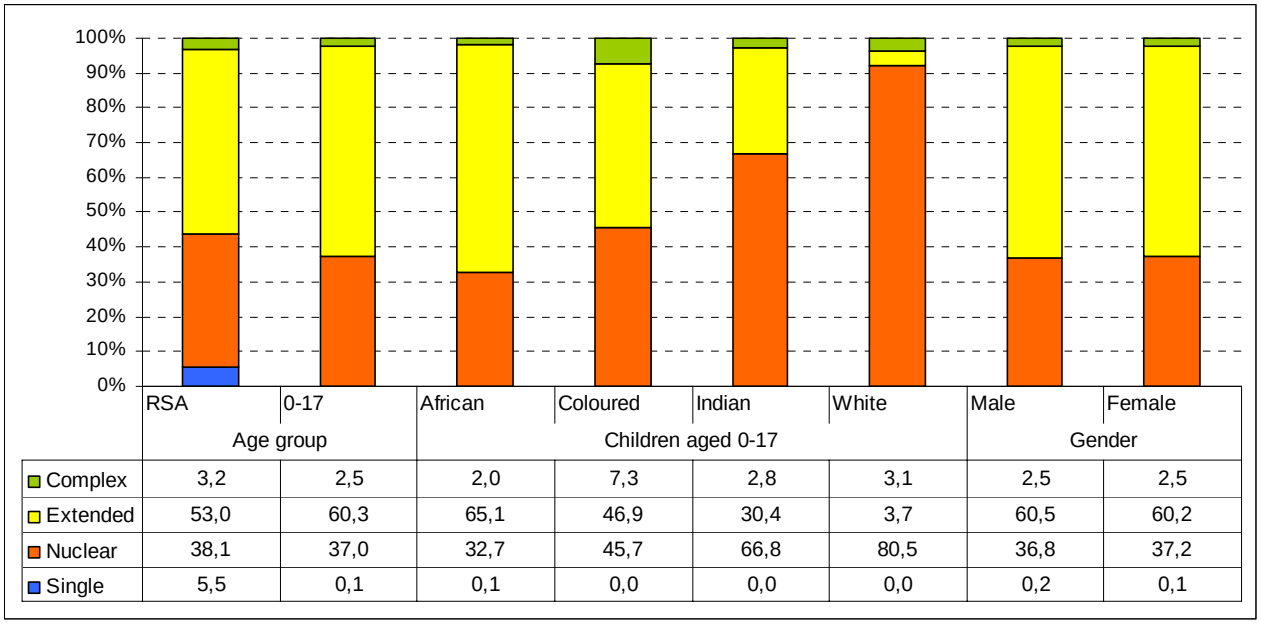
Figure 1.2 suggests that typically more than half (57%) of children in child headed households are older than 14 years of age while more than a quarter are 17 years old.

Figure 1.2: Distribution of child members in child headed households by single years, 2009



Households' living arrangements are influenced by aspects such as politics, access to housing, health, education and socio-economic amenities. One could therefore expect the household structure to correspond to changes in the aforementioned conditions. Households can be categorized according to a number of typologies. One such typology (Amoateng, Heaton and Kalule-Sabiti, 2007) categorises households into single person, nuclear, extended and complex households. Nuclear households are defined as households consisting of heads of households, their spouses and offspring, while the extended household would typically include other relatives in addition to the nucleus. Complex households are all households with members who are not related to the head of the household. According to Amoateng et al (2007: 56) respectively 40% and 36% of all households were classified as either nuclear or extended based on the 2001 census. It is clear from Figure 1.3 that more than half of South Africans and 60% of South African children live in extended households while approximately 37% of children live in nuclear households. The pattern however varies by population group and a much larger proportion of Indian and white children live in nuclear families than African and coloured children.

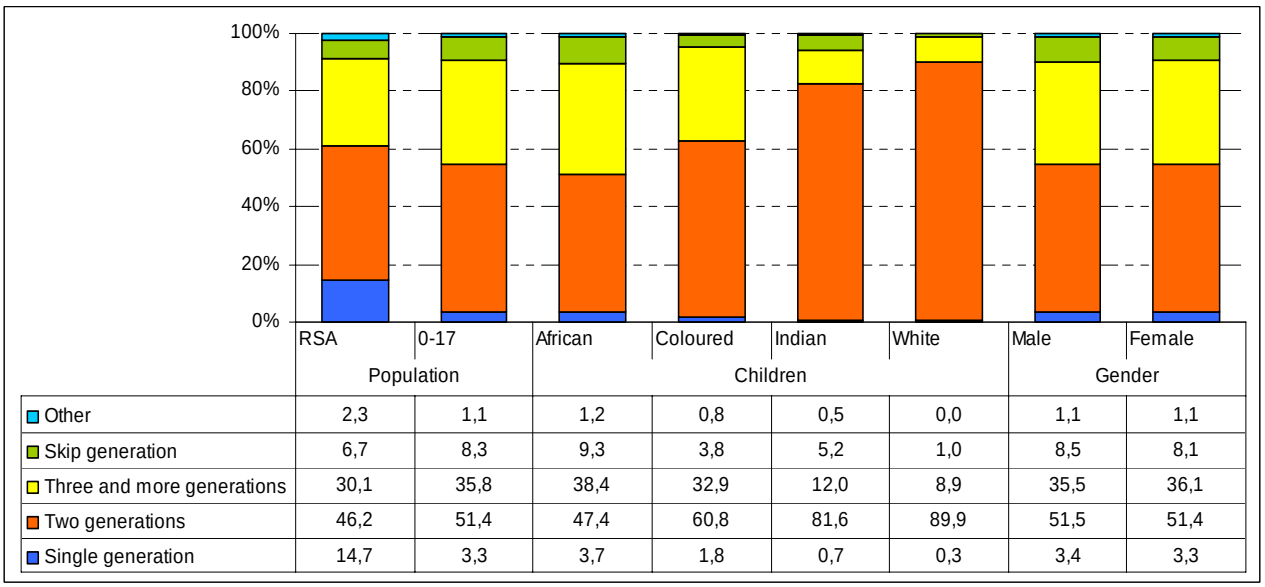
Figure 1.3: Distribution of children across household types by population group, 2009



	RSA	0-17	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Male	Female
	Age group		Children aged 0-17				Gender	
Complex	3,2	2,5	2,0	7,3	2,8	3,1	2,5	2,5
Extended	53,0	60,3	65,1	46,9	30,4	3,7	60,5	60,2
Nuclear	38,1	37,0	32,7	45,7	66,8	80,5	36,8	37,2
Single	5,5	0,1	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,1

The living arrangements of children are explored further in Figure 1.4 in terms of their distribution among intergenerational households. As expected the vast majority (51%) of children live in households that contain at least two generations (i.e. with their parents or guardians), while another 36% live in households that contain three or more generations. Approximately 8% of children live in skip-generations households with their grandparents. Significant variation is observed between population groups, as Indian and white children are much more likely to live in two-generation households than African and coloured children. Almost 4% of African children live in single generation households with their siblings who might either be adults already, or in some instances still children, making it a child headed household.

Figure 1.4: Distribution of children across types of intergenerational household types by population group, 2009



	RSA	0-17	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Male	Female
	Population		Children				Gender	
Other	2,3	1,1	1,2	0,8	0,5	0,0	1,1	1,1
Skip generation	6,7	8,3	9,3	3,8	5,2	1,0	8,5	8,1
Three and more generations	30,1	35,8	38,4	32,9	12,0	8,9	35,5	36,1
Two generations	46,2	51,4	47,4	60,8	81,6	89,9	51,5	51,4
Single generation	14,7	3,3	3,7	1,8	0,7	0,3	3,4	3,3

Some general characteristics of child headed households and other households that contain children are presented in Table 1.7. Although children in child headed households are known to be more vulnerable to poor living conditions than children in mixed generation households, children in mixed generation households who suffer similar burdens of poverty and inadequate service delivery might be compromised by an excessive focus on child headed households. It is therefore important to consider the conditions of children across a wider range of households than only child headed households. For this reason Table 1.7 also presents information on mixed generation households in general, as well as mixed generation households with male and female heads in addition to child headed households.

Table 1.7: Child headed households by household size and sex of the head, and dependency ratios

Age	Indicator	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Mean household size									
Child headed household	Average	2,05	1,99	1,90	1,82	1,98	1,84	1,82	1,94
Households with children		5,13	5,02	4,99	4,96	4,87	4,90	4,93	4,86
Female headed with children		5,19	5,06	5,04	5,02	4,90	4,94	5,02	4,92
Male headed with children		5,05	4,97	4,92	4,89	4,83	4,85	4,82	4,78
South Africa		3,72	3,56	3,51	3,51	3,44	3,43	3,61	3,46
Female ratio									
Child headed household	% Female	0,361	0,349	0,367	0,432	0,448	0,398	0,407	0,350
All households with children		0,546	0,544	0,545	0,548	0,550	0,551	0,547	0,553
Total dependency ratio									
Child headed household	Average ratio	0,852	0,768	0,561	0,637	0,800	0,703	0,428	0,726
Male headed with children		0,781	0,784	0,769	0,768	0,746	0,761	0,760	0,760
Female headed with children		1,128	1,108	1,082	1,105	1,079	1,094	1,073	1,084
All households with children		0,930	0,924	0,906	0,915	0,893	0,908	0,900	0,905
Old age dependency ratio									
Child headed household	Average ratio	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Male headed with children		0,063	0,067	0,064	0,066	0,066	0,070	0,065	0,069
Female headed with children		0,081	0,084	0,082	0,083	0,081	0,089	0,082	0,085
All households with children		0,071	0,074	0,072	0,074	0,073	0,078	0,072	0,076
Child dependency ratio									
Child headed household	Average ratio	0,852	0,768	0,561	0,637	0,800	0,703	0,428	0,726
Male headed with children		0,717	0,717	0,704	0,701	0,680	0,691	0,696	0,691
Female headed with children		1,047	1,025	1,000	1,022	0,998	1,005	0,992	0,999
All households with children		0,859	0,850	0,834	0,842	0,820	0,829	0,827	0,829
Child proportion									
Child headed household	Average proportion	0,994	0,997	0,990	0,991	0,987	0,996	0,985	0,981
Male headed with children		0,445	0,440	0,437	0,435	0,431	0,433	0,429	0,427
Female headed with children		0,519	0,518	0,514	0,514	0,514	0,514	0,508	0,509
All households with children		0,477	0,474	0,471	0,470	0,468	0,469	0,464	0,464

The **mean size** of South African households have been declining very gradually if not somewhat unevenly from 3,7 in 2002 to 3,5 in 2009. The decline is also noticeable for the somewhat larger mixed generation households, irrespective of whether they are male or female headed. Child headed households are on average substantially smaller than mixed generation households and its mean household size have remained relatively constant at around 2 children per household between 2002 and 2009. This trend is further illuminated by Figure 1.5 which reveals that almost three-quarters (72%) of child headed households are comprised of two members or less.

Whereas mixed generation households generally contain a slightly larger proportion of females than males, child headed households are largely comprised of boys.

The **age dependency ratio** is commonly used to measure the socio-economic impact of the dependent-age population (children under the age of 15 years and older persons above the age of 65 years) to the working age population aged 15 to 64 years. As expected the presence of children under the age of 15 years increases the number of age dependents in the population and therefore amplifies the total dependency ratio for both the mixed generation as well as the child headed households. Figure 1.2 however reveals that a large proportion of children

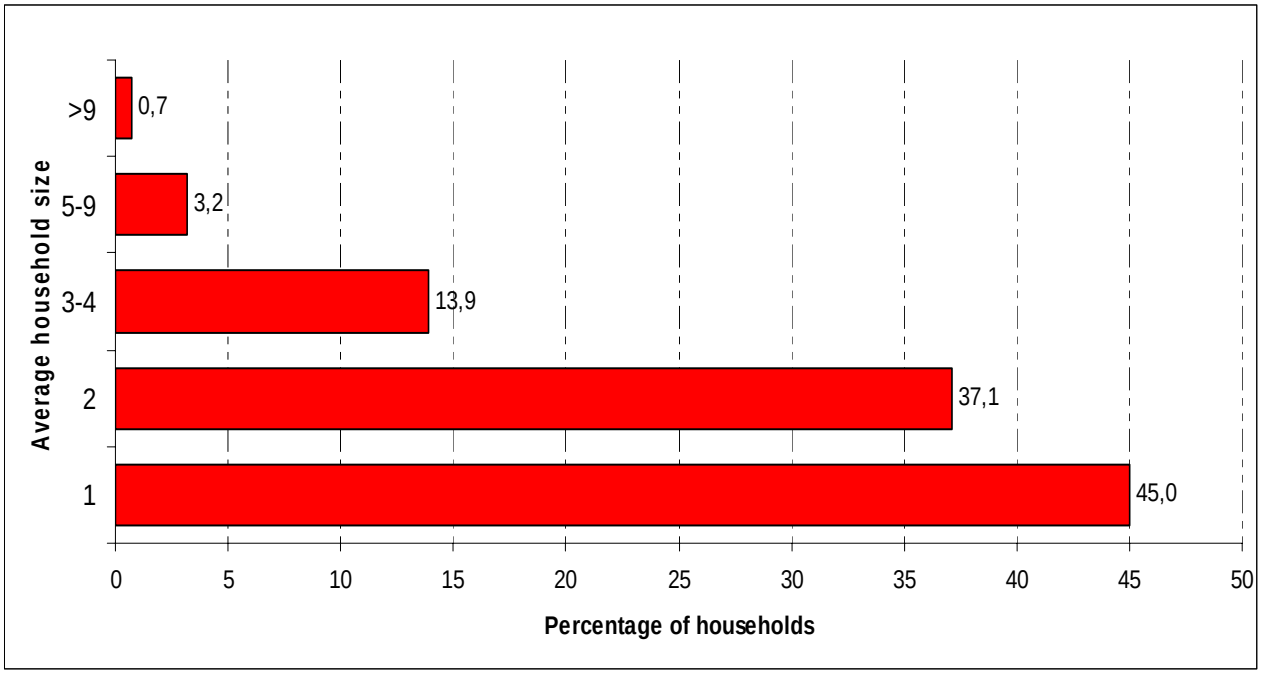
in child headed households are typically older than 15 years of age, thus in principle increasing the number of working age individuals and suppressing the ratio. Even though the total dependency ratio for child headed households has declined slightly between 2002 and 2009, the years in between have been characterised by relatively large swings. The total dependency ratio for male headed mixed generation households has consistently been measured at around 0,76 dependents for each person in his or her working age. This is in fact very similar to the ratio for child headed households, but much lower than the ratio for all mixed generation households where each working age household member is on average supporting just under one dependent. Although the total dependency ratio for female headed mixed generation households has declined slightly since 2002, it remains above 1. It is important to note that the age dependency ratio is a measure of age composition rather than economic dependency.

The **old age dependency ratio** expresses the ratio of household members above 65 years of age divided by economically active household members. The ratio does not apply to child headed households and has remained stable across the mixed generation households over the period 2002 to 2009. The highest age dependency ratio is observed in female headed mixed generation households with a ratio in the vicinity of 0,08.

The **child dependency ratio** represents the ratio of the population under the age of 15 to the economically active population. Since children comprise the majority of age dependents in households that contains children, the child dependency ratios follow an almost identical though lower trajectory than the general age dependency ratios. The burden of dependency is highest for female headed mixed generation households and lowest in male headed mixed generation households.

The **child ratio** expresses the proportion of children under the age of 18 years to the total number of household members. Since child headed households are almost exclusively comprised of children the child ratio can be rounded to one. By contrast, children have consistently accounted for between 40% and 50% of mixed generation households.

Figure 1.5: Household size of child headed households, 2009



2.4 Vulnerability to hunger

Access to food is essential to human well-being and development. Vulnerability to hunger particularly affects vulnerable groups under a common bond of poverty and is particularly severe under conditions of high inequality and unemployment. Although the interrelationship between hunger and poverty has been studied intensively since the term 'food security' was first coined at the World Food Conference held in Rome in 1974 (Van Zyl, 1992 : 170), the concept is still plagued by imprecise and inconsistent definitions while lacking standard measures to monitor it (Altman et al, 2009).

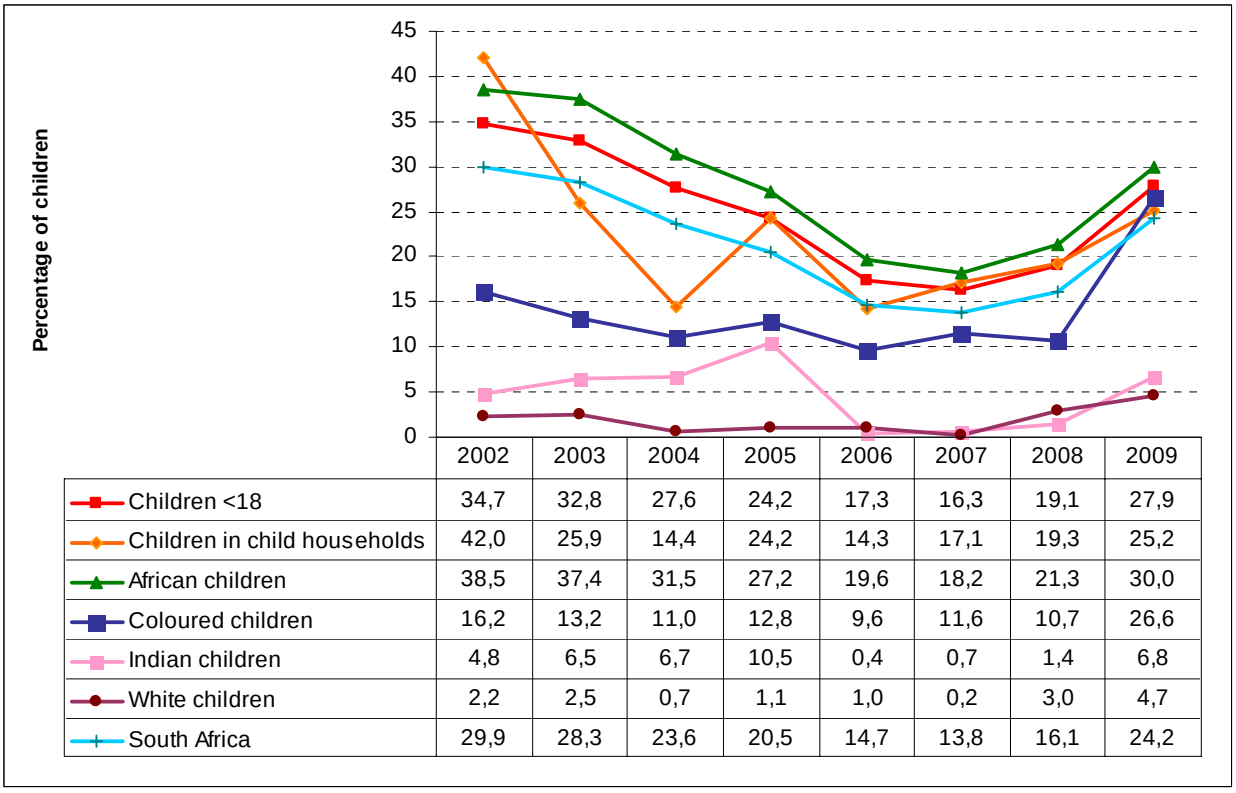
Access to food is influenced by a variety of factors and a clear understanding of the interactions is vital to identify and implement appropriate policies and programmes. The GHS asks respondents a battery of questions to establish whether any household members experienced hunger during the preceding year and to establish the severity of hunger. Hunger is used as a proxy for inadequate food intake and is associated with not consuming

enough food. Although this is definitely more imprecise than variables designed to measure under nutrition, it does provide analysts with the opportunity to explore the relationship between vulnerability to hunger and poverty, and particularly the impact of social grants in alleviating hunger. Households are very sensitive to livelihood shocks and low income households with a large proportion of dependents remain particularly vulnerable.

Figure 1.6 summarises the data on the proportion of various categories of children living in households that reported hunger during the year preceding the studies. The proportion of children living in households that experience hunger generally exceeds the proportion of the general population living with hunger. This can perhaps be ascribed to the higher mean household size and dependency rates characterising these households. It is evident from Figure 1.6 that the proportion of individuals living in food insecure households has on average declined relatively briskly until 2007, after which it increased sharply to the current levels where 28% of children and 24% of the general population live in food insecure households. The upswing can in part be ascribed to the financial downturn experienced in 2008. While remaining confident about its comparability, it is perhaps important to emphasise that the question used in the GHS questionnaire to measure household hunger was changed considerably in 2009.

African children are most likely to live in food insecure households while vulnerability to hunger among white and Indian children seems to be much more limited. Although the proportion of coloured children living in food insecure households has declined between 2002 and 2008, a late upsurge has taken the proportion above that of the general population. Vulnerability to hunger among children living in child headed households is much more difficult to explain. While exhibiting a very similar overall pattern than children and the population in general, it is much more jagged. Despite this, the proportion of children living in food insecure child headed households has declined from 42% to 25% between 2002 and 2009. Children in child headed households are by some accounts not necessarily abandoned but often exist in relatively close proximity to relatives who can provide some kind of material support (Foster, 2004).

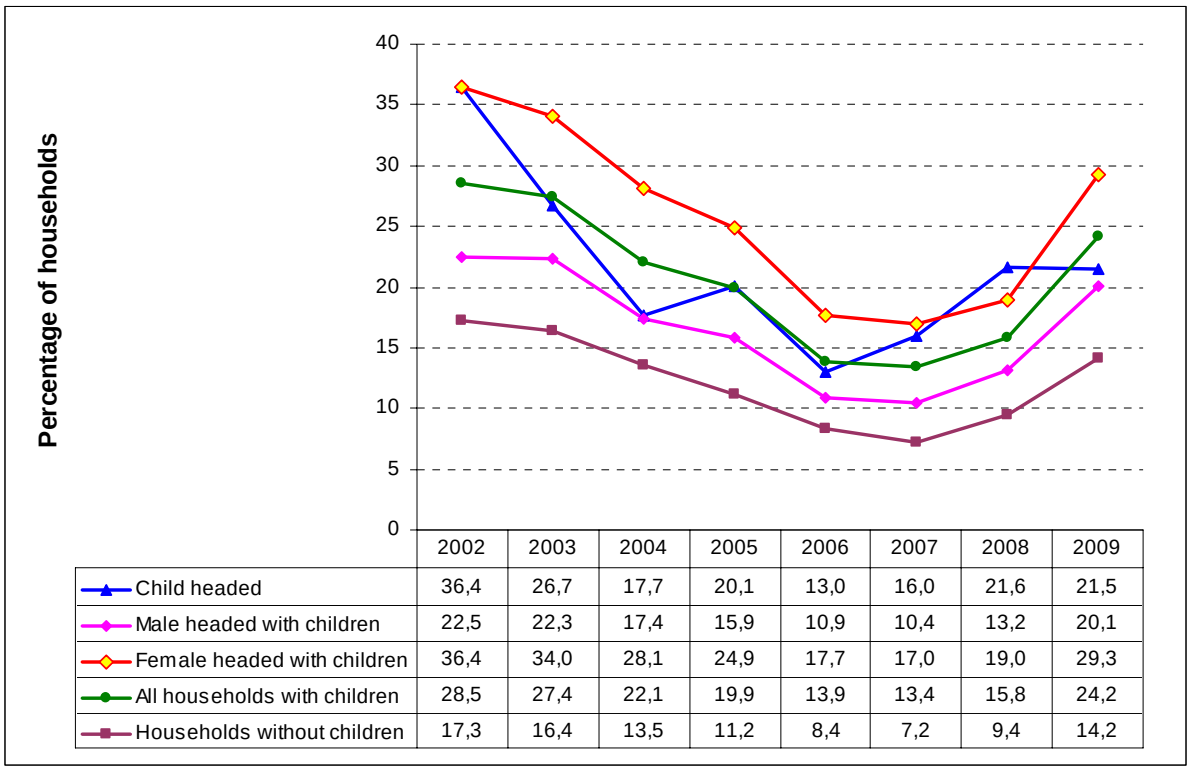
Figure 1.6: Proportion of children living in households that reported hunger, 2002–2009



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Children <18	34,7	32,8	27,6	24,2	17,3	16,3	19,1	27,9
Children in child households	42,0	25,9	14,4	24,2	14,3	17,1	19,3	25,2
African children	38,5	37,4	31,5	27,2	19,6	18,2	21,3	30,0
Coloured children	16,2	13,2	11,0	12,8	9,6	11,6	10,7	26,6
Indian children	4,8	6,5	6,7	10,5	0,4	0,7	1,4	6,8
White children	2,2	2,5	0,7	1,1	1,0	0,2	3,0	4,7
South Africa	29,9	28,3	23,6	20,5	14,7	13,8	16,1	24,2

Households have followed a very similar trajectory to the proportion of food insecure children since 2002 (Figure 1.7). After sustained declines between 2002 and 2007, the proportion of households that reported hunger increased sharply to levels that are very similar to, if not higher than the levels recorded in 2002. Female headed households that contain children are most likely to report hunger. Although child inclusive male headed households are much less likely to report hunger, it is noticeable that the difference between the reported vulnerability to hunger levels of child inclusive male and female headed households has decreased significantly. Child inclusive male headed households remain slightly more likely to report hunger than households without children.

Figure 1.7: Proportion of child inclusive households that reported hunger, 2002–2009



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Child headed	36,4	26,7	17,7	20,1	13,0	16,0	21,6	21,5
Male headed with children	22,5	22,3	17,4	15,9	10,9	10,4	13,2	20,1
Female headed with children	36,4	34,0	28,1	24,9	17,7	17,0	19,0	29,3
All households with children	28,5	27,4	22,1	19,9	13,9	13,4	15,8	24,2
Households without children	17,3	16,4	13,5	11,2	8,4	7,2	9,4	14,2

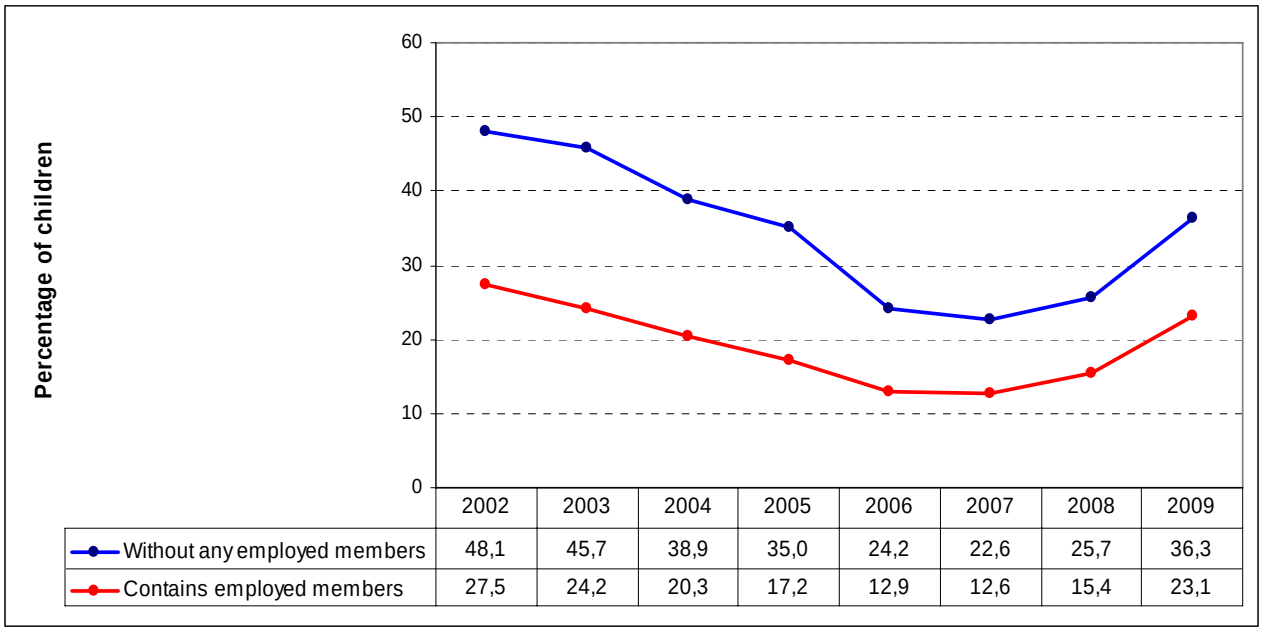
The overall patterns however hide significant variation between provinces. This is presented in Table 1.8. Although the proportion of children living in food insecure households has for the most part declined year on year between 2002 and 2008, a late surge has seen the levels in the Free State and KwaZulu-Natal surpass the original levels measured in 2002 on their way to becoming the provinces with the highest proportion of food insecure children. By contrast, Limpopo has remained the province with the smallest proportion of children living in food insecure households since 2007. Not heeding this later surge, the KwaZulu-Natal has consistently displayed the highest proportion of vulnerability to hunger. The two wealthiest provinces, Gauteng and Western Cape have largely changed in step with each other, settling at about 22%, slightly above 2002 levels.

Table 1.8: Proportion of children living in households that reported child hunger, by province

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Western Cape	20,8	21,7	18,7	22,2	14,6	18,2	14,7	22,1
Eastern Cape	52,7	46,8	41,2	34,7	21,0	24,7	22,8	28,1
Northern Cape	31,6	19,3	21,8	22,2	21,5	19,1	14,5	25,6
Free State	31,6	30,6	25,7	23,8	20,4	11,9	14,8	43,2
KwaZulu-Natal	37,7	38,5	30,7	23,3	19,6	16,2	25,4	37,8
North West	33,0	36,3	35,8	27,0	20,5	16,2	27,2	27,9
Gauteng	20,6	21,6	16,5	16,6	13,3	13,7	12,9	21,6
Mpumalanga	38,5	36,6	29,6	25,3	13,3	16,5	18,7	29,5
Limpopo	33,4	26,3	21,9	22,5	14,8	10,1	13,5	15,2
South Africa	**34,7**	**32,8**	**27,6**	**24,2**	**17,3**	**16,3**	**19,1**	**27,9**

Figure 1.8 attempts to explore the relationship between food security and poverty by presenting information on the proportions of children that reported living in food insecure households by whether the households contain any employed adults. Having an employed adult in the household can in all probability be used as a proxy for higher household income. Children living in households without any employed adults are indeed more vulnerable to hunger than children living in households that contain at least one employed adult.

Figure 1.8: Relationship between the proportion of food insecure children and whether households contain any employed members, 2002–2009

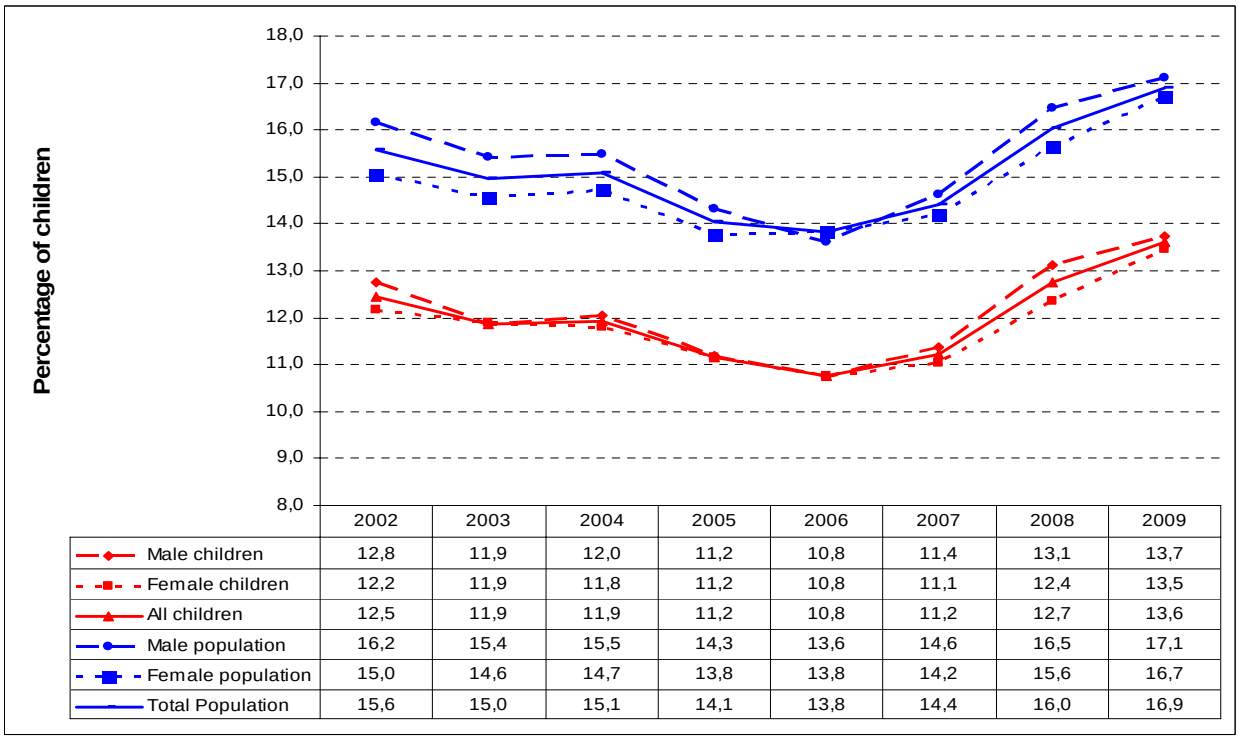


	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Without any employed members	48,1	45,7	38,9	35,0	24,2	22,6	25,7	36,3
Contains employed members	27,5	24,2	20,3	17,2	12,9	12,6	15,4	23,1

2.5 Health services

South Africa has by most accounts made good progress in providing access to free primary health care, and in particular free health care to pregnant women and children below six years of age. The health care system however mirrors the greater inequality found in the contemporary society. According to Figure 1.9 children are slightly less likely to be covered by a medical aid programme than the population as a whole. Less than 14% of all children had access to medical aid in 2009, compared to about 17% for the total population.

Figure 1.9: Children's access to medical aid by gender, 2002–2009



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male children	12,8	11,9	12,0	11,2	10,8	11,4	13,1	13,7
Female children	12,2	11,9	11,8	11,2	10,8	11,1	12,4	13,5
All children	12,5	11,9	11,9	11,2	10,8	11,2	12,7	13,6
Male population	16,2	15,4	15,5	14,3	13,6	14,6	16,5	17,1
Female population	15,0	14,6	14,7	13,8	13,8	14,2	15,6	16,7
Total Population	15,6	15,0	15,1	14,1	13,8	14,4	16,0	16,9

2.6 Income poverty and social grants

2.6.1 Household income

Households rely on a variety of income sources. Salaries and wages from resident members, or indeed remittances from absent members, and also social grants form a major part of this. The main sources of income for child headed households between 2002 and 2009 are presented in the Table 1.9 and Figure 1.9. The data had to be separated because of changes in the questions asked in 2009. Whereas respondents were asked to only select the main source of household income between 2002 and 2008, the 2009 questionnaire requested respondents to indicate whether each of the listed sources of income was applicable to the particular household, or not. The information is therefore not strictly comparable.

Child headed households have consistently listed remittances as their main source of income between 2002 and 2009. This is in line with a finding by Foster (2004) that children in child headed households are often supported by relatives. Salaries or wages were identified as the second most important source of income followed by social grants. Almost 3% of all child headed households indicated a complete lack of income during 2009.

Table 1.9: Main source of income for child headed households, 2002–2008

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Salaries and/or wages	8,6	8,8	15,8	12,4	9,2	14,0	9,9	5,1
Remittances	84,1	84,5	79,4	70,9	78,2	79,1	78,8	82,8
Social Grants	1,5	0,6	1,3	5,7	7,9	2,0	4,2	3,9
Sales of farm products	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,8	0,0	0,0	0,0
Other non farm income	2,1	0,0	1,9	2,5	0,5	2,6	0,5	5,8
No income	3,7	6,1	1,5	8,4	3,5	2,4	6,6	2,5
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
N (000)	**75**	**72**	**74**	**77**	**73**	**89**	**72**	**102**

The GHS provides estimates of income earned from employment, government transfers through social grants as well as remittances. Data on other sources such as rent, dividends and interest are however more difficult to obtain. A serious omission during the 2009 survey was the questionnaire's failure to ask pensioners for the amount of income they were earning from private pensions in addition to other sources of income. This oversight has been addressed in subsequent questionnaires. Great care is taken to improve income data, but figures should be treated with circumspect as the literature (Casale and Desmond, 2007) suggests that high earners often tend to diminish their income while in-kind payments are often disregarded in the case of lower earning households.

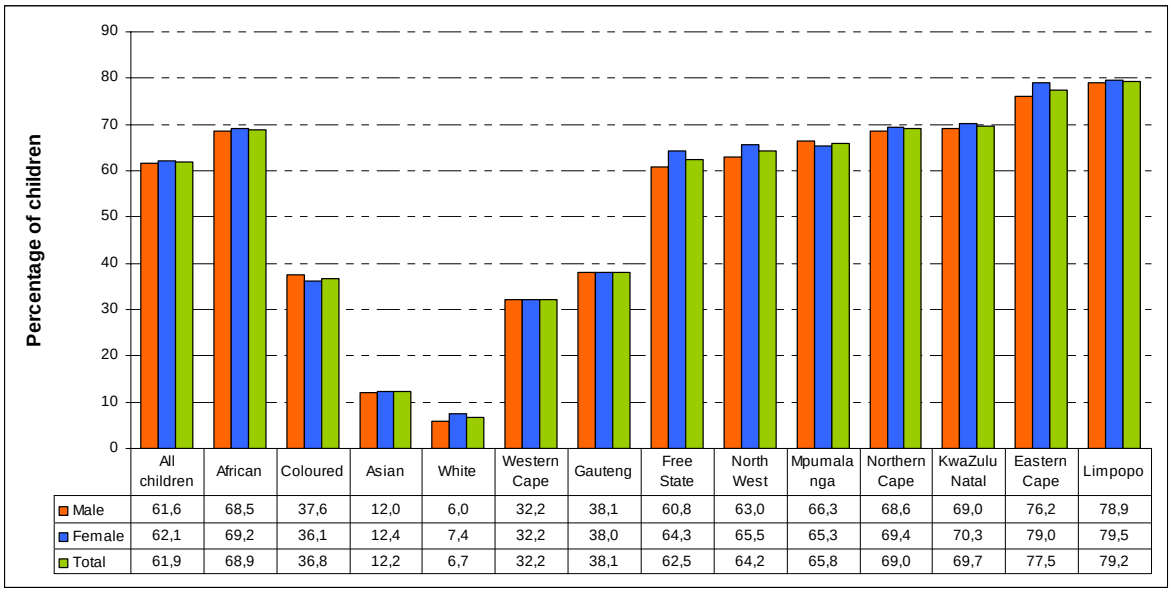
The proportion of children living in low income households is established by assigning the poor to the lowest 40% of the income distribution. Using the 40^{th} percentile as an arbitrary cut off, a low income threshold of R555 per capita is created. This relative poverty line provides an indication of the extent to which children are lagging behind in welfare terms. Children are disproportionately affected by poverty. Approximately half of all South Africans live in households that fall below this line compared to more than 60% of children (Table 1.10).

Table 1.10: Percentage of children compared to the general population (under 60 years of age) living in low income households, 2009

	Children	Population
Male	61,6	48,8
Female	62,1	54,3
Total	61,9	50,2

The proportion of children that live in low income households is presented in Figure 1.10. African children are most likely to live in low income households followed by coloured children and remotely by Indian and white children. Almost 80% of children living in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo live in low income households. Both provinces display strong rural characteristics and each contained one or more of the independent homelands that was created in the seventies. Although the proportion of poor children is much smaller in the relatively prosperous and much more urbanised provinces of the Western Cape and Gauteng, poor children still comprise more than 30% of all children in each province.

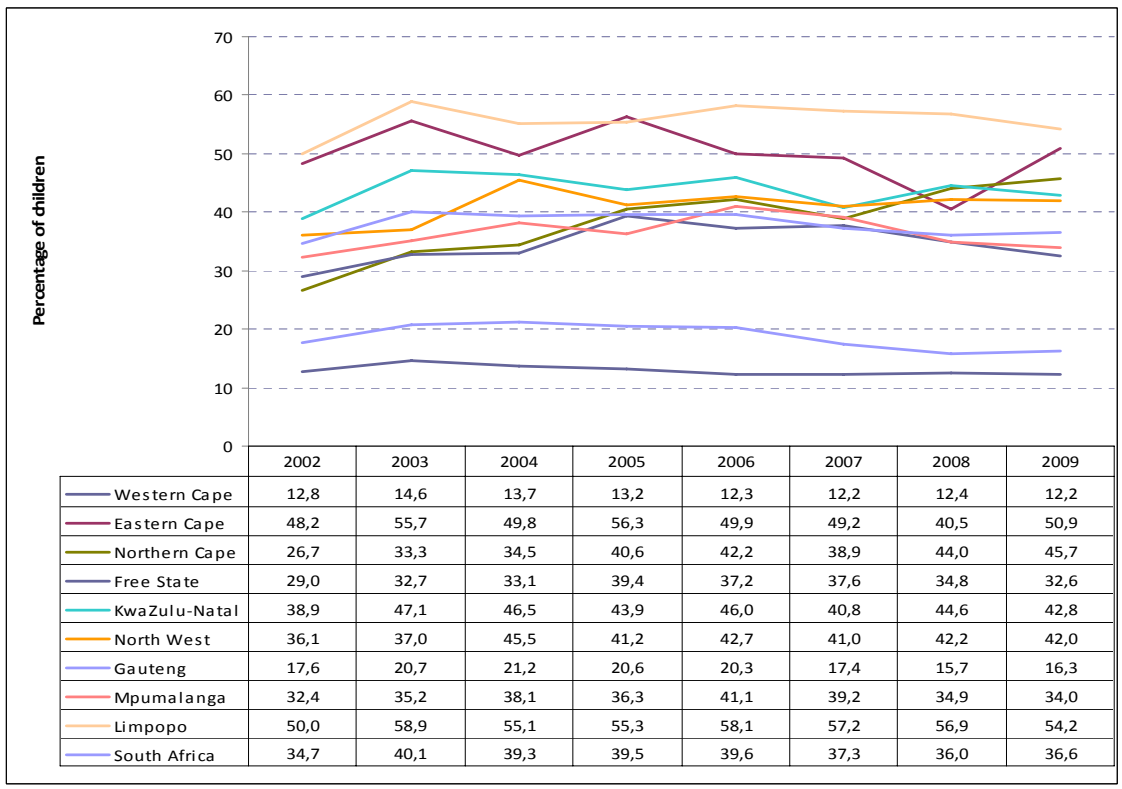
Figure 1.10: Proportion of children living in households with a low per capita income, by province and population group, 2009



	All children	African	Coloured	Asian	White	Western Cape	Gauteng	Free State	North West	Mpumalanga	Northern Cape	KwaZulu Natal	Eastern Cape	Limpopo
Male	61,6	68,5	37,6	12,0	6,0	32,2	38,1	60,8	63,0	66,3	68,6	69,0	76,2	78,9
Female	62,1	69,2	36,1	12,4	7,4	32,2	38,0	64,3	65,5	65,3	69,4	70,3	79,0	79,5
Total	61,9	68,9	36,8	12,2	6,7	32,2	38,1	62,5	64,2	65,8	69,0	69,7	77,5	79,2

The proportion of children living in households in which no adults are employed is presented in Figure 1.11. The analysis excludes economically active children under the age of 18 years. Having one or more employed adults in the household can hold a number of tangible and intangible advantages to children living in the household. In addition to being a source of valuable income, employed adults often offer better social networks for employment opportunities. Improved access to medical benefits like a medical aid might be an additional benefit. A graphical depiction of children living in households without any employed adults by province bears some resemblance to the distribution of children that live in low income households. Although the proportions seem slightly less pronounced, the largest proportion of children living in wholly unemployed or economically inactive households are similarly found in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo, while the smallest proportion of children is found in Gauteng and the Western Cape. These figures are probably indicative of the concentration of economic opportunities in these two provinces. The finding is compounded by an observation in Table 1.4 that shows that about 30% of children in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo do not live with either of their biological parents. This is perhaps indicative of an ongoing practice in which children are often sent to retired grand parents in the so-called rural areas.

Figure 1.11: Proportion of children living in households without an employed adult



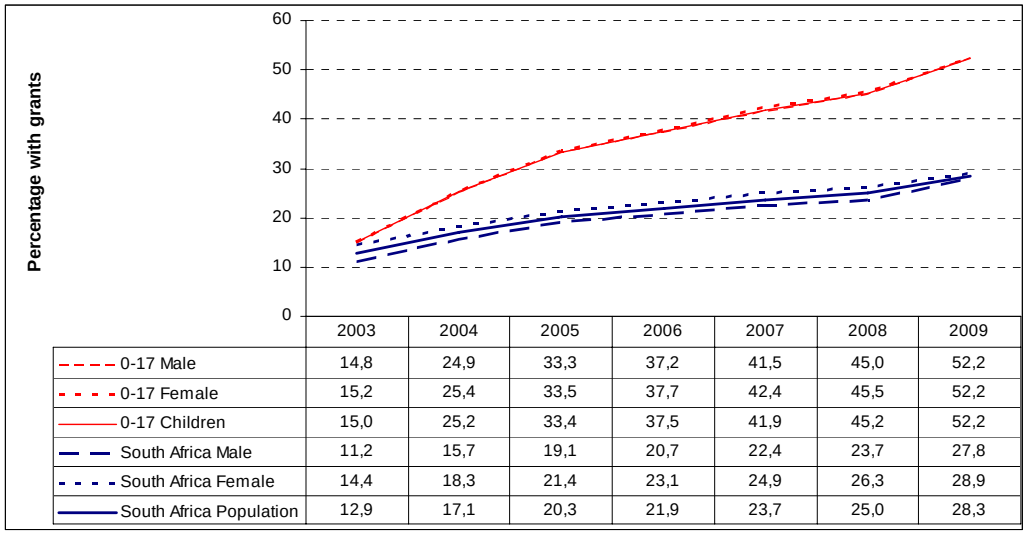
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Western Cape	12,8	14,6	13,7	13,2	12,3	12,2	12,4	12,2
Eastern Cape	48,2	55,7	49,8	56,3	49,9	49,2	40,5	50,9
Northern Cape	26,7	33,3	34,5	40,6	42,2	38,9	44,0	45,7
Free State	29,0	32,7	33,1	39,4	37,2	37,6	34,8	32,6
KwaZulu-Natal	38,9	47,1	46,5	43,9	46,0	40,8	44,6	42,8
North West	36,1	37,0	45,5	41,2	42,7	41,0	42,2	42,0
Gauteng	17,6	20,7	21,2	20,6	20,3	17,4	15,7	16,3
Mpumalanga	32,4	35,2	38,1	36,3	41,1	39,2	34,9	34,0
Limpopo	50,0	58,9	55,1	55,3	58,1	57,2	56,9	54,2
South Africa	34,7	40,1	39,3	39,5	39,6	37,3	36,0	36,6

2.6.2 Social grants

Social assistance grants are aimed at ensuring that households meet their basic subsistence needs. Poverty and massive unemployment necessitates this form of redistribution and it is generally believed that the reliance on grants will continue, if not increase, if the current situation continues. Social grants play a vital role in ameliorating poverty and improving access to food and education (Altman et al, 2009).

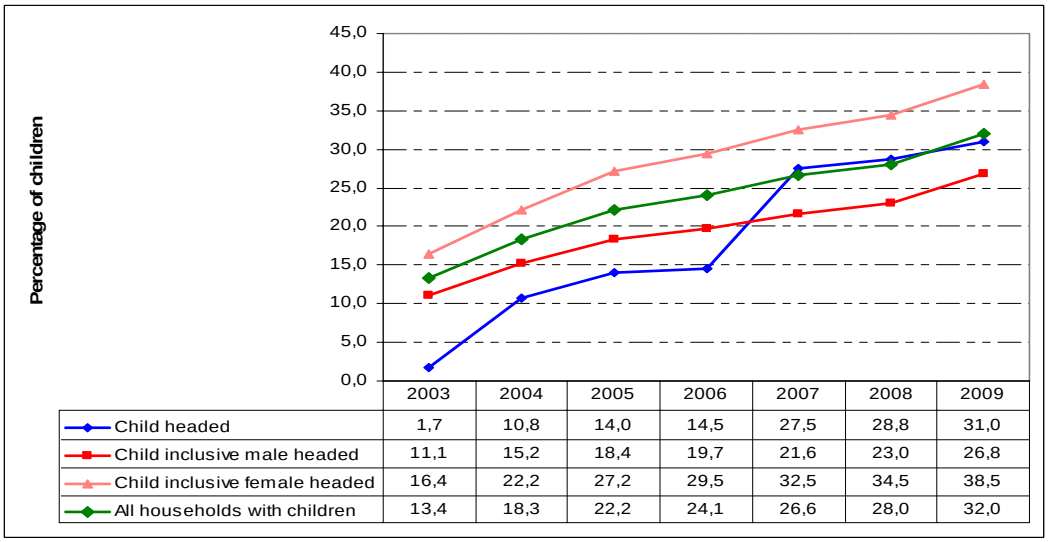
The share of children who are accessing all types of social grants have increased tremendously since 2003 when access to grants was first measured by the GHS. This is pointed out in Figure 1.12. During the reference period the proportion of children who benefits from grants has increased at a much faster rate than access for the population as a whole, increasing from 15% in 2002 to more than 52% by 2009. This figure is as much indicative of the large proportion of needy children in society as it is of improved coverage of eligible children. The proportion of children who access grants will continue to increase as an ever increasing proportion of eligible children are drawn in while the coverage is simultaneously widened to include all children. When the CSG was first implemented in 1998 it only covered children under the age of 6 years. The threshold age was increased over time to 16 at the beginning of 2010, and it will be expanded to include children under the age of 18 years over the next two years. It is also important to note that the eligibility criteria have changed significantly between 1998 and 2009. Between 1998 and 2008 children were only eligible for the CSG if their parents or caregivers had a joint monthly income of below R800 when living in a formal house in an urban area, or R1100 when living in rural areas or informal housing. As from 2008 the income criteria was changed to be a multiple of 10 of the CSG grant. With a value of R250 per month this means that a single caregiver has to earn less than R2 500 while a caregiver and his/her spouse have to earn less than R5 000 per month (Hall, 2009).

Figure 1.12: Proportion of children accessing social grants compared to the total population receiving some kind of grant by gender, 2003–2009



	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
0-17 Male	14,8	24,9	33,3	37,2	41,5	45,0	52,2
0-17 Female	15,2	25,4	33,5	37,7	42,4	45,5	52,2
0-17 Children	15,0	25,2	33,4	37,5	41,9	45,2	52,2
South Africa Male	11,2	15,7	19,1	20,7	22,4	23,7	27,8
South Africa Female	14,4	18,3	21,4	23,1	24,9	26,3	28,9
South Africa Population	12,9	17,1	20,3	21,9	23,7	25,0	28,3

Figure 1.13: Relationship between the type of household and the proportion of children who receive a child support grant, 2003–2009



	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Child headed	1,7	10,8	14,0	14,5	27,5	28,8	31,0
Child inclusive male headed	11,1	15,2	18,4	19,7	21,6	23,0	26,8
Child inclusive female headed	16,4	22,2	27,2	29,5	32,5	34,5	38,5
All households with children	13,4	18,3	22,2	24,1	26,6	28,0	32,0

Child Support Grants are most commonly accessed by children. It can therefore be used to explore the extent to which the membership of different households can influence access to it. It would seem from Figure 1.13 that children in child inclusive female headed households are most likely to access CSGs. Although the uptake of Child Support Grants has increased tremendously since 2002, the increased uptake by children living in child headed households has been particularly rapid.

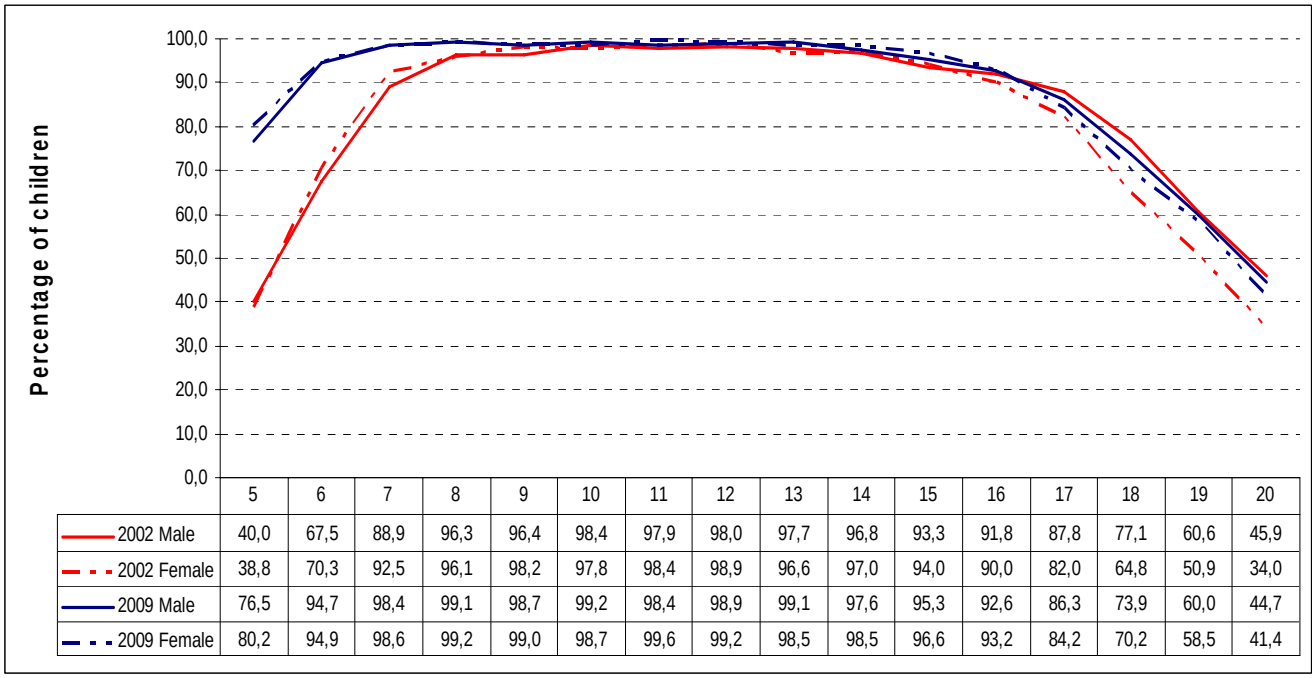
2.7 Education

Section 29(1)(a) of the South African constitution guarantees the right to basic education to all children and obliges the state to progressively make such education 'available and accessible' (South Africa, 1996). School attendance is in terms of the South African Schools Act compulsory for all children between the ages of seven until the age of 15 or Grade 9.

The proportion of children of school-going age (between the ages of 7 and 17 years) who attends any kind of educational institution is very high and has changed little since 2002. School enrolment for children aged 7 was measured at just below 99% in 2009, a substantial increase from 2002. The proportion of children who attend school remains above or very close to 98% for children between the ages of 8 and 14 before it starts to decline. The decline is at first gradual and then must faster until less than 85% of children aged 17 and even fewer youth aged 20 are still attending any kind of educational institution. Figure 1.14 reveals an overall improvement in attendance between 2002 and 2009 for particularly children under the age of 8 years of age and to a lesser extent for children older than 15 years of age. The improvement is particularly pronounced for teenage girls.

It is noticeable that the growth in the proportion of children under the age of seven who are attending some kind of educational institution has been even more evident. Between 2002 and 2009 the proportion of fiver year olds who attend any kind of educational institution has literally doubled from approximately 39% to 78% while the proportion of six year olds increased from below 70% to over 94%.

Figure 1.14: Attendance of an educational institution by age and sex, 2002 and 2009



	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
2002 Male	40,0	67,5	88,9	96,3	96,4	98,4	97,9	98,0	97,7	96,8	93,3	91,8	87,8	77,1	60,6	45,9
2002 Female	38,8	70,3	92,5	96,1	98,2	97,8	98,4	98,9	96,6	97,0	94,0	90,0	82,0	64,8	50,9	34,0
2009 Male	76,5	94,7	98,4	99,1	98,7	99,2	98,4	98,9	99,1	97,6	95,3	92,6	86,3	73,9	60,0	44,7
2009 Female	80,2	94,9	98,6	99,2	99,0	98,7	99,6	99,2	98,5	98,5	96,6	93,2	84,2	70,2	58,5	41,4

According to Table 1.11 the proportion of children in the age group 7 to 13 who had access to education has increased from 97% in 2002 to about 99% in 2009. Virtually all children in this age have access to education and it is furthermore clear that based on the strength of a Gender Parity Index of 1, equitable access to education has been achieved for boys and girls.

Table 1.11: Participation of 7–13 year olds in educational institutions, by gender, 2002–2009

Gender	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male	96,2	96,9	97,9	98,0	97,8	98,0	98,1	98,8
Female	96,9	97,9	98,4	98,3	98,3	98,6	98,2	99,0
Total	**96,6**	**97,4**	**98,1**	**98,2**	**98,1**	**98,3**	**98,2**	**98,9**
GPI	1,01	1,01	1,01	1,00	1,01	1,01	1,00	1,00

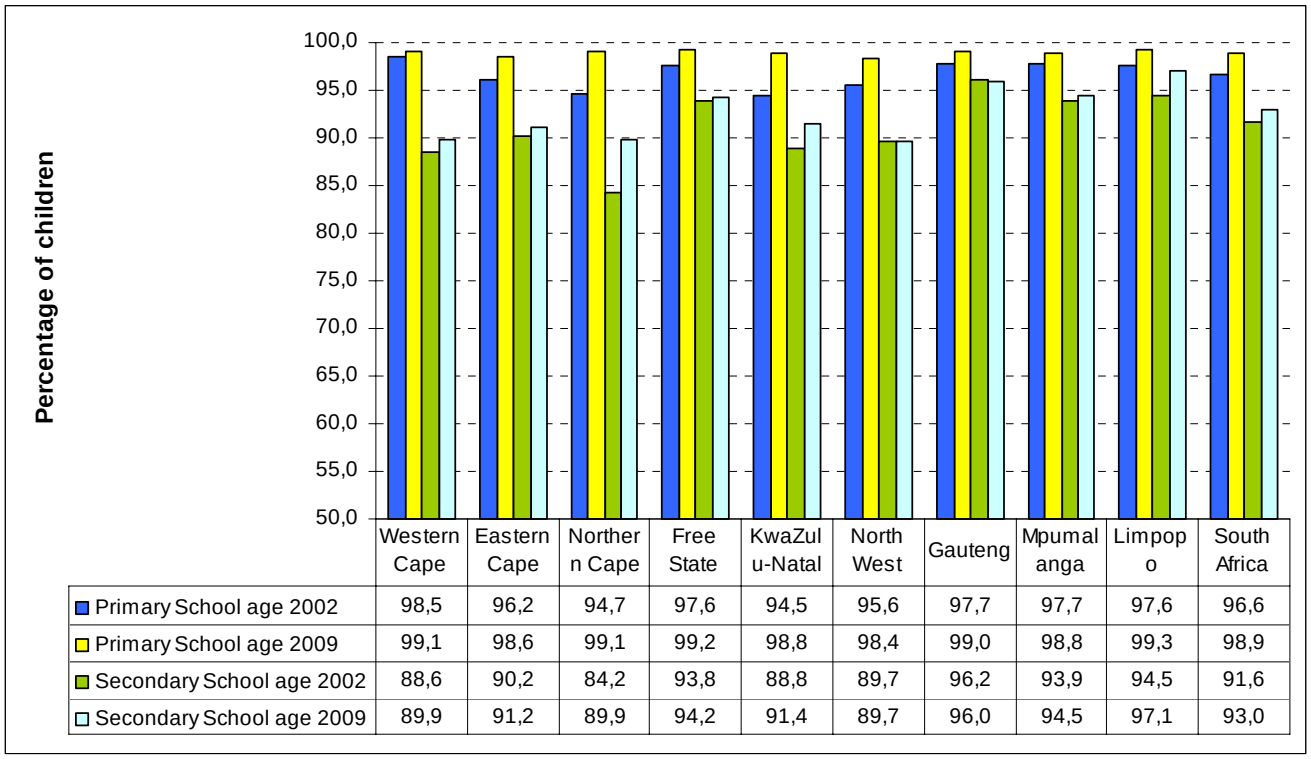
The proportion of children between the ages of 14 and 17 who are attending an educational institution has increased slightly to 93% in 2009. Although the figure implies that up to 7% of children in these ages were not attending any institutions, it is encouraging to note that males and females in this age group are equally likely to attend an educational institution and that there has been a significant improvement for girls from 91% participation in 2002 to 93% in 2009.

Table 1.12: Participation of 14–17 year olds in educational institutions, by gender, 2002–2009

Gender	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male	92,5	92,6	93,0	93,7	92,5	93,5	93,1	92,8
Female	90,7	91,5	91,9	91,2	91,7	93,1	93,5	93,1
Total	**91,6**	**92,1**	**92,5**	**92,5**	**92,1**	**93,3**	**93,3**	**93,0**
GPI	0,98	0,99	0,99	0,97	0,99	1,00	1,00	1,00

The percentage of male and female children that attended an educational institution in the various provinces during 2002 and 2009 is graphically illustrated in Figure 1.15. Whereas school attendance for children during the primary school ages (7–13) is very similar across all provinces, ranging between 98,4% in the North West province and 99,3% in Limpopo, the variance as regards to children aged 14 to 17 years across the provinces is much more noticeable. Limpopo and Gauteng demonstrate the highest participation ratios for children in their high school years (14-17) while the lowest ratios are observed in Western Cape, Northern Cape and North West.

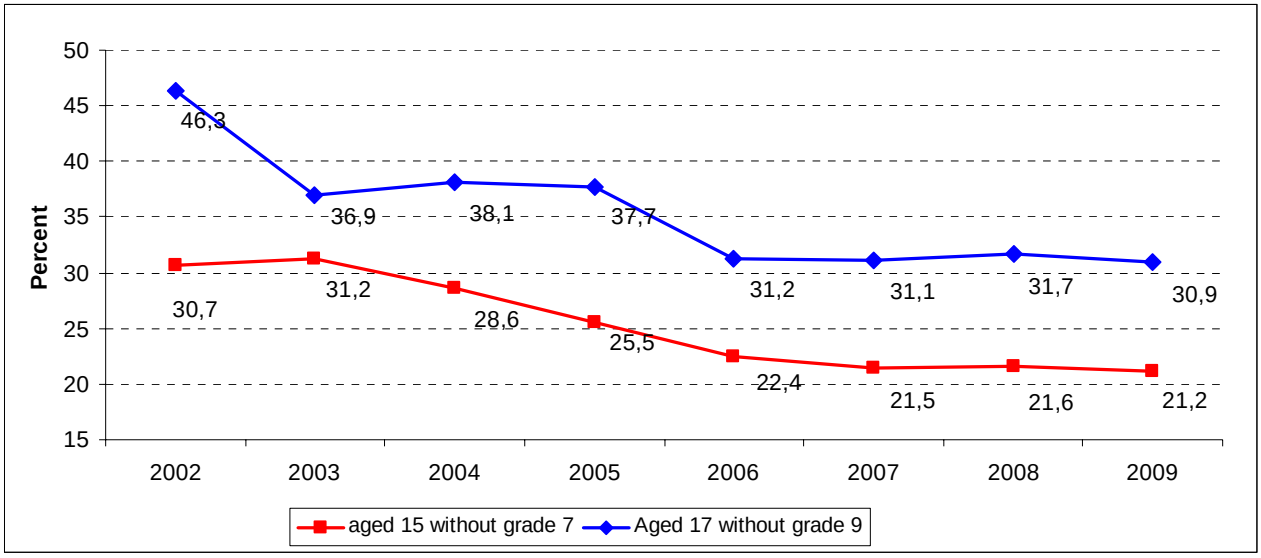
Figure 1.15: Participation of 7–13 and 14–17 year olds in educational institutions, by province, 2002–2009



	Western Cape	Eastern Cape	Northern Cape	Free State	KwaZulu-Natal	North West	Gauteng	Mpumalanga	Limpopo	South Africa
Primary School age 2002	98,5	96,2	94,7	97,6	94,5	95,6	97,7	97,7	97,6	96,6
Primary School age 2009	99,1	98,6	99,1	99,2	98,8	98,4	99,0	98,8	99,3	98,9
Secondary School age 2002	88,6	90,2	84,2	93,8	88,8	89,7	96,2	93,9	94,5	91,6
Secondary School age 2009	89,9	91,2	89,9	94,2	91,4	89,7	96,0	94,5	97,1	93,0

The relative participation rates amongst children might however be deceiving as a large proportion of children have failed to pass grade 7 by the age of 15 years, while more have not managed to complete grade 9 by the age of seventeen as indicated in Figure 1.16. The proportion of children aged 15 years who have not completed primary school yet decreased by 10% from 31% to 21%, while the proportion of 17 year olds without at least a grade 9 pass has dropped sharply from 46% to 31%. The high proportion of seventeen-year olds who have yet to complete grade 9 is particularly worrying as it is sure to have a knock-on effect on the proportion of children and youth who manage to complete their secondary school education.

Figure 1.16: Proportion of children over the age of 15 years who have not completed grade 7 compared to the proportion of children over the age of 17 who have not completed grade 9, 2002–2009.



The distance that children have to travel in order to attend school can be an important predictor of regular school attendance and punctuality. The distance may reasonably require poor families to spend money on public transport, or alternatively require children to undertake long, often physically taxing journeys to and from school that would not only take a lot of time but will probably also impact negatively on children's capacity to concentrate and learn. The length of time it takes for a child to reach the nearest school is used as a proxy for distance travelled. Thirty minutes is used as a threshold value to determine whether children live far (more than 30 minutes travel time), or near (less than 30 minutes') to the nearest school.

Table 1.13: Proportion of children living more than 30 minutes away from the nearest school

Province	7–13		14–17	
	2002	2009	2002	2009
Western Cape	8,4	8,4	13,7	13,7
Eastern Cape	19,9	15,8	23,7	21,4
Northern Cape	1,1	8,1	12,0	10,7
Free State	5,1	11,6	18,1	12,7
KwaZulu-Natal	35,5	25,7	31,5	31,9
North West	5,7	13,1	23,0	19,5
Gauteng	12,4	17,3	17,9	20,4
Mpumalanga	8,3	13,7	18,7	21,0
Limpopo	8,8	11,6	19,9	20,7
South Africa	**17,7**	**16,3**	**22,8**	**22,2**

Just over 16% of children aged 7 to 13 years, and 22% of children aged 14 to 17 years of age did not live within 30 minutes from the closest school in 2009. Although the proportion of primary school aged children who live far from schools has declined markedly in KwaZulu-Natal, it is worrying to see that more than a quarter of children in the province are still affected. Almost a third of children between the ages of 14 and 17 and who live in KwaZulu-Natal were equally not close to schools in 2009. Since there are fewer high schools in South Africa it is probably not unexpected that a larger proportion of children will live more than 30 minutes away from the closest school.

It is noticeable that the proportion of children living more than 30 minutes from the nearest school has actually increased in a number of provinces. Although the reasons for this might vary across provinces and by the type of school attended, it can at least in part be attributed to rapid population growth and migration. Both are more likely to affect the poorest sectors of society who are often also living in informal areas on the periphery of established townships, often far from available schools.

Children's reasons for not attending any educational institution are presented in Table 1.14. It is disturbing to note that 'being too old' is given as the most common reason for dropping out of school. Not having money for fees is the second most common reason given.

Table 1.14: Reasons for children aged 7–17 who are not attending any educational institution by population group, 2009

	Male	Female	African	Coloured	Asian	White	All children aged 7–17
Too old	34,6	29,9	33,1	26,0	15,7	38,3	32,4
Has completed school/education	2,9	1,8	2,0	5,3	13,0	1,1	2,4
Transport difficulties	1,7	2,4	2,1	2,1	0,0	0,0	2,0
No money for fees	16,1	20,5	17,9	22,4	22,4	11,7	18,1
Working, do not have time	3,6	2,5	2,5	6,7	5,7	6,5	3,1
Family commitments	1,2	6,3	3,8	1,2	10,6	4,3	3,6
Education not useful	13,8	5,7	9,7	16,2	0,0	3,7	10,0
Poor academic performance	8,9	8,3	9,2	4,6	11,5	6,9	8,7
Illness and disability	10,7	9,7	10,7	5,0	0,0	16,3	10,2
Pregnancy	0,0	7,4	3,3	6,5	0,0	0,0	3,5
Other	6,4	5,7	5,9	4,1	21,2	11,2	6,1
Per cent	**99,9**	**100,2**	**100,2**	**100,1**	**100,1**	**100,0**	**100,1**
N (000)	**336 584**	**298 865**	**536 429**	**63 910**	**6 851**	**26 259**	**633 450**

According to Table 1.15, 18% of learners were exposed to some form of violence, punishment or verbal abuse while attending school. The vast majority of those experiences related to corporal punishment by teachers (89%), followed by verbal abuse by other learners (10%) and physical abuse by other learners (10%). African children were significantly more likely to be exposed to these forms of violence/punishment or abuse than children in other population groups. There were no significant differences between genders and the abuse was most likely to occur in KwaZulu-Natal, the Eastern Cape and the Free State.

Table 1.15: Experience of violence/punishment/abuse at school by children attending school regardless of age, 2009

Indicator		Percentage of learners (Percentage of those who experienced violence etc.)
Experienced some violence, punishment or verbal abuse		18,3
Type of violence experienced	Corporal punishment	16,3 (89,3)
	Physical violence by teacher	0,8 (4,3)
	Verbal abuse (being insulted, teased, harassed) by teacher	0,9 (4,7)
	Verbal abuse (being insulted, teased, harassed) by other learners	1,9 (10,2)
	Physical abuse (being hit or punched) by another learner	1,8 (10,1)
	Other	0,1 (0,7)
Population group	Black African	20,3
	Coloured	8,0
	Indian/Asian	5,4
	White	3,5
Gender	Male	18,6
	Female	18,0
Province	Western Cape	5,8
	Eastern Cape	25,9
	Northern Cape	6,6
	Free State	24,9
	KwaZulu-Natal	25,8
	North West	14,5
	Gauteng	15,0
	Mpumalanga	8,5
	Limpopo	15,6

2.8 Housing and access to basic services

Access to basic social services plays a significant role in determining the well-being of individuals. Services such as access to clean water and sanitation are particularly important as they have been shown to be closely associated with the health status of households, particularly young children. Housing, water, sanitation, a clean environment, food security and poverty are generally considered some of the most important social determinants of health.

For the purposes of this publication, housing is categorized as formal, informal, traditional and other. Formal housing consists of dwellings or brick structures on separate stands; flats or apartments; cluster houses; town houses; semi-detached houses; and rooms, flatlets or servant's quarters. Informal housing comprises informal dwellings or shacks in backyards or in informal settlements. Traditional housing is defined as 'traditional dwelling/hut/structure made of traditional materials'. The other category refers to caravans and tents. Formal housing is generally considered a proxy for adequate housing.

The proportion of housing types inhabited by child headed households for the years 2002 to 2009 is presented in Table 1.16. It is perhaps surprising to observe from this table that the majority of child headed households are living in formal houses as opposed to informal structures and other even less adequate housing. This observation supports the finding that many child headed households are created for a limited period of time through necessity but that it continues to be supported by adult family. According to this table the proportion of children living in traditional dwellings has declined from 34% in 2002 to less than 20% in 2009.

Table 1.16: Proportion of child headed households living in formal, informal and traditional housing, 2002–2009

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Formal	61,7	67,3	67,1	62,6	57,8	62,7	64,1	73,0
Traditional	33,7	23,2	21,4	23,7	23,2	20,8	21,4	19,2
Informal	4,2	7,2	8,0	12,6	10,0	9,9	14,6	7,3
Other	0,4	2,3	3,5	1,1	9,0	6,5	0,0	0,5
Total	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**99,9**	**100,1**	**100.0**
Number	**77 315**	**72 430**	**75 487**	**77 708**	**75 090**	**91 267**	**76 695**	**63 600**

From Table 1.17 it is clear that the proportion of children living in formal housing has increased slightly from 69% in 2002 to 73% in 2009. Simultaneously, the proportion of children living in dwellings classified as traditional has shown slight declines while those living in informal, as well as in other types of dwelling has declined consistently to respectively 9% and less than 1% in 2009. Very similar trends are observed for children under the age of five years old.

Table 1.17: Proportion of children living in formal, informal and traditional housing, 2002–2009

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
0–17 years								
Formal	68,7	69,5	67,5	65,7	70,2	69,7	71,7	72,2
Traditional	19,4	19,0	21,5	20,4	17,6	17,7	18,3	18,3
Informal	11,1	10,3	10,1	12,5	11,4	11,7	9,7	9,0
Other	0,7	1,1	0,9	1,3	0,9	0,9	0,3	0,5
Total	**99,9**	**99,9**	**100,0**	**99,9**	**100,1**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**
Number (000)	**18 525**	**18 523**	**18 551**	**18 603**	**18 649**	**18 555**	**18 568**	**18 607**
Under 5 years								
Formal	67,2	67,7	65,9	64,8	69,5	67,8	70,1	70,5
Traditional	18,7	18,0	21,1	18,4	15,5	16,0	17,2	17,4
Informal	13,0	12,8	11,7	15,2	14,0	14,9	12,2	11,4
Other	1,2	1,6	1,3	1,7	1,0	1,3	0,5	0,7
Total	**100,1**	**100,1**	**100,0**	**100,1**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100**
Number (000)	**18 525**	**5 213**	**5 219**	**5 195**	**5 171**	**5 082**	**5 076**	**6 135**

The percentage of children living in dwellings that are partially or fully owned is presented in Table 1.18. It would seem from this table as if a larger proportion of children live in households that are fully or partially owned than the population in general. After remaining largely unchanged until 2008, the proportion of children and individuals in the general population who live in dwellings that are partially or fully owned has recently declined appreciably.

In addition to improving the quality of life and general well-being of families and individuals, having access to clean piped **water** also drastically reduces vulnerability to diseases such as diarrhoea and cholera. Access to piped water is defined as having water piped directly into their dwellings, or having access to taps on the site of the dwelling or yard. Although access to water in the dwelling or yard has increased for both children as well as the general population between 2002 and 2009, the growth has been tempered by slight declines in 2009.

Having access to flush **toilets** that are in or near the house and which dispose of waste safely is used as a proxy for adequate basic sanitation. While access to flush toilets has generally improved for children as well as the general population, children have been consistently less likely to live in households with flush toilets that the general population.

The proportion of households for which **refuse** is removed by the municipality is used as an indicator of environmental cleanliness. As with access to water and sanitation, it seems as if young children under the age of five were slightly more likely to live in households whose rubbish is removed than the child population as a whole. Both however lack the access enjoyed by the general population. It is worth noting that access to refuse removal increased relatively continuously until 2008 when it dropped rather suddenly.
Although the connection to **mains electricity** does not preclude the use of other sources of energy for cooking, heating and lighting for example, connection to mains electricity does benefit households and the individuals living in them in a variety of ways. As a result of sustained efforts in this regard, the proportion of households with access to mains electricity has increased steadily over the past 8 years. The proportion of children living in households with access to mains electricity has increased from 70% in 2002 to 80% in 2009. This slightly exceeds the access enjoyed by children aged 0–4 year, but is once again smaller than the general population's access which stands at 83%.

Access to **telephones** is defined as the proportion of children living in households with access to landlines or cell phones. The proportion of South Africans having access to landlines or cell phones at home has increased enormously over the past years, increasing from 46% in 2002 to 87% in 2009. The growth seems to have been relatively uniform across all households and very little difference can be discerned between access by children and the population as a whole. The proportion of children who has access to the internet at home has increased from 3% in 2005 (the previous time the question was asked in the GHS questionnaire) to 6% in 2009. Growth has been relatively slow and data shows that less than 8% of all households had access to the internet in 2009 compared to 5% in 2005.

Table 1.18: Comparison of the basic living condition indicators for children and the total population

Access to service indicator	Age cohorts	Year (Percentage)							
		2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Tenure status: % children living in dwellings that are partially or fully owned	0–4	80,9	82,6	82,2	84,0	82,6	80,0	82,7	75,9
	0–17	83,5	86,3	85,4	86,7	86,5	84,4	86,4	79,3
	Total Population	79,1	81,6	80,4	82,0	81,4	79,1	82,4	74,8
Access to water: % children living in dwellings with piped water in house or yard	0–4	55,0	55,6	56,2	58,6	61,7	62,0	62,0	60,0
	0–17	43,6	55,1	55,8	57,1	59,6	60,5	61,0	60,0
	Total Population	62,1	62,7	63,1	64,3	66,1	67,0	67,2	66,4
Sanitation: % children living in dwellings with flush toilet with on or off site disposal	0–4	40,2	40,6	40,9	43,5	46,0	45,8	46,7	46,5
	0–17	54,7	40,5	40,6	42,5	43,7	44,8	45,5	45,7
	Total Population	48,6	49,6	49,5	51,0	52,0	53,0	53,6	53,9
Refuse/Waste: % living in dwellings with rubbish removed by municipality	0–4	43,5	44,1	44,9	49,5	50,9	51,0	49,6	42,4
	0–17	39,8	43,9	44,3	47,2	48,1	48,4	48,0	41,6
	Total Population	51,0	52,0	52,1	55,1	55,8	56,0	55,5	48,3
Electricity: % living in dwellings with connected to mains	0–4	69,7	72,0	75,0	75,8	77,5	78,8	79,2	78,9
	0–17	70,2	72,3	75,1	76,0	77,4	79,6	79,5	80,3
	Total Population	74,3	76,2	78,7	79,4	80,1	81,7	82,1	82,9
Telephone: % living in dwellings with landline or cellular phone in the dwelling	0–4	40,4	44,2	54,0	67,7	73,6	80,0	82,5	87,7
	0–17	40,5	44,2	53,9	67,3	73,5	80,0	82,0	87,5
	Total Population	45,5	48,3	57,1	69,2	74,5	80,0	82,5	87,3
Internet: % living in dwellings with access to internet	0–17				2,8				5,5
	Total Population				5,0				7,7
Hunger: % youth living in households that experienced hunger	0–4	34,1	32,3	28,0	24,1	18,0	16,1	19,2	27,9
	0–17	34,7	32,8	27,6	24,2	17,4	16,3	19,1	27,9
	Total Population	29,9	28,3	23,6	20,5	14,7	13,8	16,1	24,2

2.9 Summary and conclusions

This chapter focussed on the profile of individuals younger than 18 years. Almost 85% of all South African children are African and almost a quarter live in KwaZulu-Natal. Approximately 3,6 million (20%) are either maternal, paternal or double orphans. Double orphans, i.e. when both biological parents died, represents 5% of the child population. Nearly a third of all orphans live in KwaZulu-Natal. Even though African children constitute the largest proportion of orphans, there is an exceptionally large proportion of paternal orphans amongst them. This is especially noticeable in the three provinces that are generally considered to be migration sending provinces namely KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Limpopo.

The impact of migration on family structures and children is most noticeable in the statistics on the proportion of children living with their biological parents. If living with your children is used as a proxy of parental engagement in the process of raising children, the data suggest that most biological parents play a limited role in their children's lives. Less than a third (32%) of South African children consistently live with both their biological parents and a

quarter of South African children live with neither their biological-mothers nor -fathers. Of the children who did not live with either their biological parents, more than half (56%) still had both their parents alive, while less that a fifth were double orphans. The definition of households used in the GHS only considers household members who spent at least four nights during the past four weeks at home as household members. This means that the preceding figures also include households where one or more parent only comes home over weekends. Parents with this profile would not have been considered part of the household, nor would they have been considered as living with their biological children.

The disruption of family structure is most evident amongst African children with only 27% living with both parents as opposed to 48% of coloureds and 80% for children belonging to other population groups. The proportion of children living with both parents is the highest in Gauteng and the Western Cape and lowest in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo. According to Western models of family and households these patterns are quite alarming. However, it is common in most African cultures to have a more expanded view of parenthood and the raising of children. Uncles and aunts are generally also considered to be your mothers and fathers and sending children away to be raised by grandparents is preferred to hiring a stranger as child minder while the parents work. More than half of South Africans and 60% of South African children live in extended households, while approximately 37% of children live in nuclear households. The pattern however varies by population group and a much larger proportion of Indian and white children live in nuclear families than African and coloured children. Less than one percent of South African households only consist of individuals younger than 18 years and approximately 0,6% are headed by children. Even though orphan-hood is more common amongst children living in child headed households than in households in general, 54% of them still have both parents alive and only 10% are double orphans. Child headed households largely consist of boys.
The total dependency ratio for male headed mixed generation households has consistently been measured at around 0,76 dependents for each person of working age, which is similar to that of child headed households. The burden of child dependency is highest for female headed, mixed generation households and lowest in male headed, mixed generation households. Female headed, mixed generation households have total dependency ratios higher than one, albeit with a slight decline since 2002.

In 2009 it was estimated that 28% of children and 24% of the general population live in food insecure households. The increase may in part be ascribed to the financial downturn experienced in 2008. Although child inclusive, male headed households are much less likely to report hunger than female headed households with children, the gap between them has narrowed over time. Households without children are less likely to report hunger than households with children regardless of whether they are male or female headed. Considering trends since 2002, food insecure children are most likely to be found in the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and the Free State and the least likely in Gauteng and the Western Cape. The data supports the notion that children living in households without any employed adults are indeed much more vulnerable to hunger than children living in households that contain at least one employed adult.

Child headed households have consistently listed remittances as their main source of income between 2002 and 2009. This is in line with a finding by Foster (2004) that children in child headed households are often supported by relatives.

Even though there are limitations to the income data estimates provided by the GHS, some interesting patterns emerge. Children are disproportionately affected by poverty: whereas approximately half of all South Africans live in households that fall below the 40^{th} percentile as an arbitrary cut off (R555 per capita per month is created), more than 60% of children are living in such households. Almost 80% of children living in the Eastern Cape and Limpopo live in low income households. Although the proportion of poor children is much smaller in the relatively prosperous and much more urbanised provinces of the Western Cape and Gauteng, poor children still comprise more than 30% of all children in each province. These provincial patterns show a close resemblance to the distribution of children living in households where one or more adult is employed indicating the close relationship between income poverty and employment.

The study confirmed that social grants play a vital role in ameliorating poverty and improving access to food and education. Since 2003, when access to grants was first measured by the GHS, the proportion of children who benefits from grants has increased at a much faster rate than access for the population as a whole, increasing from 15% in 2003 to more than 52% by 2009. The expansion of eligibility criteria for the Child Support Grant impacted significantly on increases in grant receipt. The uptake of Child Support Grants by children has increased significantly from 15% in 2002 to 52% in 2009. Female headed households with children are significantly more likely than any other household type to access child support grants (38,5%), which was to be expected if vulnerability targeting was effectively executed.

One of the fundamental rights enshrined in the constitution is the right to education. Since 2002 the proportion of children aged 7 to 13 years attending any kind of education institution increased from 97% to 99%, whereas there was an increase from 92 to 93% for the age group 14 to 17 years during the same time period. The relatively high participation rates amongst children might however be deceiving as a large proportion of children have failed to pass grade 7 by the age of 15 years. The limited progress with regard to the proportion of seventeen year olds who have yet to complete grade 9 is particularly worrying as it is sure to have a knock-on effect on the proportion of children and youth who manage to complete their secondary school education. Most progress has been made with regards to the proportion of children who at least completed primary school by the time they turn 15 years old. Children's reasons for not attending any educational institution include 'being too old' as well as not having money for fees.

There was a significant improvement in attendance between 2002 and 2009 for children under the age of 8 years. During that time period the proportion of five year olds who attend any kind of educational institution has nearly doubled from approximately 39% to 78%, while the proportion of six year olds increased from below 70% to over 94%. This points to some success in broadening the education base and better preparing children for their early years in school through ECD programs. Nearly a fifth (18%) of learners were exposed to some for of violence, punishment or verbal abuse while attending school during 2009. Most of those cases related to corporal punishment by teachers (89%). Only 10% were related to verbal abuse by other learners and another 10% to physical abuse by other learners. There were no significant differences between genders, but African children were more likely than other population groups to be affected.

One of the aspects investigated by this study was whether the living conditions of children have changed between 2002 and 2009. The proportion of children living in formal housing has increased slightly from 69% in 2002 to 72% in 2009. During the same time those who lived in informal dwellings declined from 11% to 9%, while those living in dwellings classified as traditional has declined slightly from 19% to 18%. Although access to water in the dwelling or yard has increased for both children as well as the general population between 2002 and 2009, the growth has been tempered by slight declines in 2009. Children have been consistently less likely to live in households with flush toilets, refuse removal and electricity than the general population. The proportion of children living in households with access to mains electricity has increased from 70% in 2002 to 80% in 2009. Access for children to the internet at home has increased from 3% in 2005 (the previous time the question was asked in the GHS questionnaire) to 6% in 2009.

2.10 Policy recommendations

The study found that large proportions of especially African children do not live with their biological parents and this may influence the extent to which resources such as for example remittances and social grants are used for the general improvement of their well-being. Other risks such as physical, emotional and sexual abuse of children may also be augmented by the physical distance between biological parents and their children. Public information and education campaigns, stressing the importance of the active involvement of parents and or caregivers in the education and development of their children may to some extent mitigate the potential negative impact that this may have on child development and well-being. Even though child-headed households makes up a very small proportion of all households in South Africa, their proportion has remained virtually unchanged during the past 8 years, possibly indicating that more needs to be done to create safety nets for them. The fact that more than half of them had one or more of their biological parents alive may indicate that these households develop as a result of the demands of labour migration on households.

Efforts to improve the basic living conditions of South Africa's households are beginning to show progress. However, households with children generally continue to be poorer with poorer access to basic services than households in general. Consideration should be given to changing the means test for grants and other basic services from household income to income per capita as this will to some extent better identify vulnerable households with children.

Attempts to address the social determinants of health through the provision of housing and basic services, as well as greater access to basic education and social grants should be intensified.

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SOCIAL PROFILE OF YOUTH 2002–2009

3.1 Introduction

More than two-thirds (69%) of South Africa's population is comprised of people under the age of 35 years. The age cohort 15–34 (youth) comprises 38% of the total population (Statistics South Africa, 2010) and it is significant to note that, largely due to declining levels of fertility, this cohort has been growing faster than the population as a whole (based on the growth between Census 2001 and Community Survey 2007). The relative upsurge in the proportion of people in their working ages relative to the proportion of dependants such as children and older people might provide a demographic impetus for development in which fewer investments are needed to meet the needs of the youngest age groups and resources are released for investment in the economic development and family welfare. This opportunity is known as the demographic 'dividend' (Bloom, Canning, Sevilla, 2002; Ross, 2004).

In order to capitalise on this opportunity, effective policies are needed in key areas. Health and sanitation interventions need to be prioritised in order to lay the foundation for a healthy workforce, while education and training should be improved in order to transform the population into a productive work force. The developmental potential can however only be unlocked if adequate job opportunities are created. The inability to engage the youth meaningfully into the society and the economy might lead to high unemployment, increased crime and ultimately political instability (Bloom, Canning, Fink and Finlay, 2007: 4).

To reap the impending benefits and to realise the potential of youth, South Africa has been successful in developing integrated and comprehensive legislation and policies aimed at protecting and promoting the rights and development prospects of young people. Despite improvements, the marginalisation of youth persists as can be seen with unemployment, poverty, often poor education, family and community disintegration, and exposure to crime and violence (Morrow et al, 2005).

3.2 The youth and development

Youth development in South Africa is largely guided by the National Youth Policy 2009–2014 which is based on a series of legislative and policy frameworks which have been implemented since 1994. These include the National Youth Commission Act, 1996 (Act No. 19 of 1996); White Paper for Social Welfare, 1997; National Youth Policy, 2000; Nation Youth Development Policy Framework, 2000–2007; and the Draft National Youth Policy, 2008–2013. The policy relies upon information on the particular needs and circumstances of the country's youth to address identified gaps and challenges (National Youth Policy, 2009:5–6).

A number of different definitions for youth are being used globally. The United Nations (In Du Toit, 2003) defines *youth* as people between the ages of 14 and 24 years, while the African Youth Charter defines youth as those between the ages of 15 and 34 years of age (Africa Union, 2006). The National Youth Policy 2009–2014 (2009:12) defines young people as men and women falling within the age group of 14 to 35 years. In this report, youth will be defined as all people falling within the age group 15 to 34 years. These age groups were selected because they correspond to the five year age groups used to weight the GHS sample and will therefore ensure more accurate estimates.

Young people do however not comprise a homogenous group and their experiences can be characterised as "diverse, and at times paradoxical" (Morrow, 2005). The group is therefore often segmented further by age cohort and other characteristics such as gender and population group. In particular, the National Youth Policy 2009–2014 (2009:14) identifies priority target groups and argues that immediate attention should be given to young women, youth with disabilities, unemployed youth, school-age out-of-school youth, and youth at risk. For purposes of comparison, the age cohort will be segmented into the age group 15–24 and 25–34 years.

The National Youth Policy 2009–2014 prioritises four policy imperatives, namely: education; health and well being; economic participation; and social cohesion. The methodology followed by the General Household Study makes it a rich source of data on all these areas, with perhaps the exception of the last category, social cohesion, where more specialised instruments are needed.

The health of individuals is heavily affected by social determinants such as poverty, access to housing, clean water, sanitation, clean energy and food security. Available data will be used to explore the health and well-being of young people. Educational attainment is a critical determinant of young people's future work prospects, earnings and contributions to society (Nugent, 2006) and this chapter will explore access to secondary and tertiary education by young men and women of all population groups, and delve into the impact of poverty on education. Economic participation is vital to eradicate poverty, but studies suggest that young people are disproportionately affected by unemployment. Young people, particularly those in the age group 15–24 years, as well as those with low levels of education, women and black Africans are seemingly worst affected.

Young people have become the focus of intense interest to policy makers because they can be a major source of problems as well as a major resource for national development. This chapter aims to illuminate the needs and challenges faced by youth by providing a social profile of this important age segment.

3.3 Profile of youth living in South Africa

Black African youth constitute more than 80% of South Africa's youth population and comprise the majority of youth in all provinces except for the Western Cape, where the coloureds population is in the majority.

Table 2.1: Distribution of youth by population group and province, 2009

Province	Black African	Coloured	Indian	White	N (000)	Provincial distribution
	%	%	%	%		%
Western Cape	37,7	52,8	0,9	8,7	1 924	10,4
Eastern Cape	89,2	7,1	0,1	3,7	2 504	13,6
Northern Cape	57,9	36,1	0,4	5,6	393	2,1
Free State	88,4	2,6	0,6	8,5	1 064	5,8
KwaZulu-Natal	89,6	0,7	7,0	2,8	4 029	21,8
North West	92,3	1,7	0,3	5,8	1 222	6,6
Gauteng	79,7	3,3	3,8	13,3	3 916	21,2
Mpumalanga	95,3	0,6	0,4	3,7	1 392	7,5
Limpopo	97,9	0,1	0,1	1,9	2 031	11,0
South Africa	**83**	**8**	**3**	**6**	**18 474**	**100,0**

3.4 Household characteristics and living arrangements

The National Youth Policy 2009–2014 (2009: 18) maintains that youth in youth headed households are often forced to take on responsibility for themselves and their siblings as a result of the death or absence of their parents and that they are therefore more vulnerable to abuse, exploitation and dropping out of school. Since the broad definition of youth (14–35) includes both vulnerable individuals in their late teens and early twenties, as well as persons in their prime adult years, this analysis will distinguish these categories into the 15–24 and 25–34 year age categories.

The proportion of households headed by youth in the age category 15 to 24 years of age has hovered between six and seven per cent between 2002 and 2009 with Limpopo generally displaying the largest proportion. By contrast, the proportion of households headed by youth in the older age category (25–34) have declined slightly to 21,8% in 2009. Almost a quarter of households in Gauteng, and just over 15% of households in the North West province are headed by individuals in this age category.

Table 2.2: Proportion of households headed by youth aged 15–24 and 25–34, by province

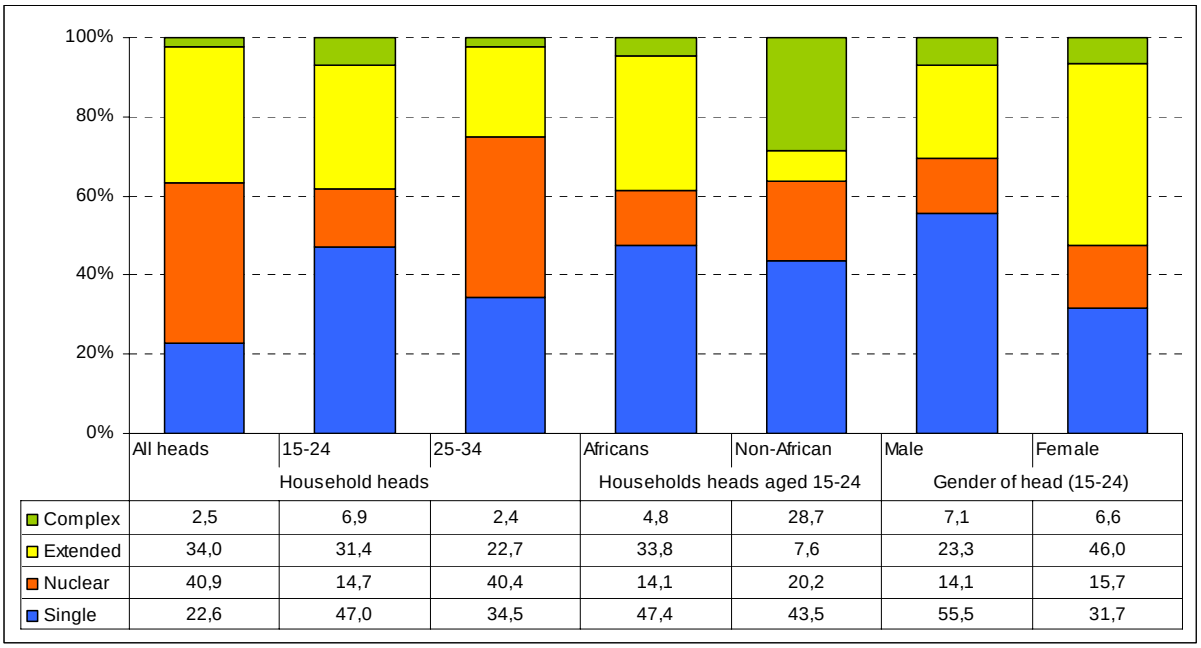
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
15–24 years								
WC	5,7	4,7	3,9	3,2	4,1	5,1	5,1	4,2
EC	8,1	8,3	6,9	7,6	8,9	8,0	7,4	5,7
NC	4,1	5,0	4,7	6,0	5,0	4,8	4,3	5,5
FS	7,6	6,9	7,5	8,8	8,4	7,9	7,2	6,7
KZ	6,4	7,1	6,5	7,8	7,9	7,4	6,3	5,5
NW	6,5	5,0	6,3	6,1	4,6	5,6	4,4	3,8
GP	4,8	5,6	4,7	5,5	5,9	6,3	6,0	5,2
MP	6,0	8,1	7,7	8,3	8,4	8,6	7,4	7,7
LP	9,7	11,7	11,1	10,6	10,1	10,8	10,9	10,1
RSA	**6,5**	**6,9**	**6,4**	**6,9**	**7,1**	**7,2**	**6,6**	**5,9**
25–34 years								
WC	23,3	23,8	24,0	24,1	22,7	21,1	20,5	20,8
EC	16,7	16,5	18,0	17,5	16,2	17,1	18,1	20,2
NC	22,8	21,7	21,5	19,9	20,5	20,3	20,9	19,4
FS	83,0	23,3	22,3	20,5	20,5	20,5	21,1	21,3
KZ	21,3	21,0	21,7	20,7	20,7	21,3	22,5	23,3
NW	20,0	20,3	17,6	16,8	17,2	15,2	15,5	15,2
GP	29,9	28,7	29,0	27,6	26,7	25,4	24,8	24,8
MP	25,2	23,1	23,3	22,5	22,1	21,8	22,8	22,4
LP	19,3	17,8	17,9	18,5	19,0	18,2	18,1	19,0
RSA	**23,1**	**22,5**	**22,7**	**22,0**	**21,5**	**21,0**	**21,3**	**21,8**

Households' living arrangements are influenced by aspects such as politics, access to housing, health, education and socio-economic amenities. One could therefore expect the household structure to correspond to changes in the aforementioned conditions. Households can be categorised according to a number of typologies. One such typology (Amoateng, Heaton and Kalule-Sabiti, 2007) categorises households into single person, nuclear, extended and complex households. Nuclear households are defined as households consisting of heads of households, their spouses and offspring, while the extended household would typically include other relatives in addition to the nucleus. Complex households are all households with members who are not related to the head of the household. According to Amoateng et al (2007: 56) respectively 40% and 36% of all households were classified as either nuclear or extended based on the 2001 Census. Studies are however reporting an increasing tendency towards more complex households in response to changing socio-economic conditions. The different compositions of households headed by individuals in the age categories 15–24 and 25–34 is presented in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 suggests that households headed by youth in the age category 15 to 24 are most likely to be single person or extended households. By comparison, households headed by adult youth (24–35) are more likely to be nuclear, probably due to the fact that individuals at this age have started to settle down and have children. These figures however hide considerable differences between population groups. Households headed by non-Africans are combined as a result of their relatively small number. While single person households comprise approximately 40% of households headed by African and non-African youth aged 15–24, a larger proportion of households with African heads tend to be extended while complex households (including other relatives and non-relatives) comprise a larger proportion of households headed by non-Africans. Households headed by females in the age group 15–24 are less likely to be single but much more likely to be extended.

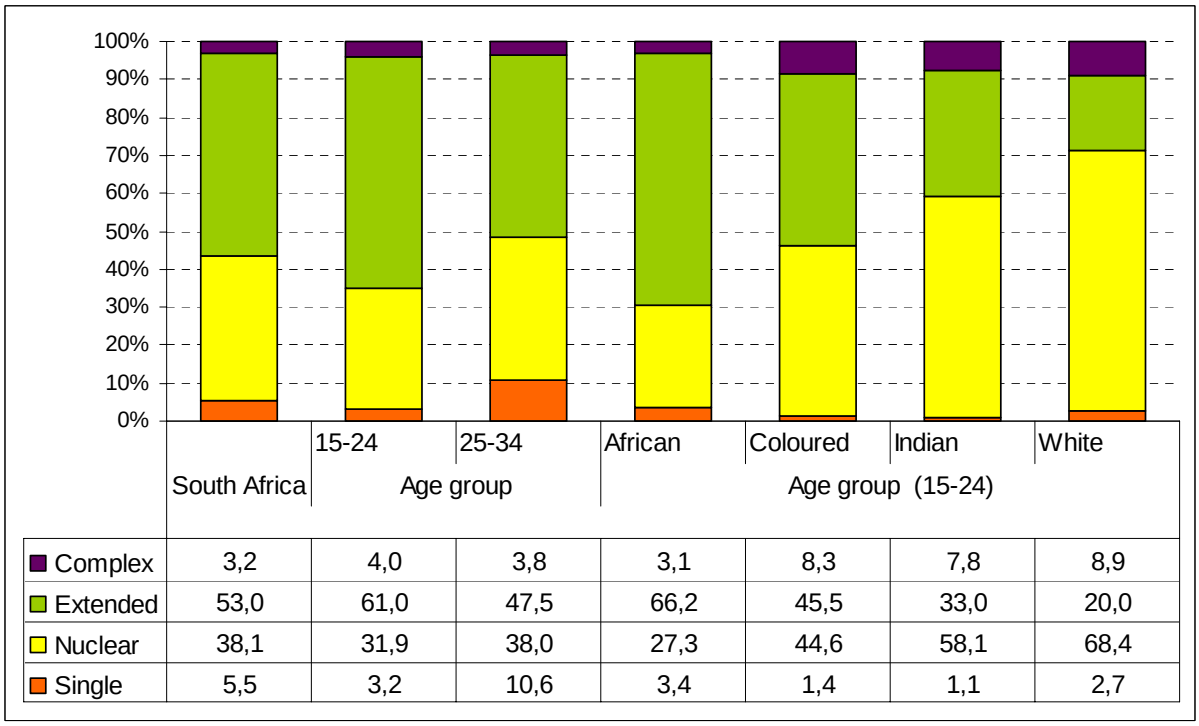
Since only about a third of all youth (aged 15 to 34 years) live in youth headed households, the composition of all households with youth members is outlined in Figure 2.2. It is clear from this graph that the vast majority of youth live in either a nuclear or extended household. The variation by population group is also noticeable. Whereas the majority of African youth aged 15–24 lives in extended households, the proportion of extended households decline in sequence for coloured, Asian and white youth as higher proportions of youth living in nuclear households in each population group is observed. The larger prevalence of nuclear households amongst particularly Asian and white youth is probably a side effect of greater financial independence. This can in turn be closely associated with higher overall employment rates.

Figure 2.1: Household composition of youth headed households, 2009



	All heads	15-24	25-34	Africans	Non-African	Male	Female
	Household heads			Households heads aged 15-24		Gender of head (15-24)	
Complex	2,5	6,9	2,4	4,8	28,7	7,1	6,6
Extended	34,0	31,4	22,7	33,8	7,6	23,3	46,0
Nuclear	40,9	14,7	40,4	14,1	20,2	14,1	15,7
Single	22,6	47,0	34,5	47,4	43,5	55,5	31,7

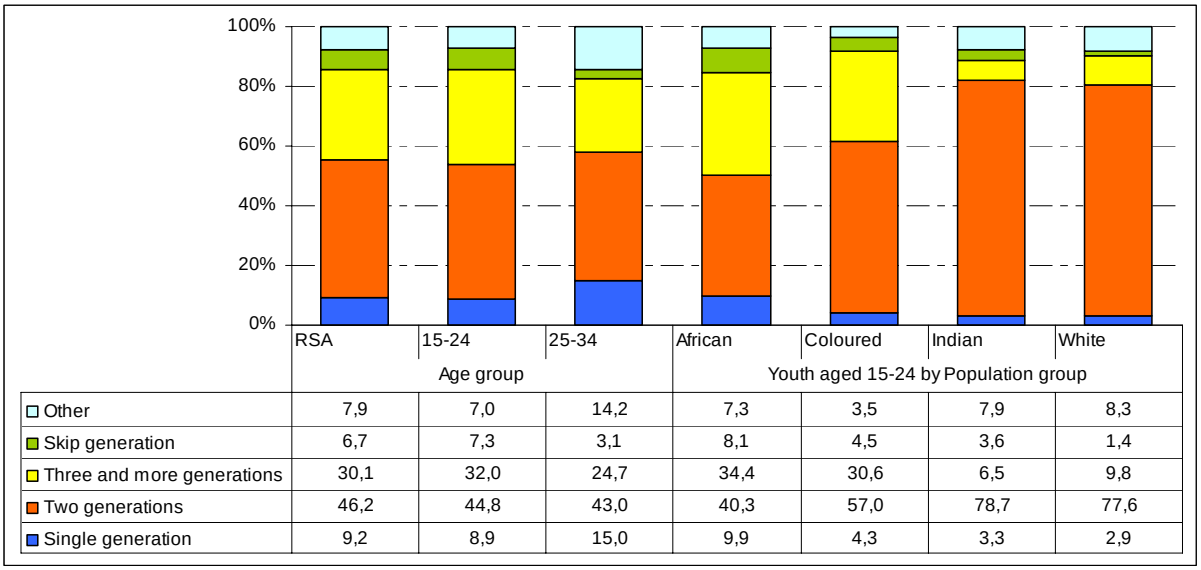
Figure 2.2: Distribution of youth across household types, by age group and population group, 2009



	South Africa	15-24	25-34	African	Coloured	Indian	White
		Age group		Age group (15-24)			
Complex	3,2	4,0	3,8	3,1	8,3	7,8	8,9
Extended	53,0	61,0	47,5	66,2	45,5	33,0	20,0
Nuclear	38,1	31,9	38,0	27,3	44,6	58,1	68,4
Single	5,5	3,2	10,6	3,4	1,4	1,1	2,7

The distribution of youth across intergenerational household types is presented in Figure 2.3. More than two-thirds of youth aged 15–24 and 25–34 live in either double or triple generation households. Youth in the age group 15 to 24 are probably more likely to still live with their parents in either a nuclear or extended family setup, whereas many youth between the ages of 25 to 34 have perhaps become parents themselves. This is confirmed by the high child dependency ratio which is outlined in Table 2.3. About 8% of African youths aged 15 to 24 live in skip generation households with their grand parents. Approximately three-quarters of black African youth live in double or triple generation households, compared to 88% for coloureds, 86% for Asians and 88% for whites. Of more interest is the observation that in excess of 78% of Asian and white youth live in double generation households compared to less than 60% for coloureds and approximately 40% for African youth.

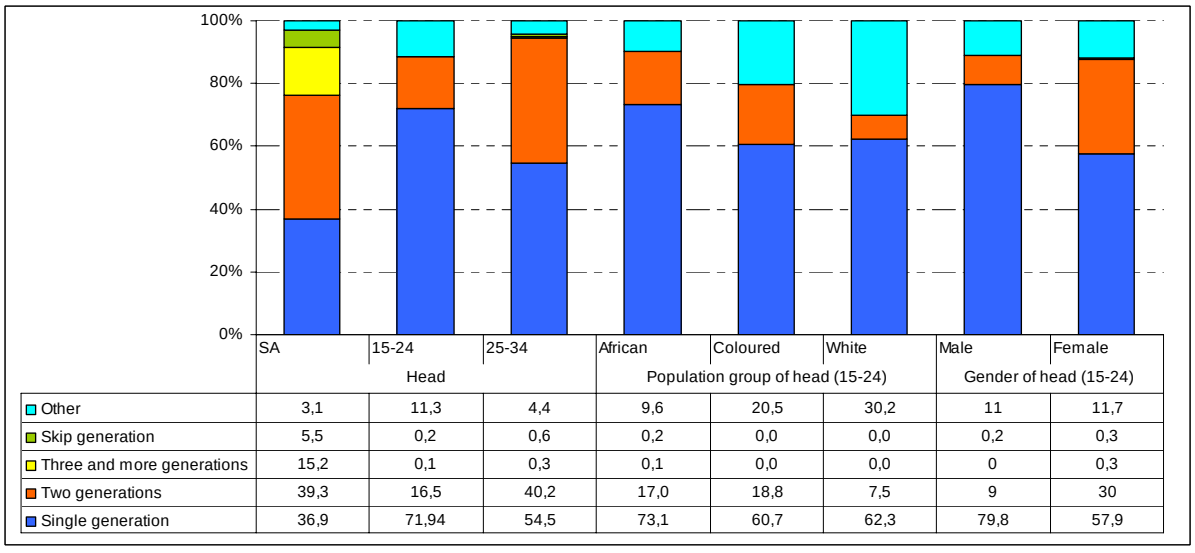
Figure 2.3: Distribution of youth across inter generational household types, by age group and population group, 2009



	RSA	15-24	25-34	African	Coloured	Indian	White
	Age group			Youth aged 15-24 by Population group			
Other	7,9	7,0	14,2	7,3	3,5	7,9	8,3
Skip generation	6,7	7,3	3,1	8,1	4,5	3,6	1,4
Three and more generations	30,1	32,0	24,7	34,4	30,6	6,5	9,8
Two generations	46,2	44,8	43,0	40,3	57,0	78,7	77,6
Single generation	9,2	8,9	15,0	9,9	4,3	3,3	2,9

Figure 2.4 presents information on the distribution of youth headed households across different household types categorised according to their intergenerational nature. It is immediately clear that youth headed households do not generally contain grandparents, and that households headed by younger youth (aged 15-24) are less likely than their older youth peers to live with their parents. White youth heads aged 15-24 are least likely to live with their parents while coloureds and black African heads in this age group are most likely. Similarly, female heads aged 15-24 are more likely than male heads in this age group to live with their parents. A larger proportion of these households, particularly for whites, are comprised of households in which individuals live with friends and/or other relatives. This is particularly noticeable for white youth headed households.

Figure 2.4: Distribution of youth headed households across inter generational household types, by age group and population group, 2009



	SA	15-24	25-34	African	Coloured	White	Male	Female
	Head			Population group of head (15-24)			Gender of head (15-24)	
Other	3,1	11,3	4,4	9,6	20,5	30,2	11	11,7
Skip generation	5,5	0,2	0,6	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,3
Three and more generations	15,2	0,1	0,3	0,1	0,0	0,0	0	0,3
Two generations	39,3	16,5	40,2	17,0	18,8	7,5	9	30
Single generation	36,9	71,94	54,5	73,1	60,7	62,3	79,8	57,9

Some general characteristics of youth headed households are presented in Table 2.3. The **average size** of youth headed households has generally declined in step with that for all households. Households headed by youths aged 15-24 years have a smaller means size (approximately 2 in 2009) than households headed by older youth (2,6 in 2009) or all households (3,5). This can be explained by the high proportion of single households observed for the youth headed households (see Figure 2.1).

The **total dependency ratio** represents the ratio of the sum of individuals in their dependent years (0–15 and 65+) to all individuals in their economically active years (15–64). The total dependency ratio for South African households has remained relatively constant at about 0,6. Total dependency ratios are lower for both categories of youth headed households, particularly for households headed by younger youth (15–24) for which a total dependency ratio of 0,3 was estimated in 2009. This agrees with the household composition presented in Figure 2.1.

It is perhaps not surprisingly that the **old age dependency ratios** for youth headed households have consistently been lower than that for all South African households. The ratio for households headed by older youth (25–34) is slightly higher than that for household headed by younger youth (15–24).

The **child dependency ratio** of households headed by older youth (25–34) is similar to the average for all households and substantially larger than the comparable ratio for households headed by younger youth (15–24).

The **youth proportion** expresses the proportion of individuals between the ages of 15 and 34 of the total household size. Whereas this proportion is estimated at around 0,4 for South African households in general, the proportion is double that for households headed by youth aged 15–24 (0,861 in 2009) and slightly less for households headed by older youth (0,78 in 2009).

The **child proportion** expresses the proportion of children under the age of 18 of the total household size. The proportion of children to the household size is higher for South African households in general (0,252 in 2009) than it is for either households headed by young adults (0.227 in 2009) or households headed by older youth (0,217 in 2009).

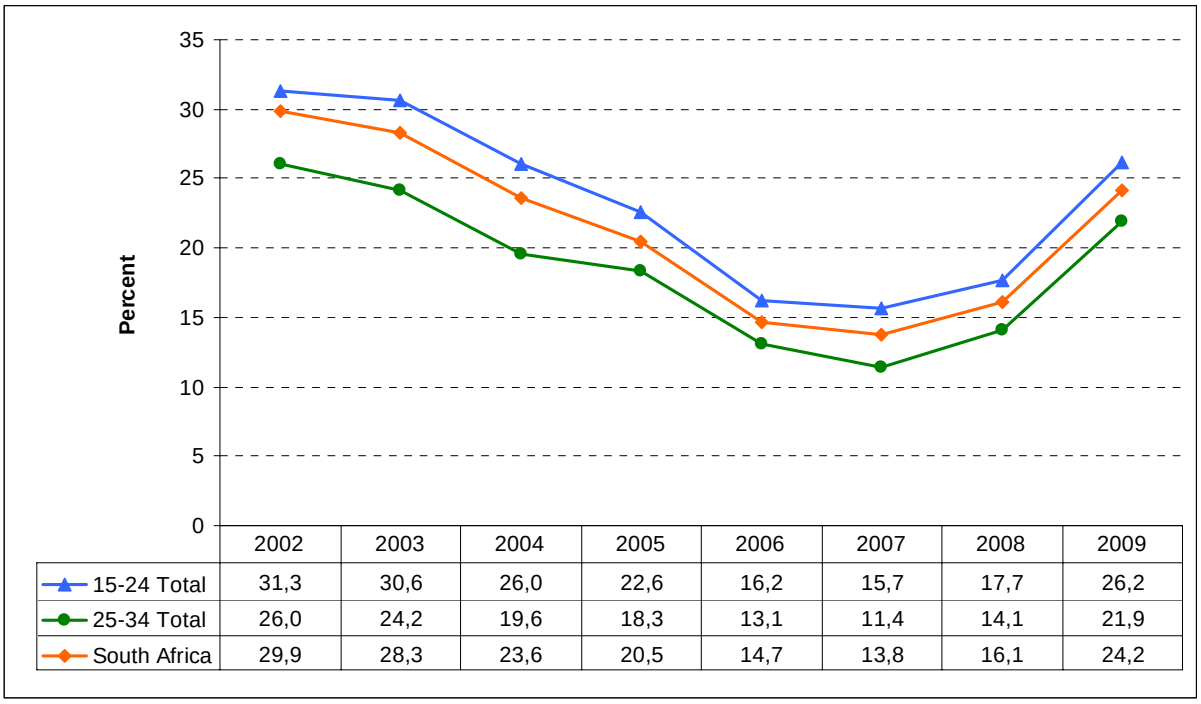
Table 2.3: Youth headed households by household size, sex of the head, and dependency ratios, 2002–2009

Age	Indicator	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Mean household size									
15–24	Average	2,1	2,0	2,0	1,9	2,0	1,9	2,1	2,0
25–34		2,8	2,6	2,6	2,7	2,6	2,5	2,7	2,6
15–34		2,6	2,5	2,4	2,5	2,4	2,3	2,6	2,5
South Africa		3,7	3,6	3,5	3,5	3,4	3,4	3,6	3,5
Total dependency ratio									
15–24	Average ratio	0,380	0,337	0,329	0,284	0,294	0,296	0,322	0,304
25–34		0,517	0,494	0,474	0,501	0,467	0,445	0,496	0,469
15–34		0,487	0,457	0,442	0,449	0,424	0,407	0,454	0,434
South Africa		0,579	0,553	0,536	0,547	0,527	0,531	0,560	0,541
Old age dependency ratio									
15–24	Average ratio	0,002	0,002	0,001	0,000	0,001	0,003	0,001	0,001
25–34		0,005	0,005	0,003	0,006	0,004	0,007	0,003	0,003
15–34		0,004	0,004	0,002	0,004	0,003	0,006	0,003	0,002
South Africa		0,069	0,068	0,067	0,072	0,072	0,075	0,074	0,076
Child dependency ratio									
15–24	Average ratio	0,378	0,336	0,328	0,284	0,293	0,293	0,321	0,304
25–34		0,512	0,489	0,471	0,495	0,463	0,438	0,493	0,467
15–34		0,483	0,453	0,440	0,445	0,421	0,401	0,452	0,432
South Africa		0,510	0,485	0,469	0,476	0,455	0,456	0,486	0,465
Youth proportion									
15–24	Average ratio	0,845	0,854	0,865	0,878	0,874	0,873	0,862	0,861
25–34		0,762	0,775	0,783	0,770	0,784	0,793	0,772	0,786
15–34		0,780	0,794	0,801	0,796	0,807	0,814	0,793	0,802
South Africa		0,400	0,399	0,397	0,394	0,400	0,395	0,396	0,388
Child proportion									
15–24	Average ratio	0,257	0,236	0,241	0,222	0,220	0,219	0,235	0,227
25–34		0,240	0,227	0,222	0,231	0,219	0,204	0,231	0,217
15–34		0,244	0,229	0,226	0,229	0,219	0,208	0,232	0,219
South Africa		0,277	0,263	0,258	0,258	0,252	0,251	0,265	0,252

3.5 Vulnerability to hunger

Food security is multidimensional in nature and changes over time, making accurate measurements and policy targeting a challenge. The GHS questionnaire attempts, through a short battery of questions, to determine vulnerability to hunger by asking whether household members go hungry 'sometimes', 'often' or 'always' because there is not enough food. Although the question was changed substantially in 2009, the results seem comparable. Figure 2.5 presents information on the proportion of youth aged 15–24 and 25–34 that are living in households that have reported hunger during the past year. The figure shows that the proportion of food insecure youth have declined from 31% for those aged 15–24 and 26% for those aged 25–34 in 2002 to 16% and 11% in 2007, before increasing sharply to 26% and 22% respectively in 2009. Older youth (25–34) seem to be less food insecure than either younger youth or the population as a whole.

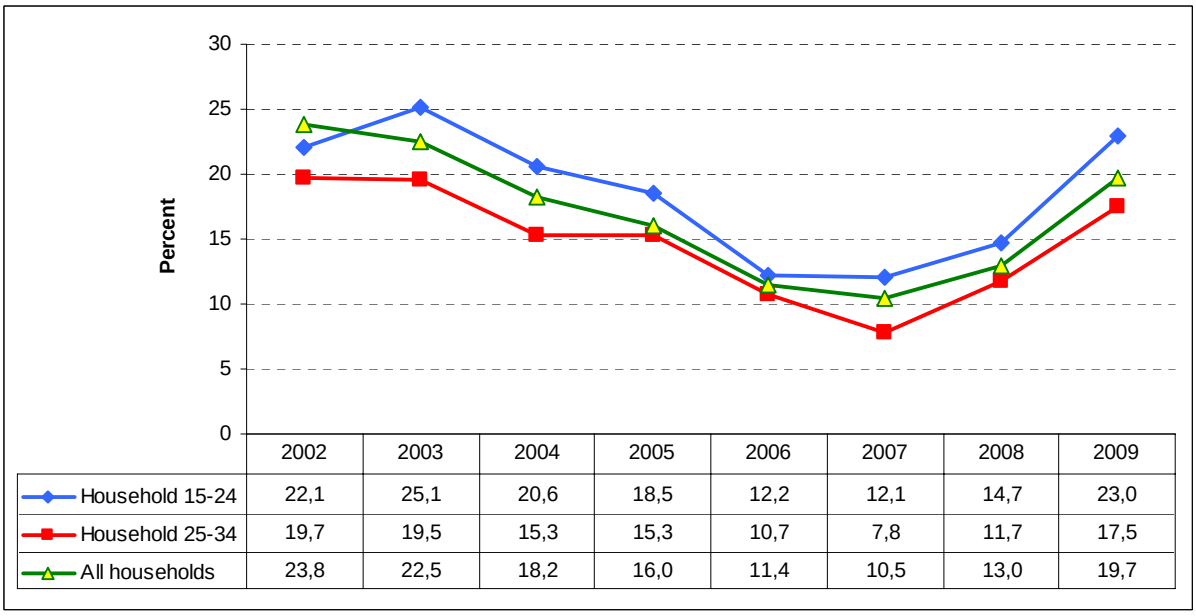
Figure 2.5: Proportion of youth living in households that reported hunger, 2002–2009



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
15-24 Total	31,3	30,6	26,0	22,6	16,2	15,7	17,7	26,2
25-34 Total	26,0	24,2	19,6	18,3	13,1	11,4	14,1	21,9
South Africa	29,9	28,3	23,6	20,5	14,7	13,8	16,1	24,2

The vulnerability to hunger of households headed by youth is presented in Figure 2.6. Household headed by youth aged 15–24 are more likely that South African households in general or indeed household headed by older youth (25–34) to have reported hunger. After declining relatively continuously until 2007, the three curves increased relatively sharply until 2009.

Figure 2.6: Proportion of youth headed households, and youth living in households that reported hunger, 2002–2009

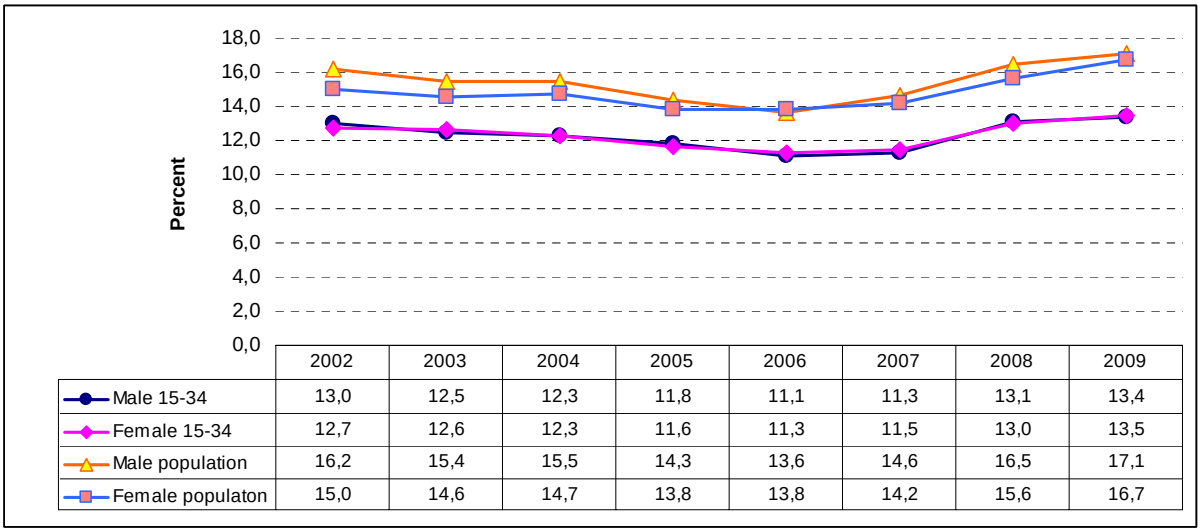


	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Household 15-24	22,1	25,1	20,6	18,5	12,2	12,1	14,7	23,0
Household 25-34	19,7	19,5	15,3	15,3	10,7	7,8	11,7	17,5
All households	23,8	22,5	18,2	16,0	11,4	10,5	13,0	19,7

3.6 Health

The proportion of youth with access to medical aid has remained relatively constant across time and male and female access can barely be differentiated. It is noticeable that the proportion of youth who are members of medical schemes are consistently lower than the comparable proportion for the South Africa population in general. This is presented in Figure 2.7.

Figure 2.7: Young people's access to medical aid by gender, 2002–2009



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male 15-34	13,0	12,5	12,3	11,8	11,1	11,3	13,1	13,4
Female 15-34	12,7	12,6	12,3	11,6	11,3	11,5	13,0	13,5
Male population	16,2	15,4	15,5	14,3	13,6	14,6	16,5	17,1
Female populaton	15,0	14,6	14,7	13,8	13,8	14,2	15,6	16,7

3.7 Income poverty and social grants

3.7.1 Household income

Households rely on a variety of income sources. Salaries and wages from resident members, or indeed remittances from absent members, and also social grants form a major part of this. The main sources of income for households between 2002 and 2009 are presented in the Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Main sources of income for youth headed households, 2002–2008

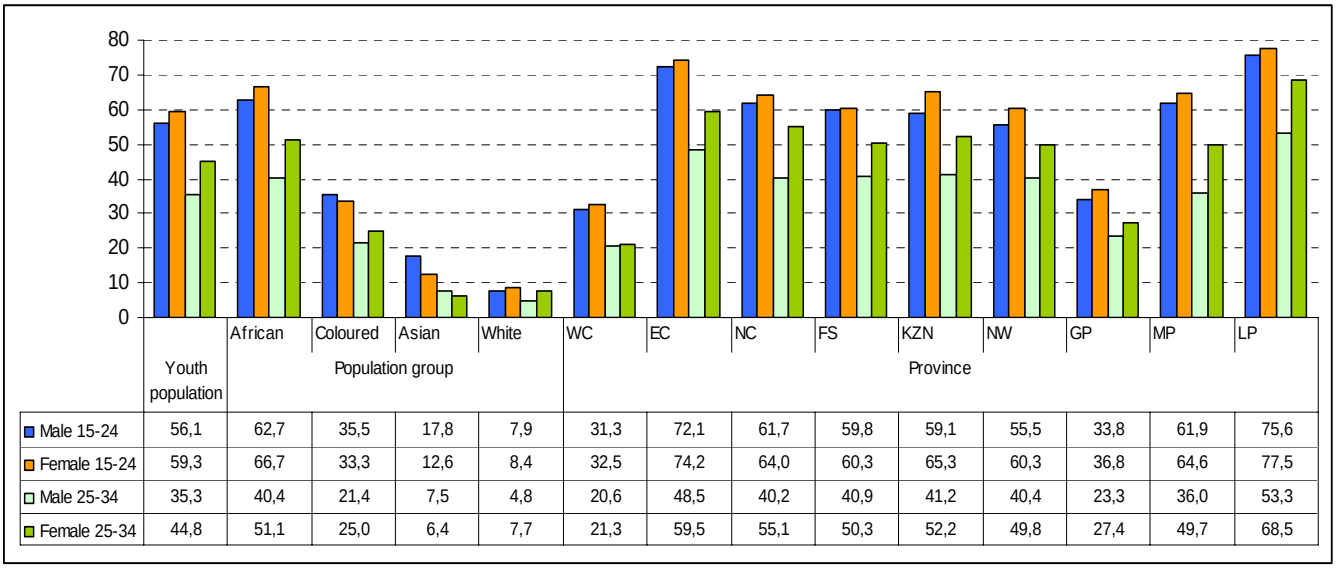
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
N (000)								
Youth headed (15–24)								
Salaries and/or wages	39,1	42,4	38,8	41,0	44,5	46,4	47,8	41,1
Remittances	48,6	47,0	49,4	46,5	41,8	37,4	36,5	44,3
Pensions and Grants	1,1	1,5	1,8	4,5	4,8	4,1	6,1	7,1
Sales of farm products	0,3	0,4	0,3	0,2	1,1	0,5	0,2	0,0
Other non farm income	5,3	2,0	5,3	3,8	2,4	4,7	2,2	6,0
No income	5,7	6,6	4,4	4,0	5,4	7,0	7,2	1,6
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
N (000)	**714**	**784**	**748**	**832**	**874**	**924**	**880**	**756**
Youth headed (25–34)								
Salaries and/or wages	71,9	70,9	71,5	71,2	73,5	76,2	75,7	71,4
Remittances	15,3	16,8	16,3	12,9	11,8	10,1	10,8	11,4
Pensions and Grants	3,0	3,4	4,9	8,0	8,0	7,2	8,4	8,9
Sales of farm products	0,6	0,5	0,8	0,8	0,9	0,6	0,5	0,0
Other non farm income	4,9	4,1	4,5	4,3	2,4	2,9	1,3	7,5
No income	4,3	4,2	2,1	2,8	3,5	3,0	3,3	0,8
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
N(000)	**2 530**	**2 554**	**2 660**	**2 652**	**2 669**	**2 688**	**2 823**	**2 926**

The proportion of youth (15-24) headed households that indicated remittances as a main source of income declined from 49% in 2002 to 37% in 2008 before increasing to 44% in 2009. Simultaneously, the relative contribution of salaries and/or wages increased from under 40% in 2002 to almost 48% by 2008 before again retreating to 40% in 2009 . Despite these changes, salaries and wages remained a much more likely main source of income for youth (24-35) headed households, comprising 76% of all main sources by 2008 and 71% in 2009. Income attributed to pensions and grants most likely refer to child support and disability grants.

The GHS provides estimates of income earned from employment, government transfers through social grants as well as remittances. Data on other sources such as rent, dividends and interest is however more difficult to obtain. Although great care is taken to improve income data, figures should be treated with some circumspect as the literature (Casale and Desmond, 2007) suggest that high earners often tend to diminish their income while in-kind payments are often disregarded in the case of lower earning households.

The proportion of youth living in low income households is established by assigning the poor to the lowest 40% of the income distribution. Using the 40th percentile as an arbitrary cut off, a low income threshold of R555 per capita is created. The results of the analysis are presented in Figure 2.8.

Figure 2.8: Percentage of youth living in low income households by age group, gender, population group and province, 2009



	Youth population	African	Coloured	Asian	White	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP
		Population group				Province								
Male 15-24	56,1	62,7	35,5	17,8	7,9	31,3	72,1	61,7	59,8	59,1	55,5	33,8	61,9	75,6
Female 15-24	59,3	66,7	33,3	12,6	8,4	32,5	74,2	64,0	60,3	65,3	60,3	36,8	64,6	77,5
Male 25-34	35,3	40,4	21,4	7,5	4,8	20,6	48,5	40,2	40,9	41,2	40,4	23,3	36,0	53,3
Female 25-34	44,8	51,1	25,0	6,4	7,7	21,3	59,5	55,1	50,3	52,2	49,8	27,4	49,7	68,5

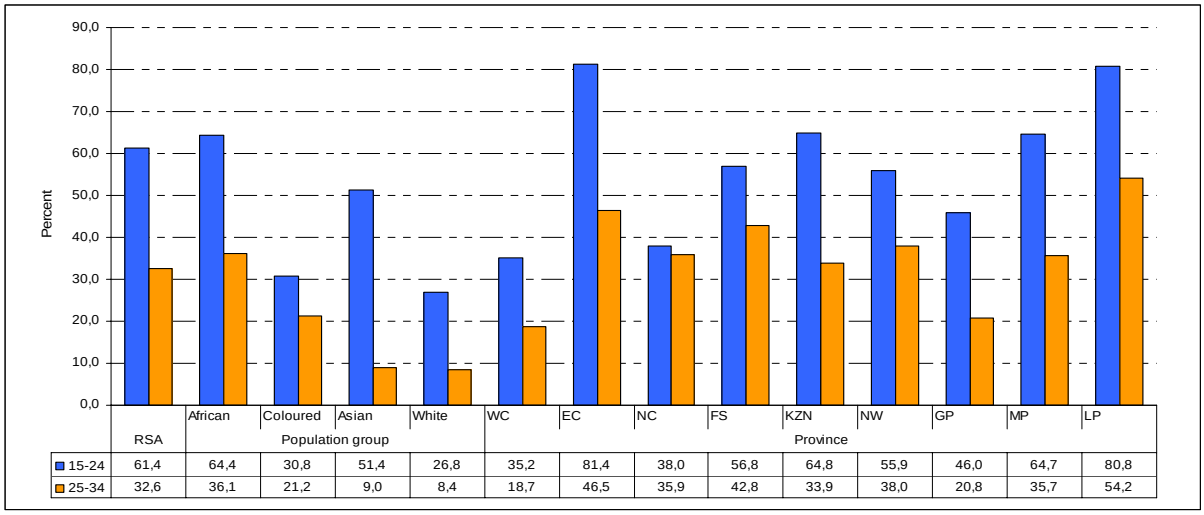
Almost six-tenths of youth aged 15–24 years live in households with a monthly per capita income of less than R 555 per person. Stark disparities are observable between population groups. Whereas 63% of males and 67% of African females in the age group 15–24 live in these low income households, far smaller proportions of coloureds, Asians and whites lives in low income households. Approximately 8% of white youths in the age group 15–24 lived in low income households in 2009. A comparison of the situation across the nine provinces reveals that youth are generally less likely to live in low income households in the Western Cape and Gauteng, while they are most likely to do so in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape.

Older youths aged between 25 and 34 years are generally less likely to live in low income households than their younger counterparts. African youths in this age group is however similarly more likely to live in low income households that their counterparts from other population groups, while youths in this age group living in either Limpopo or the Eastern Cape similarly remain more likely to live in low income households. The overall pattern for the two youth categories is very similar despite the difference in magnitude.

Another similarity is the fact that female youth in both age categories are more likely to live in lower income households than their male counterparts, regardless of their population group or province of residence. The difference seems especially pronounced in the older age category (24–35).

The percentage of youth headed households living in low income households by age group, gender, population group and province is presented in Figure 2.9. It is evident from the table that households headed by youth aged 15–24 are much more likely to be living in low income households than households headed by their older counterparts. Like the previous figure, households headed by African youth are more likely to be low income households than households headed by other racial groups, while youth headed households in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape similarly remain more likely to earn less. Households in particularly the Western Cape, and Gauteng (for the youth age group 24–35) are the least likely to be low income households.

Figure 2.9: Percentage of youth headed households living in low income households by age group, population group and province, 2009



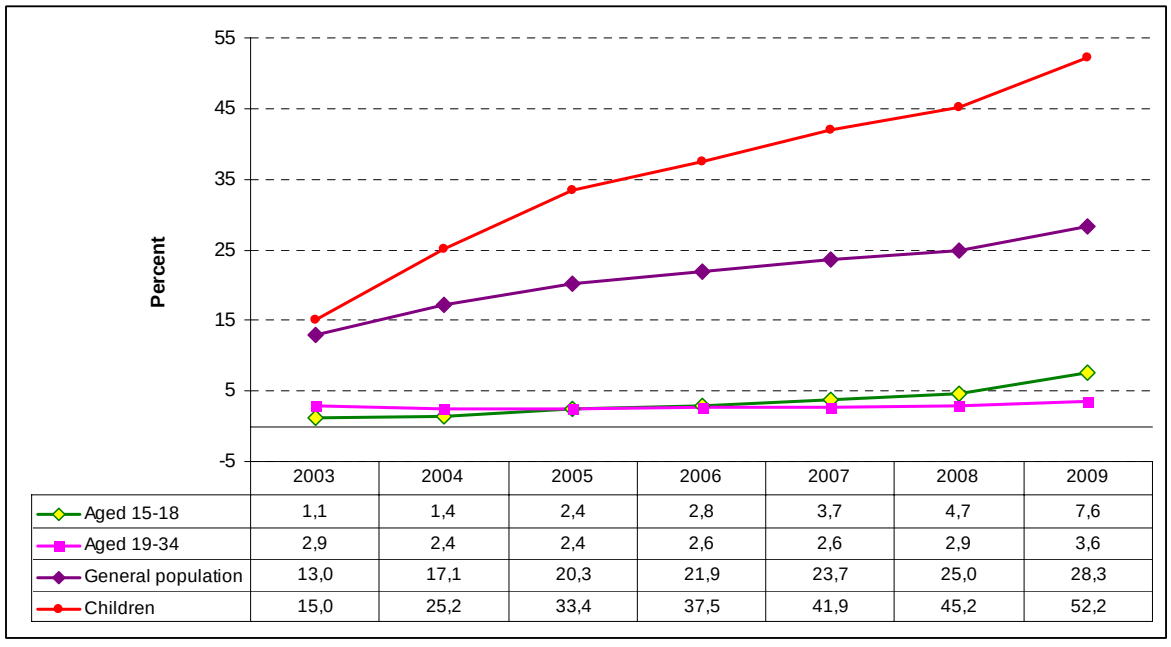
	RSA	African	Coloured	Asian	White	WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GP	MP	LP
		Population group				Province								
15-24	61,4	64,4	30,8	51,4	26,8	35,2	81,4	38,0	56,8	64,8	55,9	46,0	64,7	80,8
25-34	32,6	36,1	21,2	9,0	8,4	18,7	46,5	35,9	42,8	33,9	38,0	20,8	35,7	54,2

3.7.2 Social grants

As evident from Table 2.4, youth is generally not targeted by South Africa's social welfare system. While child recipients of the child support and other targeted grants will progressively remain eligible to receive that grants until the age of 17 years of age, youth in the age group 18–34 years of age can only benefit directly from disability grants, if they are disabled, and indirectly from the various child grants if they are care givers. Disability and the associated grants are discussed in the chapter on disability. The proportions of youth that are beneficiaries to any social grant are presented in Figure 2.10.

The proportion of youth grant recipients is much lower than the average for the general population, and specifically the average for children. Whereas the proportion of youth between the ages of 18 and 34 have generally remained below 4%, the proportion of child beneficiaries has increased from 15% in 2002 to 52% in 2009 as the coverage of particularly the child support grant (CSG) was extended. The gradual extension of the eligibility age for the child support grant is reflected in the slight increase in the proportion of grant beneficiaries in the age group 15–18 years. When the CSG was first implemented in 1998 it only covered children under the age of 6 years. The threshold age was gradually increased to 16 at the beginning of 2010, and it will be expanded to include children under the age of 18 years by 2012. The proportion of grant recipients in the age group 15–24 can therefore be expected to increase appreciably over the next few years.

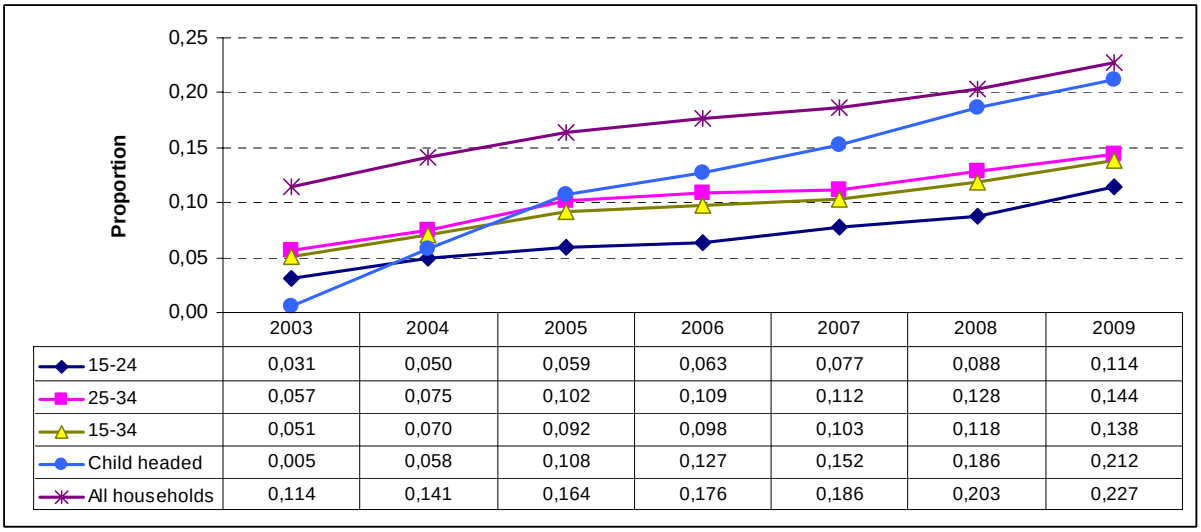
Figure 2.10: Percentage of youth beneficiaries to social grants, 2002–2009



	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Aged 15-18	1,1	1,4	2,4	2,8	3,7	4,7	7,6
Aged 19-34	2,9	2,4	2,4	2,6	2,6	2,9	3,6
General population	13,0	17,1	20,3	21,9	23,7	25,0	28,3
Children	15,0	25,2	33,4	37,5	41,9	45,2	52,2

The mean proportion of grant beneficiaries to household size is presented in Figure 2.11. The proportion of grant beneficiaries has increased from 3% and 6% in 2002 for households headed by youth in the age categories 15–24 and 25–34 respectively, to 11% and 14%. Despite this increase, the proportion of grant beneficiaries still trails behind the proportion observed for child headed households, and South African households in general.

Figure 2.11: Proportion of grant beneficiaries to household members in youth headed households, 2009



	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
15-24	0,031	0,050	0,059	0,063	0,077	0,088	0,114
25-34	0,057	0,075	0,102	0,109	0,112	0,128	0,144
15-34	0,051	0,070	0,092	0,098	0,103	0,118	0,138
Child headed	0,005	0,058	0,108	0,127	0,152	0,186	0,212
All households	0,114	0,141	0,164	0,176	0,186	0,203	0,227

3.8 Economic participation

The proportion of economically active and employed household members as a proportion of the mean household size is presented in Table 2.5. The **economically active ratio** expresses the ratio of economically active members (i.e. who are either employed or looking for employment) to the number of individuals between the ages of 15 and 64. Members of households headed by youth in the age group 25 to 34 are more likely to be economically active than members of South African households in general, or indeed households headed by youth in the age category 15–24. This is to be expected as large numbers of youth between the ages of 15–24 are often engaged in education and not actively looking for work.

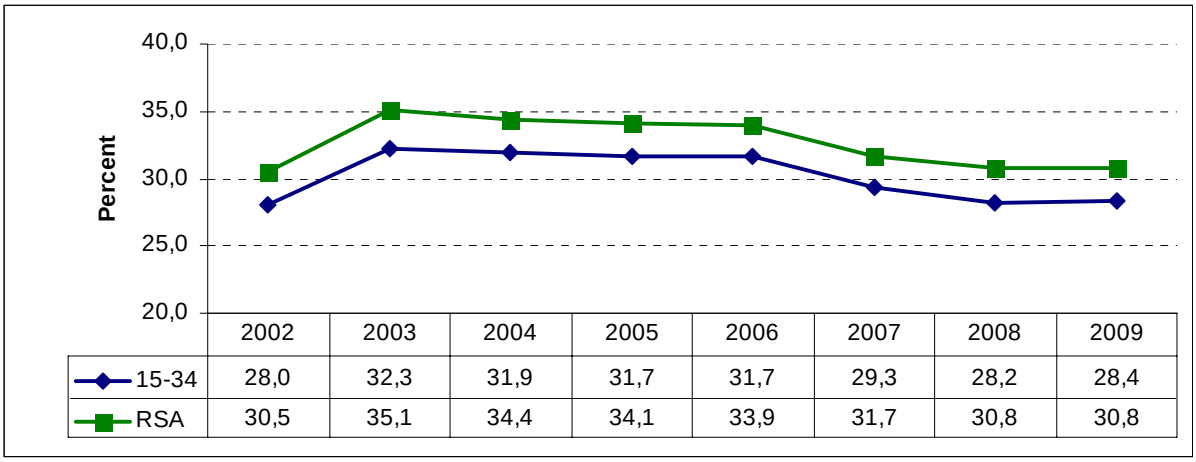
It is noticeable that households headed by 25 to 34 year olds contain a larger proportion of employed members, expressed as a proportion of the total household size, than households in general, or households headed by younger youth (14–24).

Table 2.5: Number of economically active and employed household members as proportion of the mean household size by the age of the head of the household, 2002–2009

Age group		2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Economically active ratio									
15–24	Average ratio	0,627	0,624	0,590	0,581	0,606	0,616	0,646	0,628
25–34		1,042	1,035	1,019	1,017	1,029	1,022	1,064	0,901
15–34		0,952	0,939	0,925	0,913	0,924	0,918	0,965	0,843
South Africa		0,830	0,797	0,798	0,793	0,807	0,807	0,839	0,762
	Proportion of employed household members								
15–24	Proportion	0,334	0,348	0,337	0,345	0,361	0,371	0,377	0,350
25–34		0,498	0,498	0,530	0,515	0,530	0,552	0,522	0,555
15–34		0,462	0,463	0,488	0,474	0,488	0,506	0,488	0,511
South Africa		0,372	0,365	0,379	0,378	0,386	0,398	0,378	0,405

The proportion of youth living in households in which nobody is employed in either the formal or the informal sector is presented in Figure 2.12. The definition of work includes regular or irregular work for wages or salary, as well as unpaid work in a family business, farming or household maintenance projects. The percentage of employed household members is important as these individuals provide income that could be used to advance household members' general well being (Hall, 2010). They could also improve the job prospects of fellow household members by unlocking social networks.

Figure 2.12: Percentage of individuals living in households without an employed member (15 years and older)

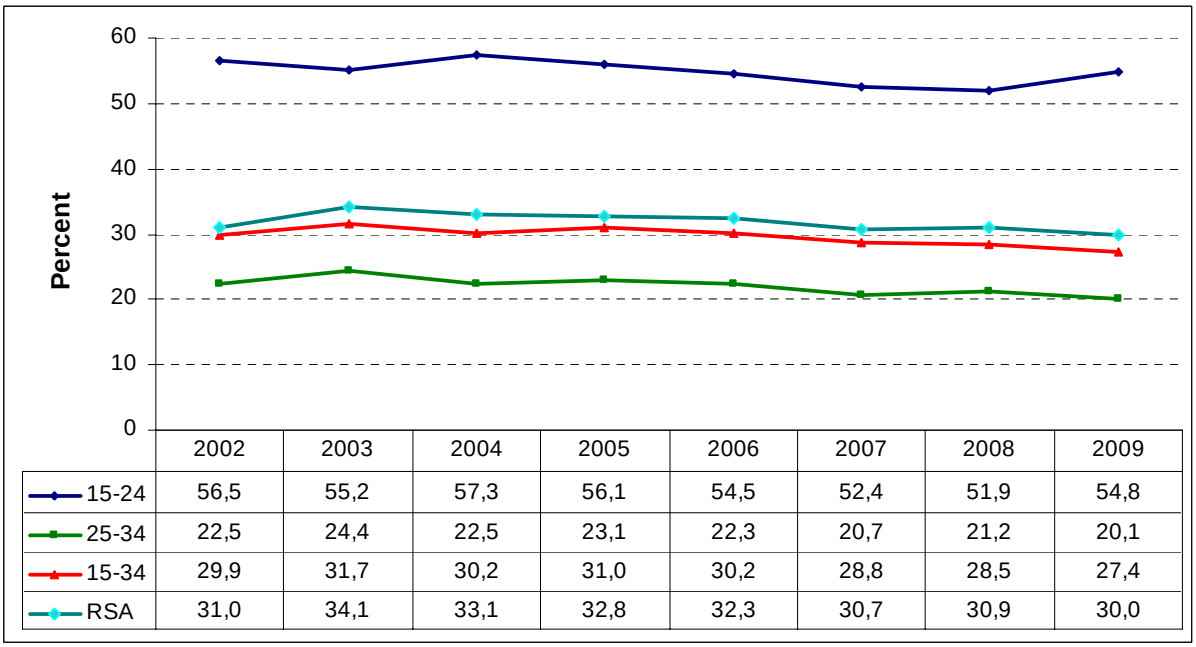


	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
15-34	28,0	32,3	31,9	31,7	31,7	29,3	28,2	28,4
RSA	30,5	35,1	34,4	34,1	33,9	31,7	30,8	30,8

Slightly more than a quarter of all youth in South Africa lives in households where not a single household member is working. This rate has remained relatively constant over the period 2002 to 2009. A slightly smaller proportion of youth live in households without any employed members. It is interesting to note the extent to which the curves for youth and for South Africans in general have changed in accord.

The proportion of youth headed households without any employed household members is presented in Figure 2.13. Approximately 30% of these households do not include any employed individuals compared to a slightly higher proportion for South African households in general. Households headed by youth aged 15–24 seems to be less likely to contain employed adults than the older groups. The proportion of these households that do not contain any employed members changed relatively little between 2002 and 2009 and stood at 55% in 2009.

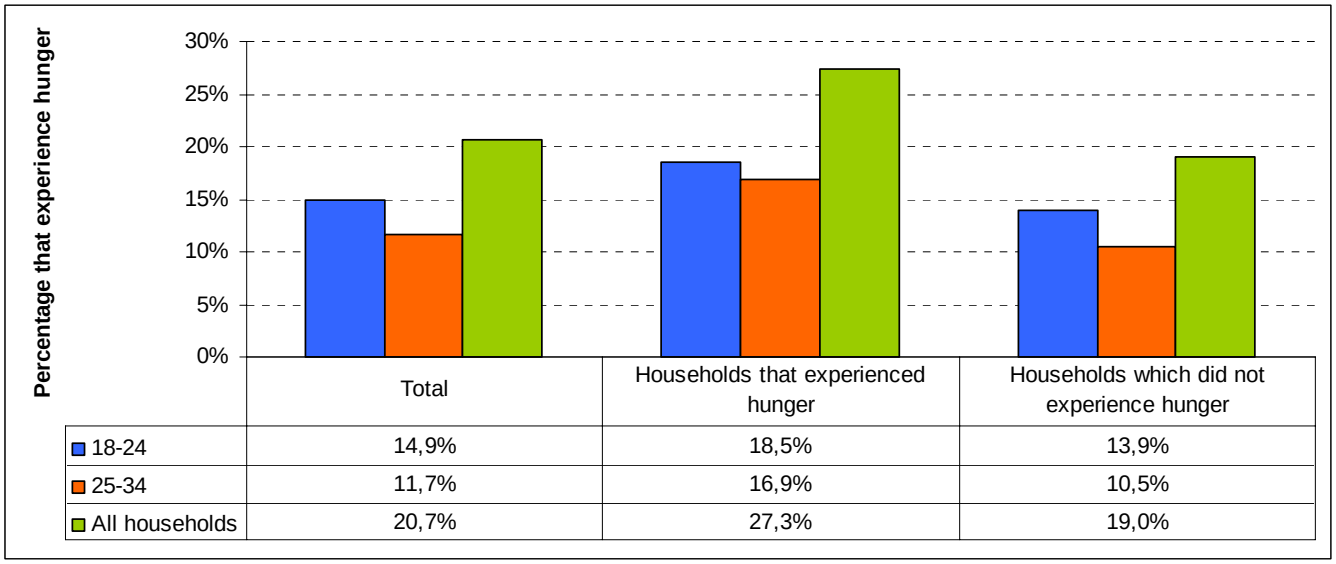
Figure 2.13: Percentage of youth headed households without any employed household members



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
15-24	56,5	55,2	57,3	56,1	54,5	52,4	51,9	54,8
25-34	22,5	24,4	22,5	23,1	22,3	20,7	21,2	20,1
15-34	29,9	31,7	30,2	31,0	30,2	28,8	28,5	27,4
RSA	31,0	34,1	33,1	32,8	32,3	30,7	30,9	30,0

Households that have experienced some hunger over the past year is generally more likely to engage in agricultural production that those with better food security. This is indicated in Figure 2.14. It is noticeable that a larger proportion of households headed by youth aged 15–24 generally engage in these activities than households with heads aged 25 to 34. This can perhaps be linked to higher unemployment rates and hence more free time available to this group.

Figure 2.14: Involvement in agricultural production and the nature of production activities by food vulnerability status, percent, 2009



	Total	Households that experienced hunger	Households which did not experience hunger
18-24	14,9%	18,5%	13,9%
25-34	11,7%	16,9%	10,5%
All households	20,7%	27,3%	19,0%

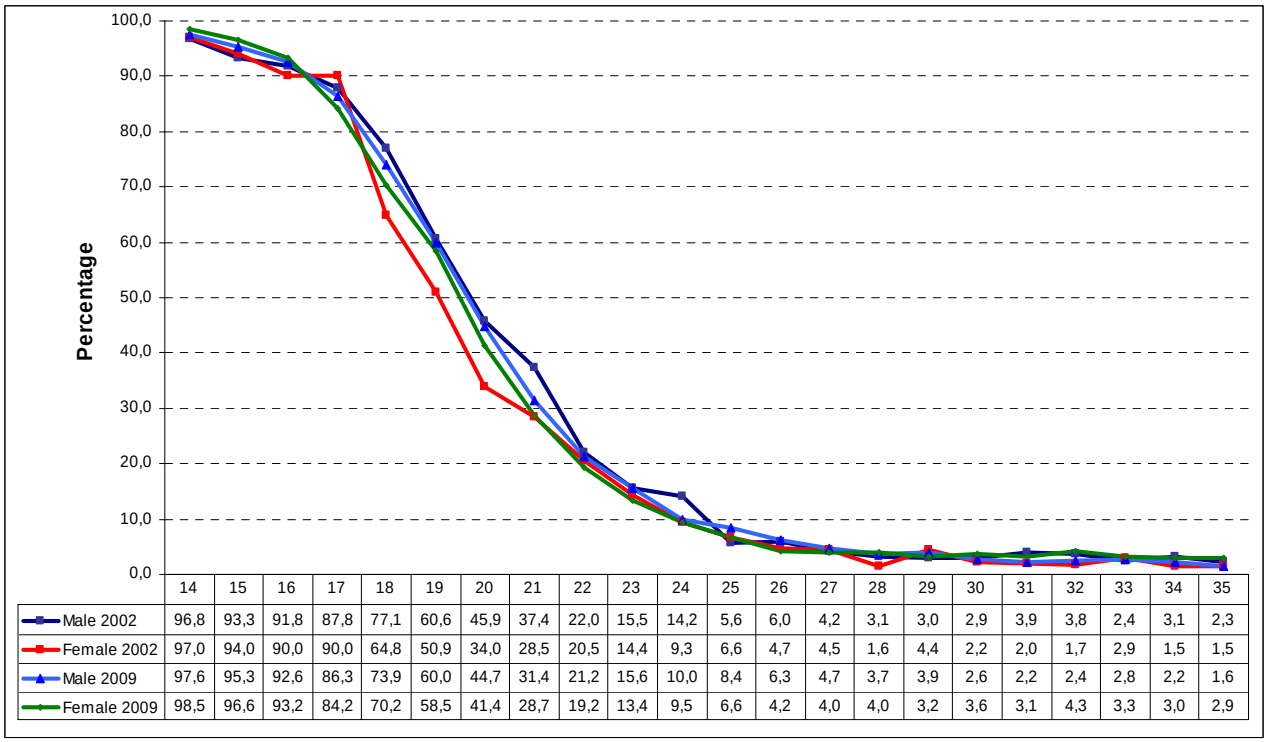
Education greatly improves an individual's likelihood of obtaining a job and escaping from poverty. Education shapes the economic potential of youth and improves their effectiveness as citizens and community members.

3.9 Education

3.9.1 Education enrolment and attainment

The proportion of youth aged 14 to 35 attending an education institution during 2002 and 2009 is presented in Figure 2.15. The graph shows very similar levels of educational attendance between the ages of 14 and 16 for both years with over 90% of children attending and educational institution. Educational attendance drops down very quickly beyond this age. By 18 years of age only about 70% of youth are still attending an educational institution. This drops to 10% by 24 year, and even lower beyond that. It is interesting to note that female participation increased markedly from 2002 to 2009 for the ages 17 to 20.

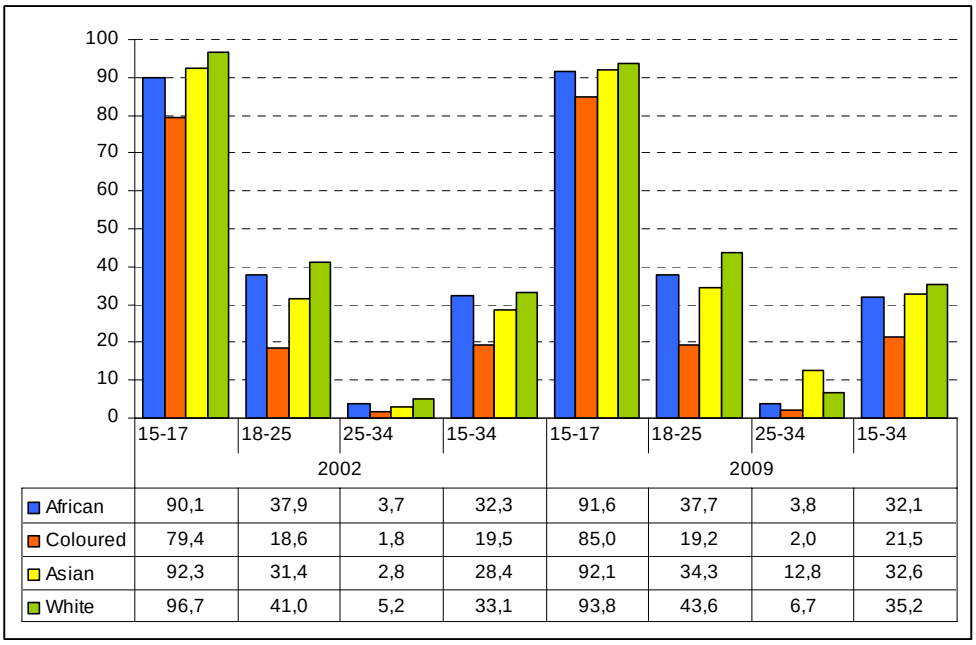
Figure 2.15: Attendance of an educational institution by age and sex, 2002 and 2009



	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
Male 2002	96,8	93,3	91,8	87,8	77,1	60,6	45,9	37,4	22,0	15,5	14,2	5,6	6,0	4,2	3,1	3,0	2,9	3,9	3,8	2,4	3,1	2,3
Female 2002	97,0	94,0	90,0	90,0	64,8	50,9	34,0	28,5	20,5	14,4	9,3	6,6	4,7	4,5	1,6	4,4	2,2	2,0	1,7	2,9	1,5	1,5
Male 2009	97,6	95,3	92,6	86,3	73,9	60,0	44,7	31,4	21,2	15,6	10,0	8,4	6,3	4,7	3,7	3,9	2,6	2,2	2,4	2,8	2,2	1,6
Female 2009	98,5	96,6	93,2	84,2	70,2	58,5	41,4	28,7	19,2	13,4	9,5	6,6	4,2	4,0	4,0	3,2	3,6	3,1	4,3	3,3	3,0	2,9

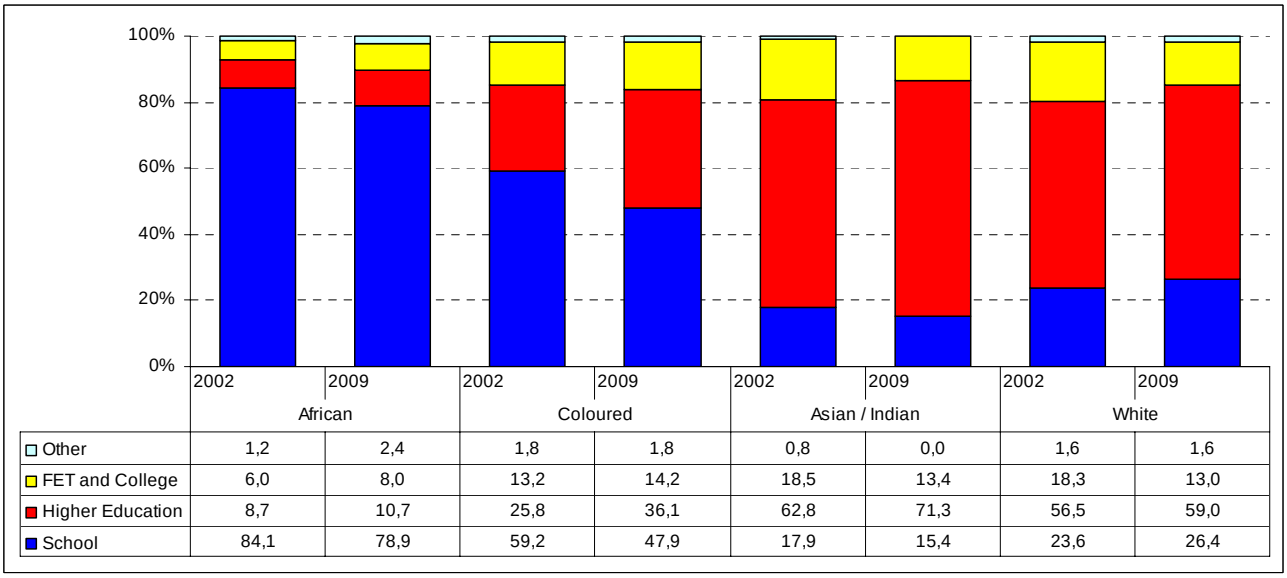
The likelihood of attending an educational institution for different population groups is presented in Figure 2.16. Although African participation rates match that of Indians and whites in both age categories, it is probably important to note that the high participation rates for African youth during the ages 18 to 34 do not necessarily reflect their progression to higher education, as it does for Whites and Indians. This observation is confirmed by Figure 2.17 in which the relatively low African participation rate in higher education compared to that of Whites and Indians is presented. A much larger proportion of Africans and coloureds remain in school after the age of eighteen while a large number of their Indian and white counterparts move into higher education.

Figure 2.16: Percentage of youth attending an educational institution by population group and age



	2002				2009			
	15-17	18-25	25-34	15-34	15-17	18-25	25-34	15-34
African	90,1	37,9	3,7	32,3	91,6	37,7	3,8	32,1
Coloured	79,4	18,6	1,8	19,5	85,0	19,2	2,0	21,5
Asian	92,3	31,4	2,8	28,4	92,1	34,3	12,8	32,6
White	96,7	41,0	5,2	33,1	93,8	43,6	6,7	35,2

Figure 2.17: Type of educational institution attended by youth aged 18–24, by population group for 2002 and 2009



	African		Coloured		Asian / Indian		White	
	2002	2009	2002	2009	2002	2009	2002	2009
Other	1,2	2,4	1,8	1,8	0,8	0,0	1,6	1,6
FET and College	6,0	8,0	13,2	14,2	18,5	13,4	18,3	13,0
Higher Education	8,7	10,7	25,8	36,1	62,8	71,3	56,5	59,0
School	84,1	78,9	59,2	47,9	17,9	15,4	23,6	26,4

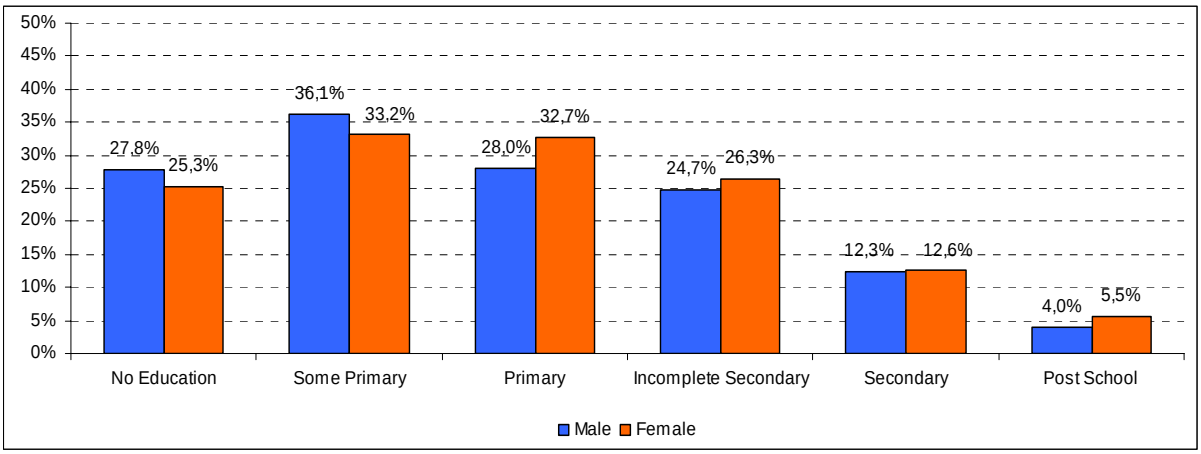
The highest level of education attained by the 18 to 24 and 25–34 age cohorts is presented in Table 2.6. It is noticeable that an increasing proportion of youth across all population groups and in both age cohorts have completed their secondary schooling. Between 2002 and 2009 the proportion of youth in the age cohorts 18 to 24 and 25 to 34 that have completed their secondary education has increased from 26% to 31% and 29% to 34% respectively. While the proportion of individuals who have attained some post-school qualification has increased considerably for both age cohorts between 2002 and 2009, a much smaller proportion of African and coloured youth have achieved these qualifications than their White and Indian counterparts.

Table 2.6: Percentage distribution of persons aged 18 years and older by highest level of education and population group

	African		Coloured		Indian		White		Total	
	2002	2009	2002	2009	2002	2009	2002	2009	2002	2009
18–24										
No Schooling	1,5	1,1	1,2	1,2	0,7	0,5	0,2	0,5	1,3	1,1
Some primary	10,1	6,4	7,3	3,0	1,8	0,5	0,5	0,2	9,0	5,6
Primary	7,2	4,7	7,0	3,9	0,8	0,0	0,5	0,7	6,6	4,3
Incomplete secondary	56,7	57,1	48,1	51,6	29,2	18,0	27,9	24,1	53,2	53,8
Secondary	22,3	27,3	33,7	36,6	58,6	67,2	53,3	55,5	26,4	30,6
Post school	2,2	3,1	2,6	3,7	8,7	13,8	17,6	18,3	3,5	4,3
Other	0,1	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,7	0,1	0,2
Total	**100,1**	**99,9**	**100,1**	**100**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,1**	**99,9**
N (000)	**5 146**	**5 836**	**535**	**548**	**151**	**156**	**457**	**419**	**6 289**	**6 959**
25–34										
No schooling	4,4	2,3	3,2	0,7	0,3	0,0	0,1	0,0	3,8	1,9
Some primary	14,5	7,4	13,7	3,7	1,3	1,0	0,1	0,0	12,9	6,4
Primary	6,6	4,7	9,0	5,3	1,2	0,5	0,3	0,3	6,2	4,4
Incomplete secondary	39,2	45,6	41,4	41,9	31,3	11,4	16,9	14,0	37,4	42,2
Secondary	27,0	31,5	25,6	38,7	45,3	52,9	47,4	45,6	29,0	33,6
Post School	8,2	8,2	7,1	9,1	20,3	34,2	34,9	40,0	10,6	11,1
Other	0,2	0,2	0,0	0,7	0,3	0,1	0,3	0,1	0,2	0,3
Total	**100,1**	**99,9**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,1**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,1**	**99,9**
N (000)	**5 847**	**6 749**	**745**	**740**	**184**	**233**	**609**	**542**	**7 384**	**8 264**

There is a close relationship between poverty and levels of education. The relationship of poverty to education levels is presented in Figure 2.18 and Figure 2.12 where household expenditure is used as a proxy for poverty. It is clear from this figure that the proportion of youth living in poor households decline with higher levels of education.

Figure 2.18: Poverty status among 18–34 year olds, by highest level of education and household income below R1330 per month, 2009



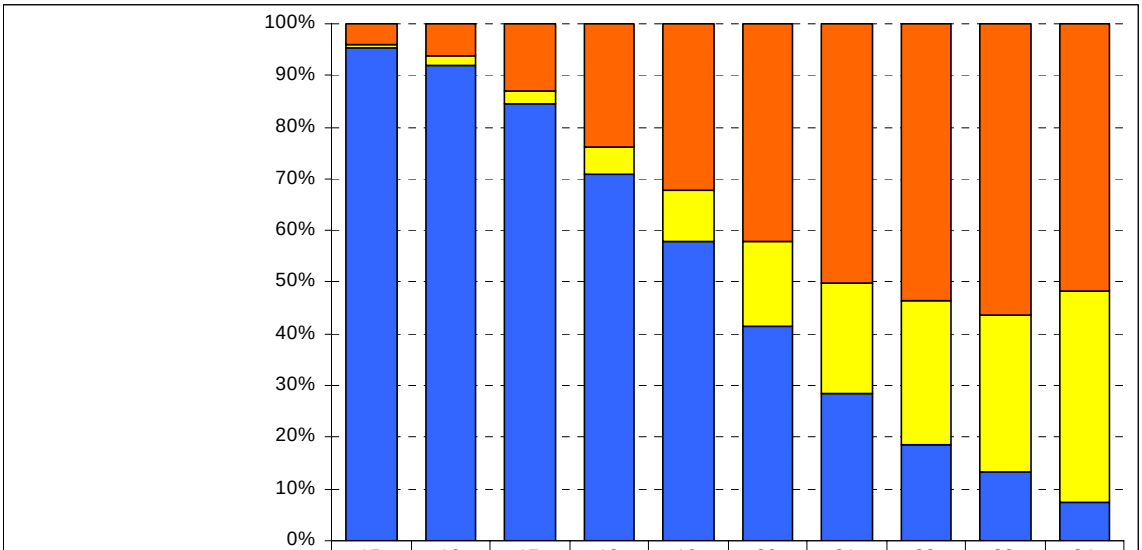
3.9.2 Unemployed and non studying youth

The National Youth Policy (2009:16) describe individuals who are neither in employment or studying as probable premature dropouts who are largely unskilled and unable to access economic opportunities due to their lack of adequate qualifications or skills, often including basic literacy and numeracy skills. The youth policy argues that individuals falling into this category should be provided with focussed support to facilitate improved economic participation and socialization.

The proportion of youth in the age cohort 15 to 24 who are not attending any educational institution and who is not employed is presented in Figure 2.19. The analysis excludes individuals who are either employed, or still attending some educational institution, but includes individuals who are not economically active as at least some of these could be classified as discouraged job seekers. Sheppard (2009:43) refers to this group as “NEETS” as they are not in employment, education or training. Figure 2.19 presents the total proportion of individuals in each single year age cohort that are attending educational institutions, as well as those that are either employed, or not working and not in school. These proportions are expressed in terms of the total population in each age cohort. The growth of

the “NEETS” category seems to be inversely related to the decline in attendance of educational institutions. The proportion of youth who are not employed or in education increases briskly after age seventeen until it eventually seems to turn at age 23. By this time more than half of all youth in that age category are neither in school nor working, compared to about 30% in employment and approximately 13% in education. Out of a total of 10,1 million individuals in the 15 to 24 age cohort, 32,7% (or 3,3 million youth) were neither employed nor attending an educational institution. Approximately half (52%) were still studying while 15% have taken on employment.

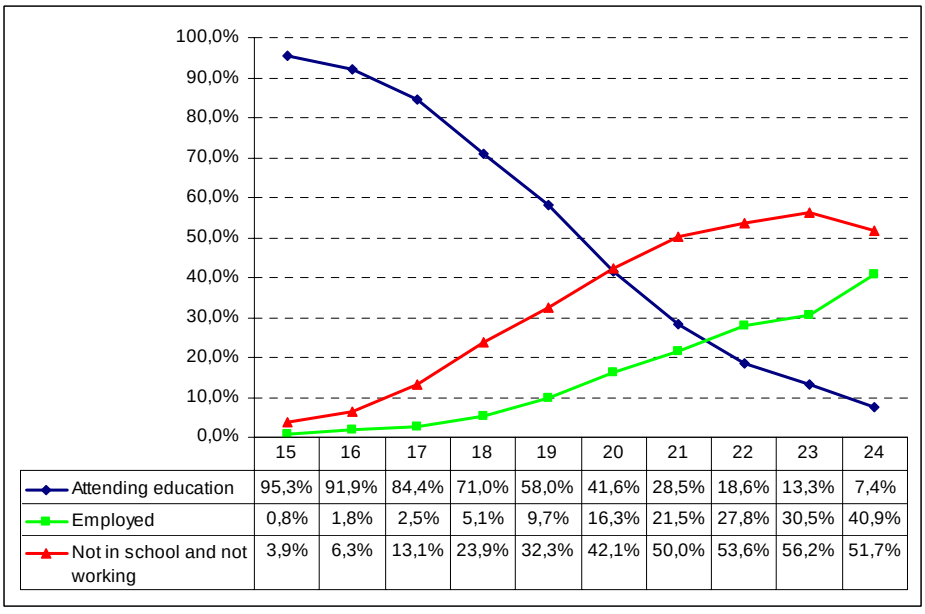
Figure 2.19: Youth aged 15–24 who are not attending any educational institution and who are not employed



	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Not in school and not working	40 194	62 122	142 244	247 624	337 343	429 367	528 249	507 144	512 708	489 758
Employed and not studying	7 945	17 791	26 997	52 920	101 300	166 289	227 282	262 469	278 430	387 777
Attending educational institution	981 425	911 556	917 599	735 854	606 714	424 107	300 696	175 792	120 903	70 359

The gender composition of youth aged 15 to 24 years by economic status and educational attendance is presented in Figure 2.20. This figure confirms the disadvantages faced by females. Although male and female education participation rates remain very similar between the ages of 15 and 24, the proportion of females that are employed by individual age group remain consistently lower across all the age groups. In addition, the proportion of females that are neither attending educational institutions nor working persistently exceeds the rate for males from the same age group.

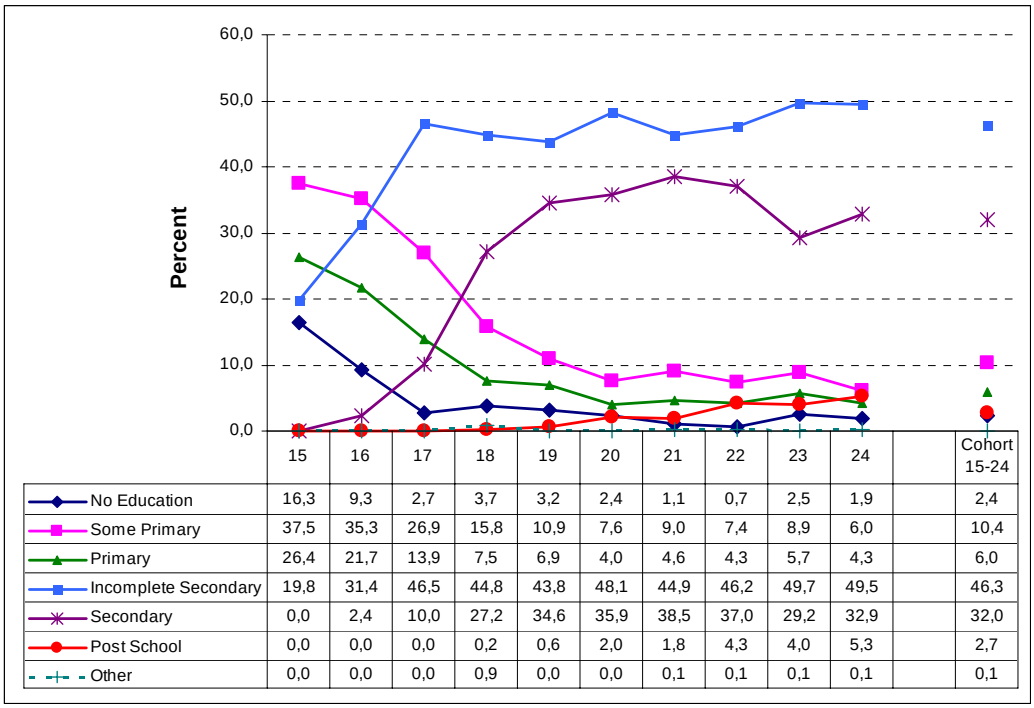
Figure 2.20: Percentage of youth aged 15–24 who are not attending any educational institution and who are not employed, by gender



	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Attending education	95,3%	91,9%	84,4%	71,0%	58,0%	41,6%	28,5%	18,6%	13,3%	7,4%
Employed	0,8%	1,8%	2,5%	5,1%	9,7%	16,3%	21,5%	27,8%	30,5%	40,9%
Not in school and not working	3,9%	6,3%	13,1%	23,9%	32,3%	42,1%	50,0%	53,6%	56,2%	51,7%

The educational attainment of youth in the age cohort 15 to 24 who are neither working nor attending an educational institution is presented in Figure 2.21. Almost half (46%) of the 3,3 million youth in this group have attained an incomplete secondary school qualification, while a further 32% have completed secondary school. Approximately 16% have completed primary school or less. Less than 3% have no education at all, or have some kind of post school qualification.

Figure 2.21: Percentage of youth aged 15–24 who are not attending any educational institution and who are not employed by highest level of education, 2009



	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24		Cohort 15-24
No Education	16,3	9,3	2,7	3,7	3,2	2,4	1,1	0,7	2,5	1,9		2,4
Some Primary	37,5	35,3	26,9	15,8	10,9	7,6	9,0	7,4	8,9	6,0		10,4
Primary	26,4	21,7	13,9	7,5	6,9	4,0	4,6	4,3	5,7	4,3		6,0
Incomplete Secondary	19,8	31,4	46,5	44,8	43,8	48,1	44,9	46,2	49,7	49,5		46,3
Secondary	0,0	2,4	10,0	27,2	34,6	35,9	38,5	37,0	29,2	32,9		32,0
Post School	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,6	2,0	1,8	4,3	4,0	5,3		2,7
Other	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,9	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1		0,1

The reasons why youth in the 15 to 24 age cohort are not attending education institutions are explored in Table 2.7. Roughly 36% of all youth in the age cohort 15–24 who are not attending an educational institution lamented a lack of money. Another 20% reported that they were working and that they had no time. About a tenth blamed poor academic performance. Although these findings generally hold true for males as well as females, a noteworthy proportion of females reported family commitments, and pregnancy as a reason for leaving education. African youths are more likely to blame a lack of fees, while white youth were least likely. Inversely, White and Indian youth were more likely to report not having time due to employment commitments than either their African or coloured counterparts. Shifting the focus to only those individuals who are not in education or working reveals very similar reasons. Almost 44% complain about financial impediments, followed by 13% listing poor academic performance. A tenth of youth in this age cohort states family commitments as the major impediment.

Table 2.7: Reasons for youth aged 15–24 not attending an educational institution by gender, age group, population group, 2009

	Gender		Population group				Age group	Aged 15–24, not in education or working
	Male	Female	African	Coloured	Asian	White	15–34	
Too old	0,7	0,8	0,5	2,5	0,0	0,4	0,7	0,7
Has completed school/education	7,7	7,8	5,9	19,5	14,0	11,0	7,7	8,0
Transport difficulties	0,2	0,2	0,2	0,3	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,2
No money for fees	35,2	37,0	39,4	24,3	24,7	12,5	36,1	43,9
Working, do not have time	26,1	16,1	17,3	26,0	46,7	58,8	21,0	2,2
Family commitments	1,1	13,8	8,3	4,0	4,2	4,5	7,6	10,2
Education not useful	8,5	3,7	6,3	7,4	0,2	1,7	6,0	7,9
Poor academic performance	12,6	7,9	11,2	6,7	1,9	4,6	10,2	13,0
Illness / disability	3,3	3,1	3,4	2,1	1,0	2,6	3,2	4,4
Pregnancy	0,2	6,0	3,4	3,3	0,0	0,2	3,2	4,2
Other	4,5	3,7	4,1	4,0	7,2	3,7	4,1	5,2
Per cent	**100,1**	**100,1**	**100**	**100,1**	**99,9**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**99,9**
N (000)	**2 252**	**2 377**	**3 815**	**471**	**102**	**242**	**4 629**	**3242**

3.10 Housing and access to basic services

Access to basic social services plays a significant role in determining the well-being of individuals. Services such as access to clean water and sanitation are particularly important as they have been shown to be closely associated with the health status of households, particularly young children. The National Youth Policy (2007: 27) identifies housing, water, sanitation, a clean environment, food security and poverty as some of the most important social determinants of health.

3.10.1 Housing

For the purposes of this publication, housing is categorised as formal, informal, traditional and other. Formal housing consists of dwellings or brick structures on separate stands; flats or apartments; cluster houses; town houses; semi-detached houses; and rooms, flatlets or servant's quarters. Informal housing comprises informal dwellings or shacks in backyards or in informal settlements. Traditional housing is defined as 'traditional dwelling/hut/structure made of traditional materials'. The other category refers to caravans and tents. Formal housing is generally considered a proxy for adequate housing.

The proportion of housing types inhabited by youth headed households for the years 2002 to 2009 is presented in Table 2.8. According to this table the proportion of youth living in formal and informal structures has both increased unevenly between 2002 and 2009 to 68% and 22% respectively. While the proportion of youth headed households residing in traditional dwellings has increased from 7% in 2002 to 9% in 2009.

Table 2.8: Proportion of youth headed households living in formal, informal and traditional housing, 2002–2009

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Formal	66,8	64,8	64,6	59,6	64,1	62,7	64,6	68,2
Traditional	7,4	7,9	7,8	7,9	8,0	7,1	8,2	8,5
Informal	19,4	19,8	18,3	25,1	22,9	24,4	24,7	22,1
Other	6,4	7,5	9,3	7,4	5,1	5,8	2,6	1,1
Total	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,1**	**100,0**	**100,1**	**100,0**
Number	**3 260**	**3 346**	**3 411**	**3 487**	**3 568**	**3 640**	**3 728**	**3 818**

Table 2.9 shows that the proportion of youth living in formal housing has increased slightly from 71% in 2002 to 74% in 2009. Simultaneously, the proportion of youth living in dwellings classified as traditional has remained relatively constant while those living in living in informal dwellings, as well as in other types of dwellings have declined consistently to respectively 12% and 1% in 2009.

Table 2.9: Proportion of youth (15–34) living in formal, informal and traditional housing, 2002–2009

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Formal	71,3	70,9	70,5	68,0	71,3	70,7	73,2	73,6
Traditional	13,4	13,8	15,1	14,2	13,1	13,2	13,0	13,5
Informal	13,6	13,1	11,9	15,6	13,9	14,4	13,0	12,1
Other	1,8	2,3	2,5	2,3	1,7	1,8	0,9	0,8
Total	**100,1**	**100,1**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,1**	**100,1**	**100,0**
Number (000)	**16 683**	**16 989**	**17 270**	**17 529**	**17 767**	**17 993**	**18 220**	**18 474**

The percentage of youth living in dwellings that are partially or fully owned is presented in Table 2.10. The proportion of youth aged 15 to 24 year who are living in fully or partially owned dwellings marginally exceed the said proportions for the population as a whole while being significantly better than that for youth aged 25 to 34. This observation can perhaps be ascribed to a higher probability that the younger youth are still living with their parents or guardians while older youth are more likely to have left their parental homes.

3.10.2 Basic amenities

Besides improving the quality of life and general well-being of families and individuals, having access to clean piped water also drastically reduces vulnerability to diseases such as diarrhoea and cholera. Access to piped water is defined as having water piped directly into their dwellings, or having access to taps on the site of the dwelling or yard. Although access to water in the dwelling or yard has increased for both age cohorts as well as the population as a whole between 2002 and 2009, the growth has been tempered by relatively slight declines since 2007. The proportion of youth aged 15–24 that has access to water improved from 60% to 64% before declining slightly to 63% in 2009. Access for youth aged 25 to 34 has similarly improved from 69% to 71% before falling back slightly in 2009. Access for youth in the age cohort 25 to 34 has remained consistently higher than that for the younger youth age cohort.

Having access to flush toilets that are in or near the house and which dispose of waste safely is used as a proxy for adequate basic sanitation. Despite a slight increase towards the end of the period, the youth's access to adequate sanitation has consistently improved since 2002. Youth between the ages of 25 and 34 years of age are more likely to have access to adequate sanitation than their younger counterparts and the population as a whole.

Table 2.10: Comparison of the basic living condition indicators of youth and the total population

Access to service indicator	Age cohorts	Year (Percentage)							
		2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Tenure status % youth living in dwellings that are partially or fully owned	15–24	79,8	82,7	82,5	84,0	82,8	81,9	84,1	76,9
	25–34	69,9	71,2	70,1	72,3	70,2	67,0	72,0	63,4
	15–34	75,4	77,5	76,9	78,7	77,1	75,1	78,6	70,7
	Total population	79,1	81,6	80,4	82,0	81,3	79,1	82,3	74,7
Access to water % living in dwellings with piped water in house or yard	15–24	59,6	60,0	59,7	61,4	62,7	63,5	64,2	63,0
	25–34	68,5	69,2	70,1	70,2	71,7	72,5	70,8	69,9
	15–34	63,6	64,2	64,4	65,4	66,7	67,6	67,2	66,1
	Total population	62,1	62,7	63,1	64,3	66,0	67,0	67,1	66,4
Sanitation % living in dwellings with flush toilet with on or off site disposal	15–24	45,4	46,0	45,1	46,8	47,2	48,0	49,2	48,0
	25–34	55,6	56,9	57,3	57,0	58,7	59,0	58,3	59,0
	15–34	50,0	50,9	60,6	51,5	52,4	53,0	53,3	53,8
	Total population	48,6	49,6	49,5	51,0	52,0	53,0	53,6	53,8
Refuse/Waste % living in dwellings with rubbish removed by municipality	15–24	48,9	49,3	48,5	51,5	51,7	52,0	51,6	44,1
	25–34	58,3	59,4	59,9	62,2	62,8	62,9	60,9	54,5
	15–34	53,1	53,8	53,6	56,4	56,7	56,9	55,8	48,8
	Total population	51,0	52,0	52,1	55,1	55,8	56,0	55,4	48,3
Electricity % living in dwellings which are connected to mains	15–24	73,9	75,0	77,7	78,8	79,3	81,2	81,7	82,5
	25–34	77,0	78,9	80,8	80,4	80,7	81,4	82,6	82,8
	15–34	75,3	76,7	79,1	79,5	79,9	81,4	82,1	82,6
	Total population	74,3	76,2	78,7	79,4	80,1	81,7	82,1	82,9
Telephone % living in dwellings with landline or cellular phone in the dwelling	15–24	44,6	47,2	56,4	69,5	75,1	80,2	83,4	88,3
	25–34	47,9	51,4	59,7	70,9	76,6	80,9	83,6	88,0
	15–34	46,1	47,9	57,9	70,2	75,8	80,6	83,4	88,1
	Total population	45,5	48,3	57,1	69,2	74,4	80,0	82,5	87,3
Internet % living in dwellings with access to internet	15–24				4,1				6,3
	25–34				3,8				7,2
	15–34				4,0				6,7
	Total population				5,0				7,7

The proportion of households for which refuse is removed by the municipality is used as an indicator of environmental cleanliness. As with access to water and sanitation, it seems as if youth between the ages of 25 and 34 are more likely to live in households whose rubbish is removed than the general population or indeed youth in the younger age category. Although the proportion of individuals having access to refuse removal has declined considerably during the period 2002 to 2009, this trend hides a relatively continuous improvement until 2007 followed by a sharp decline since and is similar to the trends observed in the general population.

Although the connection to mains electricity does not preclude the use of other sources of energy for cooking and heating for example, connection to mains electricity does benefit households and the individuals living in them in a variety of ways. As a result of sustained efforts in this regard, the proportion of households with access to mains electricity has increased steadily over the past 8 years. The proportion of youth (25–34) living in households with access to mains electricity has historically exceeded the proportion for youth (15–24) and the population as a whole, but the proportion of individuals having access to this commodity in the various groups is converging at a level above 80%.

Access to telephones is defined as the proportion of youth living in households with access to landlines or cellular phones. The proportion of South Africans having access to landlines or cell phones at home has increased enormously over the past years, increasing from 46% in 2002 to 87% in 2009. There is almost no discernable difference between the access by the two youth groups or indeed the population as a whole. Although the proportion of youth having access to another communication medium, the internet, has similarly increased since 2005 (the previous time the question was asked in the GHS questionnaire), growth has been lethargic and access at home remains limited. Less than 8% of all households had access to the internet in 2009 compared to 5% in 2005.

3.11 Summary and conclusions

The report starts by providing a profile of young people living in the country. Particular attention is given to youth headed households, as slightly more than a quarter of South African households are headed by individuals aged 15 to 34 years. Since the broad definition of youth (14–35) includes both vulnerable individuals in their late teens and early twenties, as well as persons in their prime adult years, this group was sub-divided into two categories: the 15–24 year and 25–34 year age groups. The proportion of households headed by youth in the age category 15 to 24 years of age has ranged nationally from six to seven per cent between 2002 and 2009. As many as 10% of the households in Limpopo are headed by youth aged 15–24 years and this makes Limpopo the only province with percentages well above the national average for this age group. Households who have a head this age category are more likely to be single and extended, rather than nuclear. Average household sizes are small at two (2) persons per household and reflect a greater tendency towards single, rather than extended household types. Individuals from this age group that head households with extended family structures may represent situations where youth are forced to take on responsibility for themselves and their siblings as a result of the death or absence of their parents. However, the fact that total and child dependency ratios in youth headed households are roughly half of that of the population in general, suggests that this affects a relatively small proportion of youth headed households.

Households headed by adult youth (24–35) are more likely to be nuclear and single than extended. The average household sizes of this sub-group was 2,6 in 2009, which is higher than that for households headed by younger youth, but still well below the national average of 3,5. This is probably due to the fact that individuals in this age have started to settle down and have children. The proportion of households headed by youth in the older age category (25–34) has declined slightly from 23% in 2002 to 22% in 2009.

African youth are in the majority in all provinces except the Western Cape, where 53% of the youth are coloureds. Approximately a third (34%) of African youth and 31% of coloured youth live in households consisting of three or more generations. This is significantly higher than the Indian and white population groups, where less than 10% of the youth find themselves in triple generation households. The larger prevalence of nuclear households amongst particularly Asian and white youth is probably a reflection of a combination of higher employment rates, greater financial independence, as well as differences in cultural practices.

Even though there has been a significant reduction between 2002 and 2007 in the vulnerability to hunger across all sub-groups, households headed by younger youth (aged 15–24) were more likely than households headed by older youth to live in households that are vulnerable to hunger. The proportion of food insecure youth declined from 31% (2002) to 16% in 2007 for those aged 15 to 24 and from 26% to 11% for older youth during the same time period. This was followed by sharp increases in 2009 to 26% and 22% for these two age groups. Youth living in households vulnerable to hunger were significantly more likely to engage in agricultural activities. This may be an indication that more time is available as a result of unemployment or rather land is used as a resource to mitigate against starvation in the face of extreme poverty and low incomes.

The youth are significantly less likely to have access to medical aid than the population in general. Coverage of male and female youth is similar at 13% and has remained relatively constant across time.

Households headed by younger youth are primarily dependent on income from salaries and or wages (48% in 2008) and remittances (37% in 2008), whilst households headed by older youth are significantly more likely to cite salaries and wages (75,7%) than remittances as their main source of income (11%). Using the 40th percentile as an arbitrary cut off, a low income threshold of R555 per capita was created to identify low income households. Almost six-tenths of youth aged 15–24 years live in households with a monthly per capita income of less than R 555 per person. Stark disparities are observable between population groups. Whereas 63% of males and 67% of African females in the age group 15–24 live in these low income households, far smaller proportions of coloureds, Asians and whites lives in low income households. Approximately 8% of white youths in the age group 15–24 resided in low income households in 2009. A comparison of the situation across the nine provinces reveals that youth are

generally less likely to live in low income households in the Western Cape and Gauteng, while they are most likely to do so in Limpopo and the Eastern Cape. Youth living in older youth headed households are significantly less likely to be classified as living in a low income household than youth living in households headed by younger youth (33% as opposed to 61%).

Since 1994, the Government has expanded the social safety net, primarily through the system of social grants. However, this has not directly benefited the youth as a sub-group per se, as most of them have not qualified based on the age cut-offs used to date for child support grants. In 2009 only eight percent of youth aged 15 to 18 and four percent of youth aged 19 to 34, received social grants. This was significantly lower than the population in general (28%) and children younger than 18 years (52%). The relatively low grant receipt amongst youth is expected to increase sharply during the next few years with the planned extension of the child support grant to children 18 years and younger by 2012. The mean proportion of grant beneficiaries to household size is presented in Figure 2.11. The proportion of grant beneficiaries has increased from 3% and 6% in 2002 for households headed by youth in the age categories 15–24 and 25–34 respectively, to 11% and 14%. Despite this increase, the proportion of grant beneficiaries still trails the proportion observed for child headed households, and South African households in general.

The National Youth Policy (2009) has identified youth unemployment as a critical problem that needs to be addressed with urgency to alleviate the high rates of poverty that continues to ravage the youth's potential to become productive citizens. Youth are by all accounts disproportionately affected by unemployment and Morrow et al (2005) argues that poverty among youth is linked more to unemployment than to direct dependence upon already impoverished households. However, the study found that slightly more than a quarter (28%) of all youth in South Africa lives in households where not a single household member is working. Approximately 27% of youth headed households do not have any employed individuals. Households headed by younger youth are significantly more vulnerable in that 55% of them have no one who is economically active as opposed to 20% of households headed by older youth and 30% for South African households in general. In their case school attendance often limits the possibilities of the youth themselves to become economically active, but when those individuals are also the heads of households with no other economically active members in the household, school attendance could pose a serious obstacle to household survival.

In terms of education, the youth start to drop out of the system in significant numbers after the age of 16. Attendance of educational institutions is still high at more than 90% for the ages 14 to 16. However, by 18 years of age slightly more than 70% of youth are still attending and by age 24 only 10%. Participation in education for women aged 18 years and older increased significantly between 2002 and 2009. For men on the other hand rates have remained the same or declined slightly for the same age groups. The study found that a much larger proportion of Africans and coloureds remain in school after their eighteenth birthdays while a large proportion of their Indian and White counterparts move into higher education. Since gender is an important predictor of the distribution of youth poverty, improving the education levels of young women may contribute significantly to addressing poverty and closing the gender gap (Morrow, Panday and Richter, 2005).

Even though early drop-out out of the education system is still a problem for the youth there has been significant improvements in secondary school completion rates between 2002 and 2009. For the age cohort 18 to 24 there was an increase from 26% to 31%, whilst for the ages 25 to 34 the secondary completion rates increased from 29% to 34%. While the proportion of individuals who have attained some post school qualification has increased considerably for both age cohorts between 2002 and 2009, a much smaller proportion of African and coloured youth have achieved these qualifications than their White and Indian counterparts. The close relationship between poverty (using household expenditure as a proxy) and educational attainment was confirmed as it was found that the proportion of youth living in poor households decline with higher levels of education, more especially the completion of secondary and post-school education.

A large proportion of youth is neither in employment nor studying. They represent a loss to the economy as well as a serious social challenge. Out of a total of 10,1 million individuals in the 15 to 24 age cohort, 32,7% (or 3,3 million youth) were neither employed nor attending an educational institution. Approximately half (52%) were still studying while 15% have taken on employment. The proportion of youth who are not employed or in education increases briskly after age seventeen until it eventually seem to turn at age 23. By this time more than half of all youth are neither in school nor working. Only 13% of youth at this age are attending educational institutions and about 30% are employed.

The study confirms that female youth are at a considerable disadvantage when it comes to employment as well as being out of education. The proportion of females that are neither attending educational institutions nor working exceeds the rate for males of the same age in the age cohort 15 to 24 years. Youth of this age group that are out of school and not attending educational institutions have generally attained an incomplete secondary school qualification (46% or 3,3 million), while a further 32% have completed secondary school. The main reasons for not attending educational institutions that were given by youth in this age cohort were a lack of money (36%),

working/having no time to study (20%) and poor academic performance (10%). African youth were more likely to cite a lack of money than whites or Indians, whilst being too busy working was more often provided as a reason by the latter two groups.

The living conditions of youth are relevant in that access to basic social services plays a significant role in determining the well-being and health status of individuals. Since 2002 a larger proportion of youth headed households as well as youth are living in formal dwellings. However, significantly more youth headed households are living in traditional or informal dwellings. For youth in general the proportion of youth who live in traditional dwellings has remained stable at approximately 13,4%, whilst the proportion living in informal dwellings has declined slightly from 13,6% to 12,1%.

The proportion of youth that has access to piped or tap water in the dwelling or yard, flush toilets, electricity and access to landlines/cell phones increased significantly between 2002 and 2009. Access and changes over time for households headed by youth in the age cohort 25 to 34 was similar to that of the general population, but has been consistently higher than that for the younger youth household head cohort.

Although the proportion of youth that have access to the internet has also increased since 2005 (the previous time the question was asked in the GHS questionnaire), approximately 8% of all households had access to the internet in 2009 compared to 5% in 2005.

3.12 Policy recommendations

The study identified that households headed by youth aged 15 to 24 years are significantly more vulnerable to hunger, more likely to suffer from poor living conditions, low incomes and joblessness.

Youth that find themselves in households without anyone who is employed will inevitably be at a disadvantage as they will have less access to a social network that may help them to find a job. Those who live in a tri-generational household are perhaps better off than those who are single as they have a social support network that can help them to improve their circumstances. Programme interventions that strengthen and increase the social networks of especially unemployed youth will be very important if these youth are to be integrated into the main stream economy.

At face value these findings confirm the need for support programmes that will allow youth who are neither working nor studying to complete their education, and perhaps to access some kind of post school education at universities, colleges or Further Education and Training (FET) institutions. In addition, opportunities such as internships should be explored to facilitate their entry into the labour market.

The findings also underscore the urgent need to address problems in the education system that may contribute towards relatively low levels of secondary school completion by especially African youth.

Young women are shown to be a particularly vulnerable group that faces significant challenges and the finding emphasises the need for gender focussed interventions focussed on young women.

Realizing full and productive employment for all young people should be a dominant priority as this would, more than any other instruments, lead to the eradication of poverty and the full realisation of individual's human rights. Youth are not supported by the social safety nets that are available to children and to older persons, and the findings support the necessity to target youth in social development programmes, EPWP, social protection and social welfare services.

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SOCIAL PROFILE OF WOMEN 2002–2009

4.1 Introduction

The quest to achieve gender equality in South Africa lies at the heart of the continuing struggle to create a free, open and equal society where the rights of all individuals are promoted irrespective of attributes such as race, gender, age, disability and sexual preference. The constitution of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) guarantees equal and inalienable rights to men and women and instructs the Government and civil society to uphold the values of equality and to remedy the heritage of "gender inequality, discrimination and oppression [that] continue to shape new and old forms of inequality in our society" (Hicks, 2010). It is clear from the literature that women has historically been burdened on multiple levels with the negative effect of institutional racism, the under-development and dislocation that resulted from it, as well as persisting patriarchal attitudes and prejudices, to name a few.

South Africa is committed to achieving gender equality and has endorsed a number of key international, regional and sub-regional commitments aimed at promoting gender equality, such as the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action, the SADC protocol on Gender and Development.* The country is committed to achieving the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which, inter alia, calls for the eradication of eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, the achievement of universal primary education, and attainment of gender equality and empowerment of women. Four of the eight goals are directly related to gender: achieving universal primary education, promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women, reducing infant and child mortality, and improving maternal health, while a few more, in particular the eradication of poverty and hunger, is very closely connected to gender. It is therefore difficult to see how it would be possible to meet the MDGs without addressing gender.

These commitments are being backed up by comprehensive legislation, and the continuous development and integration of gender sensitive policies and practices. These efforts can however only be successful if the extent to which results have been achieved and objectives have been met can be objectively appraised. Gender statistics extend beyond the mere disaggregation of indicators into the categories of male and female, but attempts to identify issues that affect men and women and the different roles and positions in society. Women are however being faced by a varied range of serious obstacles that prevent them from attaining complete equality.

Poverty patterns are inherently gendered and women, and in particular female headed households, are generally much poorer than men (Bhorat & Van der Westhuizen, 2008). Women have historically been unable to access economic resources and opportunities on an equal footing to men, and the resultant inequality was, and still is, intensified by additional race based discrimination and inequality. According to May (1998), female headed households tend to have fewer adults of working age while also experiencing higher unemployment rates. Women are over represented in low-skilled, low-paying jobs and the wage gap between male and female earnings persists, particularly in the low and semi-skilled occupations (May, 1998; Bhorat 2009). The foregoing points to the persistence of an ongoing division of labour between men and women in which women's roles are being undervalued in economic terms and in which their work is relegated to being domestic and unpaid.

The provision of adequate health care to vulnerable citizens remains a major challenge, particularly in the face chronic poverty and the high prevalence of HIV and AIDS. The health status of women and men are know to differ during their respective life courses and access to social services, and population ageing would be some of the dimensions that should be explored.

Women's living conditions are directly affected by the basic services their households receive. In addition to often being responsible to secure the affected basic needs (by fetching water and wood for instance), they are often also the primary care givers to children, orphans, the elderly and people living with disabilities. Improved access to basic services and social grants often assists marginal households to secure secondary sources of income.

The persistent lack access to basic services further increases these poor households' vulnerability to disease. The health situation in female headed households is often also encumbered by a poverty enforced reallocation of larger proportions of household income to increasingly less diverse and less nutritious sources of food (Altman et al 2009).

The Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 recognised that "investing in formal and non-formal education and training for girls and women, with its exceptionally high social and economic return, has proved to be one of the best means of achieving sustainable development and economic growth'' (UN, 1995). In fact, studies have shown female education to be unparalleled in reducing poverty and improving child survival (Quisumbin & McClafferty, 2006).

Although it should be clear that numbers alone cannot adequately capture the diversity and complexity of women's lives, these statistics can help to monitor the fulfilment of commitments to progress (Heyzer in Moser, 2007).

4.2 Profile of women in South Africa

The size and age-sex composition of a population, as well as its changes over time, have important implications for the status of women and men in society. Demographic changes determine current and future needs of a population and are therefore likely to impact on government priorities. Many inequalities that are based on gender are often deepened by characteristics such as age, disability, and geographical location. Women comprise approximately 52% of South Africa's population (Statistics South Africa, 2010) and the proportion of women in age cohorts normally increases with age. The sex ratio (number of males divided by number of females x k (100)) can be used to illustrate this change. Census 2001 data is used for this purpose. Note that a sex ratio that is smaller than 100 indicates that there are more females than males in the particular age group. The sex ratio gradually decreases from 100 for the 0–4 age cohort, to 93 for 25 to 29, 89 between 50 and 54, 72 between 60 and 64 and finally 41 for the population over the age of 85 years. This of course implies that there are many more women in the older age groups than there are men. Since the GHS is not meant to replace the official Statistics South African mid-year population estimates or other demographic reports, readers are encouraged to refer to these sources for more detailed information on these patterns.

The distribution of women by population group and province is presented in Table 4.1. Since women essentially represent half of the population, these patterns of distribution will by and large be similar than that for males and will be predominantly be influenced by the provincial distribution of population groups by which Africans comprise the majority in eight of the nine provincial and according to which coloureds are predominantly found in the Western and Northern Cape while whites constitute sizeable minorities in Gauteng and the Western Cape. It is important to note that population group specific age profiles (whites being a much older population as compared to Africans for instance) and also in- and out-migration patterns (which have historically been selective of young men) may have some influence on the proportion of women in these provinces. This is confirmed by the observation that a slightly larger proportion of males lives in two net in-migration provinces, Gauteng and the North West province.

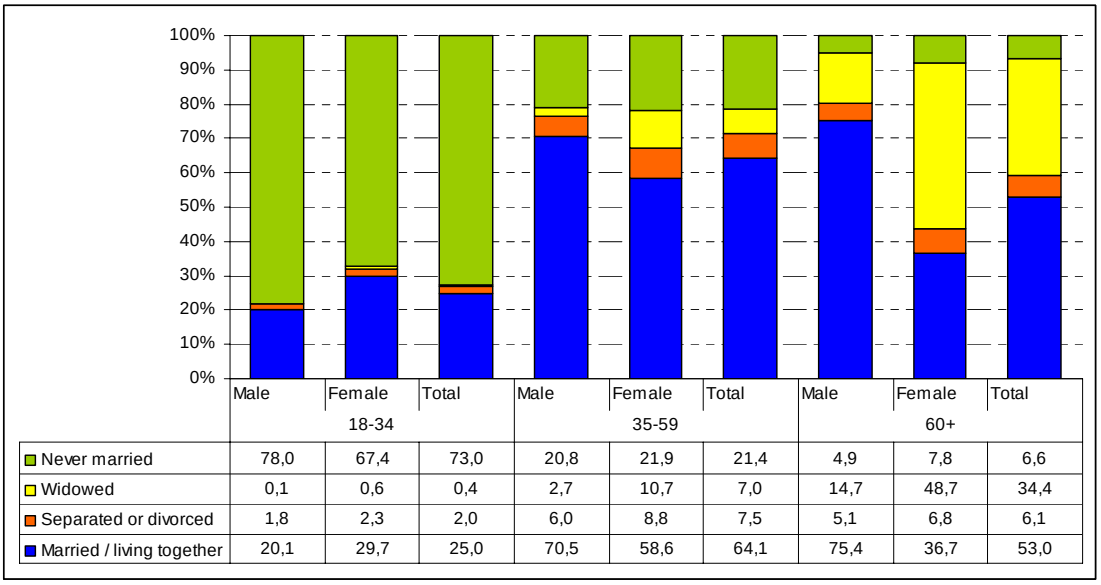
Table 4.1: Provincial distribution of women by population group and province, 2009

Province	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Total		Provincial distribution of women	Provincial distribution of men
	%	%	%	%	%	N (000)		
Western Cape	29,7	55,2	0,7	14,5	100	2 780	10,9	10,8
Eastern Cape	88,7	6,2	0,2	5,0	100	3 453	13,5	13,4
Northern Cape	54,5	37,5	0,4	7,6	100	608	2,3	2,3
Free State	85,8	2,8	0,1	11,4	100	1 512	5,9	5,8
KwaZulu-Natal	87,8	0,9	7,2	4,1	100	5 541	21,2	20,6
North West	91,1	1,7	0,2	6,9	100	1 705	7,0	7,3
Gauteng	74,4	3,5	3,8	18,3	100	5 231	21,4	22,3
Mpumalanga	93,0	0,9	0,3	5,9	100	1 874	7,3	7,3
Limpopo	97,0	0,2	0,2	2,7	100	2 777	10,6	10,3
South Africa	**79,5**	**9,0**	**2,5**	**8,9**	**100**	**25 480**	**100**	**100**

4.3 Household characteristics and living arrangements

Marriage, divorce, cohabitation and separation are key events in the formation or dissolution of families and the processes can have a strong and lasting impact on men and women's access to resources, opportunities and responsibilities as well as their living arrangements. The relationship status of male and females by age group is presented in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Relationship (Marital) status by gender and age group, 2009



	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
	18-34			35-59			60+		
Never married	78,0	67,4	73,0	20,8	21,9	21,4	4,9	7,8	6,6
Widowed	0,1	0,6	0,4	2,7	10,7	7,0	14,7	48,7	34,4
Separated or divorced	1,8	2,3	2,0	6,0	8,8	7,5	5,1	6,8	6,1
Married / living together	20,1	29,7	25,0	70,5	58,6	64,1	75,4	36,7	53,0

An appreciably larger proportion of females in the age group 18–34 (30%) were married or cohabiting with a partner in 2009 compared to men (20%). This can perhaps be ascribed to the tendency for women to marry older partners. The distribution changes substantially during the age group 35–59. Seven-tenths of males in this age group is married/living together compared to less than 60% for women. It is however important to note that 11% of women in this age group has been widowed (compared to less than 3% of men) while a further 9% has been separated or divorced. The proportion of never married individuals declines to approximately a fifth in this age group. The combined effect of a longer life expectancy for females as well as the trend for females to marry older male partners creates an important variation amongst older persons. Although more than 75% of males in this age group is still married or living with a partner, this is true for less than 37% of females. Almost half of women over the age of 60 years of age are widowed compared to less than 15% of men. The dissolution of families often leads to the formation of female headed households (with responsibility for children and other dependants) or the integration of surviving females into extended family units. Either option increases the burden households have to contend with, and it is not surprising to note from the literature that female headed households are disproportionately affected by poverty (see Presidency, undated; Bhorat and Van der Westhuizen, 2008). A clearer understanding of household characteristics is therefore vital to address issues of poverty and household resource allocation.

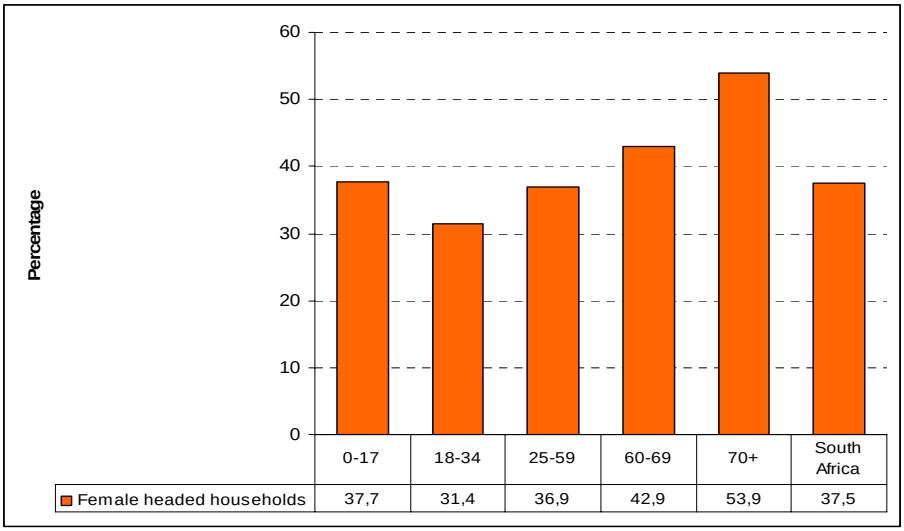
The distribution of households headed by women is presented in Table 4.2. Limpopo has the highest proportion of female headed households (49% in 2009), followed by the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal with 45% and 44% respectively. Gauteng has the smallest number of female headed households (29% in 2009), preceded by the Western Cape with 30%.

Table 4.2: Distribution of households headed by females by province, 2002–2009

Province	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Western Cape	29,4	29,8	30,1	30,3	32,0	31,1	30,5	29,8
Eastern Cape	47,4	47,6	46,9	47,6	47,1	46,9	45,5	44,5
Northern Cape	29,2	31,2	30,3	36,4	36,6	36,3	34,3	37,0
Free State	31,3	31,0	29,8	33,3	34,9	36,2	39,1	38,1
KwaZulu-Natal	43,5	43,7	44,2	43,7	41,7	43,1	42,9	44,1
North West	36,5	34,3	34,3	32,9	33,9	34,9	33,9	33,2
Gauteng	28,0	29,1	29,2	28,1	27,7	28,0	27,8	29,1
Mpumalanga	37,2	35,7	38,0	37,6	39,9	38,0	40,1	38,4
Limpopo	50,3	49,6	49,3	50,0	50,7	48,9	50,3	48,6
South Africa	**37,4**	**37,4**	**37,5**	**37,5**	**37,5**	**37,5**	**37,5**	**37,5**
N (000)	**11 013**	**11 362**	**11 712**	**12 075**	**12 476**	**12 901**	**13 351**	**13 812**

The distribution of female headed households by the age of the head of the household seems to increase with age. Figure 4.2 indicates that the proportion of female headed households consistently increases for successive age groups, rising from 31% for youth (18–34) to almost 54% for the population over the age of 70 years. This increase can undoubtedly be associated with the greater prevalence of widowhood amongst women with age.

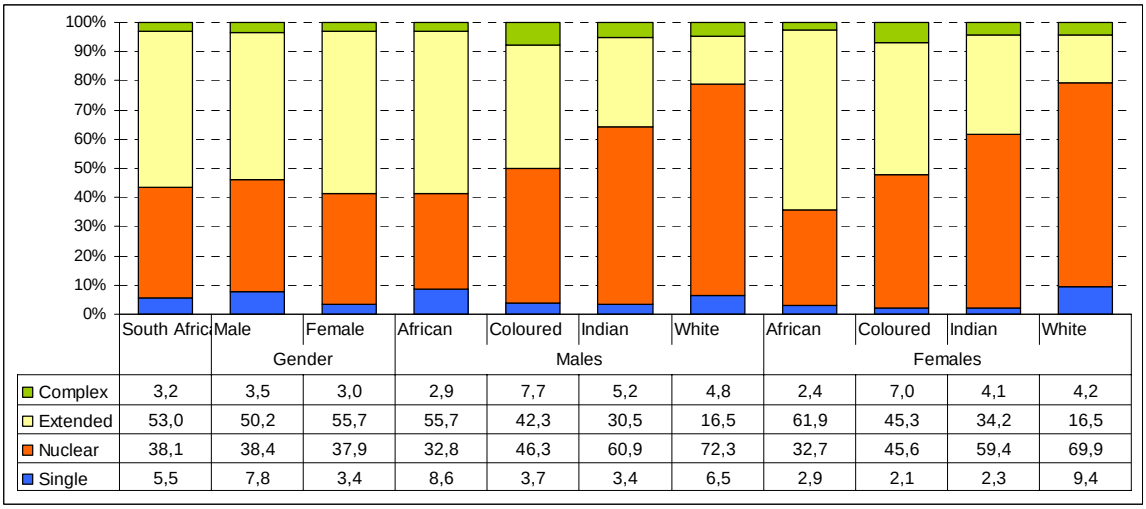
Figure 4.2: Distribution of female headed households by age group, 2009



	0-17	18-34	25-59	60-69	70+	South Africa
Female headed households	37,7	31,4	36,9	42,9	53,9	37,5

There is only a small variation between males and females with regards to their distribution across different household types. A bigger proportion of males live alone, while a larger proportion of females live in extended households. The variation between population groups is however more visible. While almost a third of African women live in nuclear households compared to 62% in extended households, 70% of white women live in nuclear households compared to only 17% in extended households. A larger proportion of white females tend to live alone than males or females from any other population group.

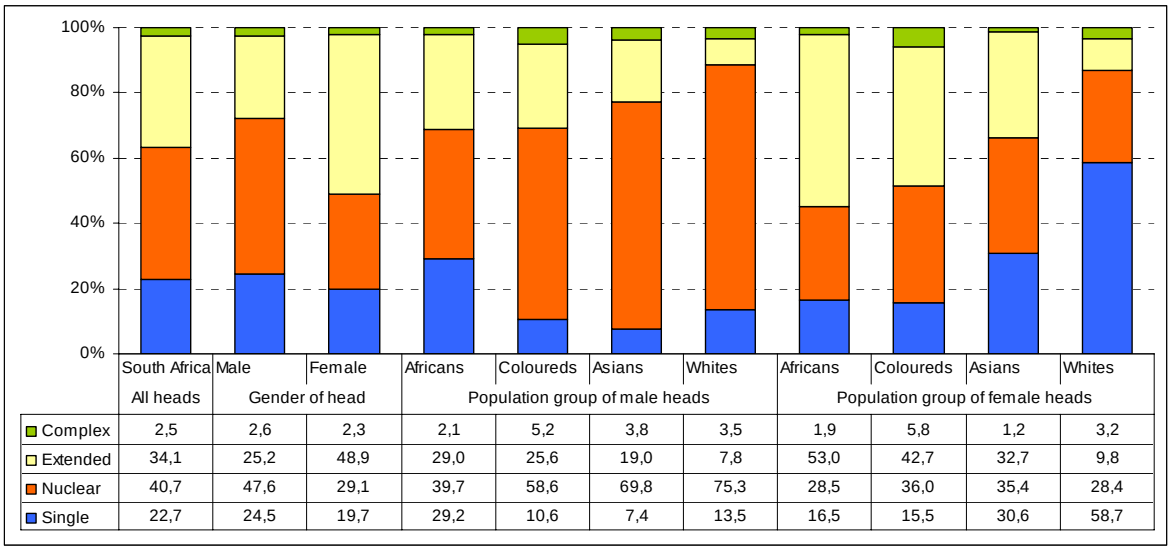
Figure 4.3: Distribution of males and females across different household types by population group, 2009



	South Africa	Gender		Males				Females			
		Male	Female	African	Coloured	Indian	White	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Complex	3,2	3,5	3,0	2,9	7,7	5,2	4,8	2,4	7,0	4,1	4,2
Extended	53,0	50,2	55,7	55,7	42,3	30,5	16,5	61,9	45,3	34,2	16,5
Nuclear	38,1	38,4	37,9	32,8	46,3	60,9	72,3	32,7	45,6	59,4	69,9
Single	5,5	7,8	3,4	8,6	3,7	3,4	6,5	2,9	2,1	2,3	9,4

A much larger variation can however be distinguished between households headed by the gender and population group of the head (Figure 4.4). Female headed households are much less likely to be single or nuclear and more likely to be extended than male headed households. The differences are accentuated when controlling for population group. African female headed households are most likely to be extended while African male headed households are more likely to be nuclear. Male headed households for coloured, Asians and whites are similarly more likely to be nuclear households than female headed households in the corresponding population groups. African and coloured female headed households tend to be extended, while the majority of female headed Asian and white households tends to be either nuclear or singular. It is noticeable that almost 60% of white female headed households are singular.

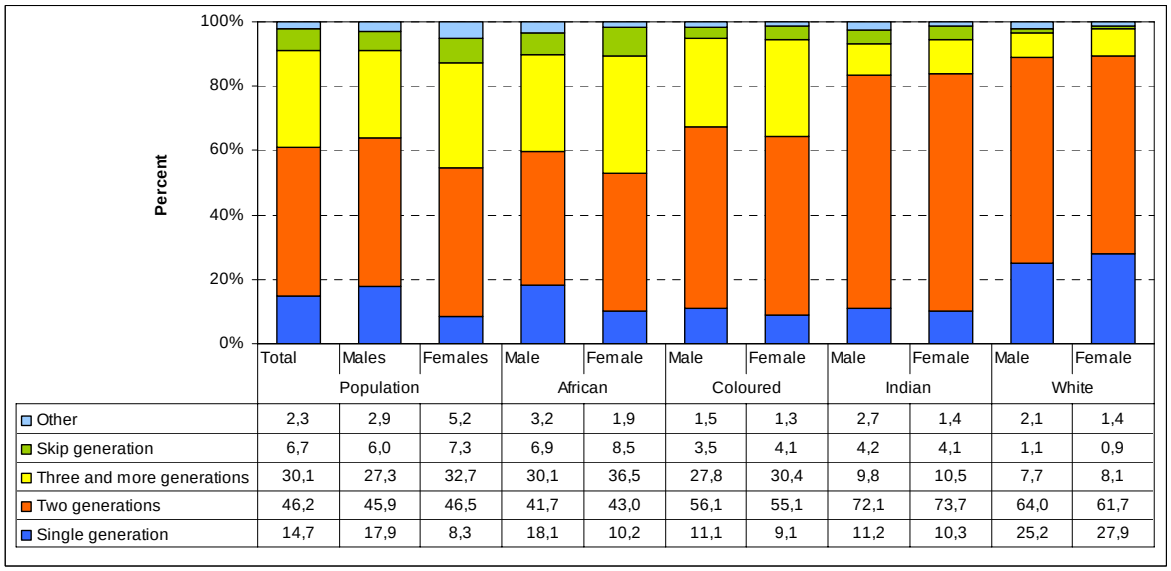
Figure 4.4: Household composition of households by gender and population group of the head of the household, 2009



	South Africa	Male	Female	Africans	Coloureds	Asians	Whites	Africans	Coloureds	Asians	Whites
	All heads	Gender of head		Population group of male heads				Population group of female heads			
Complex	2,5	2,6	2,3	2,1	5,2	3,8	3,5	1,9	5,8	1,2	3,2
Extended	34,1	25,2	48,9	29,0	25,6	19,0	7,8	53,0	42,7	32,7	9,8
Nuclear	40,7	47,6	29,1	39,7	58,6	69,8	75,3	28,5	36,0	35,4	28,4
Single	22,7	24,5	19,7	29,2	10,6	7,4	13,5	16,5	15,5	30,6	58,7

Figure 4.5 explores the distribution of individuals across households containing one or more generations by population group. Very similar proportions of males and females live in the various households with two-generational households being the most common. The picture changes markedly when one controls for population group. Coloureds, whites and Asians/Indians are sequentially more likely to live in two-generation households than Africans, with more than 60% of whites and greater than 70% of Asians and living in such households. Almost a fifth of whites live in single generations households without children or perhaps with siblings. Whites are also far less likely to live in skip-generation households than particularly Africans. Almost 7% of African males and 9% of African females are shown to live in these households. Skip-generation households are defined as households inhabited by grandparents and their biological or adopted grandchildren in the absence of the children's parents. White males and females are much more likely than their compatriots from other population groups to live in single generation households, including living alone.

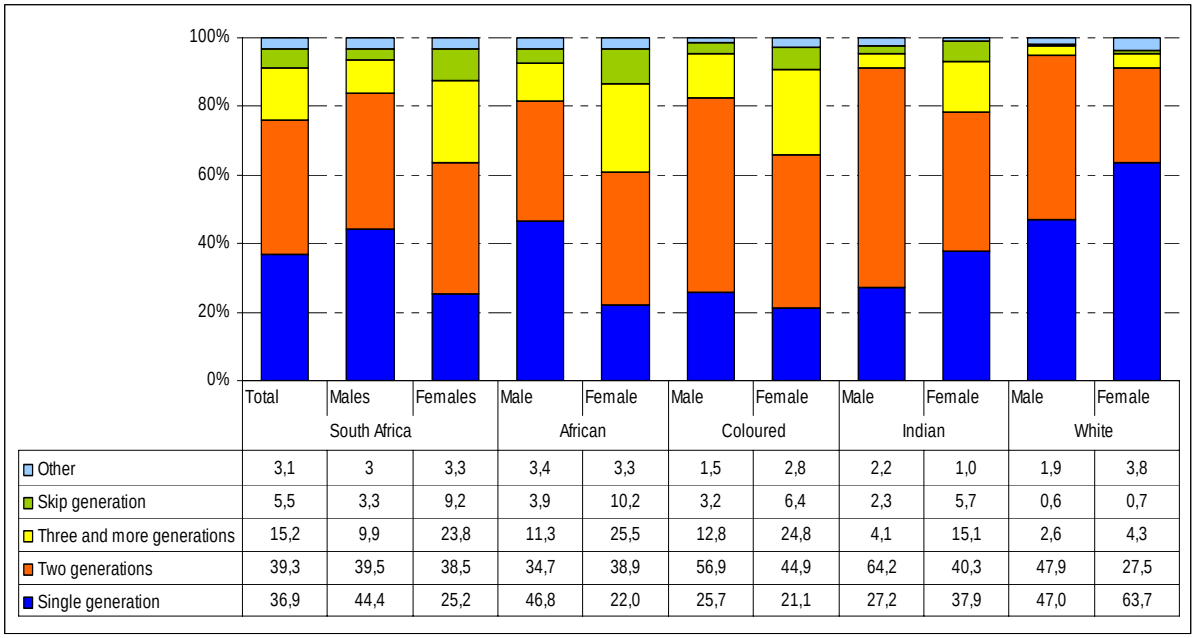
Figure 4.5: Distribution of males and females according to intergenerational households and population group, 2009



	Total	Males	Females	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Population			African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Other	2,3	2,9	5,2	3,2	1,9	1,5	1,3	2,7	1,4	2,1	1,4
Skip generation	6,7	6,0	7,3	6,9	8,5	3,5	4,1	4,2	4,1	1,1	0,9
Three and more generations	30,1	27,3	32,7	30,1	36,5	27,8	30,4	9,8	10,5	7,7	8,1
Two generations	46,2	45,9	46,5	41,7	43,0	56,1	55,1	72,1	73,7	64,0	61,7
Single generation	14,7	17,9	8,3	18,1	10,2	11,1	9,1	11,2	10,3	25,2	27,9

It is clear from Figure 4.6 that female headed households are generally less likely to contain only a single generation than male headed households, while being much more likely to be a skip generation household and to contain three or more generations. Households headed by African and coloured female heads exhibit very similar distributions. White male (47%) and specifically white female headed households (64%) are more likely to contain only a single generation (including women living alone) than South African households in general. White headed households are much less likely than South African households in general to contain three or more generations and skip-generation households are almost non-existent amongst whites. Female headed households are more likely than male headed ones to contain three or more generations across all population groups.

Figure 4.6: Intergenerational composition of households by gender of the household head and population group, 2009



	Total	Males	Females	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	South Africa			African		Coloured		Indian		White	
Other	3,1	3	3,3	3,4	3,3	1,5	2,8	2,2	1,0	1,9	3,8
Skip generation	5,5	3,3	9,2	3,9	10,2	3,2	6,4	2,3	5,7	0,6	0,7
Three and more generations	15,2	9,9	23,8	11,3	25,5	12,8	24,8	4,1	15,1	2,6	4,3
Two generations	39,3	39,5	38,5	34,7	38,9	56,9	44,9	64,2	40,3	47,9	27,5
Single generation	36,9	44,4	25,2	46,8	22,0	25,7	21,1	27,2	37,9	47,0	63,7

Some general characteristics of male and female headed households are presented in Table 4.3. The **mean size** of South African households have gradually declined from 3,7 in 2002 to 3,5 in 2009. Female headed households are generally larger than households headed by males (3,7 compared to 3,3 in 2009).

The **total dependency ratio** expresses the ratio of the dependent population (the young and the old) to the working age population. The young is defined here as children below the age of 15 years while the old is defined as older persons 65 years and older. The higher the ratio is, the more dependents each potential worker has to support. Conversely a lower ratio would mean that each potential worker will have to support fewer dependents. Female headed households have a substantially higher dependency ratio than male headed households. Each working age person is on average expected to support 0,8 persons compared to 0,4 in male headed households. This is a clear illustration of the higher burden of care that is often placed upon females in society.

The **aged dependency ratio** expresses the ratio of older persons (above 65) to working age individuals (15–64). It is once again noticeable that the old age dependency ratio is larger for female headed households and that on average each person is expected to support 0,09 older persons in female headed households as compared to 0,07 in male headed households.

The **child dependency ratio** refers to the ratio of children (below 15 years) to the working age individuals. Female headed households has a child dependency ratio of 0,68 compared to only 0,34 for male headed households.

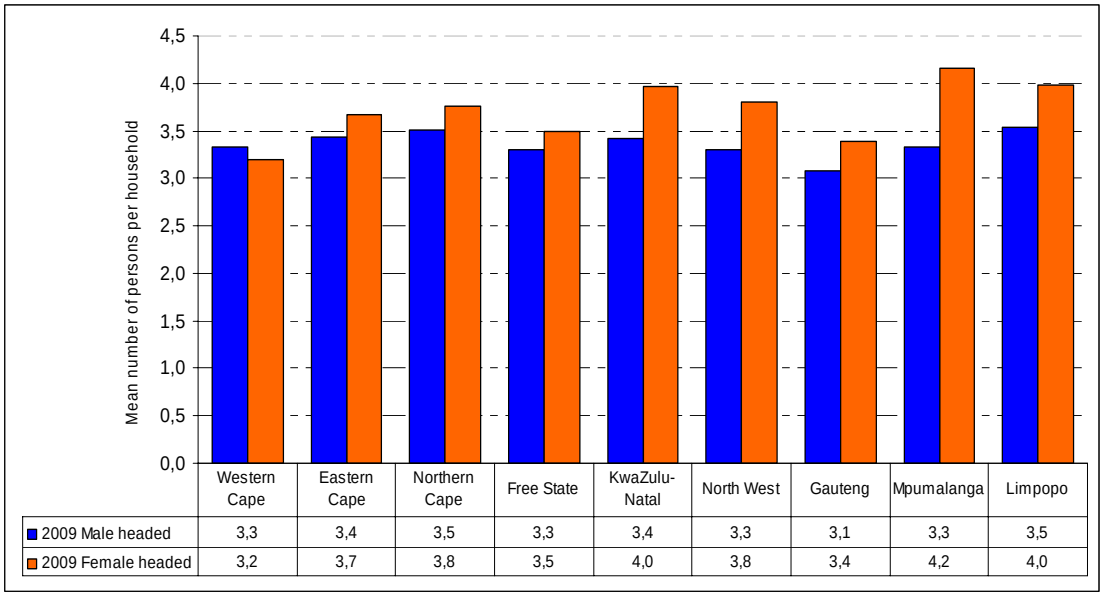
The **mean proportion of children per household** is a measure of the average proportion of children (defined as individuals below the age of 18 years) of the household size. It is not surprising to note that the proportion of children is higher in female headed households (0,33) than in male headed households (0,21). Female headed households not only on average contain a larger proportion of children, but the burden of support is also, as indicated by the dependency ratios, larger in these households.

Table 4.3: Mean household size, and total dependency ratios by gender of the head of the household, 2009

Age	Indicator	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Mean household size									
Male	Average	3,6	3,4	3,4	3,4	3,3	3,3	3,5	3,3
Female		3,9	3,8	3,8	3,7	3,7	3,7	3,9	3,7
South Africa		3,7	3,6	3,5	3,5	3,4	3,4	3,6	3,5
Total dependency ratio									
Male	Average ratio	0,448	0,431	0,413	0,420	0,403	0,406	0,428	0,409
Female		0,803	0,761	0,745	0,764	0,738	0,742	0,783	0,766
South Africa		0,579	0,553	0,536	0,547	0,527	0,531	0,560	0,541
Aged dependency ratio									
Male	Average ratio	0,063	0,062	0,060	0,066	0,067	0,068	0,067	0,068
Female		0,081	0,079	0,080	0,082	0,082	0,087	0,085	0,089
South Africa		0,069	0,068	0,067	0,072	0,072	0,075	0,074	0,076
Child dependency ratio									
Male	Average ratio	0,385	0,369	0,353	0,354	0,336	0,338	0,361	0,341
Female		0,722	0,682	0,665	0,682	0,657	0,655	0,698	0,676
South Africa		0,510	0,485	0,469	0,476	0,455	0,456	0,486	0,465
Mean proportion of children per household									
Male	Average ratio	0,234	0,221	0,214	0,214	0,207	0,206	0,217	0,205
Female		0,349	0,335	0,332	0,333	0,328	0,325	0,345	0,332
South Africa		0,277	0,263	0,258	0,258	0,252	0,251	0,265	0,252

The mean number of household members by male and female headed households according to province is presented in Figure 4.7. With the exception of Western Cape, the mean size of female headed households for provinces is bigger than those of male headed households. The differences are particularly noticeable in Mpumalanga (4,2 compared to 3,3) and KwaZulu-Natal (4 compared to 3,4). The time spent on child care and domestic chores by women often comes at the expense of time for employment or other activities.

Figure 4.7: Mean household size by head of household and province, 2009



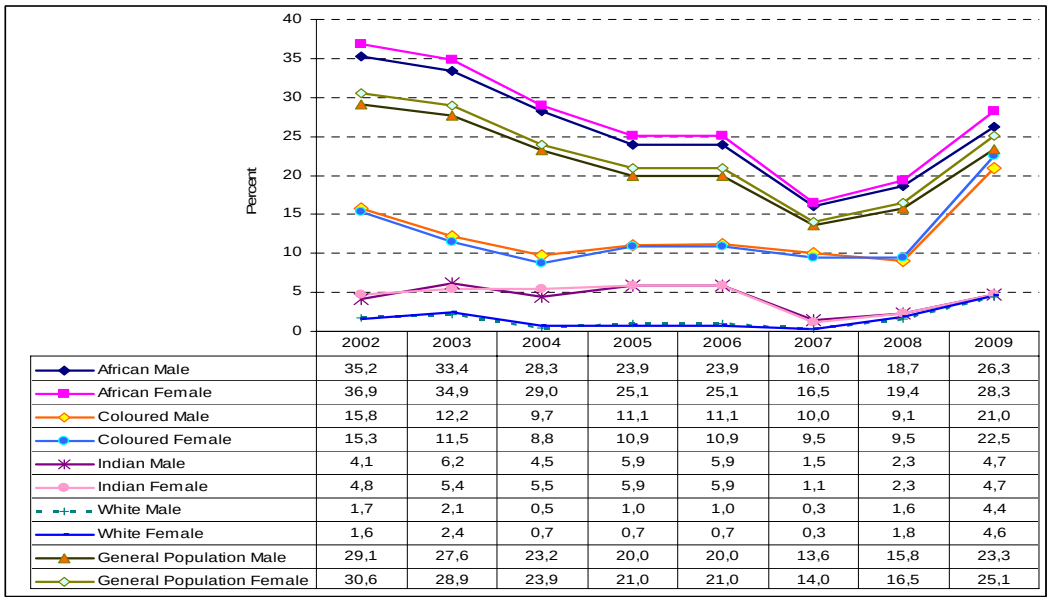
4.4 Vulnerability to hunger

The Bill of Rights in the South African constitution guarantees the right to have access to health care services; social security, including social assistance; adequate housing; and to live in an environment that is not harmful to health or well-being. Section 27(1) specifically states that 'Everyone has the right to have access to sufficient food and water'. The very first Millennium Development Goal (MDG) is aimed at eradicating extreme poverty and hunger. The literature suggest that investment in women's health and nutritional status reduces chronic hunger and malnourishment, which on the longer term increases productivity and wellbeing.

The GHS asks respondents a battery of questions to establish whether any household members experienced hunger during the preceding year and to establish the severity of hunger. Hunger is used as a proxy for inadequate food intake and is associated with not consuming enough food. Although this is definitely more imprecise than variables designed to measure under nutrition, it does provide analyst with the opportunity to explore the relationship between vulnerability to hunger and poverty, and particularly the impact of social grants in alleviating hunger. Households are very sensitive to livelihood shocks and low income households with a large proportion of dependents, such as female headed households in general, remain particularly vulnerable.

It is clear from Figure 4.8 that vulnerability to hunger is strongly associated with population group. African males and females experience the highest vulnerability to hunger followed in sequence by coloureds, Asians and whites. It is interesting to observe that across all the population groups, only African females are consistently and noticeably more likely to experience vulnerability to hunger than their male peers. The difference between male and female experiences of hunger is much smaller in the other population groups. In addition, greater alternation is observed in that neither males nor females consistently remain more or less likely to experience vulnerability to hunger.

Figure 4.8: Proportion of males and females living in households that reported hunger, by age and population group, 2009

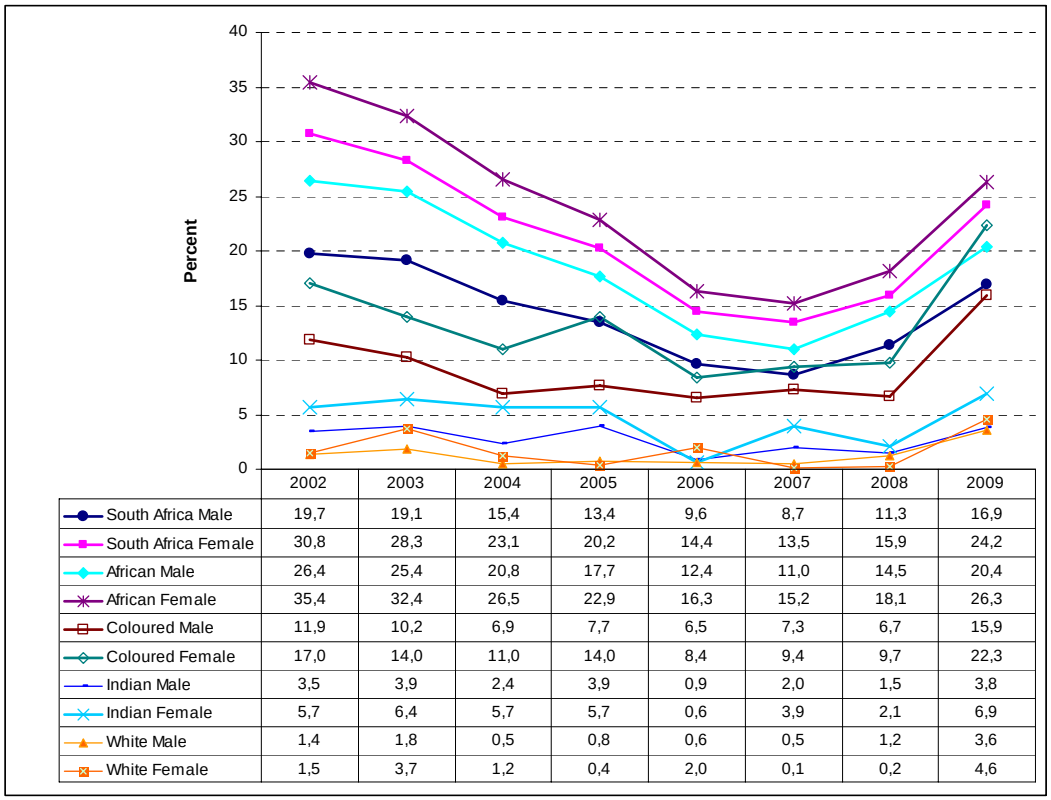


	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
African Male	35,2	33,4	28,3	23,9	23,9	16,0	18,7	26,3
African Female	36,9	34,9	29,0	25,1	25,1	16,5	19,4	28,3
Coloured Male	15,8	12,2	9,7	11,1	11,1	10,0	9,1	21,0
Coloured Female	15,3	11,5	8,8	10,9	10,9	9,5	9,5	22,5
Indian Male	4,1	6,2	4,5	5,9	5,9	1,5	2,3	4,7
Indian Female	4,8	5,4	5,5	5,9	5,9	1,1	2,3	4,7
White Male	1,7	2,1	0,5	1,0	1,0	0,3	1,6	4,4
White Female	1,6	2,4	0,7	0,7	0,7	0,3	1,8	4,6
General Population Male	29,1	27,6	23,2	20,0	20,0	13,6	15,8	23,3
General Population Female	30,6	28,9	23,9	21,0	21,0	14,0	16,5	25,1

The proportion of households that have experienced hunger by population group and gender is presented in Figure 4.9. According to this figure, female headed households from all population groups, particularly Africans and coloureds, are more likely than male headed ones to be food insecure. The same is true for Asian households in general, although the pattern is much more jagged, perhaps due to a much lower sample size. A curiously intertwined pattern emerges for whites where white female headed households are generally, but not consistently, more likely to have experienced hunger. It is interesting to note that the food security situation improved consistently for almost all population groups, with the exception of a few rogue years it would seem, between 2002 and 2007, before starting to deteriorate again in 2008.

Table 4.9 explores the association between the age of the head of the household and household vulnerability to hunger within the context of apparent gender differences. It is clear from this table that female headed households are consistently more likely to have experienced hunger than their male headed equivalents across all age groups. In fact, if the eight groups (male and female in each of the four age groups) are arranged from high to low according to the proportion of households that have experienced vulnerability to hunger, female headed households will be placed first to fourth. Another observation is that the difference in exposure to vulnerability to hunger between male and female headed households across all four age groups has seemingly declined in step with the general improvements in the food security situation until 2007, before starting to increase for the most part in 2008, sacrificing many of the gains achieved between 2002 and 2007. This is presented in Figure 4.10. The difference is particularly noticeable for the age group 35 to 59 (10% in 2009), followed by the age group over 60 years (5%) and finally youth aged 18 to 34 (approximately 4% in 2009). These figures are perhaps indicative of female household's greater vulnerability to hunger. While female headed households can seemingly be disproportionately advantaged by general improvements in the food security situation, their vulnerability unfortunately also means that factors leading to a general deterioration of the general food security situation might more easily make them vulnerable to hunger again. Possible reasons for this vulnerability is explored by Ngadu, Cross, Jacobs, Hart, Matshe and Altman (2010).

Figure 4.9: Proportion of households that have experienced hunger by gender of the head of the household, 2009

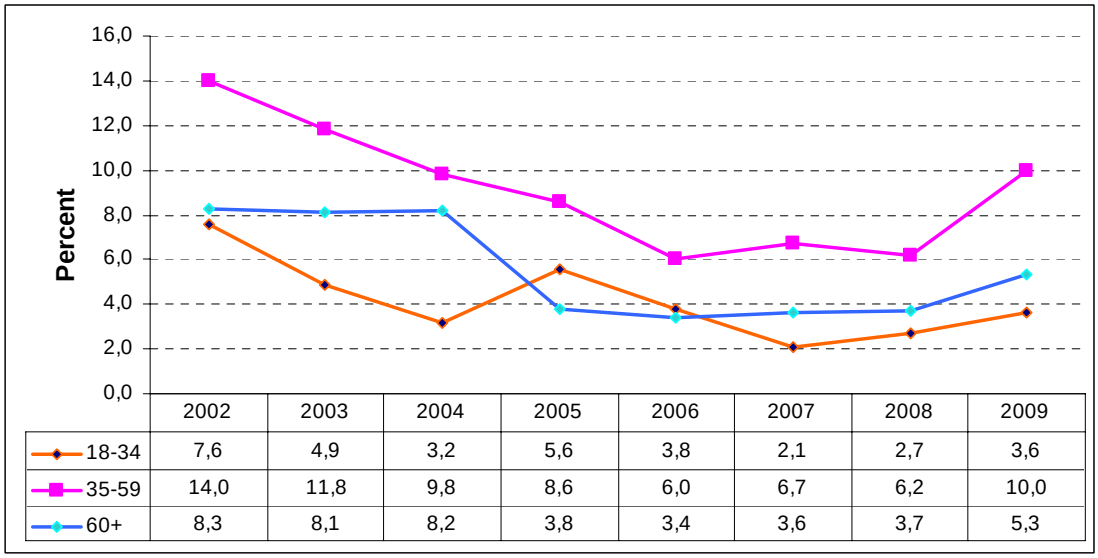


	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
South Africa Male	19,7	19,1	15,4	13,4	9,6	8,7	11,3	16,9
South Africa Female	30,8	28,3	23,1	20,2	14,4	13,5	15,9	24,2
African Male	26,4	25,4	20,8	17,7	12,4	11,0	14,5	20,4
African Female	35,4	32,4	26,5	22,9	16,3	15,2	18,1	26,3
Coloured Male	11,9	10,2	6,9	7,7	6,5	7,3	6,7	15,9
Coloured Female	17,0	14,0	11,0	14,0	8,4	9,4	9,7	22,3
Indian Male	3,5	3,9	2,4	3,9	0,9	2,0	1,5	3,8
Indian Female	5,7	6,4	5,7	5,7	0,6	3,9	2,1	6,9
White Male	1,4	1,8	0,5	0,8	0,6	0,5	1,2	3,6
White Female	1,5	3,7	1,2	0,4	2,0	0,1	0,2	4,6

Table 4.4: Proportion of males and females living in households that reported hunger by age group, 2009

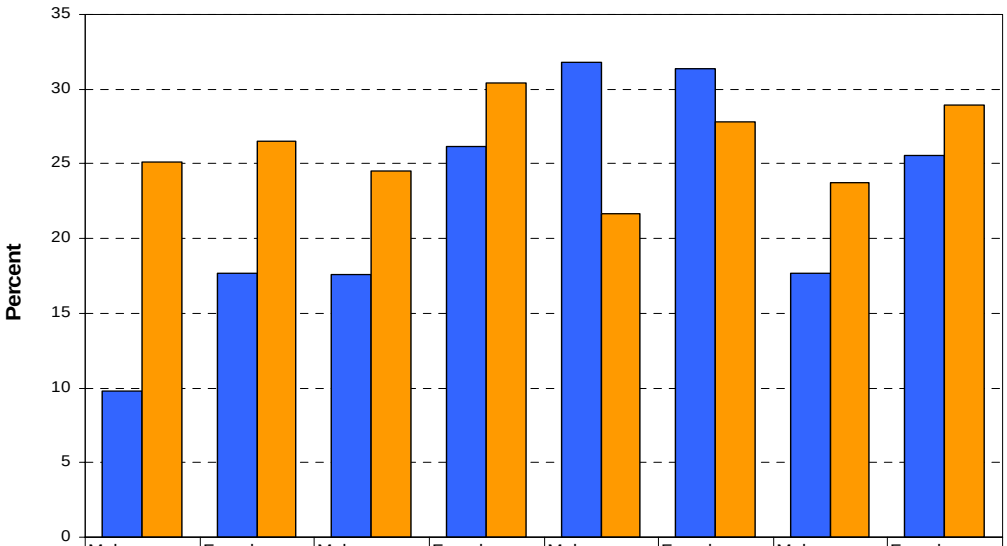
		2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
18–34	Male	17,7	19,1	15,2	14,2	9,8	8,2	11,5	17,1
	Female	25,3	24,0	18,4	19,8	13,6	10,3	14,2	20,7
35–59	Male	19,9	18,6	15,3	12,8	9,6	8,9	11,6	17,1
	Female	33,9	30,4	25,1	21,4	15,6	15,6	17,8	27,1
60–69	Male	21,6	20,7	15,2	15,0	10,7	9,0	11,1	17,2
	Female	30,5	30,2	24,3	18,8	12,9	12,3	14,3	21,3
Over 70	Male	22,1	19,8	16,5	12,1	6,2	8,1	7,8	14,1
	Female	29,5	26,4	23,3	16,7	11,9	12,3	12,9	21,4

Figure 4.10: Difference in the levels of vulnerability to hunger between male and female headed households, by age of the head of household, 2002–2009



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
18-34	7,6	4,9	3,2	5,6	3,8	2,1	2,7	3,6
35-59	14,0	11,8	9,8	8,6	6,0	6,7	6,2	10,0
60+	8,3	8,1	8,2	3,8	3,4	3,6	3,7	5,3

Figure 4.11: Household participation in agricultural production, by gender and age of the head of the household, 2009



All households	9,8	17,7	17,6	26,2	31,8	31,4	17,7	25,6
Food insecure households	25,1	26,5	24,5	30,4	21,7	27,8	23,7	28,9

Figure 4.11 compares the participation of male and female headed households in agricultural production in general and with respect to households that are experiencing vulnerability to hunger. It is firstly noticeable that a larger proportion of female than male headed households are involved in agricultural production across households in general and in food insecure households. Although female headed households are much more likely to be involved in agricultural production than male headed households before the age of 60 years in the general household population, male and female headed households are almost equally likely to engage in some form of agriculture after the age of 60 years. By contrast, food insecure female headed households remain more engaged in agricultural production than food insecure male headed households across all three age categories. Although not represented in the text, data from the GHS shows that female headed households are somewhat more likely to grow produce for home consumption than male headed households which tend to sell more of the produce.

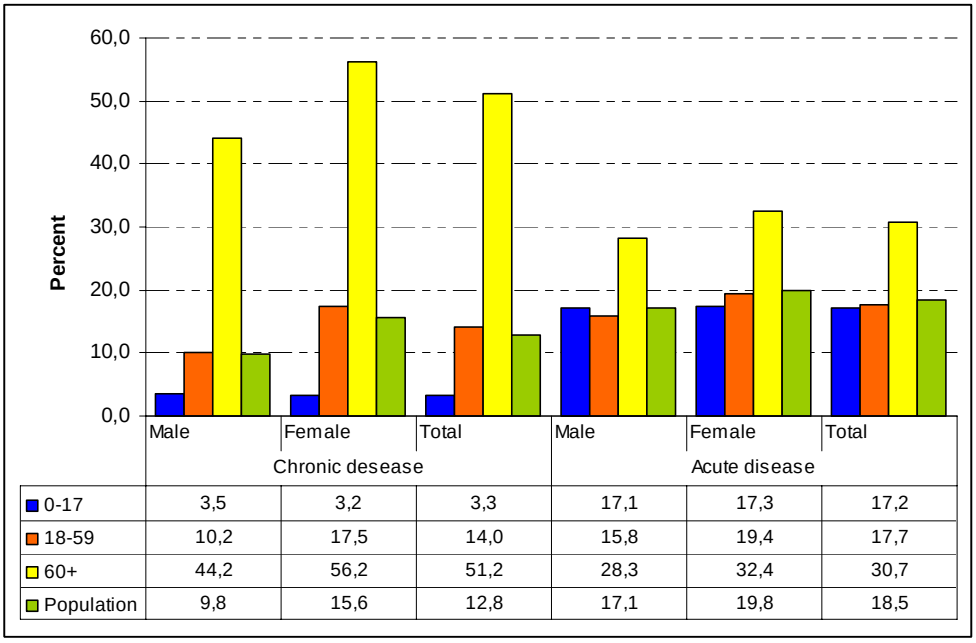
4.5 Health

The 1995 Beijing Platform for Action emphasizes that women have the right to enjoy the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health (United Nations, 1995). The health status of men and women is different during various life stages. Although some of the variation can be ascribed to biological and physical differences, prevailing gender norms and values as well as socio-economic differences can play an important role in determining health and access to health care (United Nations, 2010). While the provision of basic services such as water and sanitation could lead to further declines in the prevalence of acute diseases, our ageing society is being faced by an increasing surplus of women in the older age groups, bringing with it far reaching implications for health.

It should be clear from Figure 4.12 that women seems to be generally more likely to suffer from chronic conditions or to contract acute illnesses than their male peers in the same age group. Females across age groups seem to have a slightly higher prevalence of acute illness of injuries than their male peers in the corresponding age groups. The high prevalence of acute illness and injuries after the age of 60 years, for both men and women, is particularly noticeable. While females are about as likely as males to suffer from any chronic disease under the age of 17 years, their likelihood surpasses that of males in the other two age groups. A substantially larger proportion of females (56%) over the age of 60 years suffer from chronic conditions than males (44%).

Due to women's greater longevity, a much greater proportion of the female population is comprised of frail women over the age of 75 who have a higher likelihood of suffering some chronic diseases. This perhaps explains women's higher likelihood of suffering from chronic illnesses.

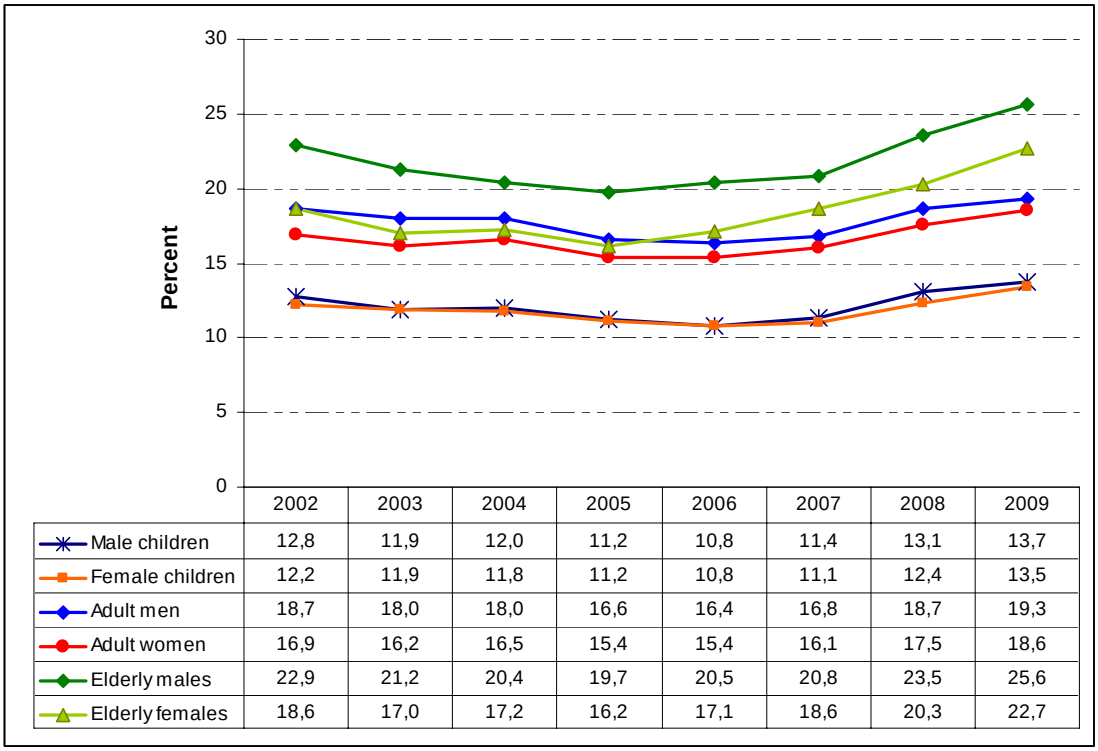
Figure 4.12: Proportion of males and females with chronic conditions or reporting acute injuries and/or illness by age group, 2009



	Chronic desease			Acute disease		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-17	3,5	3,2	3,3	17,1	17,3	17,2
18-59	10,2	17,5	14,0	15,8	19,4	17,7
60+	44,2	56,2	51,2	28,3	32,4	30,7
Population	9,8	15,6	12,8	17,1	19,8	18,5

Although the Government has greatly improved access to affordable health care at public hospitals and clinics, the broader health care system still mirrors the large inequalities found in the contemporary society. According to Figure 4.13 males are generally more likely to be members of medical aid schemes than females. Access to medical aid is the biggest for older persons and smallest amongst children. Membership remains rather exclusive and out of reach for the majority of South Africans. It is noticeable that the proportion of individuals with membership of medical aid schemes has decreased slightly between 2002 and 2006/7 before increasing to higher levels than in 2002 by 2009.

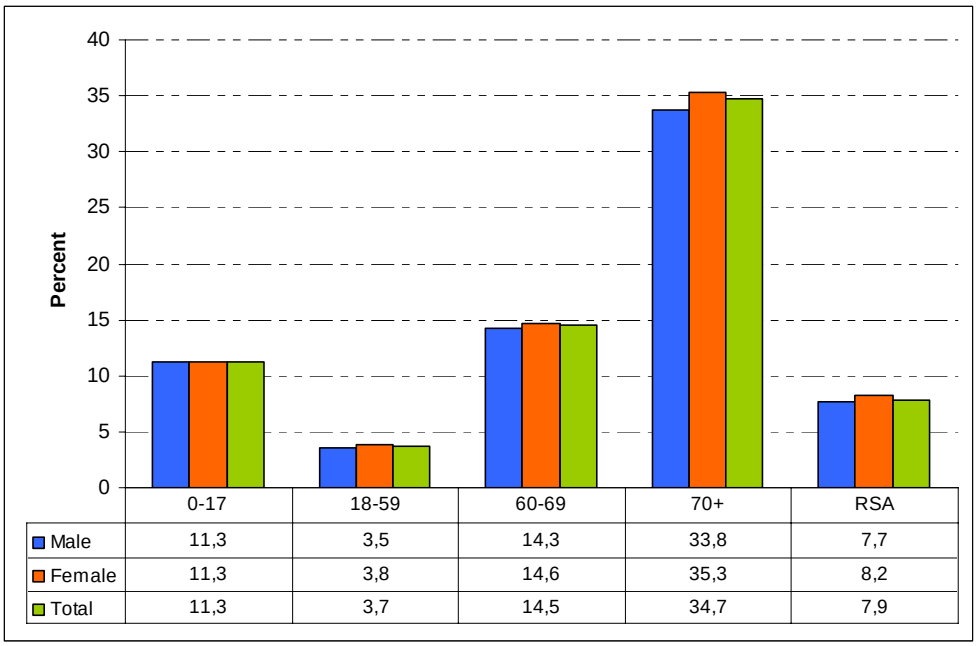
Figure 4.13: Proportion of population with access to medical aid by gender and age group, 2002–2009



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male children	12,8	11,9	12,0	11,2	10,8	11,4	13,1	13,7
Female children	12,2	11,9	11,8	11,2	10,8	11,1	12,4	13,5
Adult men	18,7	18,0	18,0	16,6	16,4	16,8	18,7	19,3
Adult women	16,9	16,2	16,5	15,4	15,4	16,1	17,5	18,6
Elderly males	22,9	21,2	20,4	19,7	20,5	20,8	23,5	25,6
Elderly females	18,6	17,0	17,2	16,2	17,1	18,6	20,3	22,7

From Figure 4.14 it can be seen that females are generally only slightly more likely to live with disability than males. This is particularly noticeable after the age of 60 years. The proportion of people with disabilities seems to increase sharply with age, from less than 4% for individuals in the age group 18 to 59, to 15% for the age group 60–69 and 35% for the oldest age group.

Figure 4.14: Disability by gender and age group, 2002–2009



	0-17	18-59	60-69	70+	RSA
Male	11,3	3,5	14,3	33,8	7,7
Female	11,3	3,8	14,6	35,3	8,2
Total	11,3	3,7	14,5	34,7	7,9

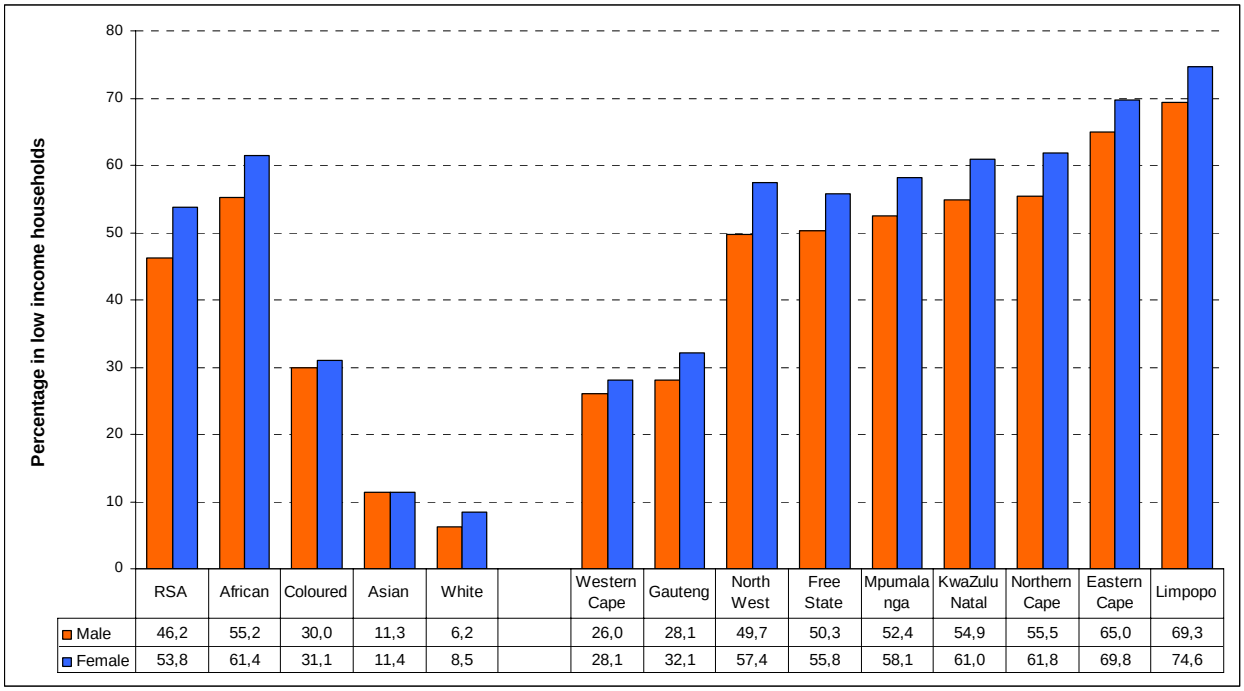
4.6 Poverty and social grants

The GHS provides estimates of income earned from employment, government transfers through social grants as well as remittances. The combination of sources could in principle be used to estimate household income relatively accurately. During 2009, the survey questionnaire however neglected to request the amount of income households were earning from private pensions in addition to the other sources of income. Although this oversight has been addressed in subsequent questionnaires, the absence of data on private pensions has necessitated great care when working with the GHS 2009 income data. A number of assumptions have to be made to compensate for the absence of data. We can firstly assume that private pensions will predominantly affect individuals over the age of 60 years, and that individuals receiving private pensions are very likely to head their respective households. By limiting the analysis to persons and household heads below the age of 60 years, the negative effects can hopefully be minimized.

The proportion of individuals living in low income households is established by assigning the poor to the lowest 40% of the income distribution. Using the 40th percentile as an arbitrary cut off, a low income threshold of R555 per capita is established. This relative poverty line can be used to compare the relative socio-economic positions of males and females.

According to Figure 4.15, females below the age of 60 years of age are more likely to live in low income households (54%) than their male peers in the general population (46%). Women are in fact more likely to live in low income households across all four population groups, as well as in all nine provinces. Sixty per cent of African women live in low income households compared to less than 9% of white women. Women in the Western Cape and Gauteng have the smallest likelihood of living in low income households (28% and 32% respectively) while the likelihood is largest in Limpopo (75%) and the Eastern Cape (70%).

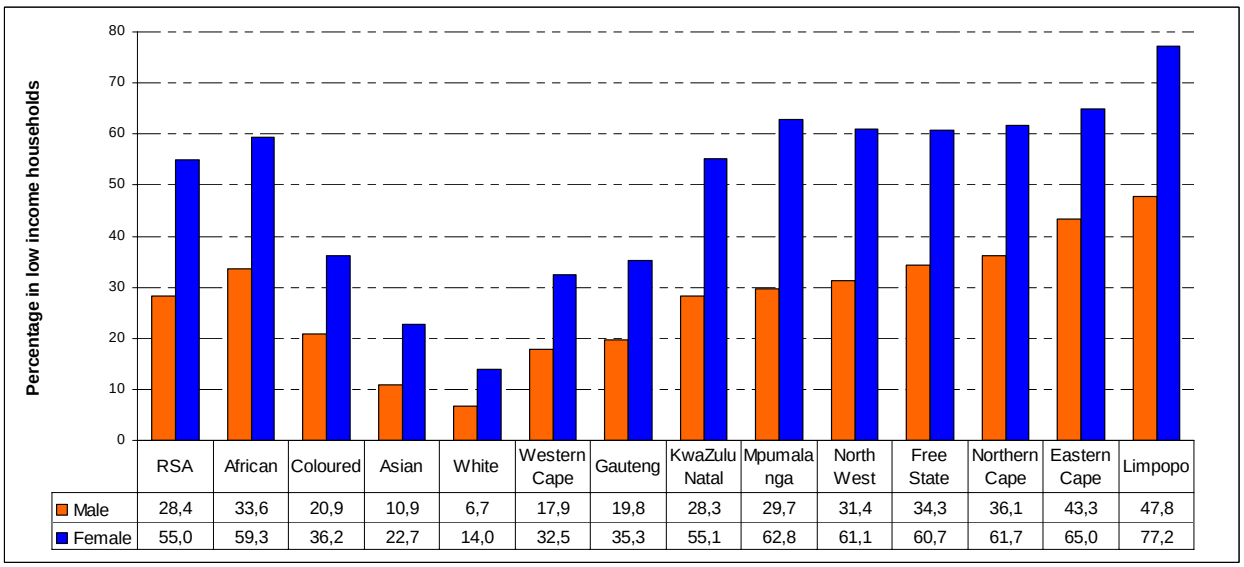
Figure 4.15: Proportion of the population under the age of 60 years living in households with low per capita income by gender, 2009



	RSA	African	Coloured	Asian	White	Western Cape	Gauteng	North West	Free State	Mpumalanga	KwaZulu Natal	Northern Cape	Eastern Cape	Limpopo
Male	46,2	55,2	30,0	11,3	6,2	26,0	28,1	49,7	50,3	52,4	54,9	55,5	65,0	69,3
Female	53,8	61,4	31,1	11,4	8,5	28,1	32,1	57,4	55,8	58,1	61,0	61,8	69,8	74,6

Figure 4.16 confirms the observation that female headed households are much more likely than male headed households to have low incomes, regardless of population group or province. Although a larger proportion of low income households are identified among female headed households, the majority of low income earning (poor) males and females are found in male headed households by virtue of its relatively larger size.

Figure 4.16: Proportion of households headed by persons aged below the age of 60 years with low per capita income, by gender



	RSA	African	Coloured	Asian	White	Western Cape	Gauteng	KwaZulu Natal	Mpumalanga	North West	Free State	Northern Cape	Eastern Cape	Limpopo
Male	28,4	33,6	20,9	10,9	6,7	17,9	19,8	28,3	29,7	31,4	34,3	36,1	43,3	47,8
Female	55,0	59,3	36,2	22,7	14,0	32,5	35,3	55,1	62,8	61,1	60,7	61,7	65,0	77,2

Households generally rely on a variety of sources to generate sufficient household income, including salaries and wages, government grants, remittances and private pensions. The main sources of income for households between 2002 and 2009 are presented in Table 4.5 and in Figure 3.17. It is important to note that households were requested to only identify their main source of income between 2002 and 2008 and that this question was replaced by a request to list all sources of income in 2009. In addition to this change, the categories were also adapted slightly with the addition of a category “income from a business’, and importantly the separation of the category ‘social grants and pensions’ into two separate categories.

Table 4.5 reveals important dissimilarities which may explain the large income inequality that exists between male and female headed households. While more than two-thirds of male headed households have consistently selected income from salaries and/or wages as the main source of income, less than half of female headed households have done so. The proportion of households indicating salary/wages as main source of income has increased gradually for both male and female headed households between 2004 and 2007 but have fallen back to 67% for males and 33% for females since 2008. Although wages remain the single most common source of income for female headed households at 46%, the combined income of remittances and social grants has been pointed out as the main source of income by roughly 49% of female headed households. By contrast remittances and social grants/pensions were selected by only 23% of male headed households. It is interesting to note that the proportion of male and female headed households that are specifying remittances as a main source of income has been declining consistently since 2003 while the proportion of households with social grants/pensions have been increasing at a seemingly inverse rate. Income from business has become substantially more common for both male and female headed households while the proportion of households that indicated that they have not had any income has declined to less than a per cent for both male and female headed households.

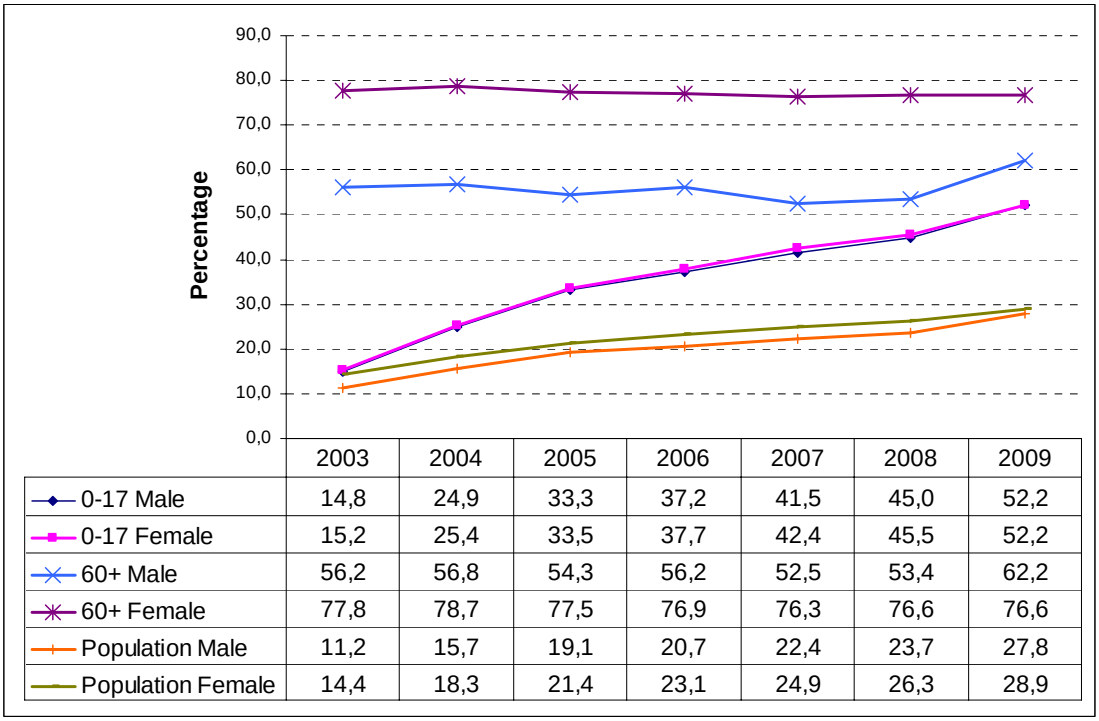
Table 4.5: Main source of income for households by gender of the head of the household, 2002–2009

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male headed								
Salaries and/or wages	68,3	66,9	66,7	68,6	69,2	71,6	71,4	66,7
Remittances	9,2	10,3	9,8	8,6	8,0	7,0	7,1	6,1
Pensions and Grants	12,5	13,5	14,3	14,7	15,8	14,9	16,3	17,0
Sales of farm products	1,2	1,0	1,3	1,1	1,4	1,1	0,9	0,2
Other non farm income	6,0	5,5	6,2	5,0	3,3	3,0	2,1	9,2
No income	2,9	2,9	1,8	1,9	2,3	2,5	2,4	0,9
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100,1**
N (000)	**6 863**	**7 100**	**7 311**	**7 522**	**7 736**	**8 004**	**8 292**	**8 397**
Female headed								
Salaries and/or wages	44,4	43,0	42,4	43,5	45,1	46,5	46,4	44,3
Remittances	23,0	23,2	22,5	18,0	16,0	15,8	14,9	13,9
Pensions and Grants	23,3	25,8	27,8	31,4	32,3	31,5	33,9	35,3
Sales of farm products	0,7	0,8	0,7	0,7	1,2	1,0	0,6	0,1
Other non farm income	5,4	4,1	5,1	4,3	3,1	3,3	1,9	5,8
No income	3,2	3,1	1,5	2,1	2,3	1,9	2,4	0,6
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
N (000)	**4 092**	**4 242**	**4 383**	**4 517**	**4 657**	**4 816**	**4 988**	**4 985**

Figure 4.16 presents the proportions of males and females that are beneficiaries to any kind of social grant. Social assistance in South Africa is fundamentally designed to assist children, disabled individuals and older persons and it can therefore be expected that significant proportions of grant beneficiaries would be found amongst children and older people. Grants are generally means-tested and do not discriminate on the basis of race or gender. This was however not always the case for Old Age grants as men formerly only became eligible to be considered for grants at the age of 65 years compared to 60 years for females. The discrepancy was subsequently corrected through the Social Assistance Amendment Act (Act No. 6 of 2008), in which the eligibility age for men was incrementally reduced from 65 to 63 in 2008, 61 in 2009 and finally, 60 in 2010. Although men will from 2010 benefit equally with females, the former practice has led to a situation in which women are significantly more likely to be grant beneficiaries than men. The sharp increase since 2008 is however an indication that the situation will normalise.

By contrast boys and girls have always been submitted to the same non-discriminatory eligibility criteria and the difference between their respective uptakes is almost insignificant, as can be seen from Figure 4.17. As a result of the large variation between the proportion of elderly males and females who are beneficiaries of grants, females in the general population are still slightly more likely than their male peers to be grant beneficiaries. The variation is however decreasing.

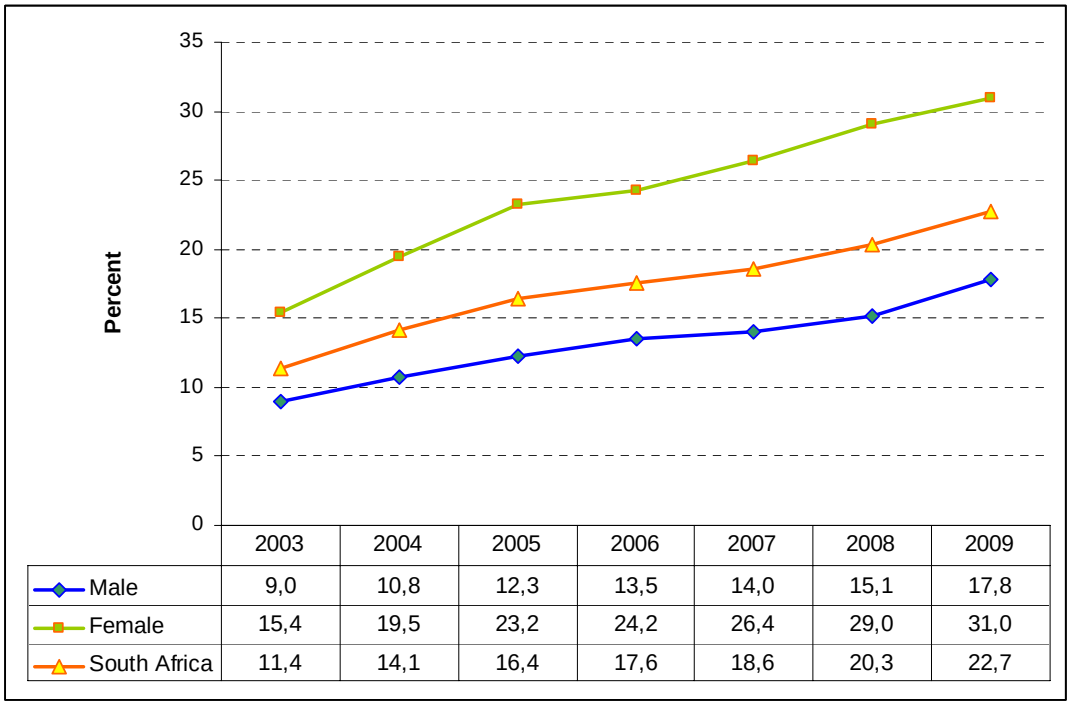
Figure 4.17: Access to social grants by gender and age group, 2002–2009



	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
0-17 Male	14,8	24,9	33,3	37,2	41,5	45,0	52,2
0-17 Female	15,2	25,4	33,5	37,7	42,4	45,5	52,2
60+ Male	56,2	56,8	54,3	56,2	52,5	53,4	62,2
60+ Female	77,8	78,7	77,5	76,9	76,3	76,6	76,6
Population Male	11,2	15,7	19,1	20,7	22,4	23,7	27,8
Population Female	14,4	18,3	21,4	23,1	24,9	26,3	28,9

Female headed households are significantly more likely to contain one or more grant beneficiaries than male headed ones. Figure 4.18 illustrates the mean percentage of grant beneficiaries per households using the gender of the head of the household as reference point. On average almost a third of the members of female headed households were grant recipients in 2009, compared to less than 18% of male headed households. This disparity can perhaps be explained by noting that females are more likely to be grant recipients themselves and that female headed households are more likely to contain and care for children (refer to Table 4,3), many of whom are themselves beneficiaries of child support and foster care grants. It is noticeable that the mean percentage of grant recipients per household has been increasing steadily since 2002 for both male and particularly female headed households.

Figure 4.18: Mean percentage of grant beneficiaries per household by gender of the head of the household, 2003–2009



	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male	9,0	10,8	12,3	13,5	14,0	15,1	17,8
Female	15,4	19,5	23,2	24,2	26,4	29,0	31,0
South Africa	11,4	14,1	16,4	17,6	18,6	20,3	22,7

4.7 Economic activity

Several pieces of legislation have been enacted since 1994 to create an enabling environment for vulnerable groups such as women, and to improve their participation in income generating activities in the economy. Table 4.6 summarises the situation with regards to household participation in the economy by looking at the economically active-, employment and unemployment ratios according to the gender of the head of the household. The **economically active ratio** expresses the ratio of economically active household members in a household to the total number of household members in their economically active years (15 to 64). This population includes members who are employed and those who are not employed but excludes people who are not available for work, such as full time students, homemakers and pensioners. The economically active ratio for male headed households is visibly higher than for female headed households. The ratio has remained relatively constant between 2002 and 2008 before showing significant downward movement to 0,8 and 0,7 for male and female headed households respectively in 2009 . This ratio implies that there are on average eight economically active individuals in male headed households for every ten members in their economically active years.

The **employed ratio** conveys the ratio of employed members of a household to the total number of household members in their economically active years. The definition of employment includes regular or irregular work for wages or salary, as well as unpaid work in a family business, farming or household maintenance projects. Male headed households display a substantially higher ratio than female headed households.

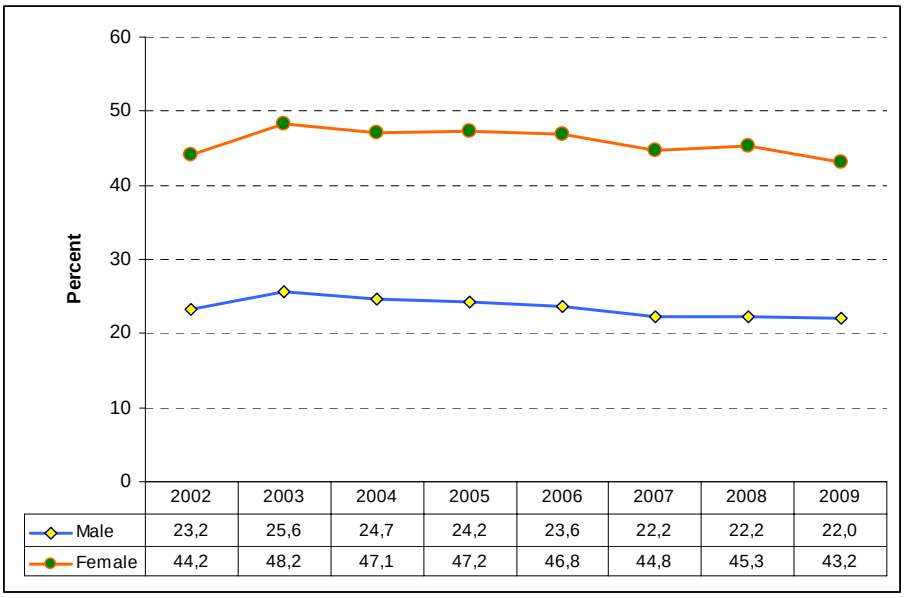
The **unemployed ratio** expresses the ratio of unemployed household members to the total number of household members in their economically active years. Statistics South Africa's official definition of unemployment is used which defines the unemployed as persons within the economically active population who: (a) did not work during the seven days prior to the interview, (b) want to work and are available to start work within two weeks of the interview, and (c) have taken active steps to look for work or start some form of self-employment in the four weeks prior to the interview. The unemployed ratio is lower for male headed households, indicating a lower mean number of unemployed individuals in male headed households to the total number of household members who are available to work, than in female headed households. Individuals in female headed households are therefore less likely to be economically active, less likely to be employed but more likely to be unemployed than their compatriots in male headed households.

Table 4.6: Economic activity, employment and unemployment ratios in households by gender of the head of the household, 2002–2009

Household	Indicator	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Economically Active ratio									
Male	Average ratio	0,841	0,820	0,824	0,811	0,817	0,823	0,856	0,801
Female		0,812	0,757	0,753	0,762	0,791	0,780	0,809	0,695
South Africa		0,830	0,797	0,798	0,793	0,807	0,807	0,839	0,762
Employed ratio									
Male	Average ratio	0,646	0,625	0,646	0,636	0,640	0,666	0,676	0,585
Female		0,533	0,495	0,506	0,519	0,524	0,540	0,538	0,402
South Africa		0,604	0,577	0,594	0,593	0,597	0,619	0,625	0,517
Unemployed ratio									
Male	Average ratio	0,195	0,195	0,178	0,175	0,177	0,158	0,180	0,215
Female		0,279	0,262	0,247	0,243	0,267	0,241	0,272	0,294
South Africa		0,266	0,220	0,204	0,200	0,211	0,189	0,214	0,244

Figure 4.19 reveals that female headed households are much more likely than male headed households to not have a single employed household member. Although the proportion of male and female headed households without employed members have gradually been declining, more than 40% of female headed households, and more than a fifth of male headed households are affected. It is important to keep in mind however that a large proportion of female heads are pensioners (see Figure 4.2) taking care of their children and often-times grandchildren. It nevertheless reveals stark differences.

Figure 4.19: Proportion of households without any employed members by gender of the head of the household, 2002–2009



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male	23,2	25,6	24,7	24,2	23,6	22,2	22,2	22,0
Female	44,2	48,2	47,1	47,2	46,8	44,8	45,3	43,2

4.8 Education and literacy

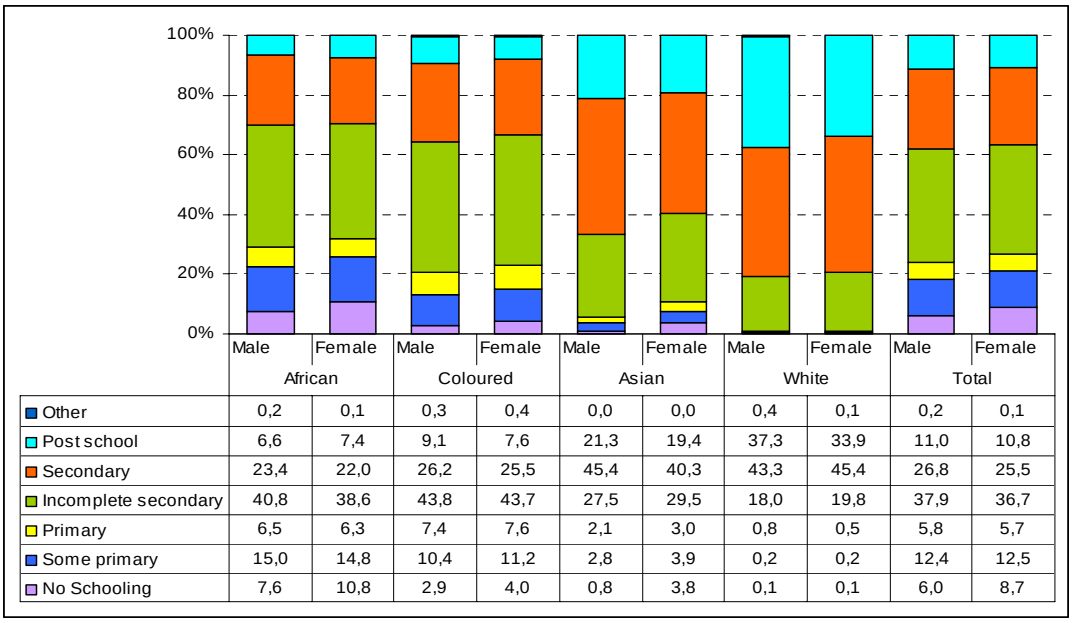
Education for women and girls is regarded as fundamental to the empowerment of women and to achieve gender equality. Literacy in South Africa is improving steadily as successive cohorts access education. South Africa has ensured almost universal access to education and almost all children attending educational institutions during the foundation years. The improved access to education is continuously contributing to the improved literacy rate for South Africans in general. Functional literacy is defined as someone who has who has completed primary education (grade 7 or above). Although this definition lends itself superbly to comparison across years and even to other studies, it has been criticised for not really reflecting the literacy status of individuals but rather focussing on their completion of a particular grade. Completing primary school does not necessarily ensure literacy. Table 4.7 indicates that a larger proportion of females than males have generally been considered literate between 2002 and 2009. The figures however hide considerable variation between various age groups. Individuals over the age of 60 years of age are much less likely to be literate than persons in younger age cohorts while persons in the age cohort 20 to 39 years are most likely to be literate. It is interesting to note that males are more likely to be literate than females in the older age groups, but that the situation is reversed for the youngest age category (20–39) where 92% of females are classified as literate compared to 90% of males. Although literacy has been improving steadily since 2002, the difference between the percentage of males and females who are considered literate has remained at about 3% (82% for males compared to 79% for females in 2009).

Table 4.7: Literacy levels by gender and age group for persons over the age of 20 years

	Age cohort	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male	20–39	82,8	85,3	85,4	87,1	87,4	87,8	88,5	90,3
	40–59	64,0	65,8	65,8	66,9	67,3	68,4	70,2	74,4
	60+	46,5	49,3	47,8	51,0	51,1	52,4	53,9	56,8
Female	20–39	84,2	86,0	87,3	87,5	88,5	89,2	89,3	92,0
	40–59	58,5	59,6	61,2	60,8	61,6	64,2	63,4	68,5
	60+	41,3	41,5	42,6	43,8	44,2	45,6	44,9	48,9
Total	20–39	83,6	85,7	86,4	87,3	88,0	88,6	88,9	91,2
	40–59	61,0	62,5	63,3	63,6	64,3	66,2	66,6	71,3
	60+	43,5	44,7	44,8	46,8	47,1	48,5	48,7	52,2
South Africa	**Male**	**73,3**	**75,6**	**75,5**	**77,0**	**77,4**	**78,1**	**79,2**	**81,8**
	Female	**71,0**	**72,3**	**73,6**	**73,7**	**74,4**	**75,8**	**75,4**	**78,9**
	South Africa	**72,1**	**73,9**	**74,5**	**75,2**	**75,8**	**76,9**	**77,2**	**80,2**

Figure 4.20 summarises data on the highest level of education for persons over the age 20 years by population group and gender. When one considers the total number of people over the age of 20 years, it becomes clear that a slightly higher proportion of females (9%) than males (6%) have not received any schooling, while 38% of males have completed at least secondary school compared to 37% of females. The combined figure however hides much of the inequality between population groups. More than 80% of whites over the age of 20 years have on average completed secondary school compared to 63% for Indians, 35% for coloureds and a dismal 22% for Africans. One similarity is however that a smaller proportion of females than males have completed at least secondary school in all the population groups.

Figure 4.20: Highest level of education for persons over the age of 20 years, by gender and population group, 2009



	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	African		Coloured		Asian		White		Total	
Other	0,2	0,1	0,3	0,4	0,0	0,0	0,4	0,1	0,2	0,1
Post school	6,6	7,4	9,1	7,6	21,3	19,4	37,3	33,9	11,0	10,8
Secondary	23,4	22,0	26,2	25,5	45,4	40,3	43,3	45,4	26,8	25,5
Incomplete secondary	40,8	38,6	43,8	43,7	27,5	29,5	18,0	19,8	37,9	36,7
Primary	6,5	6,3	7,4	7,6	2,1	3,0	0,8	0,5	5,8	5,7
Some primary	15,0	14,8	10,4	11,2	2,8	3,9	0,2	0,2	12,4	12,5
No Schooling	7,6	10,8	2,9	4,0	0,8	3,8	0,1	0,1	6,0	8,7

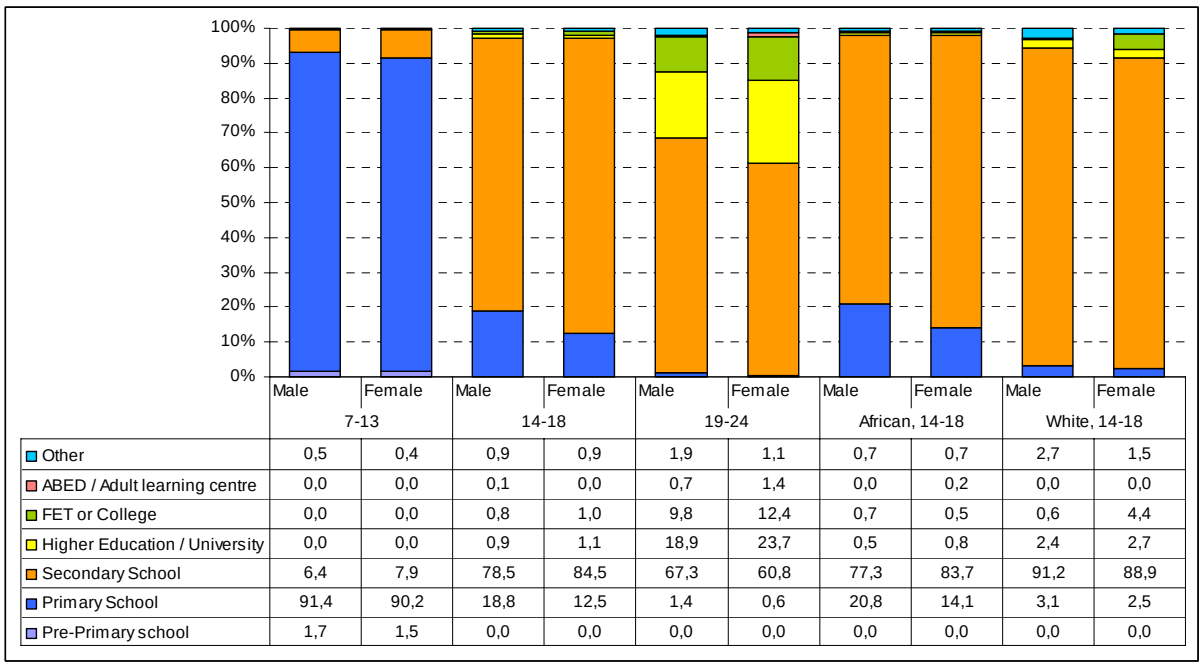
The attendance of educational institutions by males and females from different age groups is presented in Table 4.8. It is clear from the table that women's attendance of educational institutions in each of the age groups has generally improved between 2002 and 2009, while male participation rates for the age groups 14–17 and 18–24 have actually declined. Although gender parity has for all practical intends been achieved during the primary and secondary school ages, a noticeably larger proportion of males than females are attending educational institutions after the age of 18 years.

Table 4.8: Participation of individuals in educational institutions, by gender and age group, 2002–2009

Age group	Gender	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
7–13	Male	96,2	96,9	97,9	98,0	97,8	98,0	98,1	98,8
	Female	96,9	97,9	98,4	98,3	98,3	98,6	98,2	99,0
14–17	Male	92,5	92,6	93,0	93,7	92,5	93,5	93,1	92,8
	Female	90,7	91,5	91,9	91,2	91,7	93,1	93,5	93,1
18–24	Male	40,5	41,6	40,9	41,2	40,4	40,4	38,0	37,5
	Female	32,5	35,3	35,3	34,7	34,6	35,9	35,3	35,5

The relative participation rates amongst young people might however be deceiving as a larger proportion of males seem to remain in secondary school after the age of 18 years. Figure 4.21 presents information on the type of educational institution attended by males and females by age groups that corresponds with the ideal ages children should be when attending primary school (7–13), secondary school (14–18) and post-school education (19–24). Very similar proportions of girls and boys attend primary school during between 7 and 13 years of age, although a slightly higher proportion of girls have actually transferred to secondary school during this period already (8% compared to 6% for boys). It is very difficult to read too much into it without further analysis as it could perhaps also be caused by practices like sending girls to school earlier. The distribution of children between the ages of 14 and 18 (when they should ideally be attending secondary school), however suggest that more boys might be failing to complete primary school as more than 21% continue to attend primary school compared to 14% of girls. This is supported by the results of Figure 4.22 which shows that a smaller proportion of boys than girls have actually completed their primary school education by the time they turn 15 years old. A comparison between the educational institution attendance status of African and white boys and girls in the age group 14 to 18 stresses these poor educational outcomes.

Figure 4.21: Type of educational institution attended by gender and age group, 2002–2009

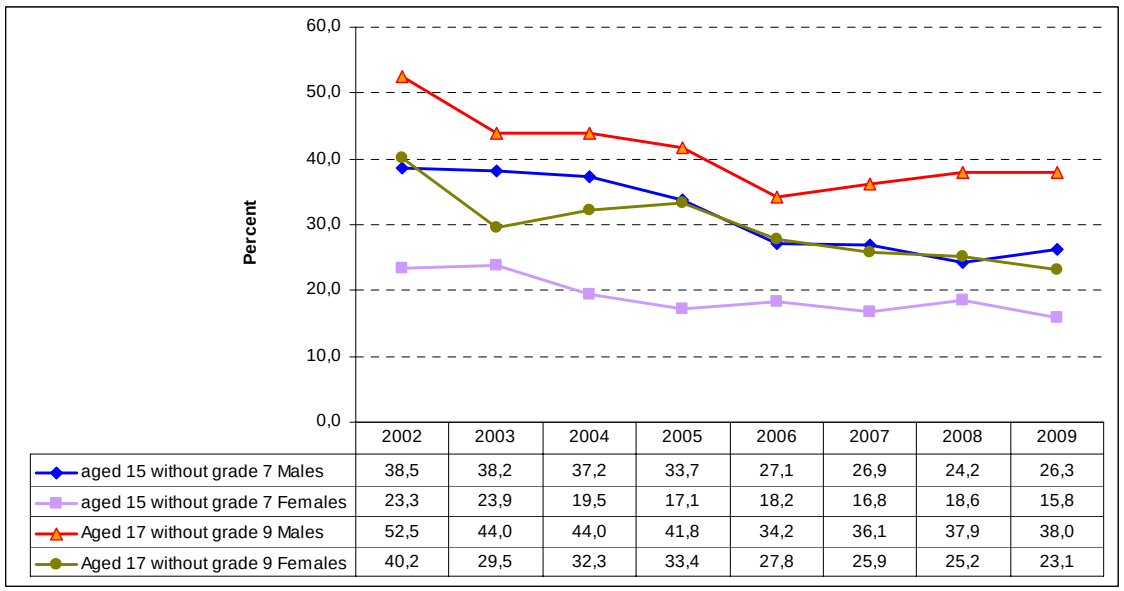


	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	7-13		14-18		19-24		African, 14-18		White, 14-18	
Other	0,5	0,4	0,9	0,9	1,9	1,1	0,7	0,7	2,7	1,5
ABED / Adult learning centre	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,7	1,4	0,0	0,2	0,0	0,0
FET or College	0,0	0,0	0,8	1,0	9,8	12,4	0,7	0,5	0,6	4,4
Higher Education / University	0,0	0,0	0,9	1,1	18,9	23,7	0,5	0,8	2,4	2,7
Secondary School	6,4	7,9	78,5	84,5	67,3	60,8	77,3	83,7	91,2	88,9
Primary School	91,4	90,2	18,8	12,5	1,4	0,6	20,8	14,1	3,1	2,5
Pre-Primary school	1,7	1,5	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0

Almost two-thirds of males between the ages of 19 and 24 that are attending any educational institution will still be at school, compared to about 61% of females. In this age category (19–24) 19% of males will be attending Higher education compared to 24% of females, while a larger proportion of females will also attend FET and colleges.

The relative participation rates amongst children might however be deceiving as a large proportion of children have failed to pass grade 7 by the age of 15 years, as mentioned earlier. More might have failed to complete grade 9 by the time they turn seventeen. This is presented in Figure 4.21. It is important to note girls have consistently outperformed boys on both indicators. A higher proportion of girls have consistently been able to achieve grade 7 by the time they turned fifteen (84% compared to 74% of boys) while a smaller proportion of girls than boys has furthermore not managed to complete grade 7 by their seventeenth birthdays (23% for females compared to 38% for males). These findings seem to confirm the progress that has been made with improving both the access to education for girls, but also on face value their capacity to make the most of it. The large proportion of boys who fail to make the grades is however a very serious concern.

Figure 4.22: Proportion of individuals over the age of 15 years who have not completed grade 7 compared to the proportion of individuals over the age of 17 who have not completed grade 9, by gender, 2002–2009



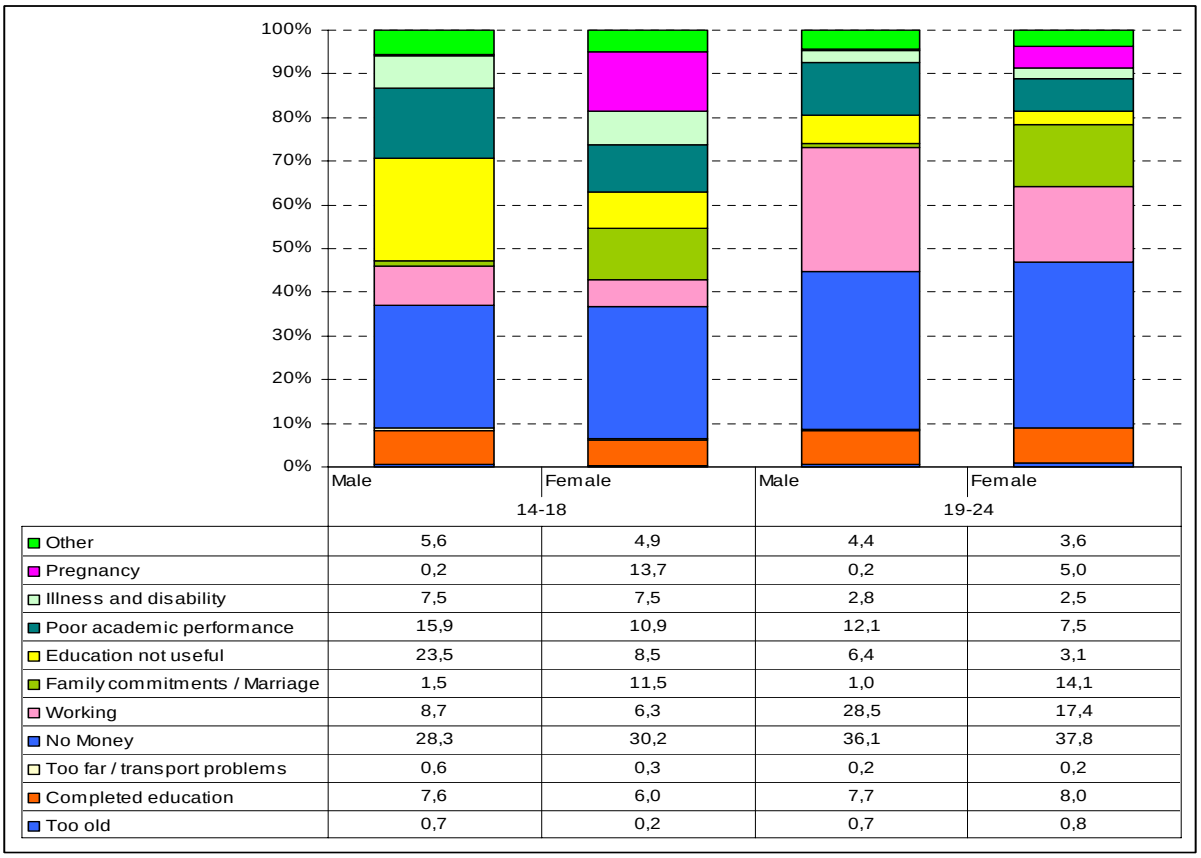
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
aged 15 without grade 7 Males	38,5	38,2	37,2	33,7	27,1	26,9	24,2	26,3
aged 15 without grade 7 Females	23,3	23,9	19,5	17,1	18,2	16,8	18,6	15,8
Aged 17 without grade 9 Males	52,5	44,0	44,0	41,8	34,2	36,1	37,9	38,0
Aged 17 without grade 9 Females	40,2	29,5	32,3	33,4	27,8	25,9	25,2	23,1

As was seen in Table 4.8, many individuals leave school prematurely while others (particularly in the age group 19–24) perhaps choose or are forced to, not continue their studies. The reasons for not attending an educational institution are presented in Figure 4.23 according to age group and gender. Since attendance is almost universal between the ages of 7 and 13 (see Table 4.8), the number of children who are not attending were too small to use. It has therefore been decided to omit this age group.

Boys who have dropped out of school and who are aged 14 to 18 years, most likely cited financial constraints (28%) followed by a statement that 'education is not useful' (24%). A slightly higher proportion of females in this age group also referred to financial reasons (30%). Girls were more likely than men to select pregnancy (14% compared to close to 0%) and also family commitments or marriage (12% compared to 2% of males). Boys were slightly more likely than females to identify work as a reason for dropping out (9% to 6% for females).

Financial constraints are the most common reason for both males (36%) and females (38%) who are not attending any educational institution. Males are next most likely to indicate that they are working (29%) or that their academic performance was too poor to continue with education (12%). Slightly over 17% of females maintained that they were not studying because they were working, while 14% cited family commitments or marriage (compared to only 1% of males). This seems to support the persistence of particular gender roles in society.

Figure 4.23: Reasons for not attending an education institution, by gender and age group, 2009



	Male	Female	Male	Female
	14-18		19-24	
Other	5,6	4,9	4,4	3,6
Pregnancy	0,2	13,7	0,2	5,0
Illness and disability	7,5	7,5	2,8	2,5
Poor academic performance	15,9	10,9	12,1	7,5
Education not useful	23,5	8,5	6,4	3,1
Family commitments / Marriage	1,5	11,5	1,0	14,1
Working	8,7	6,3	28,5	17,4
No Money	28,3	30,2	36,1	37,8
Too far / transport problems	0,6	0,3	0,2	0,2
Completed education	7,6	6,0	7,7	8,0
Too old	0,7	0,2	0,7	0,8

4.9 Housing and access to basic services

Access to basic social services plays a significant role in determining the well-being of individuals. Services such as access to clean water and sanitation are particularly important as it has been shown to be closely associated with the health status of households, particularly young children. Housing, water, sanitation, a clean environment, food security and poverty are generally considered some of the most important social determinants of health. The provision of basic services such as adequate housing, water, sanitation, refuse removal and energy is of particular importance to women due to their roles as mothers, housekeepers and caregivers (Unifem, 2009).

For the purposes of this publication, housing is categorised as formal, informal, traditional and other. Formal housing consists of dwellings or brick structures on separate stands; flats or apartments; cluster houses; town houses; semi-detached houses; and rooms, flatlets or servant's quarters. Informal housing comprises informal dwellings or shacks in backyards or in informal settlements. Traditional housing is defined as 'traditional dwelling/hut/structure made of traditional materials'. The other category refers to caravans and tents. Formal housing is generally considered a proxy for adequate housing.

The proportion of housing types inhabited by male and female headed households for the period 2002 to 2009 is presented in Table 4.9. The table reveals very similar patterns for male and female headed households over this period. In 2009, approximately three-quarters of male and female headed households resided in formal dwellings. While approximately 14% of male headed households lived in traditional dwellings, almost 15% of female headed households did. Male households are slightly more likely to live in informal dwellings than female headed ones (11% compared to 9%).

Table 4.9: Proportion of households living in formal, informal and traditional housing, by gender of the head, 2002–2009

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male headed household								
Formal	71,6	71,9	70,8	68,6	72,6	71,8	74,0	74,8
Traditional	14,5	14,2	16,0	14,9	13,0	13,1	13,4	13,5
Informal	12,1	11,6	10,8	14,3	12,8	13,4	11,9	11,0
Other	1,7	2,3	2,4	2,2	1,5	1,7	0,7	0,8
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Number (000)								
Female headed household								
Formal	71,7	72,1	70,8	69,1	72,7	72,2	74,9	75,4
Traditional	15,8	15,8	17,7	16,5	14,6	14,7	14,8	14,6
Informal	11,5	10,7	10,0	12,6	11,6	11,8	9,8	9,4
Other	1,1	1,4	1,5	1,8	1,1	1,3	0,5	0,6
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Number (000)								

While the distribution of male and female headed households across the various dwelling types is very similar, large differences become evident when the distribution of males and females is compared. Despite having a slightly higher likelihood of residing in informal dwellings, Table 4.9 also reveals that males are generally more likely than females to live in formal dwelling structures. Women, on the other hand, have consistently been more likely to reside in traditional dwellings.

Table 4.10: Proportion of individuals living in formal, informal and traditional housing, by gender 2002–2009

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male								
Formal	74,1	75,2	73,8	71,7	74,9	73,9	76,6	77,1
Traditional	12,1	11,1	12,5	11,8	10,2	10,2	10,8	10,6
Informal	12,2	11,7	11,4	14,5	13,4	14,1	12,0	11,4
Other	1,6	2,1	2,3	2,0	1,5	1,8	0,6	0,9
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Number (000)	**27 475**	**27 170**	**27 165**	**27 719**	**27 472**	**27 312**	**28 631**	**29 104**
Female								
Formal	67,8	67,4	66,5	64,7	69,6	69,4	71,4	72,1
Traditional	20,0	20,8	23,1	21,6	18,8	19,0	18,9	19,1
Informal	11,0	10,4	9,0	11,8	10,5	10,4	9,1	8,4
Other	1,1	1,4	1,4	2,0	1,1	1,1	0,6	0,4
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
Number (000)	**17 590**	**18 530**	**19 138**	**18 978**	**19 776**	**20 134**	**19 797**	**20 278**

The percentage of male headed and female headed households in dwellings that are partially or fully owned is presented in Table 4.11. Female headed households have been significantly and consistently more likely to live in households that are partially or fully owned than male headed households or households in general. It is concerning to note that in 2009 the proportions of male and female headed households that have tenure status dropped below the levels measured in 2002 after growing consistently between 2002 and 2008.

In addition to improving the quality of life and general well-being of families and individuals, having access to clean piped **water** also drastically reduces vulnerability to diseases such as diarrhoea and cholera. Access to piped water is defined as having water piped directly into their dwellings, or having access to taps on the site of the dwelling or yard. Access to water in the dwelling or yard has increased for male and female headed households between 2002 and 2009. It is noticeable that female headed households are significantly less likely than their male headed counterparts to have access to water.

Having access to flush **toilets** that are in or near the house and which dispose of waste safely is used as a proxy for adequate basic sanitation. While access to flush toilets have generally improved for both male and female headed households, the former remain much more likely to have access to flush toilets.

The proportion of persons living in households for which **refuse** is removed by the municipality is used as an indicator of environmental cleanliness. Male headed households are once again much more likely than female headed households to have their rubbish removed (57% versus 47% in 2009).

Although the connection to **mains electricity** does not preclude the use of other sources of energy for cooking and, connection to mains electricity does benefit households and the individuals living in them in a variety of ways. As a result of sustained efforts in this regard, the proportions of male and female headed households that are connected to mains electricity has increased steadily over the past 8 years. Female headed households were consistently less likely to connected to the mains than male headed households.

Access to **telephones** is defined as the proportion of households with access to landlines or cellphones. The proportion of South Africans households that has access to landlines or cellphones has increased enormously over the past years, increasing from 46% in 2002 to 84% in 2009. Although access for male and female headed households initially grew in step, female headed households were more likely to have a telephone in the dwelling in 2009.

While a larger proportion of female headed households have access to telephones, male headed households are much more likely to have access to the internet. The proportion of male headed households with access to the internet grew from 9% in 2005 to 12% in 2009, compared to a growth for female headed households from 3% to slightly more than 4%.

Table 4.11: Comparison of the basic living condition indicators for South African households by gender of the head of the household, 2002–2009

Access to service indicator	Sex of head	Year (Percentage)							
		2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Tenure status % living in dwellings that are partially or fully owned	Male	65,2	67,6	64,6	67,2	65,5	63,6	70,0	61,2
	Female	74,5	77,0	75,2	75,3	77,4	74,3	80,0	71,7
	Total	**68,7**	**71,1**	**68,6**	**70,3**	**70,0**	**67,6**	**73,8**	**65,1**
Access to water % living in dwellings with piped water in house or yard	Male	73,3	74,4	74,3	73,9	75,3	75,8	74,3	73,4
	Female	59,8	60,7	61,5	63,1	64,4	65,9	64,3	64,2
	Total	**68,3**	**69,3**	**69,5**	**69,9**	**71,2**	**72,1**	**70,5**	**69,9**
Sanitation % living in dwellings with flush toilet with on or off site disposal	Male	63,1	64,4	63,8	64,1	65,1	65,7	63,8	64,1
	Female	46,5	47,5	48,7	49,8	50,2	51,0	50,0	50,9
	Total	**56,9**	**58,1**	**58,2**	**58,7**	**59,5**	**60,2**	**58,6**	**59,2**
Refuse/Waste % living in dwellings with rubbish removed by municipality	Male	61,6	63,6	62,8	65,8	66,5	66,1	64,4	56,9
	Female	51,3	51,7	52,5	54,8	55,1	55,5	53,1	46,8
	Total	**57,8**	**59,1**	**59,0**	**61,7**	**62,2**	**62,1**	**60,2**	**53,1**
Electricity % living in dwellings with connected to mains	Male	79,3	80,7	82,3	82,0	81,8	82,2	82,2	83,2
	Female	73,8	74,6	77,8	78,9	78,9	81,2	80,8	81,7
	Total	**76,8**	**78,4**	**80,6**	**80,8**	**80,7**	**81,8**	**81,7**	**82,6**
Telephone % living in dwellings with landline or cellular phone in the dwelling	Male	49,7	51,5	58,3	67,1	72,2	76,2	79,7	83,9
	Female	38,7	42,1	49,6	61,7	68,1	74,2	78,0	84,2
	Total	**45,6**	**48,0**	**55,1**	**65,1**	**70,6**	**75,4**	**79,1**	**84,0**
Internet % living in dwellings with access to internet	Male				8,7				11,6
	Female				2,5				4,3
	Total				**6,4**				**8,8**

4.10 Summary and conclusions

This chapter attempts to provide some gender-sensitive analyses of a number of indicators that are of particular relevance to men and women in society. Women constitute approximately 52% of the South African population. Due to ageing, women however represent a much larger proportion of the older age cohorts. Since women essentially comprise half the population, their racial and provincial distribution are by and large reflective of the provincial distribution of the population as a whole. The distribution of males and females are often skewed by demographic factors such as in-migration of particularly male labour. This effect can perhaps be seen in Gauteng where a larger proportion of males than females can be found.

The importance of events such as marriage and cohabitation is increasingly being questioned, since it is no longer universal, and characterised by high divorce rates, unofficial cohabitation, single parenthood and remarriages at advanced ages. Cohabitation, whether it is formally legalised as a marriage or not, does however still clearly influence the living arrangements and opportunities men and women will have access to. Studies have shown that marriage enhances household income and wealth and promotes the well-being of spouses and children (Weeks, 2002). The literature suggests that women usually marry earlier than men and that they then often marry partners that are significantly older than they are. These choices often mark the start of fundamentally unequal relationships in which women will often have to be disproportionately burdened by household chores. This thesis is supported by the observation that 30% of females in the age category 18–34 are married compared to only a fifth of men. More than 70% of men in the age category 35–59 are however married compared to just shy of 60% of females. This variation is partly explained by the relatively high proportion of widows (11%) in this age group. More than a fifth of males and females in this age group remain unmarried. The effect of death, and socio-cultural choices, become even more apparent in the elderly age group (age 60 and over) in which it is clear that 75% of males remain married while the proportion of married women falls to about 37%. This is in large part caused by widowhood and men being married to younger wives.

The analysis suggests that women's extended life expectancy can in many cases contribute to their health and socio-economic problems. Being a widow or a divorcee statistically increases the odds of health and social problems (Weeks, 2007). The problem is particularly severe for already disadvantaged individuals who have to take over the headship of households out of necessity (widowhood) rather than choice (Lund, 2006). This is perhaps confirmed by the observation that 54% of all households headed by individuals over the age of 70 years are headed by females. It is therefore not surprising to note from the literature that women headed households are disproportionately affected by poverty. Female headed households comprises approximately 38% of all households in the country and they are particularly prevalent in Limpopo, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal where female headed households represent more than 44% of all households. Although the majority of female heads are African, the rapid increase of white female heads of households poses a different set of equally important challenges. White women are part of a generation that is living longer than before, often out-living their husbands/partners by decades and who spends longer periods of time living independently from children and families. The literature suggests that this group of usually elderly women has an elevated risk of falling into poverty. The risk is accentuated for whites by the observation that almost 60% of white female headed households consist of single person households.

Female headed households are more likely to be extended households with a larger average household size and matching dependency ratios. Female headed households have an average household size of 3,7 compared to 3,3 for males, and the mean dependency ratio is estimated at 0,77. This means that there is a ratio of 0,8 dependents for every person in his or her economically active years, irrespective of whether they are actually employed or not. The child dependency rate constitutes a significantly larger burden for female headed households than for their male headed counterparts, and children on average constitute a third of all the members of female headed households compared to just over a fifth for male headed households. Female headed households are more likely to contain elder persons than male headed households, and the old aged dependency ratio is slightly higher for female headed households.

The burden that children present to female headed households, particularly those headed by older women, can be illustrated by the high proportion of skip-generation households. Whereas 6% of South African households are considered to be skip-generation (where a grandparent lives with his/her grandchildren in the absence of their parents), this type of household constitute almost 10% of all female headed households. The prevalence differs by age and population group, and African and in particular African females are much more likely to head skip-generation households than either male or female heads form other population groups. This represents a significant burden to households that are often devoid of employed adults and who are largely dependent on social grants. While households with three or more generations, including skip-generation households, are relatively common amongst Africans and coloureds, it is much less widespread amongst whites and Indians where nuclear households containing two-generations or less predominate.

The level of vulnerability to hunger is strongly associated to population group. African males and females experience the highest vulnerability to hunger, followed by coloured males and females, Indians and then whites. It is noticeable that the difference between male and female experiences of hunger is noticeably larger between African males and females than in any of the other population groups. Besides exhibiting a much smaller gender based difference, it is also noticeable that males and females are much more likely to alternate positions. The vulnerability to hunger suffered by female headed households is illustrated by noting the large variance with male headed households in each of four population groups, 18–34, 35–59 and 60–69 and 70+. Female headed households in the age category 35–59 were most likely to suffer hunger (27%), followed by the female headed households in the age groups 60–69 and over 70 years (both 21%) and then female headed households in the age category 18–34. The four male headed households were each less likely to suffer vulnerability to hunger than any of the female headed households.

It is noticeable that a larger proportion of female headed households are generally engaged in agricultural production below the age of 60 years. After the age of 60 years male and female headed households are almost equally likely to engage in some sort of agricultural production. Households that are experiencing vulnerability to hunger are more likely to engage in food production than households in general, except after the age of 60 years where agricultural activity is quite high among the general household population.

The prevalence of chronic conditions is shown to increase with age for both males and females. Whereas only 3% of females indicated being afflicted by some kind of chronic disease under the age of seventeen years, the proportion grows to more than 56% for women over the age of 60 years. Women are also more likely to suffer from a chronic disease than men in the corresponding age group. The large difference between the gender specific prevalence of chronic conditions above 60 years might be ascribed to the higher life expectancy of women and the high proportion of frail older persons in this age group. The prevalence of acute disease has a much looser association with the age groups under sixty. Whereas the prevalence of acute conditions increases considerably after the age of 60 years, the prevalence differences between the first two age groups are much more subtle.
Access to medical aid is as much an indication of access to excellent medical services as it is an indicator of socio-economic privilege. Less than a fifth of all South African men and women are members of a medical scheme compared to more than a quarter of elderly men (26%) and 23% of elderly women.

The study confirms that female headed households are much more likely to have low incomes than their male headed equivalents, regardless of population group or province. Population group is however strongly associated with poverty as can be seen from the observation that 60% of African women live in low income households compared to approximately 9% of white females.

Male headed households are much more likely to indicate salaries or wages as the main source of income (67%) than female headed households (44%. These households seem to be much more dependent on remittances and pensions. It is interesting to note that the frequency of remittances as a source of income has been declining for female headed households while pensions and grants have become more important (growing from 23% in 2002 to 35% in 2009). Although a smaller proportion of male headed households indicated pensions/grants as a main source of income, this proportion has also been increasing steadily since 2002, growing from 13% to 17%. The importance of social grants to women is illustrated by the fact that almost 77% of females over the age of 60 years (often heads of households themselves) are grant beneficiaries compared to 62% of males. The latter proportion is however expected to grow as more men become eligible for the old age pension once the age threshold is standardised at 60 years by 2012. Just below 30% of males and females in the general population receive some kind of social grant. Female headed households are much more likely to contain one or more grant beneficiaries than male headed households. On average 31% of the members of female headed households are grant recipients compared to approximately 8% for male headed households.

Female headed households are more dependent on social grants, and it is interesting to note that these households have a lower mean ratio of economically active household members to household members aged 15 to 65 years of age than male headed households. A lower employment ratio (the proportion of employed household members between the ages of 15 and 65 as a proportion of all household members in this age category) confirms the reliance on social grants and remittances, as does the unemployment ratio (the ratio of unemployed individuals to all individuals in the age category 15–65 years of age). The relative disadvantage of female headed households is further borne out by the observation that 43% contain not a single employed household member, compared to a figure of 22% for male headed households. Although this might be associated with the fact that many male and particularly female headed households are headed by pensioners, it raises serious questions about their vulnerability to poverty and hunger as many studies have linked the presence of employed individuals in households to improvements living conditions.

The literacy rate for persons over the age of 20 years has been improving steadily for males and females in South Africa. Males over the age of 20 years of age are still slightly more likely than females in the same age group to be literate (according to the definition used, to have completed at least a primary school education), but the gap between males and females seems to be contraction very rapidly. In fact, when the literacy rates for males and females in the age group 20–39 are considered, it seems as if women have managed to surpass males (90% literacy for males compared to 92% for females in 2009). The largest differences are still noted for the age group over the age of 60 years. Large inequality is however revealed when the educational outcomes between population groups are considered. While more than 80% of whites and 63% of Indians have completed secondary school, the figure is only 35% for coloureds and 22% for Africans. Although a smaller proportion of females than males in the age group above 20 years old have completed secondary school, women are making rapid progress and the difference can be expected to disappear in time. This is once again confirmed by the observation that gender parity has been achieved for the age groups 7–13 and 14–17, and that the number of females attending education institutions in actual fact surpasses the number of males at school in these age groups. The poor state of African education for children in the age group 14–18 is highlighted by the high proportion of children who still attend primary school when they should be in secondary school. The observation is confirmed by the observation that 26% of males and 16% of females have not achieved grade 7 by the time they turned 15 years old, and that a even larger 38% of males and 23% of females have not completed grade 9 by the time they turned 17 years old.

Financial constraints are the principal reasons for dropping out of school for both males and females in the age categories 14–18 and 19–24. Almost a quarter of boys in the younger age group dismissed education as ‘not useful’, while girls were more likely to identify family related reasons than boys in both age groups. Fourteen per cent of girls blamed pregnancy for dropping out of school.

The study shows very little variation between the types of dwellings inhabited by male and female headed households. Three quarters of both male and female headed households resided in formal structures. A smaller proportion of women than men however live in formal structures (72% compared to 77%) and a much larger proportion of women inversely live in traditional dwellings.

Female headed households were however much more likely than male headed households to fully or partially own the dwelling unit they were living in. Male headed households were however more likely to have access to water, sanitation, refuse removal and electricity than female headed households. Male and female headed households had similar access to telephones (either fixed line or cellphone) in the dwelling but male headed households were much more likely than female headed households to have access to an internet connection at home.

4.11 Policy recommendations

Indicators alone do not produce gender equality, but they do provide users with some tools to measure and assess progress and shortcomings. This chapter has attempted to provide a very brief overview of some of the most relevant gender sensitive-indicators. Many more have however been left untouched, perhaps for other researchers to analyse. The analysis suggests that real, though sometimes uneven, progress has been made in achieving greater gender equality. Statistics however often hide as much as they reveal and it is important to further unpack existing indicators while actively engaging subject specialist regarding the development of new ones. This process could include better ways of measuring gender specific dimensions such as poverty.

Households remain the primary agents for socialisation of children and household based care is increasingly becoming more important for the provision of care and support to vulnerable individuals, including the elderly, people living with disabilities, orphans, and HIV and AIDS sufferers. The analysis however confirms that the burden is often disproportionately carried by female headed households, which in turn are much more likely to have lower household income and which rely more on social grants than male headed households. Additional support is perhaps needed for households in which the potential burden as indicated by the total and child dependency ratios are so severe. The important role of elderly female heads of households in raising their grandchildren is stressed by the existence of skip-generation households in particularly rural provinces. It is vital that authorities ensure that particularly child support grants are used in the households where the children live, rather than by the parents who might be living elsewhere. African female headed households are much more vulnerable to hunger than either African male headed households, or indeed households headed by heads from other population groups. This vulnerability can be associated with a combination of low income and high dependencies and can only be addressed by using a multidimensional approach. Part of the solution is however to improve households’ participation in agricultural activity. By increasing the scale household might be enabled to not only produce food for own consumption, but also to supplement households income.

Although females' access to education have improved tremendously over the past eight years, even surpassing the outcomes registered by males, the study raises concerns about the apparent deterioration of male outcomes. Although many males remain at school well into their early twenties, they take longer to complete certain milestone grades (grade 5 and grade 7 was used in the analysis), and they are eventually forced to leave school without a completed education for a variety of reasons, often financial in nature. Young people without at least a secondary education have very few opportunities of finding any decent jobs in this depressed economy. Financial constraints and poor academic performance are given as common reasons for why males and females do not continue with education after completing secondary school. Ways have to be found to mediate and fund post-school training, including but not primarily at universities, for individuals who cannot afford it, while making allowance for those individuals who might need some remedial attention.

While females access to and mastery of primary and secondary education has improved greatly, access to labour markets still seem more restricted. It is disturbing to note that up to a fifth of male and 44% of female headed households do not contain a single employed adult member. This state of affairs will have to be addressed as a matter of urgency as children living in households without employed adults have been shown to be more likely to be poorly educated and socialised.

4.12 References

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SOCIAL PROFILE OF OLDER PERSONS 2002–2009

5.1 Background

Older persons are a primary target group for service delivery. This group has, perhaps more than any other generation, borne the brunt of a system in which the majority of people were deprived of adequate education, employment and socio-economic opportunities which conspired to relegate them to chronic structural poverty. Women were additionally burdened by being relegated to lowly positions in their rural and cultural settings (Makiwane and Kwizera, 2006). Without the means to break free of the bondage of poverty the majority of older people were unable to provide for old age, either through secure retirement benefits (Wachipa, 2006) or indeed by ensuring that their children would flourish. As a result of a lifetime of being disadvantaged, the society has no other option but to assist older persons.

Recognising the many challenges and past discrimination faced by older people, the **White Paper on Social Welfare** (1997) addresses the constitutional mandate to protect the human rights of older people by removing all forms of racial discrimination and by addressing inequality in government funded services. Ageing is recognized as an inevitable life stage which bring with it special needs. The developmental paradigm aims to enable older persons to live active, healthy and independent lives for as long as possible.

The high standard of life enjoyed by particularly white people before 1994 was at odds with the poverty and disadvantage faced by so many black South Africans. Institutional care favoured by pre-1994 governments is also expensive and at odds with the principle of 'participatory social welfare' outlined in the White Paper on Social Welfare (Republic of South Africa, 1997). Services are therefore increasingly shifted from primarily institutional care to community-based care with a view to keep older people in their communities for as long as possible. The **Older Persons' Act, No. 13 of 2006**, aims to establish a framework to empower and protect older persons and to maintain and promote their status, rights, well-being, safety and security.

Old Age Pensions form the primary support mechanism to older persons. The grant is a non-contributory, means tested grant that is presently paid over to approximately 2,6 million persons over the age of 60 years of age (South African Social Security Agency, 2010).

Older persons were defined by the Older Persons' Act, No. 13 of 2006, as persons who are, in the case of males, 65 years or older, and in the case of women, 60 years or older. This differentiation clearly impacted on men's eligibility to access the old age grant and the provision was successfully challenged in 2006 on the grounds that the differentiation based on age and gender was unfair and in direct opposition to the equality clause in the Constitution (Wachipa, 2006). The discrepancy was corrected through the Social Assistance Amendment Act, No. 6 of 2008, in which the eligibility age for men was incrementally reduced from 65 to 63 in 2008, 61 in 2009 and finally, 60 in 2010. Although there does not seem to be a standard United Nations numerical criterion, the UN generally uses 60 as the commencement of old age (WHO, undated).

Although old age grants, which currently amount to R 1 010 per month, are paid to individuals, various authors (Wachipa, 2006; Lombard and Kruger, 2009) have remarked on its important contribution to household income and its role as a safety net to other household members. Old age grants are often the only source of income for households and there is pressure on pensioners to share their grants with unemployed family and children (May, 2008; Eckley, in Lombard and Kruger, 2009: 126). In addition to providing a source of income and alleviating poverty in many households, it has also been shown to improve household's access to basic services. Sharing the meagre grant with unemployed family members might however severely diminish its per capita effect. A qualitative study quoted by May (2003: 35) shows that old age pensions were shared when older persons were living in multi-generation households while this was not the case when older persons were living alone.

Older persons are extremely vulnerable to disease, and their health is often affected by poor nutrition, quality access to medical care and poverty. All South Africans are entitled to free primary health care services. In addition, older persons who are beneficiaries of old age grants are eligible to receive free secondary health care services at public hospitals (Burns, in Lombard and Kruger, 2009). Only a small proportion of the elderly have access to medical schemes.

As individuals age they often lose spouses, siblings and parents, thus diminishing their support structures (May, 2003). The observations are strongly associated to gender and population group. Widowhood tends to increase with age as women live longer on average than men do and since they also tend to marry men older than themselves. According to Makiwane and Kwizera (2006) the vast majority of older persons live in multi-generational households with younger relatives, while a significant proportion live in so-called skip-generation households with grand-children. The composition of households is caused by serious social disruptions, including HIV and AIDS, and perpetuates older person's roles as financial contributors, but also increasingly as prime care-givers to sick children and perhaps orphaned grand-children (see Lombard and Kruger, 2009: 124).

The serious socio-economic disadvantages of older persons in South Africa are compounded by the considerable increase in the absolute and relative numbers of older people in South Africa. This phenomenon is known as 'population ageing' and results when fertility declines in conjunction with an increase in the proportion of people who reach old age. Statistics South Africa (2010) estimates that there were approximately 3,8 million older people in South Africa in 2010. This comprises 7,6% of the total population, making it one of he countries will the largest proportion of older populations on the African continent. One estimate by the US Bureau of the Census (In Cohen and Menken, 2006) state that the proportion of older people will increase to 12,4% of the total population by 2030. A single figure for South Africa necessarily hides the significant variation between population groups. While the older people comprise 3,9% of the African and 6,8% of the coloured population, it is significantly higher for Indians (11,4%) and whites (20,3%).

An important limitation of this chapter is that it does not cover older people who live in institutions, as many older people do.

5.2 Profile of older people in South Africa

For the purposes of this report, older persons are defined as all individuals over the age of 60 years. Older persons from African descent comprise 64% of the total population over 60 years in South Africa, followed by whites (24%), Coloureds (9%) and Indians (4%). Almost 40% of all older persons can be found in Gauteng, followed by almost a quarter in the Western Cape. The elderly population of Limpopo comprises only 1,5% of the total elderly population of South Africa. The provincial distribution of older persons by population group and province is presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Provincial distribution of older persons by population group, 2009

Province	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Total		Provincial distribution
	%	%	%	%	Percent	N (000)	
Western Cape	8,6	46,5	0,7	44,2	100,0	468	23,0
Eastern Cape	82,3	5,0	0,8	11,9	100,0	577	7,6
Northern Cape	43,5	35,7	0,0	20,8	100,0	99	2,3
Free State	73,5	2,1	0,2	24,2	100,0	222	6,0
KwaZulu-Natal	71,9	0,9	13,4	13,8	100,0	718	11,1
North West	84,4	1,1	0,4	14,2	100,1	282	4,4
Gauteng	47,8	2,4	3,6	46,3	100,1	780	40,2
Mpumalanga	79,6	0,5	2,7	17,2	100,0	204	3,9
Limpopo	95,2	0,3	0,8	3,8	100,1	369	1,5
South Africa elderly	**63,5**	**8,5**	**3,8**	**24,2**	**100,0**	**3 719**	**100,0**
South Africa all ages	**79,4**	**9,0**	**2,6**	**9,1**	**100,0**	**49 382**	**–**

Africans comprise the majority of the elderly populations in 6 of the 9 provinces. Due to the much older profile of the white population (24% are elderly), whites comprise substantial proportions of the older populations in the provinces where sizeable proportions of whites are located, namely the Western Cape, Gauteng and the Northern Cape.

5.3 Household characteristics and living arrangements

The role of older persons in the households has changed tremendously over the past decades as a result of issues such as labour migration, poverty and recently also HIV and AIDS. Many families are severely disjointed and unable to look after the well-being of older persons, as it has traditionally been assumed the extended family and community will (Fernandez-Castilla, in Lombard and Kruger, 2009), and older persons are in fact increasingly required to play an active care and support role in their respective households. The proportion of households that are headed by older persons is presented in Table 3.2. The proportion of older person headed households have increased slightly from 18,7% in 2002 to just over 21% by 2009. The Eastern Cape (26,4%) have the highest proportion of these households, followed by the Northern Cape (23%), and a clutch of provinces where more than a fifth of households are headed by older persons. Gauteng has the smallest proportion of these households, probably due to the high rates of in-migration by younger individuals. Although not represented in a table, it is interesting to note that the households headed by older persons contain just under a quarter (24%) of all persons in South Africa.

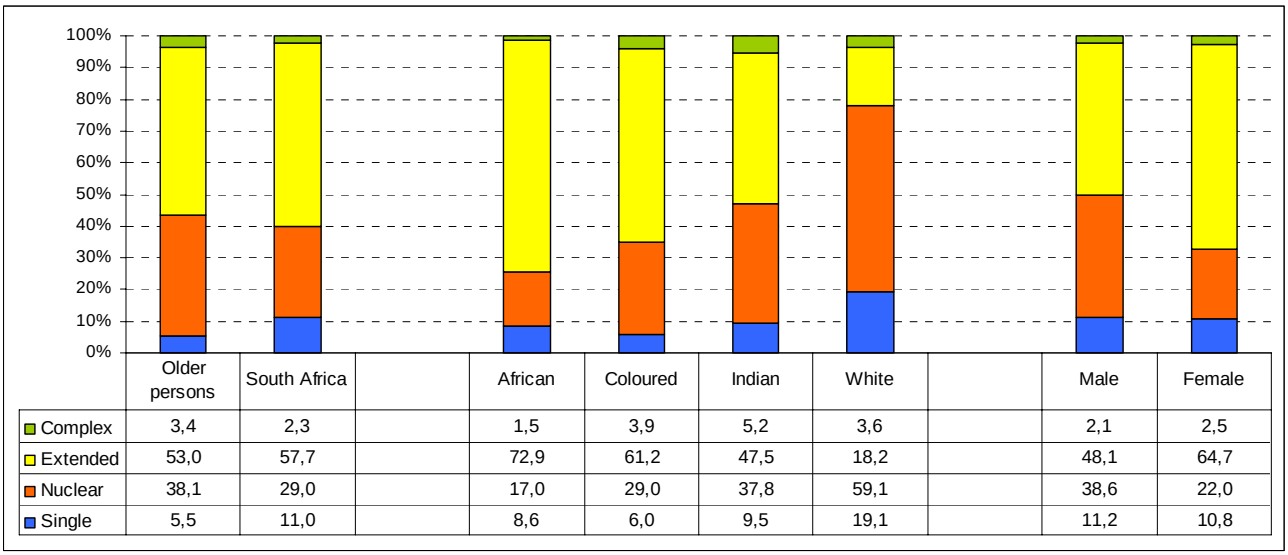
Table 3.2: Distribution of households headed by older persons by province, 2002–2009

Province	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Western Cape	17,6	17,2	17,9	18,1	18,5	20,7	21,0	21,7
Eastern Cape	26,3	26,8	27,1	26,1	25,8	25,6	26,6	26,4
Northern Cape	20,3	19,5	21,4	20,3	21,0	21,9	24,0	23,3
Free State	16,7	17,3	16,9	18,3	19,0	19,3	19,2	19,3
KwaZulu-Natal	20,1	21,3	20,7	21,6	20,1	20,3	21,0	21,4
North West	18,7	18,9	20,2	19,7	19,7	19,0	22,3	22,4
Gauteng	13,5	13,1	13,9	14,3	14,4	14,6	15,3	15,5
Mpumalanga	18,0	17,8	18,1	16,2	17,0	16,9	16,7	16,8
Limpopo	20,6	20,5	20,4	21,2	20,5	21,0	20,9	20,9
South Africa	**18,7**	**18,8**	**19,1**	**19,2**	**19,0**	**19,3**	**20,0**	**21,1**
N (000)	**2 055**	**2 134**	**2 236**	**2 314**	**2 367**	**2 491**	**2 667**	**2 782**

An examination of the relationship to the head of the household provides interesting information on the residential and living arrangements of older persons. Statistics South Africa distinguishes between the following categories: head; husband, wife or partner; son, daughter, stepchild, adopted child; brother, sister, stepsister; father, mother, stepmother, stepfather; grandparent; great grandparent; grandchild, great grandchild; other relatives and finally, non-related persons. An analysis of this data allows one to establish with whom older persons are living. Figure 3.1 presents the distribution of older persons according to their relationship to the head of the household within four broad household types – namely: single person, nuclear, extended and complex or non-related households. Nuclear households are defined as households consisting of one or more parents and/or their children. When other family members are added to the nucleus, it is considered an extended household. The complex or non-related households consists of all households in which one or more non-related individuals are considered members.

It is clear from Figure 3.1 that the majority of South Africans live within families of at least two persons. It is interesting to note that less than half the proportion of older people as compared to the South African population as a whole (5,5% compared to 11%) live alone, while a substantially larger proportion live in nuclear households. Some authors argue that the present household living arrangements may be positively associated with income and that separate living arrangements will generally rise when income does, and vice a versa (Amoateng, Heaton and Kulule-Sabiti, 2007). This hypothesis is seemingly supported by the observation that almost 20% of white older persons lived alone while a further 60% lived in nuclear households, whereas the majority of persons in the poorer population groups (particularly Africans and coloureds) were predominantly living in extended households in which resources could be shared more easily. Although similar proportions of males and females live alone, a larger proportion of males live in nuclear households. It is interesting to note that only about 2% of older persons live with non-relatives in complex households.

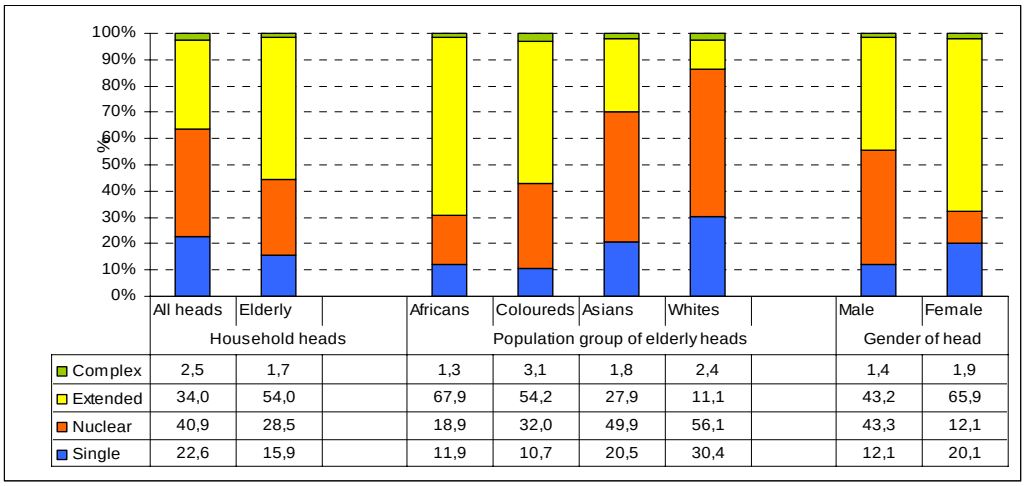
Figure 3.1: Distribution of older persons across different household types, 2009



	Older persons	South Africa		African	Coloured	Indian	White		Male	Female
Complex	3,4	2,3		1,5	3,9	5,2	3,6		2,1	2,5
Extended	53,0	57,7		72,9	61,2	47,5	18,2		48,1	64,7
Nuclear	38,1	29,0		17,0	29,0	37,8	59,1		38,6	22,0
Single	5,5	11,0		8,6	6,0	9,5	19,1		11,2	10,8

Figure 3.2 explores the composition of households headed by older persons. Although the distribution of households is very similar to that discussed in Figure 3.1, some of the observations are accentuated. More than half of all elderly headed households can be categorised as extended households, while almost a third can best be described as nuclear. It would seem as if households headed by older persons are more likely to be larger than households in the general population. Considerable variation is noticeable between various racial groups. Whereas the majority of African and coloured households are extended, these types of households constitute less than 28% of Indian and approximately 11% white households. Almost a third of all white older persons headed households are single compared to less than 19% of coloured and 12% of African households. A relatively small proportion of elderly households across all population groups contain non-relatives.

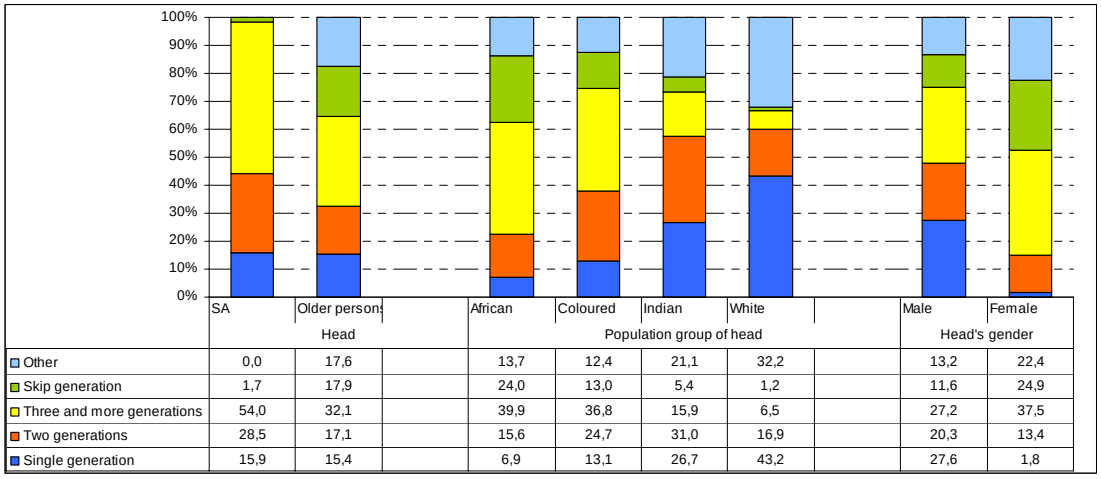
Figure 3.2: Household composition of households headed by older people, 2009



	All heads	Elderly	Africans	Coloureds	Asians	Whites	Male	Female
	Household heads		Population group of elderly heads				Gender of head	
Complex	2,5	1,7	1,3	3,1	1,8	2,4	1,4	1,9
Extended	34,0	54,0	67,9	54,2	27,9	11,1	43,2	65,9
Nuclear	40,9	28,5	18,9	32,0	49,9	56,1	43,3	12,1
Single	22,6	15,9	11,9	10,7	20,5	30,4	12,1	20,1

Figure 3.3 summarises the distribution of older person headed households according to whether they contain individuals from different generations. It is clear that the majority of households in South Africa contain at least two (28,5%) or three or more generations (54%). By comparison, only 17% of households headed by older people contain two generations while almost a third contain three or more generations. It is important to note that almost 18% of households headed by older persons can be categorised as skip-generation households in which the older person is most likely living with his/her grandchildren. Households headed by Africans are most likely to be skip-generation, followed by those headed by coloureds. By contrast to the largely multi-generational households inhabited by particularly Africans and coloureds, more than 40% of whites and just over 31% of Indians live in single generation households. It is interesting to notice that less than 2% of females live in single generation households, compared to 28% of males. This can perhaps be ascribed to the assumption that females will only become heads of their respective households in the absence, due to death or otherwise, of their male partners or spouses.

Figure 3.3: Household composition of households headed by older people, by population group and gender, 2009

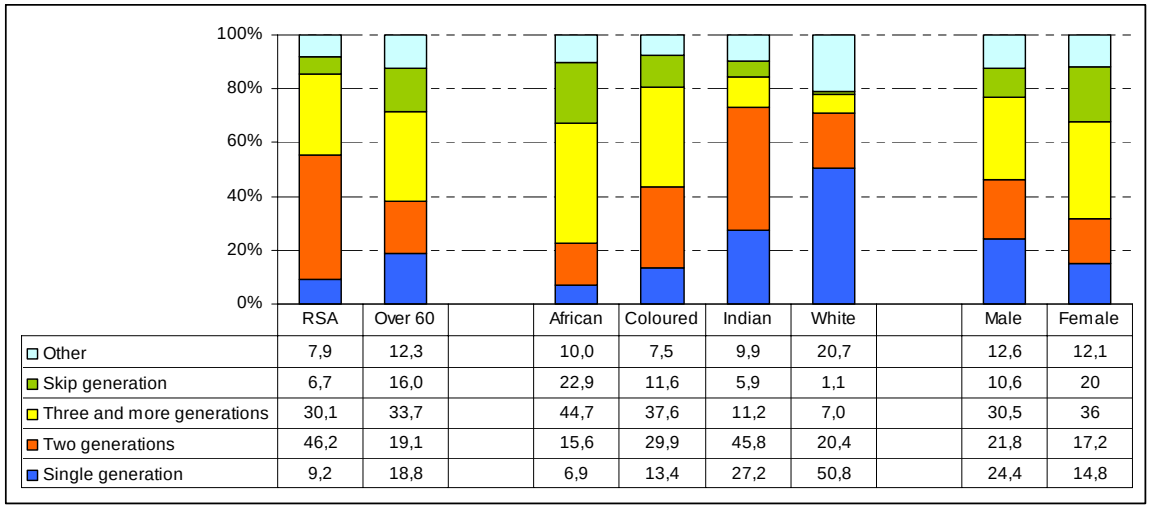


	SA	Older persons	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Male	Female
	Head		Population group of head				Head's gender	
Other	0,0	17,6	13,7	12,4	21,1	32,2	13,2	22,4
Skip generation	1,7	17,9	24,0	13,0	5,4	1,2	11,6	24,9
Three and more generations	54,0	32,1	39,9	36,8	15,9	6,5	27,2	37,5
Two generations	28,5	17,1	15,6	24,7	31,0	16,9	20,3	13,4
Single generation	15,9	15,4	6,9	13,1	26,7	43,2	27,6	1,8

It is interesting to notice from Figure 3.3 that households headed by white older persons and females in general are most likely to be comprised of non related individuals than households headed by heads from other population groups and males respectively. This could perhaps suggest that elderly people are being isolated socially, but also that they are combining their resources.

Since many older persons live in households headed by different generations of people, it is perhaps important to explore the distribution of older people across these households. The proportion of older persons living with children, grandchildren or perhaps siblings and even parents is presented in Figure 3.4. The importance of extended households is stressed by the observation that more than a third of older persons live in households that contain three or more generations while an additional 18% live in so-called skip-generation households with their grandchildren. Less than a fifth of the elderly still live with either their children or perhaps even their parents in households that contain two generations. Considerable variation is evident when population groups are compared. Whereas more than seven-tenths of white elderly people live in single or bi-generation households, this is true of less than 22% of African and approximately 43% of coloured elderly. The large proportion of whites living in 'other' households is noticeable. This category comprises all households in which older persons did not live with either siblings and/or spouses (as in a single generation households) or with their parents, children and/or grandchildren. Older Africans are much more likely than any of their counterparts to live in skip-generation households.

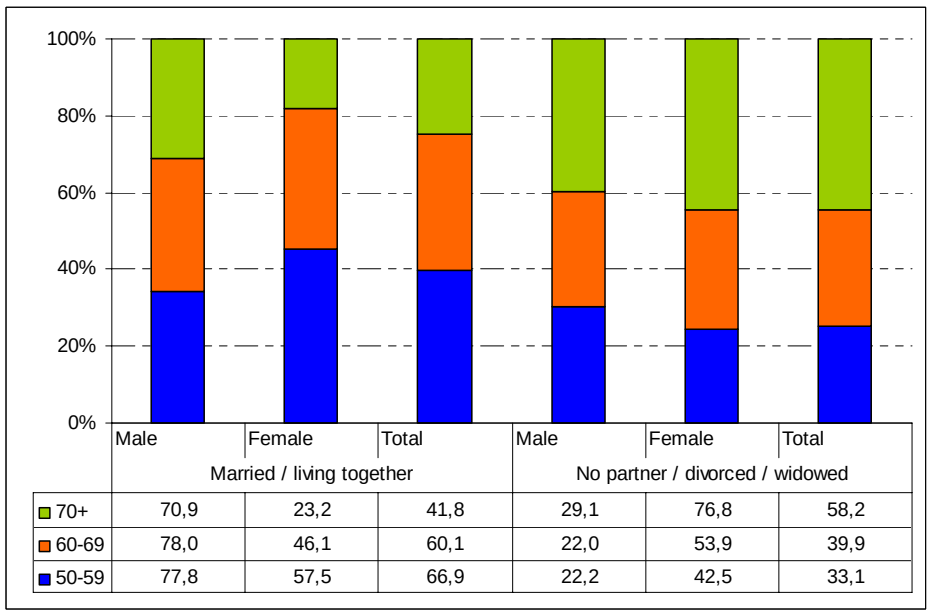
Figure 3.4: Distribution of older persons across different household types, by population group and gender, 2009



	RSA	Over 60		African	Coloured	Indian	White		Male	Female
Other	7,9	12,3		10,0	7,5	9,9	20,7		12,6	12,1
Skip generation	6,7	16,0		22,9	11,6	5,9	1,1		10,6	20
Three and more generations	30,1	33,7		44,7	37,6	11,2	7,0		30,5	36
Two generations	46,2	19,1		15,6	29,9	45,8	20,4		21,8	17,2
Single generation	9,2	18,8		6,9	13,4	27,2	50,8		24,4	14,8

An abridged description of the marital or relationship status of older people across different age groups is presented in Figure 3.5. The figure reveals a striking gender difference. While the proportion of males who are married or living together decrease slightly from 78% during their fifties to just below 71% above seventy, the proportion of women who are still married or living together drops sharply from 58% during their fifties to less than 25% for women in their seventies. As mentioned in the introduction, this can probably be attributed to the fact that women generally live longer than males combined with the fact that their partners are usually older than they are. The high proportion of individuals who either have no partner, or who are divorced or widowed might point towards inadequate family support networks for these elderly.

Figure 3.5: Marital status of older people by age group and gender, 2009



	Married / living together			No partner / divorced / widowed		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
70+	70,9	23,2	41,8	29,1	76,8	58,2
60-69	78,0	46,1	60,1	22,0	53,9	39,9
50-59	77,8	57,5	66,9	22,2	42,5	33,1

Some general characteristics of older persons headed households and other households that contain older persons are presented in Table 3.3. The information is contextualised by comparing it to information for households headed by individuals aged 18 to 59 years of age as well as households in general.

Table 3.3: Older person headed households by household size, sex of the head, and dependency ratios, 2002–2009

Household characteristics	Indicator	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Mean household size									
Elderly male headed	Average	4,4	4,3	4,2	4,1	3,9	3,9	4,1	4,0
Elderly female headed		4,6	4,4	4,3	4,2	4,1	4,1	4,1	4,0
All older person headed		4,5	4,3	4,2	4,1	4,0	4,0	4,1	4,0
Households with elderly		4,6	4,5	4,4	4,3	4,1	4,1	4,3	4,1
Elderly headed with children		6,3	6,1	6,1	6,0	5,8	5,8	5,9	5,8
Headed by 18–59 year olds		3,6	3,4	3,4	3,4	3,3	3,3	3,5	3,3
South Africa		3,7	3,6	3,5	3,5	3,4	3,4	3,6	3,5
Total dependency ratio									
Elderly male headed	Average ratio	0,852	0,895	0,823	0,870	0,883	0,858	0,866	0,843
Elderly female headed		1,077	1,045	1,008	1,011	0,994	1,047	0,996	1,026
All older person headed		0,960	0,967	0,912	0,938	0,936	0,949	0,928	0,930
Households with elderly		0,946	0,953	0,909	0,925	0,930	0,939	0,919	0,918
Elderly headed with children		1,261	1,280	1,207	1,238	1,230	1,281	1,228	1,243
Headed by 18–59 year old		0,504	0,472	0,464	0,471	0,448	0,449	0,487	0,461
South Africa		0,579	0,553	0,536	0,547	0,527	0,531	0,560	0,541
Old age dependency ratio									
Elderly male headed	Average ratio	0,402	0,412	0,389	0,435	0,462	0,453	0,416	0,439
Elderly female headed		0,343	0,344	0,348	0,352	0,371	0,380	0,359	0,381
All older person headed		0,374	0,379	0,370	0,395	0,419	0,418	0,389	0,411
Households with elderly		0,369	0,372	0,366	0,390	0,410	0,413	0,383	0,404
Elderly headed with children		0,349	0,362	0,348	0,369	0,377	0,396	0,358	0,383
Headed by 18–59 year old		0,011	0,009	0,009	0,010	0,007	0,010	0,011	0,008
South Africa		0,069	0,068	0,067	0,072	0,072	0,075	0,074	0,076
Child dependency ratio									
Elderly male headed	Average ratio	0,451	0,483	0,434	0,434	0,422	0,405	0,450	0,404
Elderly female headed		0,733	0,701	0,660	0,660	0,623	0,666	0,637	0,645
All older person headed		0,586	0,588	0,542	0,543	0,517	0,531	0,539	0,519
Households with elderly		0,577	0,581	0,543	0,535	0,520	0,526	0,537	0,514
Elderly headed with children		0,912	0,918	0,859	0,869	0,854	0,885	0,870	0,859
Headed by 18–59 year old		0,493	0,463	0,454	0,461	0,441	0,439	0,476	0,453
South Africa		0,510	0,485	0,469	0,476	0,455	0,456	0,486	0,465
Older person ratio									
Elderly male headed	Average ratio	0,510	0,516	0,533	0,537	0,546	0,563	0,536	0,548
Elderly female headed		0,399	0,400	0,417	0,428	0,435	0,433	0,428	0,435
All older person headed		0,457	0,461	0,478	0,484	0,493	0,501	0,485	0,494
Households with elderly		0,429	0,437	0,453	0,461	0,472	0,478	0,457	0,474
Elderly headed with children		0,234	0,238	0,242	0,244	0,248	0,248	0,246	0,251
Headed by 18–59 year old		0,008	0,007	0,007	0,007	0,005	0,007	0,007	0,006
South Africa		0,092	0,092	0,097	0,099	0,098	0,102	0,103	0,104
Child ratio									
Elderly male headed	Average ratio	0,193	0,191	0,183	0,182	0,174	0,166	0,182	0,169
Elderly female headed		0,305	0,298	0,285	0,278	0,269	0,274	0,272	0,266
All older person headed		0,247	0,243	0,232	0,228	0,219	0,218	0,225	0,215
Headed by 18–59 year old		0,278	0,263	0,258	0,260	0,255	0,252	0,269	0,258
South Africa		0,277	0,263	0,258	0,258	0,252	0,251	0,265	0,252
Ratio of children to older persons in older person headed households									
Elderly male headed	Average ratio	1,016	0,991	0,930	0,945	0,858	0,830	0,931	0,834
Elderly female headed		1,799	1,689	1,631	1,549	1,495	1,511	1,480	1,442
All older person headed		1,392	1,327	1,263	1,236	1,159	1,156	1,192	1,123

The **mean size** of South African households have been declining very gradually if not unevenly from 3,7 in 2002 to 3,5 in 2009. A virtually parallel decline is noticeable across all the households included for comparative purposes. It is perhaps surprising to note that the mean size of households headed by individuals in the age category 18 to 59, the age in which household formation and procreation normally occurs, is substantially smaller than the mean household size for any of the elderly headed households. In particular, the mean size of multi-generation households that are headed by older persons, but which contain children stood at 5,8 in 2009. By comparison, the mean size of households that merely contain older persons is estimated at 4,1 while the average size for male and female older person headed households was estimated at 4. These observations seem to support the contention that older people are increasingly required to play a more active caring and support role in households.

The **total dependency ratios** resemble the distribution of mean household sizes in that elderly headed households that include children have the highest total dependency ratios (on average 1,3), followed distantly by male and female headed older households as well as households that contain older persons. Households headed by individuals aged between 18 and 59, as well as South African households in general, have the lowest total dependency ratios, at 0,46 and 0,54 respectively. Households headed by older females have a higher total dependency ratio (on average 1) than those headed by older males (on average 0,84).

The **old age dependency ratio** expresses the ratio of household members above 65 years of age to the economically active household members. The ratio has remained constant at very low levels for households headed by 18 to 59 year olds (on average 0,01) and for South African households as a whole (0,07). As can be expected, the ratio increases significantly when dealing with households that are specifically headed by older persons, or indeed contain older persons. Data shows that the age dependency ratio has increased slightly for these households since 2002. The old age dependency ratio for older male headed households are estimated at 0,44 on average compared to an average of 0,38 for older female headed households.

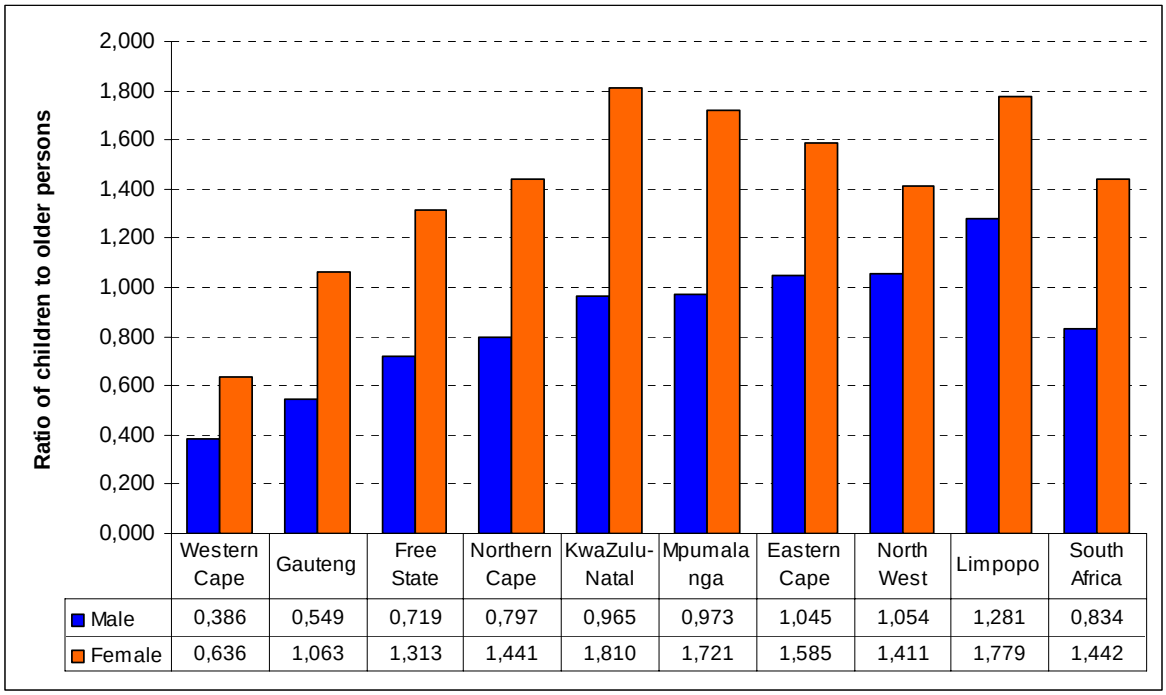
The **proportion of older persons in households** reveals that older persons on average comprise less than 1% of households headed by individuals aged 18 to 59 years of age and a shade under 50% for all older person households. Older persons comprise a larger proportion of older male than older female headed households.

The **child dependency ratio** represents the ratio of household members under the age of 15 to the economically active population. Whereas the old age dependency ratio has been increasing ever so slightly since 2002, an overall decrease in the child dependency ratio has been observed between 2002 and 2008. This is in line with the prolonged decline in fertility observed in South Africa and the subsequent decrease in the child population. Despite these declines, the child dependency ratio for child inclusive households, headed by older persons, remain high at 0,9 while it is estimated at 0,65 for all older female headed households. Older male headed households are most likely to have a smaller proportion of child members.

The picture is elaborated by the **child ratio** which expresses the proportion of children under the age of 18 years of the household size. The proportion of children per household has been declining steadily since 2002. It is evident that children on average comprise more than 40% of child inclusive, older person headed households and approximately a quarter of older female headed households, as well as households in general. Children comprise less than 17% of older male headed households.

Although the **ratio of children to older persons** in older person headed households have declined from 1,4 in 2002 to 1,1 in 2009, this ratio shows the substantial burden carried by older persons, particularly females. Older persons have to support almost 1,5 children for every older person in elderly female headed households. This ratio is expressed by province in Figure 3.6. The figure confirms that older female headed households are much more likely to contain children. The largest ratios are observed in Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga.

Figure 3.6: Ratio of children to older persons in older headed households by gender of the household head and province, 2009



	Western Cape	Gauteng	Free State	Northern Cape	KwaZulu-Natal	Mpumalanga	Eastern Cape	North West	Limpopo	South Africa
Male	0,386	0,549	0,719	0,797	0,965	0,973	1,045	1,054	1,281	0,834
Female	0,636	1,063	1,313	1,441	1,810	1,721	1,585	1,411	1,779	1,442

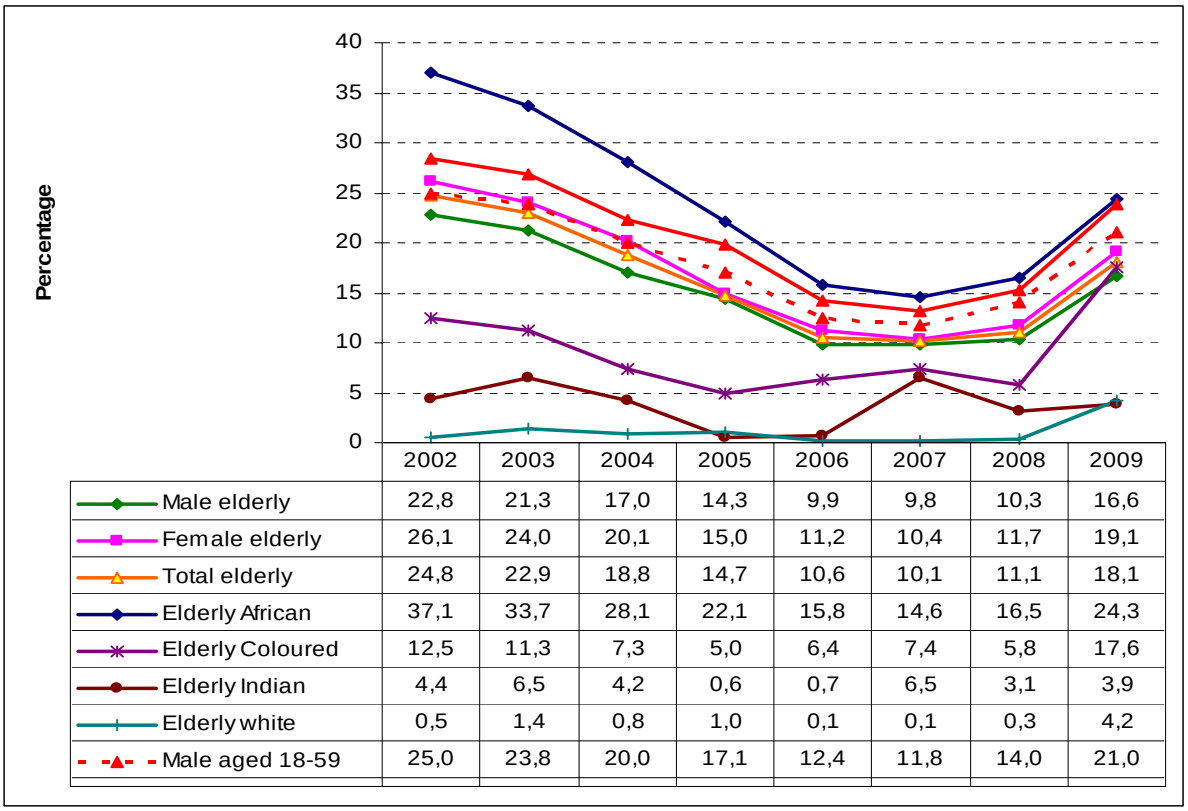
5.4 Vulnerability to hunger

Access to food is essential to human well-being and development. Vulnerability to hunger particularly affects vulnerable groups under a common bond of poverty and is particularly severe under conditions of high inequality and unemployment. Although the interrelationship between hunger and poverty has been studied intensively since the term 'food security' was first coined at the World Food Conference held in Rome during 1974 (Van Zyl, 1992 : 170), the concept is still plagued by imprecise and inconsistent definitions while lacking standard measures to monitor it (Altman et al, 2009).

Access to food is influenced by a variety of factors and a clear understanding of the interactions is vital to identify and implement appropriate policies and programmes. The GHS asks respondents a battery of questions to establish whether any household members experienced hunger during the preceding year and to establish the severity of hunger. Hunger is used as a proxy for inadequate food intake and is associated with not consuming enough food. Although this is definitely more imprecise than variables designed to measure under nutrition, it does provide analysts with the opportunity to explore the relationship between vulnerability to hunger and poverty, and particularly the impact of social grants in alleviating hunger. Households are very sensitive to livelihood shocks and low income households with a large proportion of dependents remain particularly vulnerable.

Figure 3.7 summarises the data on the proportion of older persons living in households that reported hunger during the year preceding the study. This table clearly illustrates the stark disparities that exist with regards to vulnerability to hunger for older persons according to population group. With the exception of 2009, less than 1% of white elderly have reported living in food insecure households for most of the past 8 years. This is in stark contrast to the much higher levels of vulnerability to hunger noticed amongst Africans over the age of 60 years. Whereas approximately 4% of Indian and White elderly indicated living in households that have experienced hunger, the figure jumps to almost 18% for coloured and 24% for African older persons. It must be noted though that the proportion of coloured elderly that reported hunger has thus far been much lower than the figure for Africans. Due to the predominance of Africans among all elderly, as well as in the general population, the proportion of food insecure people from these groups is similarly high.

Figure 3.7: Percentage of elderly living in households that reported hunger, 2002–2009



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male elderly	22,8	21,3	17,0	14,3	9,9	9,8	10,3	16,6
Female elderly	26,1	24,0	20,1	15,0	11,2	10,4	11,7	19,1
Total elderly	24,8	22,9	18,8	14,7	10,6	10,1	11,1	18,1
Elderly African	37,1	33,7	28,1	22,1	15,8	14,6	16,5	24,3
Elderly Coloured	12,5	11,3	7,3	5,0	6,4	7,4	5,8	17,6
Elderly Indian	4,4	6,5	4,2	0,6	0,7	6,5	3,1	3,9
Elderly white	0,5	1,4	0,8	1,0	0,1	0,1	0,3	4,2
Male aged 18-59	25,0	23,8	20,0	17,1	12,4	11,8	14,0	21,0

These patterns however hide significant variation between provinces. This is presented in Table 3.4. The proportion of older persons that live in food insecure households has declined consistently between 2002 and 2007, before increasing relatively sharply to 18% in 2009. Older persons seem to be less prone to be vulnerable to hunger than the population as a whole although the trajectory almost mirrors the pattern for all South Africans. Between 2002 and 2007 the Eastern Cape contained the largest proportion of food insecure older persons while the smallest proportions were generally found in the two richest provinces, Gauteng and Western Cape, and in 2008 also Limpopo and the Free State. After prolonged declines, the proportion of food insecure individuals for the most part started to increase in 2008, none increasing sharper than the Free State where the proportion food insecure elderly seems to have rocketed from 6% in 2008 to more than 30% in 2009. In 2009, the smallest proportion of food insecure older persons was found in Limpopo at 10%, while 12,4% and 12,5% of people in respectively Gauteng and the Western Cape reported vulnerability to hunger.

Table 3.4: Percentage of elderly living in households that reported hunger by province, 2002–2009

Province	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Western Cape	6,8	8,1	4,7	7,1	6,2	6,3	4,8	12,5
Eastern Cape	38,3	34,0	31,8	25,6	16,3	17,3	15,8	18,5
Northern Cape	26,0	13,2	17,2	11,2	10,7	12,7	8,8	16,2
Free State	22,8	19,7	14,2	14,7	9,3	5,7	6,4	31,0
KwaZulu-Natal	29,4	29,7	23,8	14,3	13,3	12,8	15,6	28,3
North West	25,8	28,1	26,6	17,5	14,4	11,6	19,5	18,2
Gauteng	12,8	12,9	8,4	7,9	4,9	6,8	6,2	12,4
Mpumalanga	29,7	28,3	22,1	18,4	9,4	10,8	14,7	17,9
Limpopo	29,3	20,6	15,4	15,7	11,1	5,6	8,0	9,5
All Elderly	**24,8**	**22,9**	**18,8**	**14,7**	**10,6**	**10,1**	**11,1**	**18,1**
South Africa	**29,9**	**28,3**	**23,6**	**20,5**	**14,7**	**13,8**	**16,1**	**24,2**

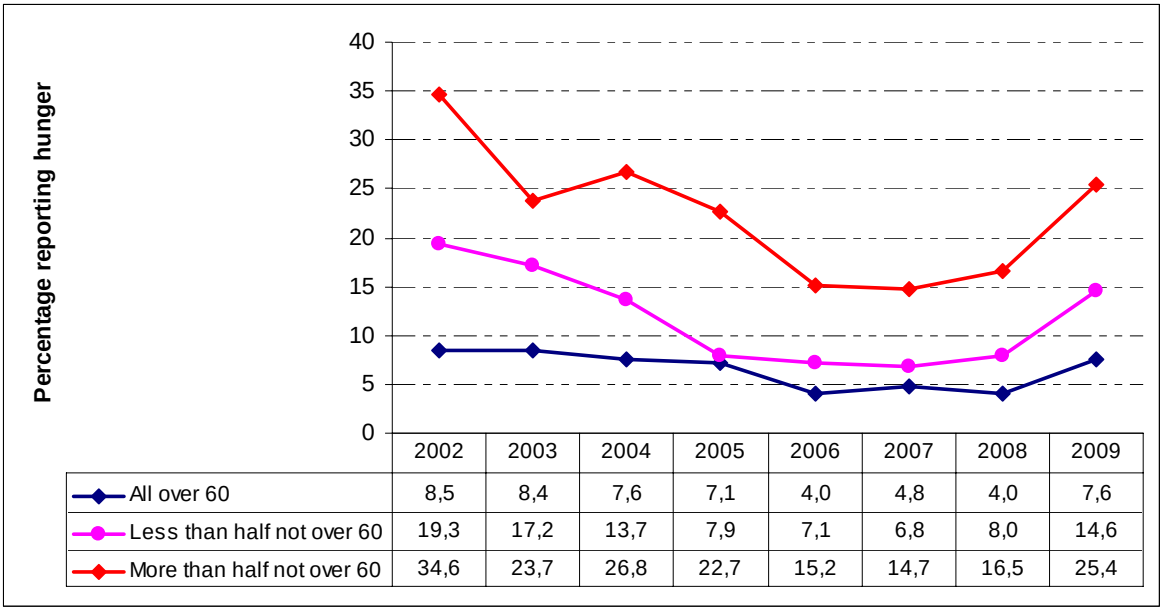
The key to understanding Table 3.5 is to notice that child inclusive elderly headed households are substantially more likely to have suffered vulnerability to hunger than households headed by older males, and that male households are in fact generally less likely to have suffered vulnerability to hunger that households headed by elderly females. Previous tables (see Table 3.3) have shown that female headed households are much more likely to contain children and that together with child inclusive elderly headed households, total dependency ratios are also significantly higher. Suffering from hunger therefore at least partly seems to be a function of the number of people with whom older people have to share their meagre resources.

Table 3.5: Percentage of households that have experienced hunger by characteristics of the elderly household head and the type of household, 2002–2009

Characteristics of head	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Male 60+	21,0	20,6	15,8	13,8	9,1	8,9	9,6	16,3
Female 60+	29,8	28,1	23,0	17,6	12,5	11,9	13,1	21,0
Total 60+	**25,8**	**24,3**	**19,5**	**15,9**	**10,6**	**10,4**	**11,7**	**18,6**
Male 60–69	21,6	20,7	15,2	15,0	10,7	9,0	11,1	17,2
Female 60–69	30,5	30,2	24,3	18,8	12,9	12,3	14,3	21,3
Total 60–69	**25,7**	**25,0**	**19,1**	**16,7**	**11,6**	**10,5**	**12,5**	**19,0**
Male 70+	22,1	19,8	16,5	12,1	6,2	8,1	7,8	14,1
Female 70+	29,5	26,4	23,3	16,7	11,9	12,3	12,9	21,4
Total 70+	**25,9**	**23,2**	**20,2**	**14,6**	**9,3**	**10,4**	**10,5**	**18,0**
Household including elderly	25,2	23,6	19,1	15,5	10,6	10,3	11,7	18,3
Elderly headed with children	35,6	34,4	27,2	21,9	15,1	14,8	16,7	25,9
Adult households	23,2	22,1	17,9	16,0	11,5	10,5	13,3	19,9

Figure 3.8 explores the impact that sharing of resources might have on older persons' vulnerability to hunger status. Using the proportion of elderly per household, three categories were determined according to which 100% of household members were over the age of 60 years, less than half (1%–49%) were not over the age of 60, and finally, the majority (50% and more) were not older persons. It is clear from the figure that older persons living in households that consist exclusively of older persons (this would also include single person households) clearly have a smaller likelihood of suffering vulnerability to hunger than households in which smaller proportions are over the age of 60. In fact, having a smaller proportion of elderly in the household seems to be positively correlated with higher levels of vulnerability to hunger.

Figure 3.8: Percentage of elderly headed households reporting hunger by the proportion of elderly living in them

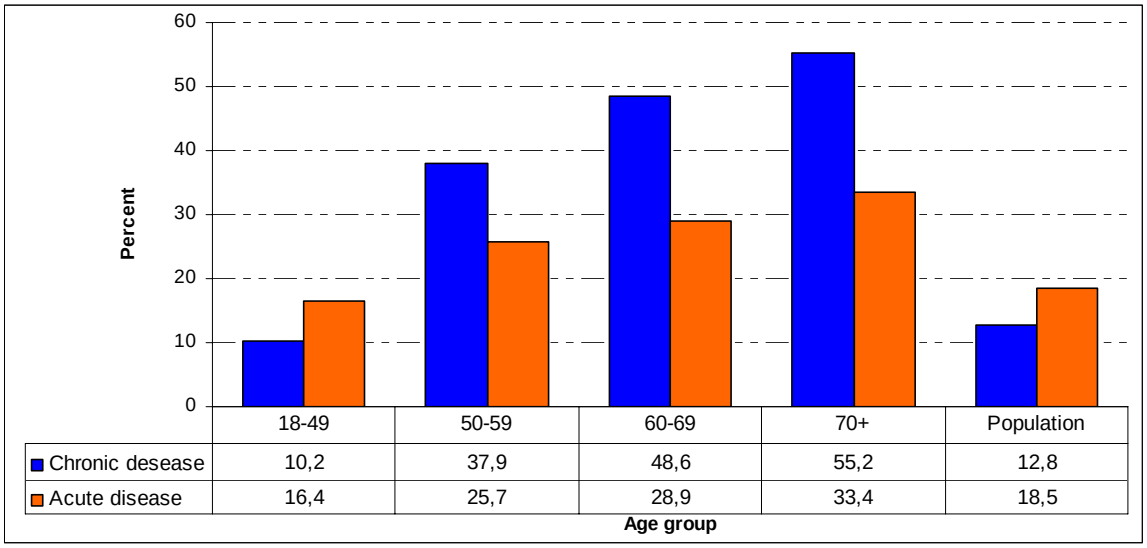


	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
All over 60	8,5	8,4	7,6	7,1	4,0	4,8	4,0	7,6
Less than half not over 60	19,3	17,2	13,7	7,9	7,1	6,8	8,0	14,6
More than half not over 60	34,6	23,7	26,8	22,7	15,2	14,7	16,5	25,4

5.5 Health

South Africa has made good progress in improving the general population's access to health care. In addition to providing free primary health care, beneficiaries of old age grants are eligible to receive free secondary health services at public hospitals. The prevalence of acute and particularly chronic diseases seems to increase with age. Whereas 16% of the individuals in the age group 18 to 49 years of age indicated suffering from an acute condition (illness or injuries) in the month before the survey, the proportion of individuals that have been afflicted by an acute condition increases to 26% for the age group 50–59, 29% for the age group 60–69 and finally 33% for persons above the age of 70. The increased incidence for chronic diseases is even more pronounced, growing from 10% for individuals in the age group 18–49 years to more than 55% for individuals over the age of 70 years of age.

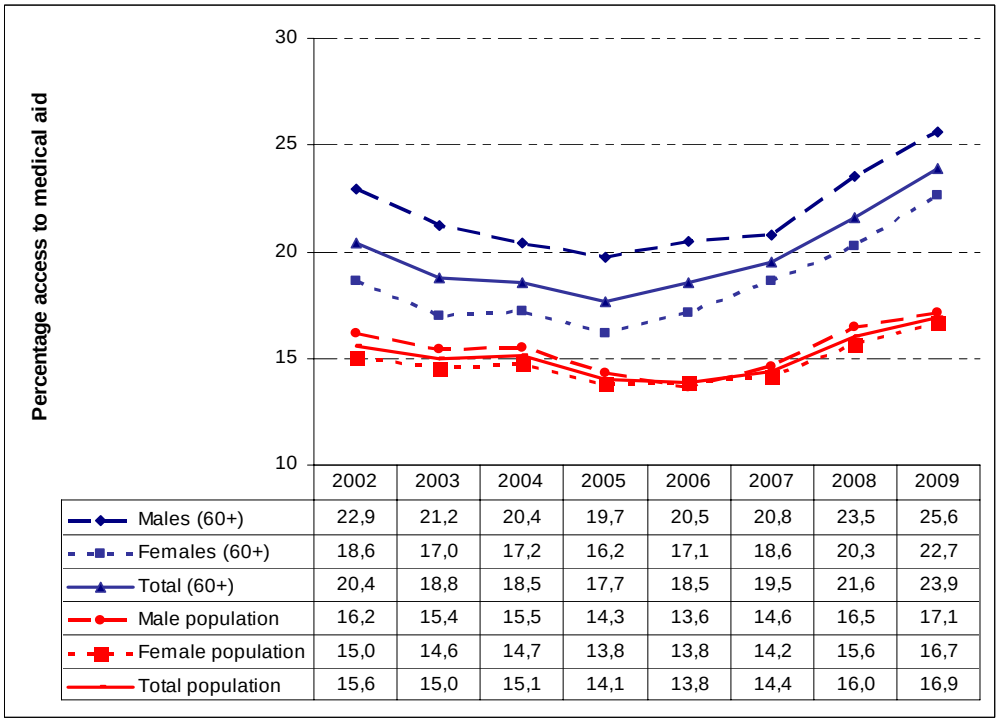
Figure 3.9: Percentage of people suffering from any chronic illness, by age group



	18-49	50-59	60-69	70+	Population
Chronic desease	10,2	37,9	48,6	55,2	12,8
Acute disease	16,4	25,7	28,9	33,4	18,5

The health care system clearly mirrors the greater inequality found in the contemporary society. Although membership of medical schemes have increased slightly since 2005 according to Figure 3.10, less than a quarter (23,9%) of the older population, and only about 17% of South Africans in general were members of or had access to medical aid in 2009. Males are slightly more likely to be members of medical aid schemes than females, perhaps because a larger proportion is employed in the formal sector.

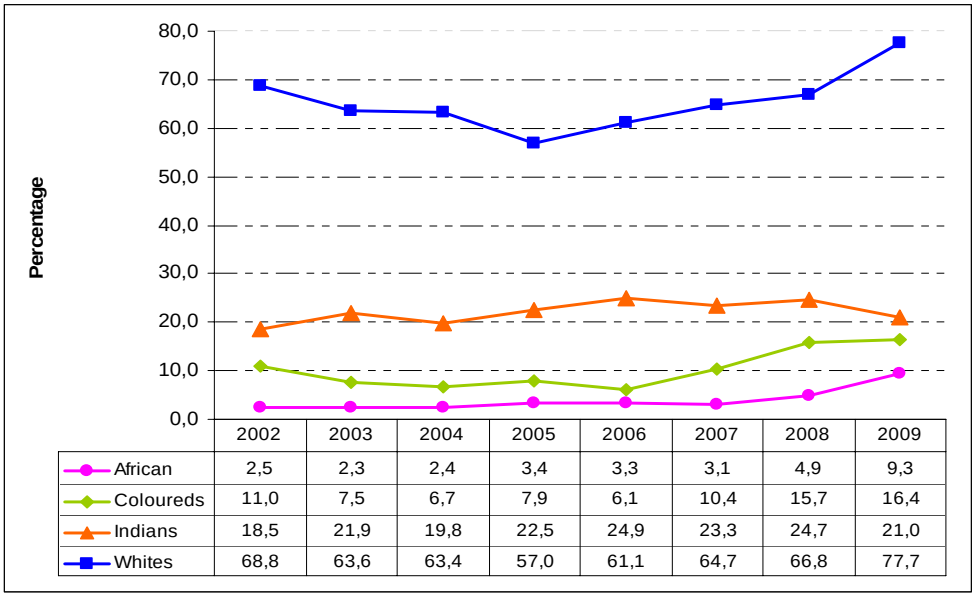
Figure 3.10: Percentage of elderly with access to medical aid, 2002–2009



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Males (60+)	22,9	21,2	20,4	19,7	20,5	20,8	23,5	25,6
Females (60+)	18,6	17,0	17,2	16,2	17,1	18,6	20,3	22,7
Total (60+)	20,4	18,8	18,5	17,7	18,5	19,5	21,6	23,9
Male population	16,2	15,4	15,5	14,3	13,6	14,6	16,5	17,1
Female population	15,0	14,6	14,7	13,8	13,8	14,2	15,6	16,7
Total population	15,6	15,0	15,1	14,1	13,8	14,4	16,0	16,9

The figure however conceals the tremendously unequal access to medical aid by population group. This is presented in Figure 3.11. Whereas more than 65% of whites have on average had access to medical aid between 2002 and 2009, much lower proportions of Indians and coloureds and less than 10% of Africans had access.

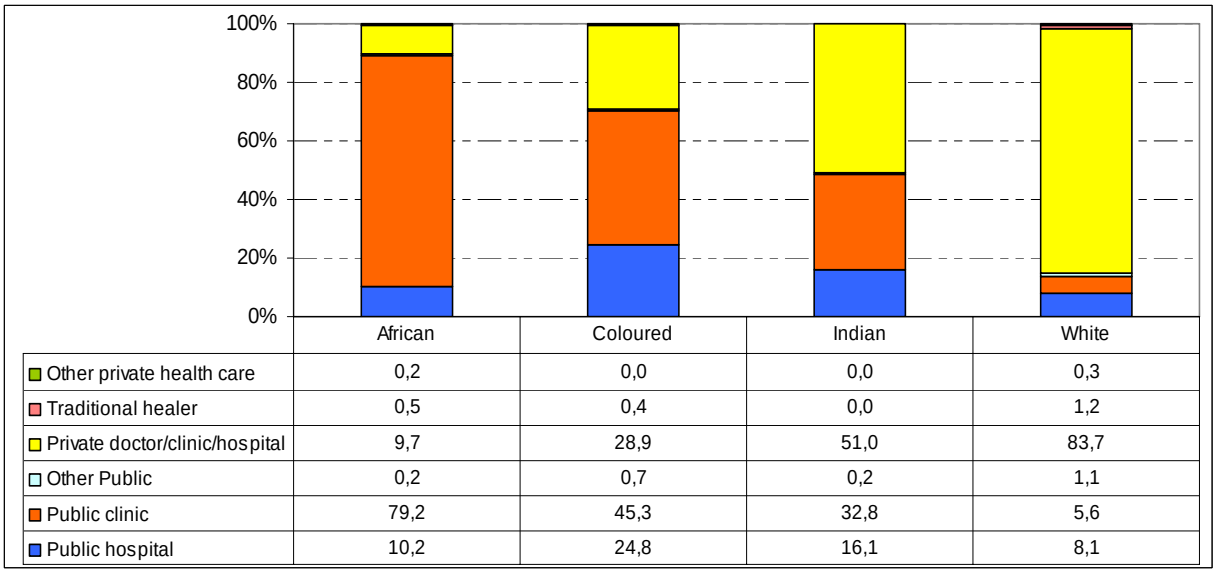
Figure 3.11: Percentage of elderly with access to medical aid by population group, 2002–2009



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
African	2,5	2,3	2,4	3,4	3,3	3,1	4,9	9,3
Coloureds	11,0	7,5	6,7	7,9	6,1	10,4	15,7	16,4
Indians	18,5	21,9	19,8	22,5	24,9	23,3	24,7	21,0
Whites	68,8	63,6	63,4	57,0	61,1	64,7	66,8	77,7

Figure 3.12 outlines the type of health care facilities visited by individuals from different population groups. The relative affluence of whites is clear from the fact that 84% indicated that they would consult a private doctor or go to a private clinic or hospital if needed. This observation is confirmed by the high proportion of whites who indicated having access to a medical scheme in Figure 3.11. Despite the fact that only a fifth of Indians were members of a medical aid scheme in 2009, half indicated that they would nevertheless access private health care if needed. Just below 90% of Africans and approximately 71% of Coloureds indicated use of public health care facilities. It is interesting to note that approximately 29% of coloureds preferred to use more expensive private health care providers to the much cheaper public services. This raises questions about the accessibility or quality of services provided by the public sector.

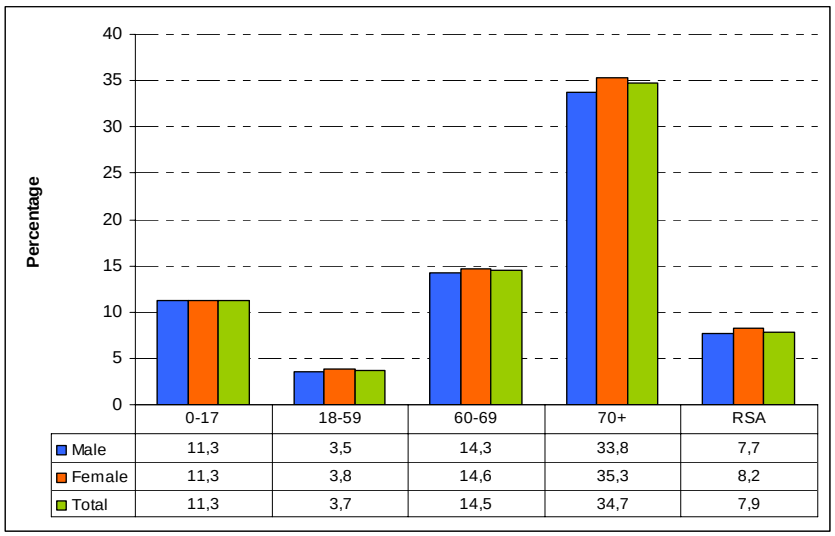
Figure 3.12: Type of health care facility visited by persons over the age of 60 years, 2009



	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Other private health care	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,3
Traditional healer	0,5	0,4	0,0	1,2
Private doctor/clinic/hospital	9,7	28,9	51,0	83,7
Other Public	0,2	0,7	0,2	1,1
Public clinic	79,2	45,3	32,8	5,6
Public hospital	10,2	24,8	16,1	8,1

Like acute injuries and illness and chronic diseases (Figure 3.9), the proportion of people with disabilities also seem to increase sharply with age. This is displayed in Figure 3.13. The proportion of individuals with some disability increases from less than 4% for individuals in the age group 18 to 59, to 15% for the age group 60–69 and 35% for the oldest age group. The proportion of male individuals with disabilities seems to trail the proportion for females by a slight margin.

Figure 3.13: Disability by age group, 2009



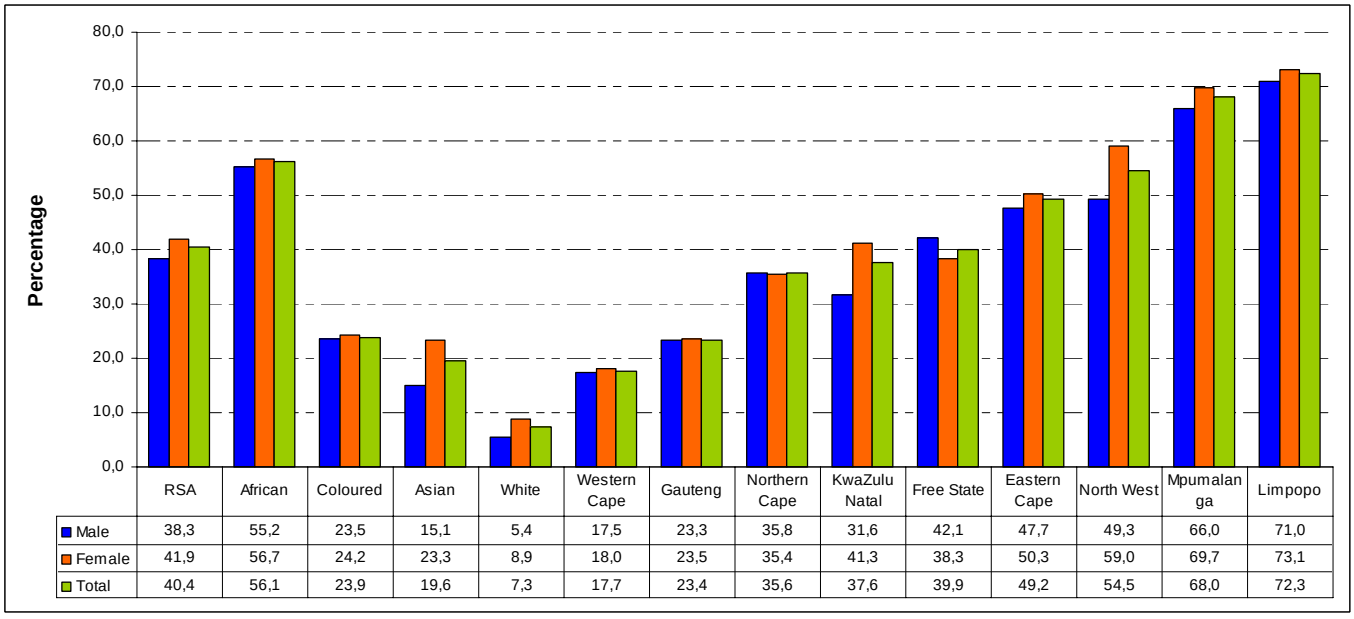
	0-17	18-59	60-69	70+	RSA
Male	11,3	3,5	14,3	33,8	7,7
Female	11,3	3,8	14,6	35,3	8,2
Total	11,3	3,7	14,5	34,7	7,9

5.6 Poverty and social grants

The GHS provides estimates of income earned from employment, government transfers through social grants as well as remittances. Data on other sources such as rent, dividends and interest is however more difficult to obtain. A serious lapse during the 2009 survey was the questionnaire's failure to ask pensioners for the amount of income they were earning from private pensions in addition to the other sources of income. This oversight has been addressed in subsequent questionnaires. However, since private pensions predominantly affects older persons, and in particular wealthy older persons, this means that income for particularly whites will be substantially underestimated, leading to an unusually high proportion of low income white households. The effect on other population groups remains unclear. This uncertainty has lead to a preference for expenditure data in this chapter.

Using household expenditure data can complement the often incomplete and unreliable income data. Expenditure data is collected by asking respondents to indicate their monthly household expenditure using expenditure brackets that have remained consistent across the years. The percentage of older persons who resided in households with a monthly expenditure of less than R1200 per month is presented in Figure 3.14. More than half of elderly Africans lived in low expenditure households compared to approximately 24% of coloureds, 20% of Indians and slightly more than 7% for whites. The smallest proportion of older persons living in low expenditure households are observed in the Western Cape and Gauteng, while the largest proportion of these households are observed in Limpopo, followed very closely by Mpumalanga. It is noticeable that females are persistently more likely to live in low expense households than males.

Figure 3.14: Percentage of older people living in households with monthly expenditure below R1 200 per month by population group and province, 2009



	RSA	African	Coloured	Asian	White	Western Cape	Gauteng	Northern Cape	KwaZulu Natal	Free State	Eastern Cape	North West	Mpumalanga	Limpopo
Male	38,3	55,2	23,5	15,1	5,4	17,5	23,3	35,8	31,6	42,1	47,7	49,3	66,0	71,0
Female	41,9	56,7	24,2	23,3	8,9	18,0	23,5	35,4	41,3	38,3	50,3	59,0	69,7	73,1
Total	40,4	56,1	23,9	19,6	7,3	17,7	23,4	35,6	37,6	39,9	49,2	54,5	68,0	72,3

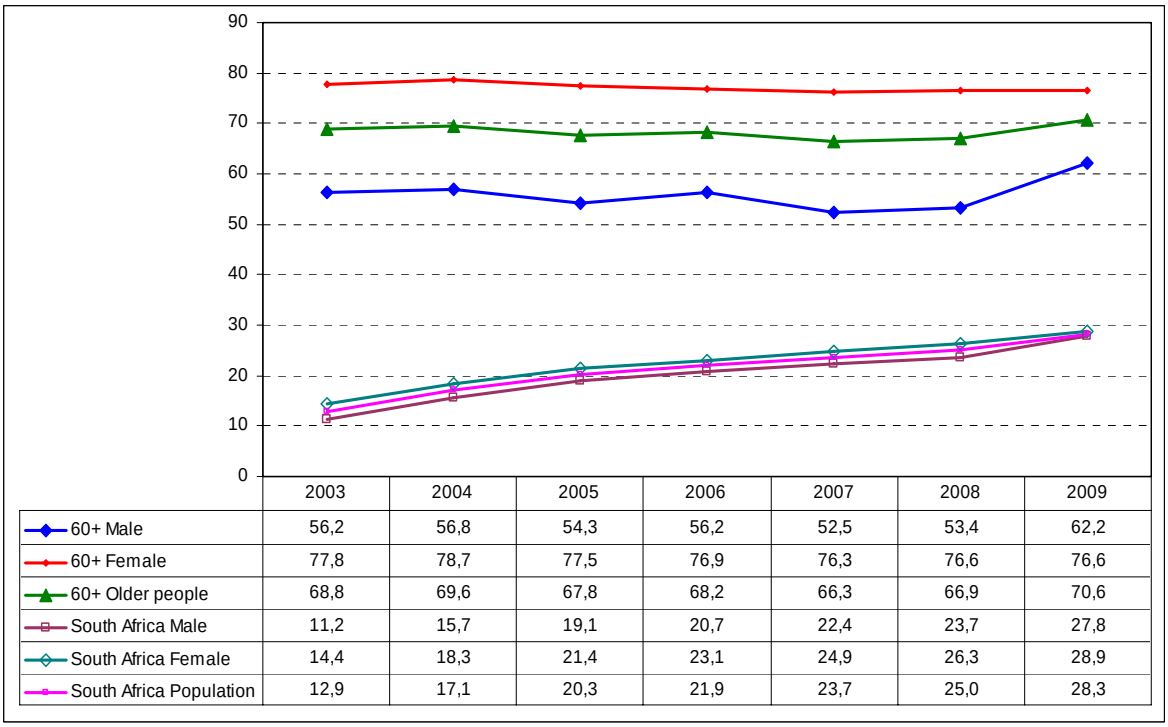
Households usually rely on a variety of income sources, including salaries and wages, government grants, remittances and private pensions. The main sources of income for households between 2002 and 2009 are presented in the Table 3.6. The majority of elderly headed households (67% in 2009) considered grants and pensions as the most important source of income. Approximately 26% of these households listed salaries and/or wages as the main source of income in 2009 while between 4% and 5% has historically identified remittances as the main source of income. The contribution of remittance however seems to be on the wane and has declined to less than 3% in 2009. Very close to one per cent of households claimed to have no income while less than one per cent thought sales of farm products produced the main source of income.

Table 3.6: Main sources of income for households headed by older persons, 2002–2008

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Salaries and/or wages	25,4	22,7	21,8	25,0	24,35	27,81	27,0	25,6
Remittances	4,9	5,2	4,9	4,0	3,8	4,5	4,2	2,5
Pensions and Grants	62,3	65,5	65,2	63,9	66,07	62,6	64,6	66,5
Sales of farm products	0,7	0,8	1,0	0,8	0,87	0,82	0,7	0,1
Other non farm income	5,4	4,9	6,4	5,8	3,86	3,14	2,7	5,1
No income	1,4	1,1	0,7	0,5	1,05	1,04	0,8	0,3
Total	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**
N (000)	**2 050**	**2 130**	**2 234**	**2 302**	**2 340**	**2 483**	**2 658**	**2 682**

The proportion of older people that are beneficiaries to any kind of social grant is presented in Figure 3.15. According to the data the proportion of older persons who accesses grants has floated between 66% and 70% during the period 2002 to 2008 before increasing to 71% in 2009. A larger proportion of females than males are grant beneficiaries. Much of the difference is due to the fact that males have historically only been entitled to apply for social grants at the age of 65 compared to 60 years for women. Following a constitutional court challenge, the eligibility age for men was incrementally reduced from 65 to 63 in 2008, 61 in 2009 and finally, 60 in 2010. The subsequent increase in the number of males becoming eligible for, and receiving old age grants can clearly be seen. As can be expected, elderly people are much more likely to be recipients of some kind of social grant that the general population. Whereas 70% of older persons received some kind of government transfer in 2009, the corresponding figure for the general population was 28%.

Figure 3.15: Percentage of elderly accessing social grants compared to the total population, by gender, 2003–2009



	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
60+ Male	56,2	56,8	54,3	56,2	52,5	53,4	62,2
60+ Female	77,8	78,7	77,5	76,9	76,3	76,6	76,6
60+ Older people	68,8	69,6	67,8	68,2	66,3	66,9	70,6
South Africa Male	11,2	15,7	19,1	20,7	22,4	23,7	27,8
South Africa Female	14,4	18,3	21,4	23,1	24,9	26,3	28,9
South Africa Population	12,9	17,1	20,3	21,9	23,7	25,0	28,3

The importance of social grants as a mechanism to support households and to ameliorate poverty is explored in Table 3.7 by looking at the proportion of grant recipients in each household by the characteristics of the household or the head of the household. The proportion of grant recipients of all household members for all older person headed households have increased from a third in 2003 to 47% in 2009. The proportion of grant recipients is higher for female than for male headed households. The proportion of grant recipients in elderly headed households, with children, has risen particularly noticeably since 2007. This increase coincides with the extension of the eligibility age for the Child Support Grant. As can be expected, a relatively small proportion of households headed by individuals in the age group 18 to 59 years of age are grant recipients.

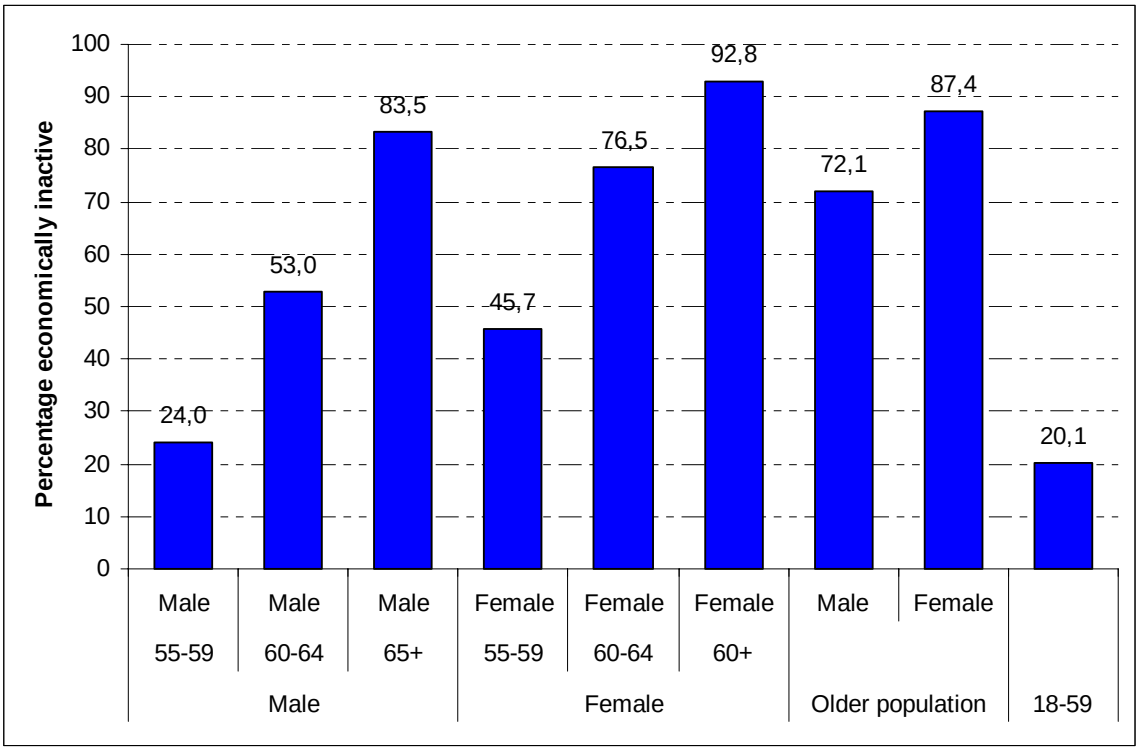
Table 3.7: Proportion of grant recipients by household

Household characteristics	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Average ratio							
Male headed	0,331	0,357	0,374	0,423	0,400	0,401	0,453
Female headed	0,367	0,400	0,457	0,456	0,470	0,486	0,513
All older person headed	0,333	0,365	0,401	0,419	0,418	0,427	0,469
Households including elderly	0,324	0,352	0,385	0,407	0,404	0,410	0,457
Elderly headed with children	0,270	0,320	0,360	0,385	0,411	0,432	0,469
Headed by 18-59 year old	0,064	0,088	0,108	0,119	0,131	0,147	0,166
South Africa	0,114	0,141	0,164	0,176	0,186	0,203	0,227

5.7 Economic activity

According to Tati (2009) older people often delay their retirement from economic activity by remaining in the workforce as business owners or through casual work, paid domestic work or farm work. Figure 3.16 shows that the proportion of economically inactive individuals, i.e. individuals that are not employed or available to start employment, increases rapidly after the age of 60, particularly for females. The proportion of economically inactive individuals rapidly rises from 24% of males and 46% of females in the age group 55–59, to 53% of males and 77% of females in the age group 60 to 64 and finally 83,5% of males and 93% of female in the age group above 65 years of age. A small proportion of older persons however remain economically active, sometimes even employed, well into their older years.

Figure 3.16: Economic inactivity amongst older people, by gender and age group, 2002–2009



The economic characteristics of households headed by or containing older persons are presented in Table 3.8. As can be expected, the table shows that the ratio of economically active members (i.e. employed or looking for employment) to household members between the ages of 15 and 65 is largest in households headed by individuals between the ages of 18 to 59. Elderly headed households and households that contain older persons are clustered together exhibiting very similar ratios. Although declining to 0,57 in 2009, the ratios exhibited by child inclusive elderly households has generally been higher than that for the other types of elderly headed households mentioned here.

It follows from the previous table that the proportion of working adults to the household is highest in households headed by individuals in the age group 18 to 59. Of interest here is however the observation that elderly male headed households contain a substantially higher proportion of employed adults than any of the other elderly headed households. This is perhaps supported by earlier observations based on Figure 3.15 from which it seemed that elderly males are more likely to be involved in business or paid work than elderly females.

The unemployment ratio expresses the ratio of unemployed household members to all household members in their economically active year (15–64). The highest unemployment ratio is observed for elderly female headed, and child inclusive elderly headed households with an estimated ratio of 0.325 and 0.328 in 2009. The lowest ratio (0,244) is estimated for elderly male headed households.

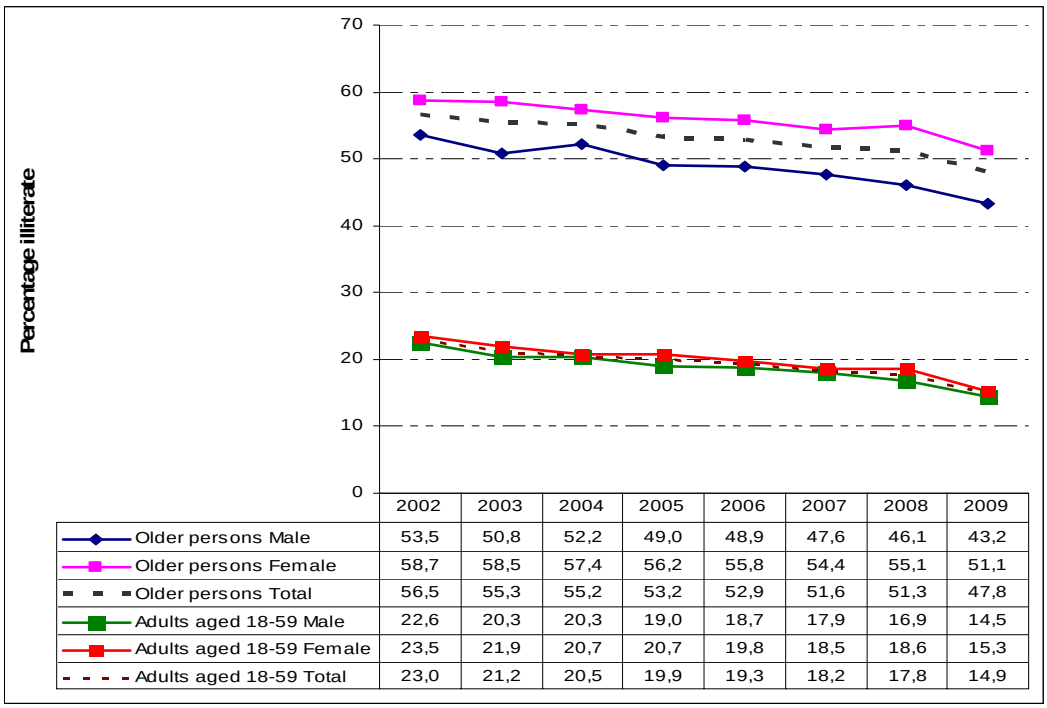
Table 3.8: Economic activity, employment and unemployment ratios by household characteristics, 2002–2009

Household characteristics		2002	2003	2004	205	2006	2007	2008	2009
Economically active members as proportion of 15–65 in household									
Male headed	Average ratio	0,593	0,540	0,536	0,528	0,572	0,588	0,617	0,602
Female headed		0,628	0,542	0,538	0,540	0,591	0,576	0,607	0,583
All older person headed		0,610	0,541	0,537	0,534	0,581	0,582	0,612	0,593
Households including elderly		0,613	0,551	0,551	0,544	0,589	0,602	0,626	0,603
Elderly headed with children		0,659	0,570	0,576	0,568	0,623	0,627	0,673	0,565
Headed by 18–59 year old		0,878	0,850	0,852	0,847	0,855	0,856	0,889	0,799
South Africa		0,830	0,797	0,798	0,793	0,807	0,807	0,839	0,762
Working adults as proportion of the household									
Male headed	Average ratio	0,210	0,181	0,190	0,192	0,197	0,219	0,216	0,219
Female headed		0,124	0,100	0,104	0,119	0,122	0,129	0,133	0,144
All older person headed		0,169	0,142	0,149	0,157	0,161	0,176	0,176	0,183
Households including elderly		0,178	0,152	0,161	0,167	0,169	0,189	0,190	0,193
Elderly headed with children		0,104	0,086	0,095	0,098	0,105	0,113	0,121	0,120
Headed by 18–59 year old		0,420	0,420	0,436	0,434	0,441	0,455	0,432	0,463
South Africa		0,370	0,365	0,379	0,378	0,386	0,398	0,378	0,405
Unemployed members as proportion of 15–65 in household									
Male headed	Average ratio	0,195	0,202	0,170	0,168	0,196	0,168	0,168	0,246
Female headed		0,301	0,293	0,273	0,250	0,290	0,235	0,265	0,325
All older person headed		0,246	0,246	0,220	0,208	0,240	0,200	0,214	0,284
Households including elderly		0,232	0,238	0,208	0,198	0,232	0,193	0,204	0,277
Elderly headed with children		0,324	0,315	0,286	0,268	0,318	0,271	0,279	0,328
Headed by 18–59 year old		0,224	0,216	0,202	0,200	0,206	0,187	0,215	0,237
South Africa		0,226	0,220	0,204	0,200	0,211	0,189	0,214	0,244

5.8 Education and literacy

The literature emphasizes the limited educational opportunities that were afforded to the majority of older people earlier during their lives. It is clear from Figure 3.17 that the illiteracy rate among older persons is much higher that the average for the country as a whole. This probably reflects improved access to primary education for children, particularly African and coloured children who would not have been afforded similar opportunities during past generations. Although elderly illiteracy in general is declining, perhaps due to the impact of the various adult based literacy programmes, but probably due to improved literacy levels among new entrants into this age group, the gender gap persists. It is noticeable that up to 8% more females are illiterate than their male counterparts.

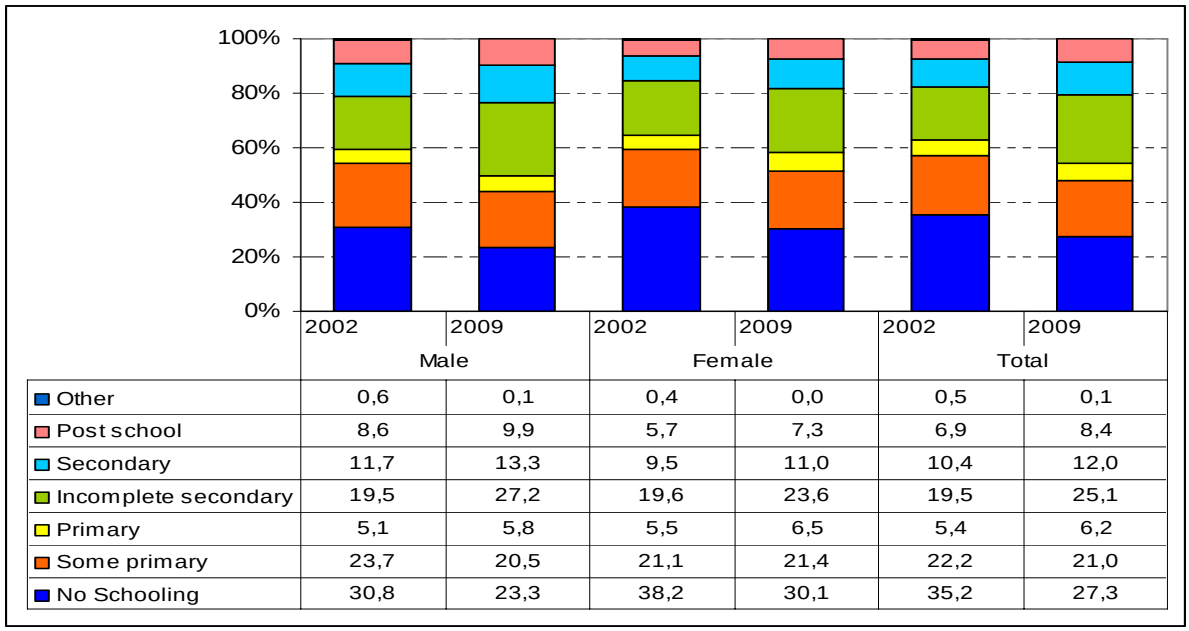
Figure 3.17: Illiteracy levels for older persons by gender, 2002–2009



	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Older persons Male	53,5	50,8	52,2	49,0	48,9	47,6	46,1	43,2
Older persons Female	58,7	58,5	57,4	56,2	55,8	54,4	55,1	51,1
Older persons Total	56,5	55,3	55,2	53,2	52,9	51,6	51,3	47,8
Adults aged 18-59 Male	22,6	20,3	20,3	19,0	18,7	17,9	16,9	14,5
Adults aged 18-59 Female	23,5	21,9	20,7	20,7	19,8	18,5	18,6	15,3
Adults aged 18-59 Total	23,0	21,2	20,5	19,9	19,3	18,2	17,8	14,9

Figure 3.18 illustrates the improvement of older persons' education by gender between 2002 and 2009. Although the proportion of older people, and particularly elderly women, who have not attended school remain very high, substantial reductions can be observed between 2002 and 2009. In addition, the proportions of older persons who have achieved at least a grade 7 education (thus completed primary school) is slowly increasing, as is the proportion of older people who have completed or partially completed secondary school and beyond. Since very few large scale programmes target elderly people directly, most of the future improvements will probably be through attrition.

Figure 3.18: Highest level of education for older persons, by gender, 2002–2009



	2002	2009	2002	2009	2002	2009
	Male		Female		Total	
Other	0,6	0,1	0,4	0,0	0,5	0,1
Post school	8,6	9,9	5,7	7,3	6,9	8,4
Secondary	11,7	13,3	9,5	11,0	10,4	12,0
Incomplete secondary	19,5	27,2	19,6	23,6	19,5	25,1
Primary	5,1	5,8	5,5	6,5	5,4	6,2
Some primary	23,7	20,5	21,1	21,4	22,2	21,0
No Schooling	30,8	23,3	38,2	30,1	35,2	27,3

The persisting race based inequality can be gauged from Table 3.9. Whereas 41% of elderly Africans have never attended school in 2009, an almost insignificant proportion of whites (0,1%) have similarly not done so. By contrast, 40% of elderly whites have completed secondary school, and a further 28% have some post school qualification (including tertiary education) compared to the 2% of elderly Africans that have completed either phase, or the 16% of Indians who have completed secondary school and the 4% that have completed some post-school qualification.

Table 3.9: Highest level of education for older persons by population group, 2002 and 2009

	African		Coloured		Asian		White		Total	
	2002	2009	2002	2009	2002	2009	2002	2009	2002	2009
Older persons aged 60+										
No Schooling	51,1	40,5	27,2	12,5	18,6	11,4	0,2	0,1	35,2	27,3
Some primary	29,1	28,8	31,5	24,5	30,6	13,7	0,7	0,6	22,2	21,0
Primary	6,1	7,3	9,1	10,5	10,1	8,1	1,7	1,5	5,4	6,2
Incomplete secondary	11,5	19,4	25,7	42,7	28,3	47,2	36,4	30,5	19,5	25,1
Secondary	1,2	2	2,0	5,8	6,2	16,1	36,7	39,7	10,4	12,0
Post school	1,0	1,9	4,4	4,0	6,2	3,6	22,7	27,5	6,9	8,4
Other	0,1	0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,7	0,2	0,5	0,1
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
N (000)	**1 816**	**2 335**	**233**	**307**	**97**	**141**	**727**	**890**	**2 872**	**3 674**
Adult population, aged 18–59										
No Schooling	8,7	5,1	5,3	2,4	1,6	0,5	0,2	0,1	7,2	4,2
Some primary	18,8	12,7	16,6	8,7	5,5	1,3	0,4	0,1	16,1	10,8
Primary	8,2	6,2	9,7	7,0	3,9	1,5	0,3	0,4	7,3	5,6
Incomplete secondary	40,1	44,5	42,1	45,0	35,8	25,1	22,4	16,2	38,1	41,3
Secondary	18,6	24,3	20,8	28,3	38,9	48,9	44,4	46,2	22,4	27,5
Post school	5,5	7,0	5,5	8,3	14,0	22,7	31,9	36,7	8,8	10,4
Other	0,1	0,2	0,1	0,3	0,4	0,0	0,5	0,3	0,1	0,1
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**
N (000)	**18 034**	**17 881**	**2 303**	**1 794**	**667**	**498**	**2 766**	**1 871**	**23 771**	**22 043**

5.9 Housing and access to basic services

Access to basic social services plays a significant role in determining the well-being of individuals. Services such as access to clean water and sanitation are particularly important as they have been shown to be closely associated with the health status of households, particularly young children. Housing, water, sanitation, a clean environment, food security and poverty are generally considered some of the most important social determinants of health.

For the purposes of this publication, housing is categorised as formal, informal, traditional and other. Formal housing consists of dwellings or brick structures on separate stands; flats or apartments; cluster houses; town houses; semi-detached houses; and rooms, flatlets or servant's quarters. Informal housing comprises informal dwellings or shacks in backyards or in informal settlements. Traditional housing is defined as 'traditional dwelling/hut/structure made of traditional materials'. The other category refers to caravans and tents. Formal housing is generally considered a proxy for adequate housing.

The proportion of housing types inhabited by elderly headed households for the years 2002 to 2009 is presented in Table 3.10. The table reveals that the proportion of elderly headed households living in formal structures have increased relatively consistently from 75% in 2002 to 79% by 2009. Simultaneously, the proportion of these households residing in informal and traditional dwellings has declined markedly.

Table 3.10: Percentage of elderly headed households living in formal, informal and traditional housing, 2002–2009

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Formal	74,5	74,9	74,0	73,6	77,6	77,8	78,4	79,2
Traditional	18,1	19,1	20,3	17,9	15,4	14,8	16,3	16,0
Informal	6,2	5,2	4,7	7,4	6,0	5,8	4,9	4,4
Other	1,2	0,8	0,1	1,1	1,1	1,6	0,4	0,3
Total	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,1**	**100,0**	**100,1**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,0**
Number (000)	**2 044**	**2 121**	**2 225**	**2 293**	**2 350**	**2 458**	**2 655**	**2 782**

While the proportion of elderly living in formal housing has increased notably between 2002 and 2009, growing from 75% to 81%, the proportion of elderly living in informal and traditional dwellings has declined.

Table 3.11: Percentage of elderly living in formal, informal and traditional housing, 2002–2009

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Formal	76,3	76,9	75,4	76,3	80,0	79,8	80,2	81,4
Traditional	17,2	17,8	20,0	16,6	14,1	13,9	15,2	14,5
Informal	5,6	4,7	3,9	6,3	5,1	5,2	4,4	3,7
Other	1,0	0,7	0,7	0,9	0,9	1,2	0,3	0,4
Total	**100,1**	**100,0**	**100,0**	**100,1**	**100,1**	**100,0**	**100,1**	**100,0**
Number (000)	**2 903**	**2 996**	**3 106**	**3 209**	**3 326**	**3 412**	**3 567**	**3 719**

The percentage of elderly living in dwellings that are partially or fully owned is presented in Table 3.12. Older persons are more likely to live in households that are partially or fully owned than the population in general. After floating above 87% for the larger part of 6 years, the proportion of older persons enjoying some tenure status declined slightly to 85% in 2009.

In addition to improving the quality of live and general well-being of families and individuals, having access to clean piped **water** also drastically reduces vulnerability to diseases such as diarrhoea and cholera. Access to piped water is defined as having water piped directly into their dwellings, or having access to taps on the site of the dwelling or yard. Access to water in the dwelling or yard has increased for both older persons as well as the general population between 2002 and 2009, and it is noticeable that the older persons are more likely to have access to water than the general population.

Having access to flush **toilets** that are in or near the house and which dispose of waste safely is used as a proxy for adequate basic sanitation. While access to flush toilets has generally improved for both older persons as well as the general population, older persons are slightly more likely to live in households with flush toilets that the general population.

Table 3.12: Comparison of the basic living condition indicators for the elderly and the total population, 2002-2009

Access to service indicator	Age cohorts	Year (Percentage)							
		2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Tenure status % elderly living in dwellings that are partially or fully owned	60+	85,5	88,7	87,0	88,7	90,0	88,0	90,9	84,6
	Population	79,1	81,6	80,4	82,0	81,3	79,1	82,3	74,7
Access to water % living in dwellings with piped water in house or yard	60+	63,7	64,4	63,5	66,4	68,4	69,6	69,2	68,4
	Population	62,1	62,7	63,1	64,3	66,0	67,0	67,1	66,4
Sanitation % living in dwellings with flush toilet with on or off site disposal	60+	52,5	52,8	52,7	56,1	57,0	58,0	58,5	72,0
	Population	49,0	50,0	49,9	52,4	52,5	53,8	54,2	69,2
Refuse/Waste % living in dwellings with rubbish removed by municipality	60+	51,5	52,3	52,2	56,3	57,7	58,4	57,9	49,7
	Population	51,0	52,0	52,1	55,1	55,8	56,0	55,4	48,3
Electricity % living in dwellings with connected to mains	60+	76,6	78,0	80,5	83,9	84,3	85,7	85,0	87,0
	Population	74,3	76,2	78,7	79,4	80,1	81,7	82,1	82,9
Telephone % living in dwellings with landline or cellular phone in the dwelling	60+	50,0	51,1	58,2	68,7	71,9	76,5	78,7	84,3
	Population	45,5	48,3	57,1	69,2	74,4	80,0	82,5	87,3
Internet % living in dwellings with access to internet	60+				5,1				7,9
	population				5,0				7,7

The proportion of households for which **refuse** is removed by the municipality at least once a week is used as an indicator of environmental cleanliness. Older persons seem to be about as likely, if perhaps not slightly more likely, than the general population to live in households whose rubbish is removed. It is notable that access to refuse removal increased relatively continuously until 2007 when it started to decline slightly.

Although the connection to **mains electricity** does not preclude the use of other sources of energy for cooking and heating for example, connection to mains electricity does benefit households and the individuals living in them in a variety of ways. As a result of sustained efforts in this regard, the proportion of households with access to mains electricity has increased steadily over the past 8 years for both the elderly headed households as well as the population in general.

Access to **telephones** is defined as the proportion of older persons living in households with access to landlines or cell phones. The proportion of South Africans having access to landlines or cell phones at home has increased enormously over the past years, increasing from 46% in 2002 to 87% in 2009. The growth seems to have been relatively uniform across all households and very little difference can be discerned between access by older persons and the population as a whole.

The proportion of older persons who have access to the **internet** at home is almost indiscernible from the proportion of the general population who enjoys access from home. Both proportions have increased from 5% in 2005 (the previous time the question was asked in the GHS questionnaire) to approximately 8% in 2009.

5.10 Summary and conclusion

Older Africans make up 64% of the total population of elderly in South Africa and comprise the majority of the elderly populations in 6 of the 9 provinces. The relative longevity of the white population is demonstrated by the fact that 24% of the elderly are white whilst they represent only 9% of the total population. As a result of this whites comprise substantial proportions of the older populations in the provinces where significant numbers of whites are located, namely the Western Cape, Gauteng and the Northern Cape. The percentage of households headed by older persons has increased slightly from 18,7% in 2002 to just over 21% by 2009. Slightly less than a quarter of all persons in South Africa live in a household headed by a person 60 years and older.

A considerable amount of the analysis focussed on the composition of households headed by the elderly as well as the relationships between household members. In the case of the elderly this is particularly important as they need social support networks on the one hand, but are often heavily relied upon by others in spite of their age. Less than half the proportion of older people (5,5% compared to 11%) as compared to the general population, live alone while a substantially larger proportion live in nuclear households. Most of the elderly of the African and coloured population groups live in extended households. Almost 20% of white older persons lived alone while a further 60% lived in nuclear households. Almost a third of all white older persons headed households are single, compared to less than 19% of coloured and 12% of African households. A relatively small proportion of elderly households across all races contain non-relatives. Only 17% of households headed by older people contain two generations while almost a third contain three or more generations. Almost 18% of households headed by older persons can be categorised as skip-generation households in which the older person is most likely living with his/her grandchildren and function as the primary care-giver. Older Africans are much more likely than any of their counterparts to live in skip-generation households. These findings are supported by earlier findings quoted in Lombard and Kruger (2009: 124).

By contrast to the largely multi-generational households inhabited by particularly Africans and coloureds, more than 40% of whites and just over 31% of Indians live in single generation households. Older men (28%) are significantly more likely than women (2%) to live in single generation households.

In terms of marital or relationship status of older people across different age groups the study found significant differences between women and men. The proportion of males who are married or living together decreases slightly from 78% during their fifties to just below 71% for those older than seventy years. For women on the other hand those who are still married or living together drops sharply from 58% during their fifties to less than 25% for women in their seventies. This can possibly be attributed to the fact that women generally live longer in addition to the fact that their male partners are often older than them.

The mean size of households that merely contain older persons is estimated at 4,1 while the average size for male and female older person headed households was estimated at 4 which is higher than the national average of 3,5 persons per household. These observations seem to support the contention that older people are increasingly required to play a more active caring and support role in households. Elderly headed households that include children have the highest total dependency ratios (on average 1,3) of all categories compared, including households headed by individuals aged between 18 and 59 (0,46) and South African households in general (0,54). Households headed by older females have a higher total dependency ratio (on average 1) than those headed by older males (on average 0,84).

The child dependency ratio for child inclusive households, headed by older persons, remain high at 0,9 while it is estimated at 0,65 for all older female headed households. Although the **ratio of children to older persons** in older person headed households has declined from 1,4 in 2002 to 1,1 in 2009, this ratio shows the substantial burden carried by older persons, particularly females. Older persons have to support almost 1,5 children for every older person in elderly female headed households.

Vulnerability to hunger is as closely linked to the population group that an older person belongs than to their levels of education and economic activity. Whereas approximately 4% of Indian and White elderly indicated living in households that have experienced hunger, the figure jumps to almost 18% for coloured and 24% for African older persons. Even though older persons are less prone to be vulnerable to hunger than the population as a whole, as many as 18% were vulnerable to hunger in 2009. The relatively high proportion of whites in the elderly population probably influences the comparative differences with the general population significantly. Child inclusive elderly headed households are substantially more likely to have suffered vulnerability to hunger than households headed by older males, and that older male headed households are in fact generally less likely to have suffered vulnerability to hunger than households headed by elderly females. Suffering from hunger therefore at least partly seems to be a function of the number of people with whom older people have to share their meagre resources.

The prevalence of acute and particularly chronic diseases does increase with age. Whereas 16% of the individuals in the age group 18 to 49 years of age indicated suffering from an acute condition (illness or injuries) in the month before the survey, the proportion of individuals that have been afflicted by an acute condition increases to 26% for the age group 50–59, 29% for the age group 60–69 and finally 33% for persons above the age of 70. The increase for chronic disease is even more pronounced, growing from 10% for individuals in the age group 18–49 years to more than 55% for individuals over the age of 70 years of age. Even though there is greater diseases prevalence amongst the elderly, they tend to be less protected against unforeseen medical expenses. Less than a quarter (23,9%) of the older population, and only about 17% of South Africans in general were members of or had access to medical aid in 2009. Once again there are significant inequalities between the different population groups with more than 65% of whites having had access to medical aid between 2002 and 2009 with much lower proportions of Indians and coloureds and less than 10% of Africans.

The elderly are not only more disease prone, but they are also more likely to be disabled. The proportion of individuals with some disability increases from less than 4% for individuals in the age group 18 to 59, to 15% for the age group 60–69 and 35% for the oldest age group.

When using a R1200 per month expenditure cut-off, more than half of elderly Africans lived in low expenditure households compared to approximately 24% of coloureds, 20% of Indians and slightly more than 7% for whites. The smallest proportion of older persons living in low expenditure households were observed in the Western Cape and Gauteng, while the largest proportion of these households are observed in Limpopo. The majority of elderly headed households (65% in 2008) considered grants and pensions as the most important source of income. Approximately 27% of these households listed salaries and/or wages as the main source of income in 2008 while between 4% and 5% has historically identified remittances as the main source of income. Very close to one per cent of households claimed to have no income while less than one per cent thought sales of farm products produced the main source of income.

Several authors refer to the important role that old age grants play in the lives of particularly poor households (for example May 2008, Eckley in Lombard and Kruger 2009). The elderly in South Africa are very dependent on grants. In 2009, 70% of older persons received some kind of government transfer whilst only 28% of persons in the general population received grants. The proportion of older persons who receive grants increased from 66% in 2003 to 71% in 2009. Elderly women are more likely to receive grants than men. The proportion of grant recipients within older person headed households has increased from a third in 2003 to 47% in 2009. Grant recipients ratios are higher within female than in male headed households and is probably closely associated with the extension of the eligibility age for the Child Support Grant, as elderly female headed households are more likely to have children than elderly male headed households. Elderly male headed households contain a substantially higher proportion of employed adults than any of the other household types with elderly household heads. The highest unemployment ratios were observed for elderly female headed, and child inclusive elderly headed households with an estimated ratio of 0.325 and 0.328 in 2009. The lowest ratio (0,244) is estimated for elderly male headed households.

Past race and gender based discrimination continues to resonate in higher illiteracy rates for women and for Africans and coloureds in particular. The illiteracy rate among older persons is much higher that the average for the country as a whole. However, decreases in illiteracy rates over time and increases in the percentage with at least Grade 7 suggests that the various literacy programs as well as new entrants to the group of elderly are beginning to make a difference. Racial divisions in terms of educational attainment persist. Whereas 41% of elderly Africans have never attended school in 2009, an almost insignificant proportion of whites (0,1%) have similarly not done so.

The situation is even more unequal when considering secondary and post school qualifications. Forty percent of elderly whites have completed secondary school, and a further 28% have some post school qualification (including tertiary education), compared with the 2% of elderly Africans that have completed either phase, or the 16% of Indians who have completed secondary school and the 4% that have completed some post-school qualification. It is clear that these older persons have borne the brunt of the Apartheid system and judging from the expenditure data and reliance on social grants outlined earlier, they continue to suffer the consequences of an inadequate education.

The living conditions of the elderly is as important if not more important than for the population as a whole, as they tend to be more vulnerable to disease and infections and as they grow older increasingly unable to walk long distance to fetch water and wood. While the proportion of elderly living in formal housing increased 75% to 81% between 2002 and 2009, the proportion of elderly living in informal and traditional dwellings have declined. Older persons are more likely to live in dwellings that are partially or fully owned than the population in general. Access to piped or tap water in the dwelling or yard has increased for both older persons as well as the general population between 2002 and 2009. Older persons are more likely to have access to safe water, flush toilets and electricity than the general population. This may be influenced by the relatively large proportion of white persons relative to the other population groups amongst the elderly. Older persons seem to be about as likely, if perhaps not slightly more likely, than the general population to live in households whose rubbish is removed. General access to landline and mobile telephone services has increased significantly during the past eight years with very little difference between access levels for older persons and the population as a whole.

5.11 Recommendations

The relatively high proportion of whites that survive to old age to some extent masks the desperate plight of particularly the African elderly when looking at averages for the group as a whole. Even though the African elderly are more likely to live in extended households which could provide a better social support network, these larger families place a lot of demands on them and increase the chances that they will be exposed to vulnerability to hunger in addition to the extra responsibilities of looking after a number of family members. The expansion of the eligibility for the child support grant has not only benefited children, but has taken some of the pressure off especially from older persons in poor households who used to be reliant on old age grants for sustenance. However, consideration should be given to increasing the size of the old age grant to further support the improvement of the quality of life of the elderly. Community programmes aimed at sensitising them towards the special needs of the elderly will probably also benefit this important and growing segment of our population.

5.12 References

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