

Western Cape: Informal settlements Status (2013)



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DISCLAIMER

Reasonable care has been taken in the preparation of this report. The information contained herein has been derived from sources believed to be accurate and reliable. The Housing Development Agency does not assume responsibility for any error, omission or opinion contained herein, including but not limited to any decisions made based on the content of this report.

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List of abbreviations

CORC	Community Organisation Resource Centre
EA	Enumeration Area
GHS	General Household Survey
HDA	Housing Development Agency
IES	Income and Expenditure Survey
LaPsis	Land and Property Spatial Information System
NDHS	National Department of Human Settlements
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa

PART 1

Introduction

In terms of the HDA Act No. 23, 2008¹, the Housing Development Agency (“HDA”), is mandated to assist organs of State with the upgrading of informal settlements. As part of the informal settlements upgrading programme, the HDA commissioned this report to update existing analysis on the profile of informal settlements in South Africa, nationally and provincially as well as for some of the larger municipalities. The analysis draws heavily on newly released Census 2011 data and also explores other data sources available at a national, provincial and municipal level to characterise conditions in informal settlements and to identify key trends. This report summarises available data for the Western Cape province.

¹ The HDA Act No.23, 2008, Section 7 (1) k

PART 2

Overview of census and survey data

This chapter describes the key data sources used in this study and outlines relevant limitations of the data as a precursor to exploring the data in more detail. As noted in the introduction, a primary objective of the study is to explore findings of the recently released 2011 Census with respect to informal settlements in South Africa, and to use that data to assess trends in terms of the number of households that live in informal settlements, their characteristics and access to basic services. The 2011 Census is thus the core data set explored in this review.

Aside from census data, the analysis is supplemented by other survey data sources including the 2010/11 Income and Expenditure Survey as well as the 2011 General Household Survey.

2.1 Limitations of the Statistics South Africa data

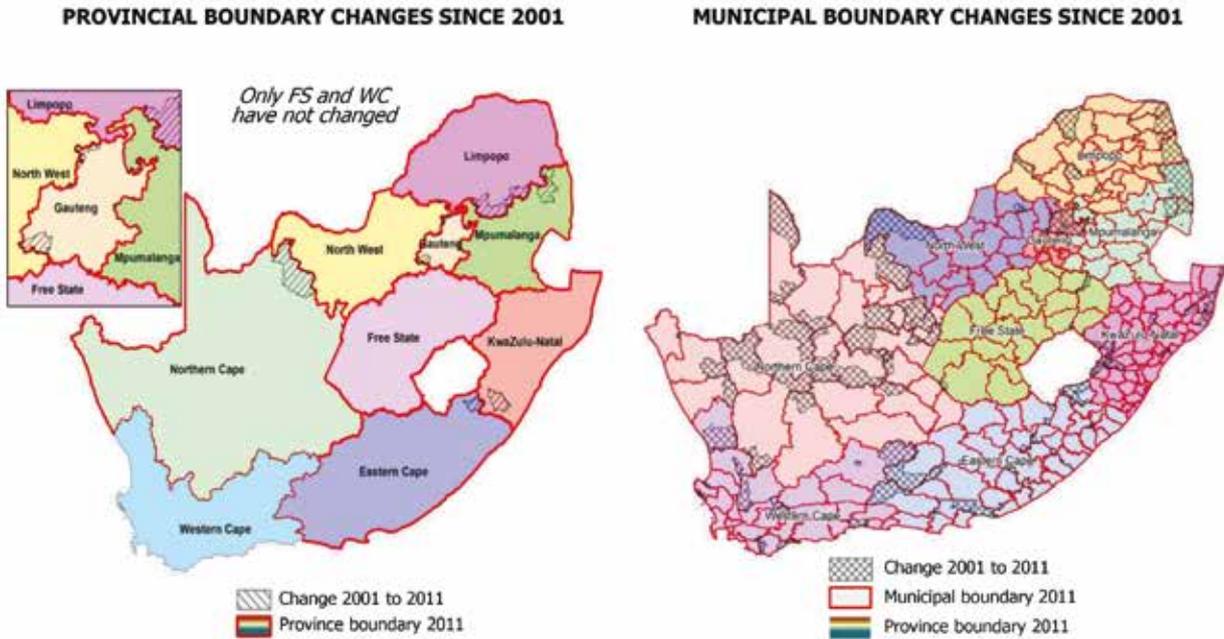
Currently the 2011 Census data is available for analysis using Statistics South Africa's SuperWEB or SuperCROSS software. This system is not fully interactive; not all variables can be cross tabulated. By way of example, education and employment data cannot be analysed by type of main dwelling people live in. There are also variables that appear in the questionnaire that are not available at all for analysis. Most pertinent to this analysis, these include construction material of main dwelling, age of the dwelling and relationship to the head of the household. The 2011 Census 10% sample which will allow for a full interactive analysis will only be available towards the end of 2013.

As noted a key objective is to identify trends. Because of provincial and municipal boundary changes since 2001 the comparison of the Census 2011 with previous censuses requires alignment of that data to 2011 municipal boundaries. Statistics South Africa has not yet publicly re-released Census 2001 data in line with these adjusted boundaries. Tables were produced with assistance from Statistics South Africa².

² Angela Nyende of Statistics South Africa provided on-going assistance in this regard

CHART 1

PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL BOUNDARY CHANGES SINCE 2001



Source: Map sourced from Stats SA's "Census 2011 Methodology and highlights of key results"; Data sourced from MDB (Municipal Demarcation Board) 2011

Aside from census data, as mentioned previously the analysis is supplemented by other survey data sources including the 2010/11 Income and Expenditure Survey as well as the 2011 General Household Survey. These data sources may contain a bias, with older, better established informal settlements over-represented as the underlying sample frames may not include newer settlements.

2.2 Definition of informal settlements

As a starting point it is critical to have a working definition of "informal settlements" that can be used to identify an appropriate proxy variable across the census and survey data sets. There are a number of definitions, some of which are summarised in the table below. While there is some variance across definitions, in most cases definitions emphasise the dwelling type; with temporary structures or dwellings that are built out of rudimentary materials as a dominant feature of informal settlements. In addition, several definitions refer to ownership of the land, the nature of land tenure and formal demarcation.

TABLE 1 DEFINITIONS OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS	
Data source	Definition of an informal settlement
Statistics South Africa	<p>"An unplanned settlement on land which has not been surveyed or proclaimed as residential, consisting mainly of informal dwellings (shacks)."</p> <p>Definition of an informal dwelling : "A makeshift structure not approved by a local authority and not intended as a permanent dwelling"</p>
National Department of Human Settlements	<p>The 2009 National Housing Code's Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme identifies informal settlements on the basis of the following characteristics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Illegality and informality; • Inappropriate locations; • Restricted public and private sector investment; • Poverty and vulnerability; and • Social stress
City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality	The City of Cape Town defines an informal settlement in accordance with Statistics South Africa
City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality*	<p>"Informal settlement means one shack or more constructed on land, with or without the consent of the owner of the land or the person in charge of the land."</p> <p>"Shack means any temporary shelter, building, hut, tent, dwelling or similar structure which does not comply with the provisions of the National Building Regulations and Building Standards Act, 1977 (Act 103 of 1977), the regulations promulgated under that Act and the Municipality's Building Control By-laws and which is primarily used for residential purposes."</p>
Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality**	"Areas where groups of housing units have been constructed on land that the occupants have no legal claim to, or occupy illegally; Unplanned settlements and areas where housing is not in compliance with current planning and building regulations (unauthorized housing)."

Source: * City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, By-laws Relating to the Management and Control of Informal Settlements
 Source: ** Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality Draft Integrated Development Plan 2012/13

A further challenge relates to the boundaries of the settlement itself. Unlike suburbs which are formally proclaimed and demarcated, the boundaries of an informal settlement can be fluid particularly as the settlement grows. In some cases large areas are divided into a number of settlements, although it is not always clear on what basis the boundaries between settlements have been determined.

Census and survey data is not typically gathered and reported for settlements as such. Rather the data is collected from households that are located within a given Enumeration Area ("EA"). An EA is specific area allocated to one fieldworker to gather survey or census data in an allotted period of time. EAs typically contain between 100 and 250 households. EAs form the basis of sub-places which can be aggregated into larger areas known as main places, then into local municipalities, districts and provinces.

In some cases an informal settlement will coincide with a sub-place while in others a settlement might coincide with an EA. More commonly, however, there is no direct match between a settlement as defined by a community or municipality and a sub-place or an EA. Stats SA survey and census data therefore cannot enable us to explore individual informal settlements as a defined unit of analysis.

An analysis of informal settlements based on Stats SA survey and census data requires researchers to use a proxy variable. In the census there are two candidates. The first is based on the enumeration area while the second is based on the nature of the dwelling.

With regard to EAs Stats SA classifies each of the 103,576 EAs into one of ten EA Types in line with the status of the majority of visible dwellings at the time of demarcation. These are summarised in the table below.

TABLE 2 2011 ENUMERATION AREA TYPES	
2011 EA types	EA land-use/zoning
Formal residential	Single house; Town house; High rise buildings
Informal residential	Unplanned squatting
Traditional residential	Homesteads
Farms	
Parks and recreation	Forest; Military training ground; Holiday resort; Nature reserves; National parks
Collective living quarters	School hostels; Tertiary education hostel; Workers' hostel; Military barrack; Prison; Hospital; Hotel; Old age home; Orphanage; Monastery
Industrial	Factories; Large warehouses; Mining; Saw Mill; Railway station and shunting area
Smallholdings	Smallholdings/Agricultural holdings
Vacant	Open space/ stand
Commercial	Mixed shops; Offices; Office park; Shopping mall; CBD

Source: Statistics South Africa

While some informal settlements are located in areas demarcated as urban informal areas, many are not. A further disadvantage of this proxy is that it is not available in other Stats SA surveys.

The second option is to use shacks not in a backyard as a proxy variable. This too is an imprecise proxy; some dwellings located in informal settlements are formal dwellings, or backyard shacks.

There are clearly weaknesses in both proxies. In the interests of aligning with other analysis and the common practice within municipalities, we will predominantly, although not exclusively, rely on shacks not in a backyard as a proxy for households living in informal settlements. As noted in the introductory comments, not all analysis can be undertaken by dwelling type given the limitations relating to the format of available Census 2011 data.

PART 3

A context for the findings: Broad housing trends 2001 to 2011 in the Western Cape

Before reviewing data for informal settlement specifically it is useful to explore key trends with regard to the growth in the number of households, as well as the primary dwellings they occupy for the province as a whole.

As noted by many researchers, any analysis of households must be prefaced by a comment on the nature of households and the interdependency between housing opportunities and household formation. A household is not an exogenous variable. In forming households, individuals respond to various factors, including economic and housing opportunities.

According to census data the number of households in the Western Cape has increased from 1,173,304 in 2001 to 1,634,000 in 2011. At the same time the total population has increased from 4,524,335 in 2001 to 5,822,734 in 2011. Households have grown faster than the individual population (3.4% CAGR³ for households compared to 2.6% for individuals) and household sizes have continued to decline from 4.0 in 1996, to 3.9 in 2001, and 3.6 in 2011⁴. Driving the growth in the trend towards smaller average household sizes is the noticeable increase in the proportion of one-person households. In 2001 16% of all households were comprised of one person living alone while in 2011 21% of all households were comprised of one person.

One-person households are more common in urban areas than in farms; there are no tribal or traditional areas in the Western Cape according to the 2011 Census. In 2011 in the Western Cape 22% of households living in areas demarcated as urban areas were one-person households whereas in areas demarcated as farms 13% of households were one-person households⁵. These one-person households are in many cases attached to other households living elsewhere. According to the IES 34% of one person households in the Western Cape either send or receive remittances indicating financial interdependency across dwelling-based households. How many of these households would reconstitute as multiple member households (including families) if suitable accommodation became available is a matter of conjecture.

Migration, presumably for economic reasons, has played a significant part in shaping the population distribution across the province. According to Statistics South Africa's 2011 mid-year population estimates, there are roughly two in-migrants for every one out-migrant in the Western Cape. The majority of in-migrants (50%) have come from the Eastern Cape.

³ Compound annual growth rate

⁴ Census 2011 Statistical release – P0301.4 (revised)

⁵ Seven per cent of all households in the Western Cape live in areas demarcated as farms

TABLE 3 ESTIMATED PROVINCIAL MIGRATION STREAMS OF PEOPLE IN THE WESTERN CAPE: 2006 – 2011

	Out-migration		In-migration	
	Province in 2011	Percentage	Province in 2006	Percentage
Gauteng	40 097	36%	48 951	24%
Eastern Cape	29 899	27%	104 215	50%
KwaZulu-Natal	13 196	12%	17 416	8%
Northern Cape	9 559	9%	12 941	6%
Free State	5 923	5%	9 098	4%
Limpopo	4 490	4%	4 776	2%
North West	4 309	4%	3 319	2%
Mpumalanga	3 464	3%	5 777	3%
Total	110 937	100%	206 493	100%

Net migration: 95 556

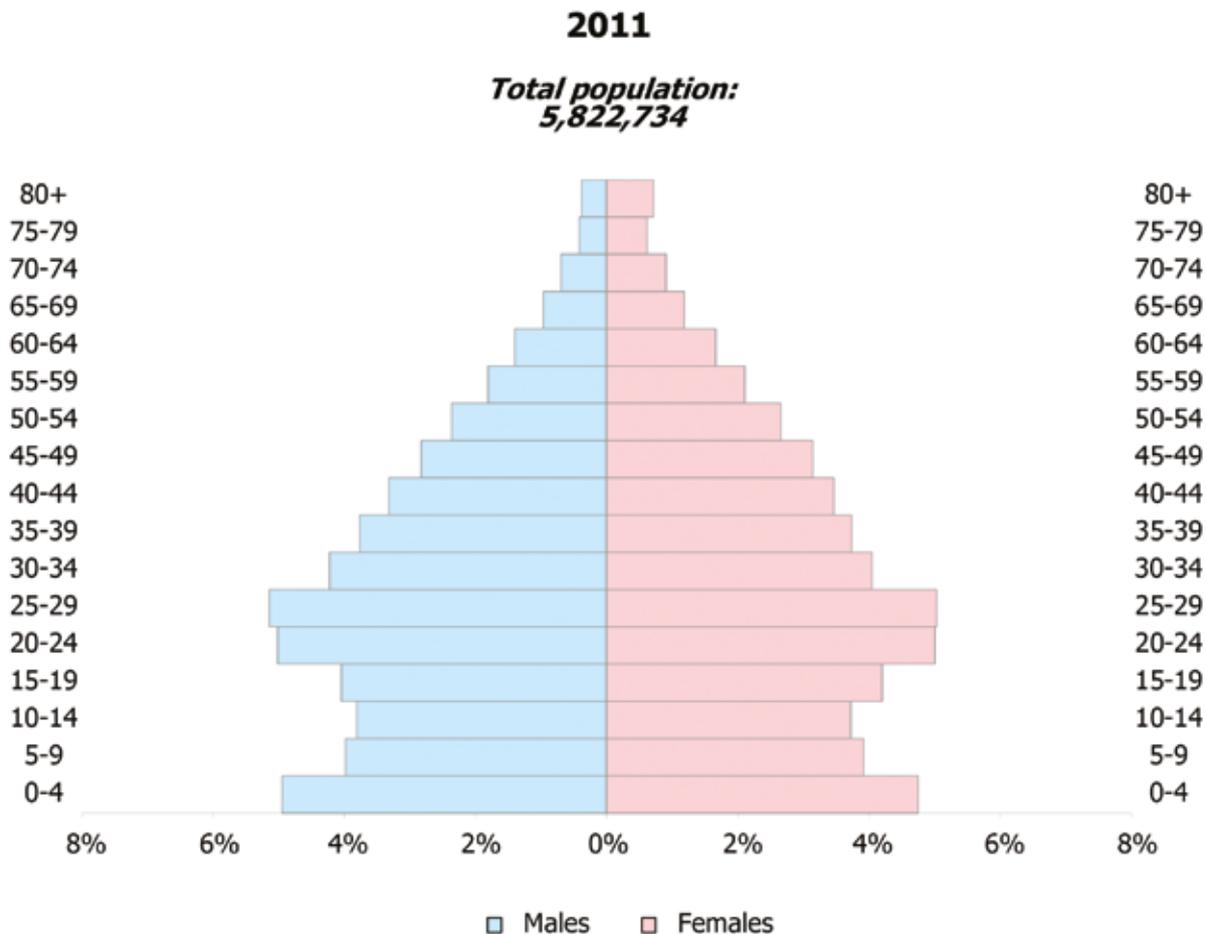
Ratio of in-migration to out-migration 1.9

Source: Stats SA mid-year population estimates 2011

Note: These estimates do not incorporate foreign migrants

According to the 2011 Census, in the Western Cape 6% of the population has moved from a different province since 2001 (2% moved from outside of South Africa). The population pyramid reflects these migration patterns. There is a noticeable bulge in the 20 to 30 year age categories for both males and females.

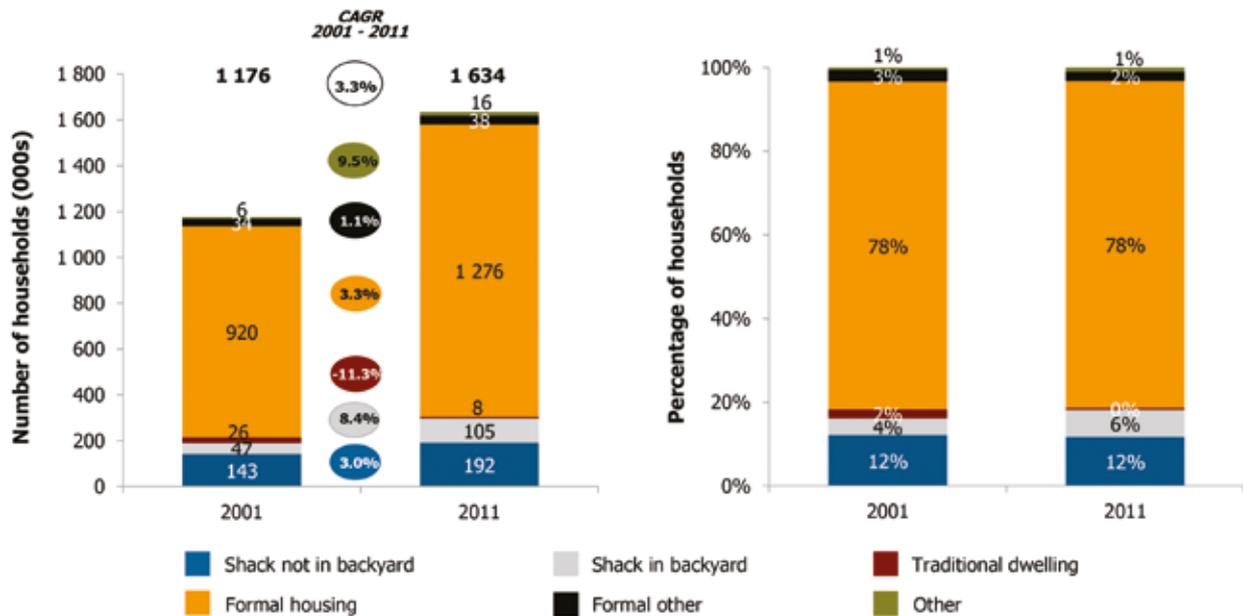
CHART 2 POPULATION PYRAMID: WESTERN CAPE



Source: Census 2011

The total number of households living in formal dwellings has increased by 359,533 over the ten years between 2001 and 2011 although the proportion of households living in formal dwellings has remained static. In 2001 81% of households lived in formal dwellings⁶. By 2011 this had decreased slightly to 80%. The proportion of households living in shacks not in backyards has remained steady at 12%.

CHART 3 TYPE OF MAIN DWELLING IN THE WESTERN CAPE



Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

Note: Formal housing contains: House or brick/concrete structure on a separate stand or yard, Town / cluster / semi-detached house, Flat or apartment. Formal other contains: House/flat/room in backyard, Room/flatlet on a property or larger dwelling/servants quarters/granny flat

The additional number of households living in formal housing is a useful proxy for the growth in the housing stock. Over that period Stats SA reports that formal private sector residential new build amounted to approximately 164 000 housing units. The balance, namely 192 000 units, are either units that are not registered with Stats SA or are units that have been built by the State as part of its extensive RDP housing delivery programme.

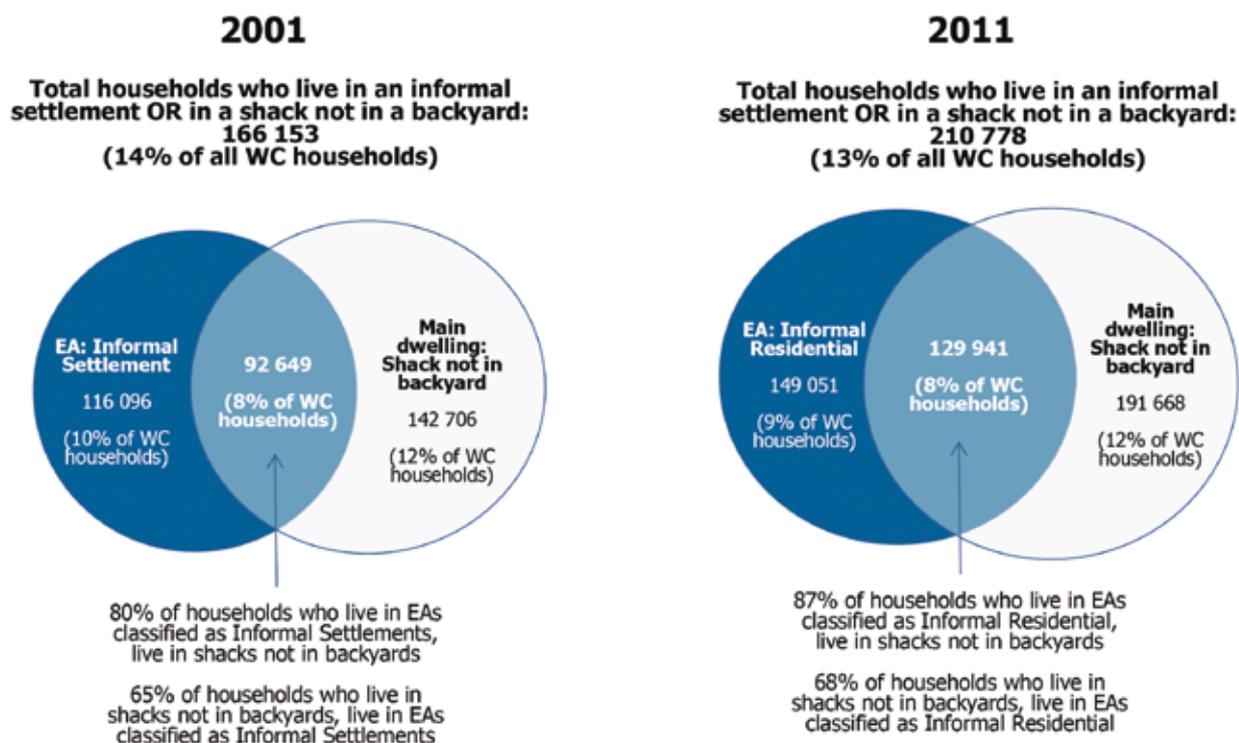
It appears that the number of households living in informal settlements, as proxied either by dwelling type (shack not in backyard) or EA (informal residential) has increased in the Western Cape. In 2001 there were 142,706 households living in shacks not in backyards compared to 191,668 in 2011. With regard to EAs, 116,096 households lived in areas demarcated by Stats SA as informal settlements in 2001 compared to 149,051 in 2011 in areas demarcated as informal residential⁷.

⁶ Formal dwelling contains: House or brick/concrete structure on a separate stand or yard, Town / cluster / semi-detached house, Flat or apartment, House/flat/room in backyard, Room/flatlet on a property or larger dwelling/servants quarters/granny flat

⁷ The name changes in some EA types (including 'Informal settlement EA' changing to 'Informal residential EA') are due to a change in terminology and not a change in methodology

CHART 4

HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN THE WESTERN CAPE



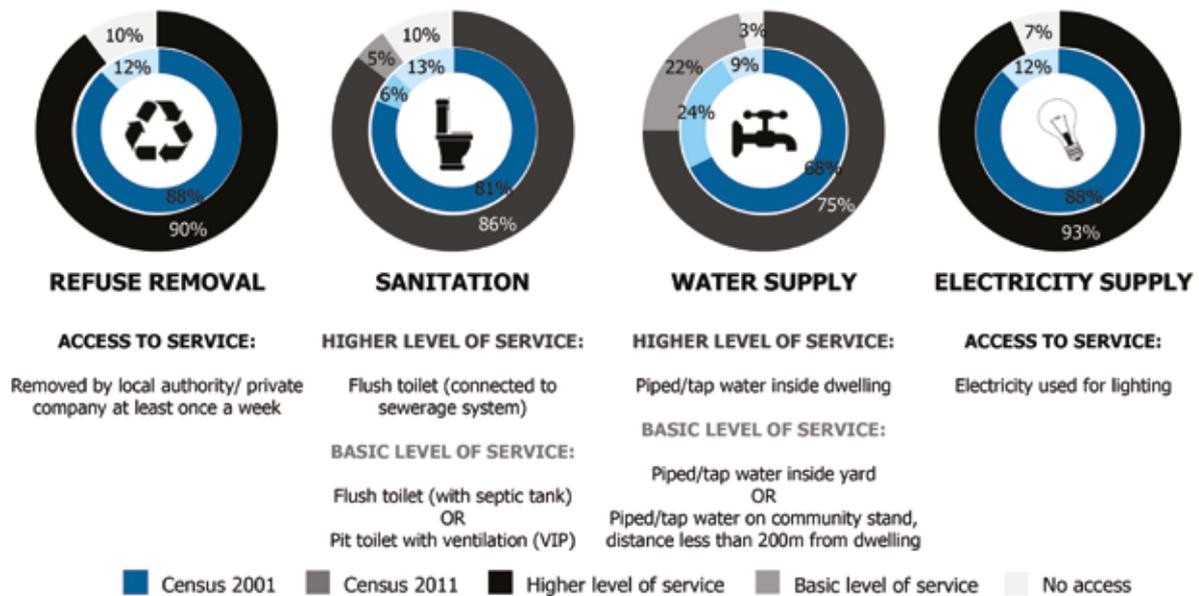
Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

At the same time there has been a significant increase in the number of households living in backyard shacks. The number of households living in this type of dwelling has increased at a very rapid rate of 8.4% per year, albeit off a low base. In terms of total households, Census 2011 indicates a total of 105,282 households living in shacks in backyards, compared to 46,840 in 2001.

Across the province, the proportion of households who had access to sanitation and piped water improved noticeably. Likewise, access to electricity increased from 88% of all households in 2001 to 93% in 2011.

CHART 5

ACCESS TO SERVICES IN THE WESTERN CAPE 2001 VS. 2011: ALL HOUSEHOLDS



Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

Note: There is no indication as to the location of the toilet (in the dwelling, in the yard, and so on)

Census data also indicates a noticeable shift towards rental accommodation. In 2001 roughly 24% of households in the Western Cape rented their primary dwellings. This had increased to 29% in 2011. The shift towards rental has occurred across dwelling types with the exception of shacks not in backyards.

TABLE 4 HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN THE WESTERN CAPE: TENURE STATUS BY TYPE OF MAIN DWELLING

Western Cape	Census 2001			Census 2011			
	Owned	Rented	Occupied rent-free	Owned	Rented	Occupied rent-free	Other
Formal dwelling	63%	25%	12%	56%	30%	11%	3%
Traditional dwelling	54%	24%	22%	42%	34%	18%	6%
Shack in backyard	28%	43%	29%	23%	57%	16%	4%
Shack not in backyard	31%	12%	57%	43%	7%	43%	6%
Other	40%	26%	34%	35%	37%	20%	9%
Total	57%	24%	18%	52%	29%	15%	3%

Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

Note: It is unknown what is included in the 'other' tenure status category

The balance of the document will explore some of the key trends highlighted in this overview in more detail specifically with regard to informal settlements.

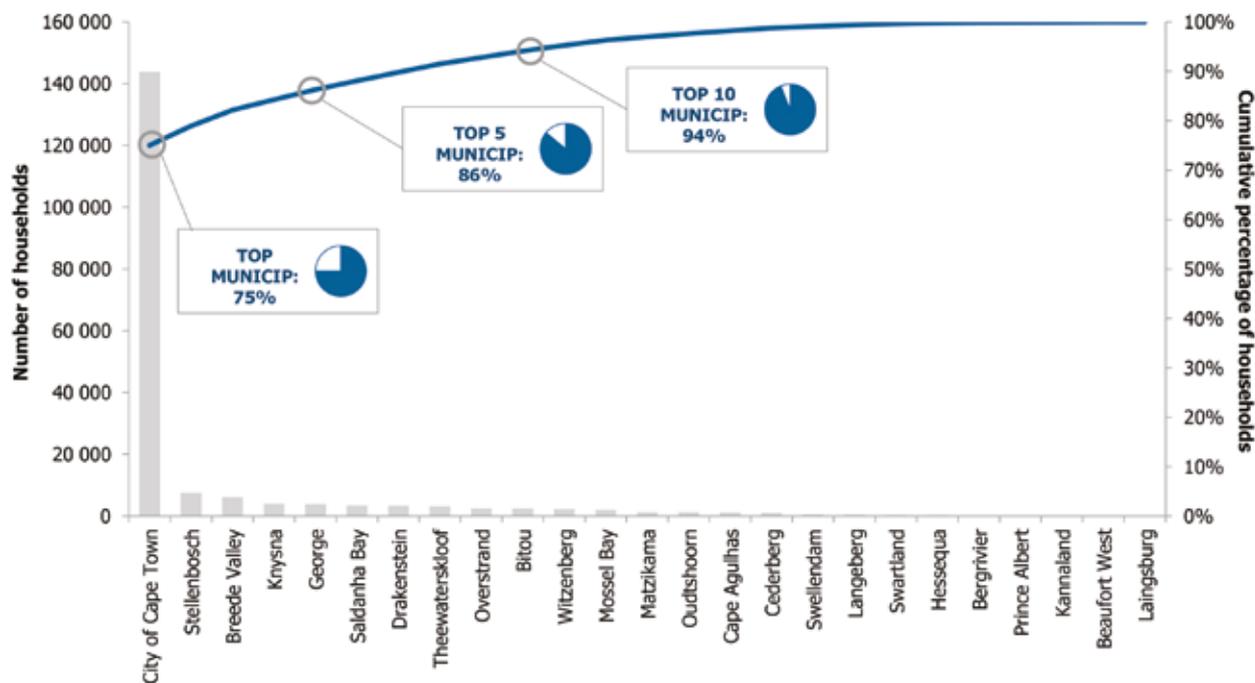
PART 4

Number of households living in informal settlements in the Western Cape

The data indicates that there are a total of 191,668 households, containing 497,241 individuals who live in shacks not in backyards. As noted in the previous chapter, census data indicates that the number of households living in shacks not in backyards has increased in the Western Cape.

Provincial statistics mask very different housing conditions, and significant shifts at a district and local municipality level. The data indicates that shacks not in backyards tend to be concentrated in key municipalities. An estimated 75% of households living in shacks not in backyards in the Western Cape can be found in the City of Cape Town. An estimated 65% of all households in the Western Cape can be found in the City of Cape Town.

CHART 6 HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN SHACKS NOT IN BACKYARDS BY LOCAL MUNICIPALITY IN THE WESTERN CAPE



Source: Census 2011

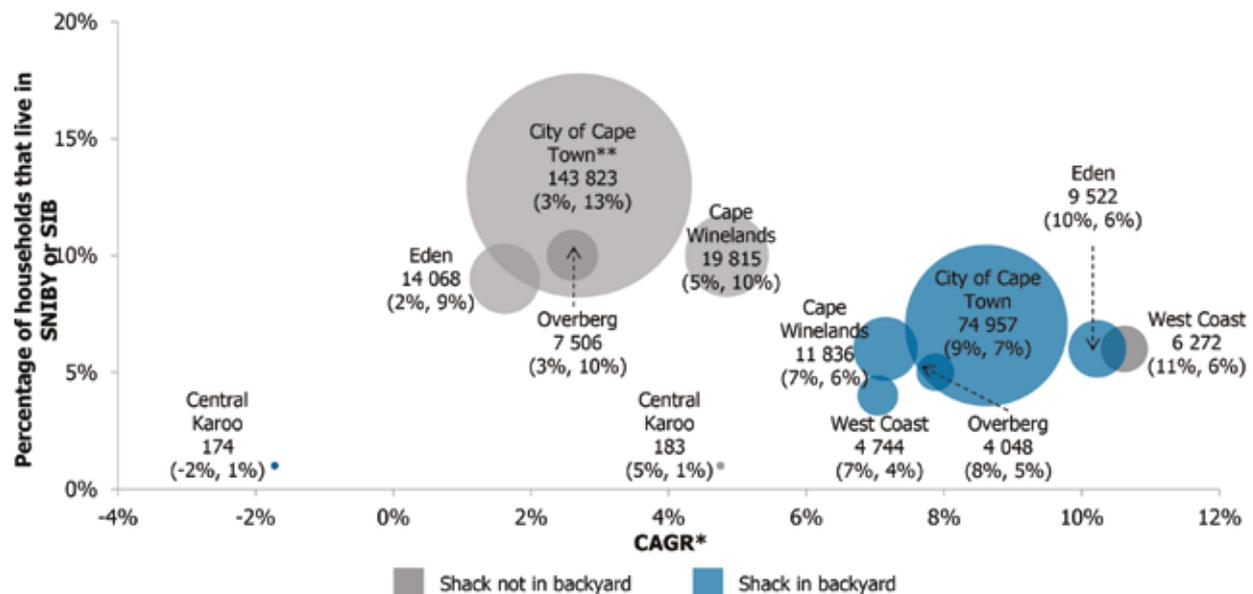
The City of Cape Town also has the highest proportion of households who live in shacks not in backyards (13%) across the municipalities in the province. The number and proportion of households living in shacks not in backyards by district municipality is summarised below. Together, shacks in backyards and shacks not in backyards accommodate almost 20% of all households in the Province.

Municipality	Shack not in a backyard		Shack in a backyard	
	Number of HH	Percentage of HH that live in SNIBY	Number of HH	Percentage of HH that live in SIB
City of Cape Town	143 823	13%	74 957	7%
Cape Winelands	19 815	10%	11 836	6%
Eden	14 068	9%	9 522	6%
Overberg	7 506	10%	4 048	5%
West Coast	6 272	6%	4 744	4%
Central Karoo	183	1%	174	1%
Western Cape	191 668	12%	105 282	6%

Source: Census 2011

The fastest growing municipalities with regard to the total number of households living in shacks not in backyards has been in West Coast and Cape Winelands, both off relatively low bases. With the exception of the Central Karoo (which has very few households living in shacks), across all municipalities the number of households living in shacks in backyards has increased faster than the number of households living in shacks not in backyards.

CHART 7 HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN SHACKS BY DISTRICT MUNICIPALITY: GROWTH RATES



Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

Note: Bubble size represents total households 2011 in SNIBY or SIB. Labels in brackets (x%, y%) : x% refers to CAGR*, y% refers to households in SNIBY or SIB as a proportion of total households

Note: * Compound annual growth rate

Note: ** Read as: City of Cape Town district municipality had 143 823 households living in shacks not in backyards in 2011. This has grown by a rate of 3% compounded annually between 2001 and 2011. 13% of households in the City of Cape Town live in shacks not in backyards

According to the 2011 Census⁸, roughly 43% of households living in shacks not in backyards in the Western Cape regard themselves as owners, with 43% who say they occupy the dwelling for free. There is no data to determine whether self-assessed ownership reflects formal status and if not, through what mechanisms the household has come to own the dwelling. Seven per cent of households say they rent their dwellings⁹.

⁸ In the questionnaire, the following statement is included with the question: "Refers to the main dwelling structure only and not to the land that it is situated on"

⁹ Six per cent responded 'other' – there is no indication as to what this entails

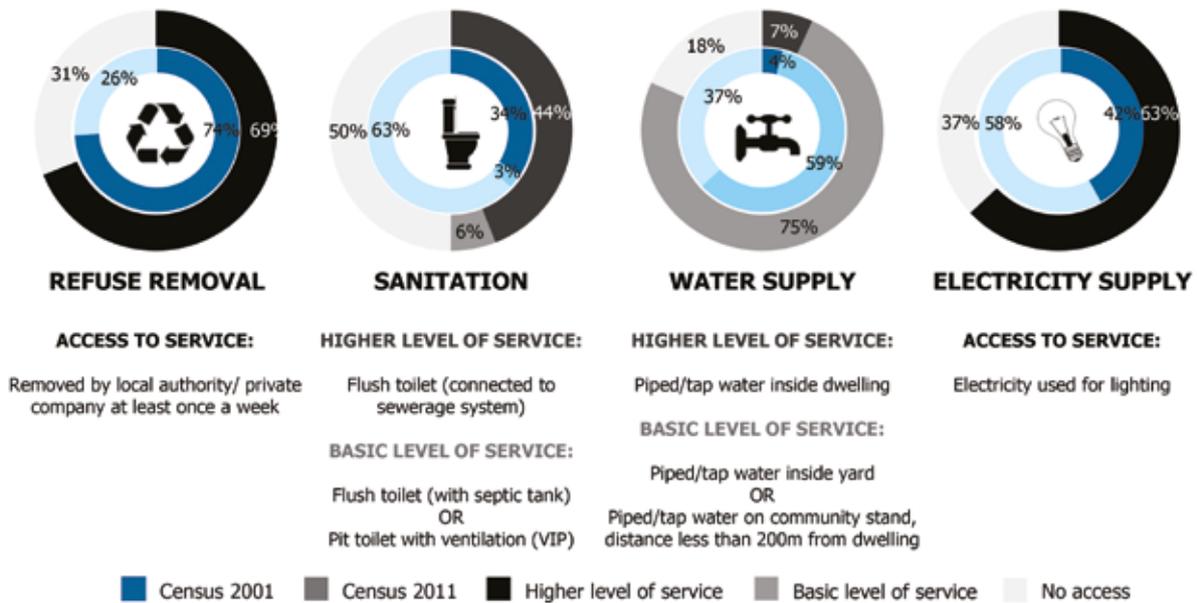
PART 5

Profiling informal settlements in the Western Cape

5.1 Access to services

Access to water and sanitation services have been categorised into higher and basic levels of service. Current and historic levels of access are summarised below for households living in shacks not in backyards. Compared to all other provinces, households living in shacks not in backyards in the Western Cape have the highest levels of access to refuse removal, sanitation, water and electricity.

CHART 8 ACCESS TO SERVICES IN THE WESTERN CAPE 2001 VS. 2011: HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN SHACKS NOT IN BACKYARDS



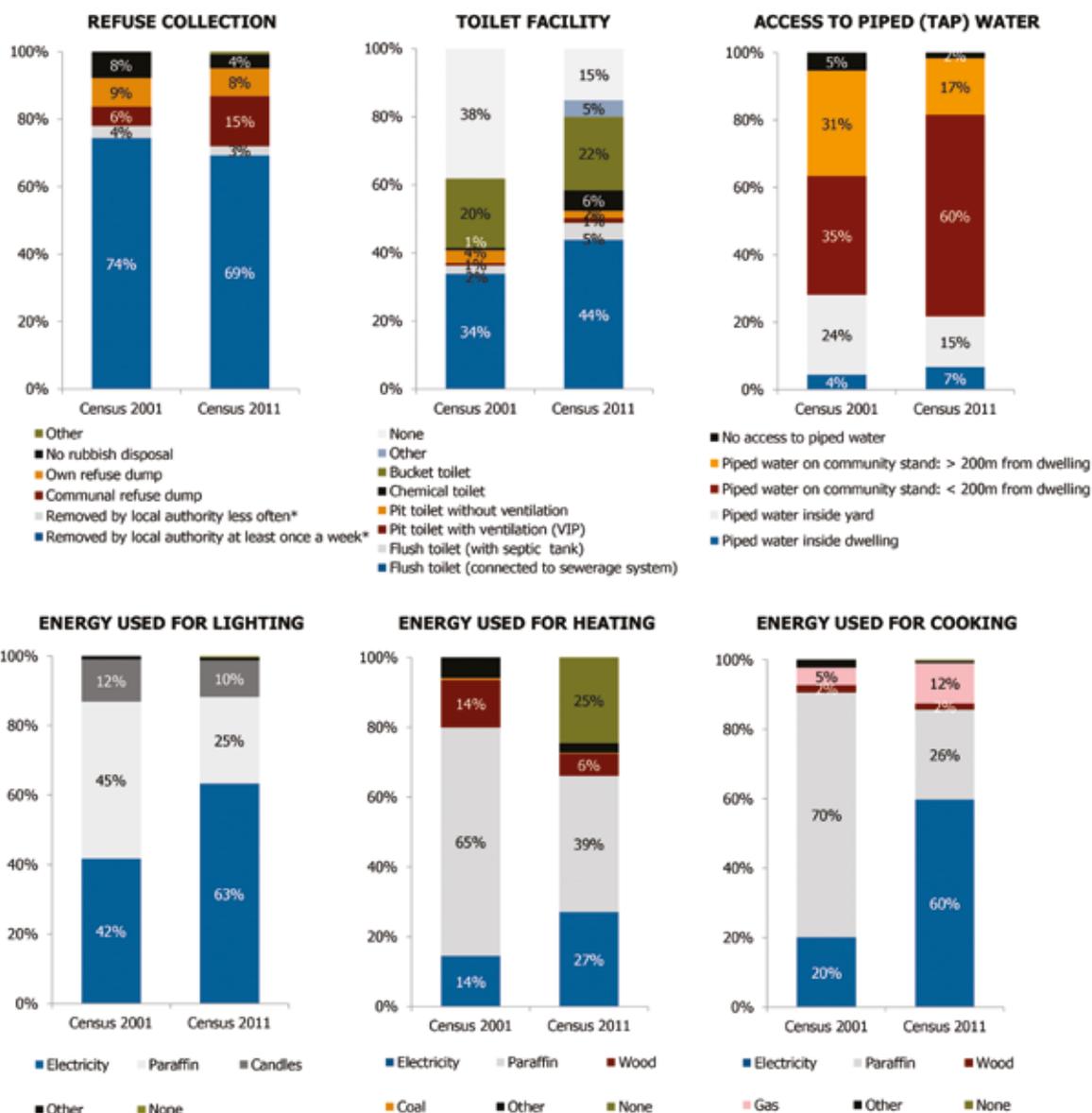
Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

Note: There is no indication as to the location of the toilet (in the dwelling, in the yard, and so on)

On average households living in shacks not in backyards in the Western Cape appear to live under better conditions than in 2001. By far the most significant improvements have been in access to piped water within 200 metres of the dwelling, and access to electricity. More detailed data on the nature of services is summarised in the charts below.

CHART 9

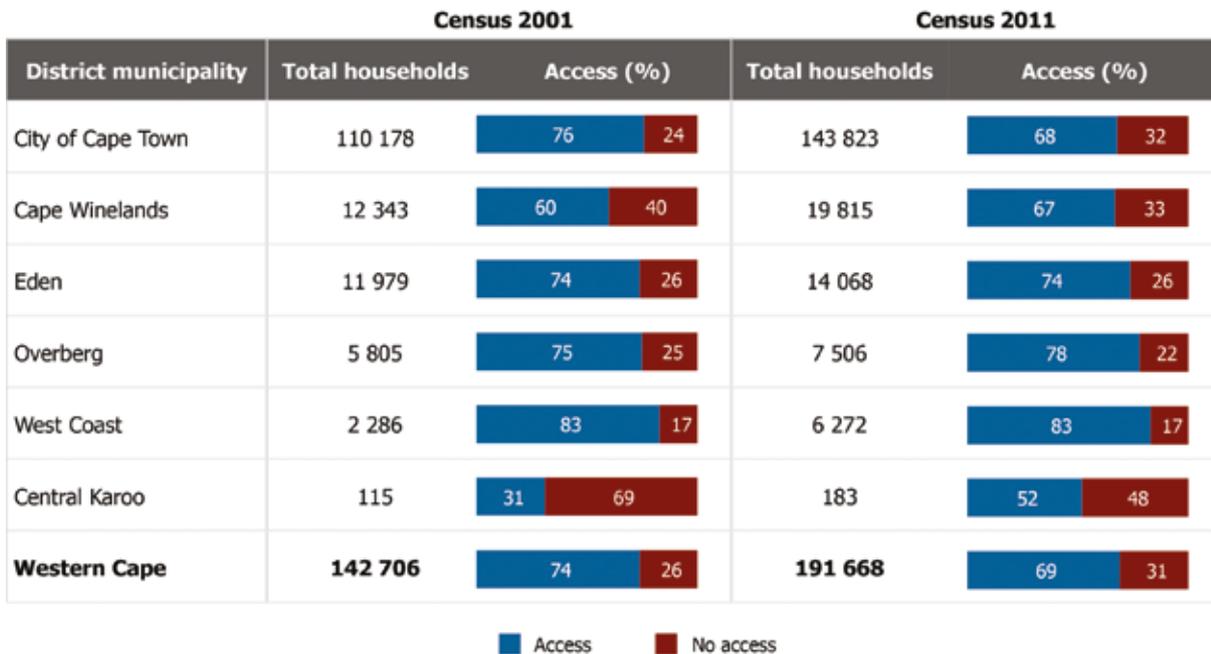
ACCESS TO SERVICES IN THE WESTERN CAPE: HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN SHACKS NOT IN BACKYARDS



Source: Census 2001, Census 2011
 * In the Census 2011 these include refuse removed by private company

There are noticeable differences across the province in terms of levels of access and rates of change with regard to municipal services. Measured in terms of the proportion of households, access to refuse removal for those living in shacks not in backyards has increased or remained the same in all district municipalities except the City of Cape Town where it has declined.

CHART 10 ACCESS TO REFUSE REMOVAL IN THE WESTERN CAPE: HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN SHACKS NOT IN BACKYARDS

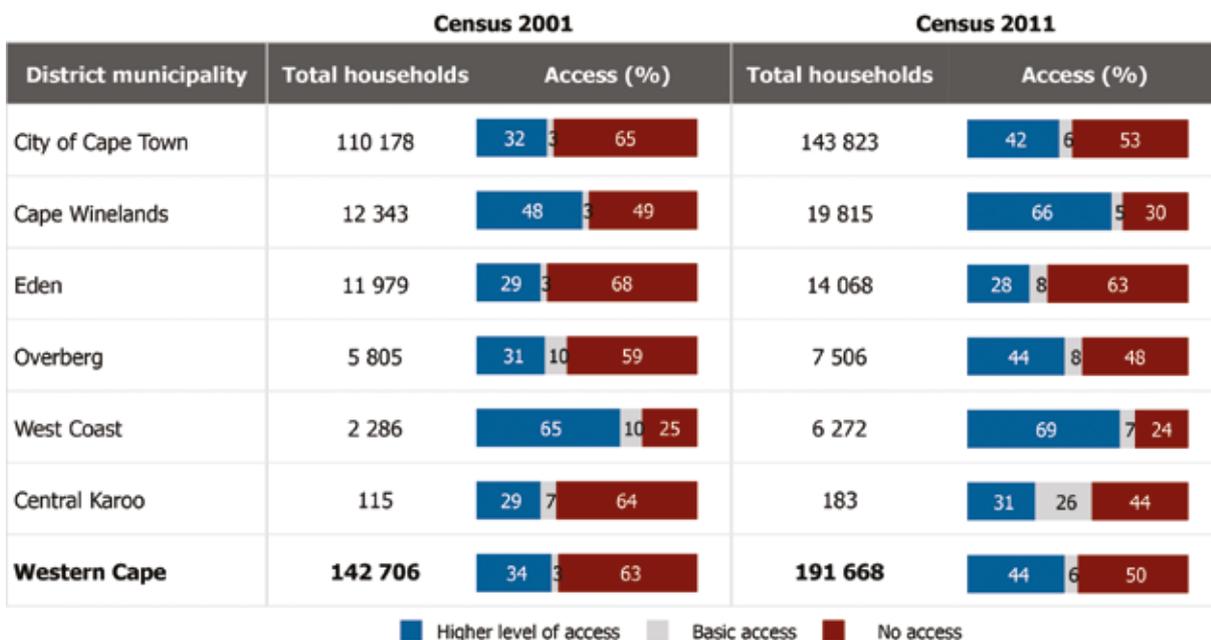


Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

Note: Access to refuse removal: Removed by local authority/private company at least once a week

Access to sanitation differs within the province with the West Coast having the highest level of access and Eden the lowest, relative to other district municipalities in the province.

CHART 11 ACCESS TO SANITATION IN THE WESTERN CAPE: HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN SHACKS NOT IN BACKYARDS

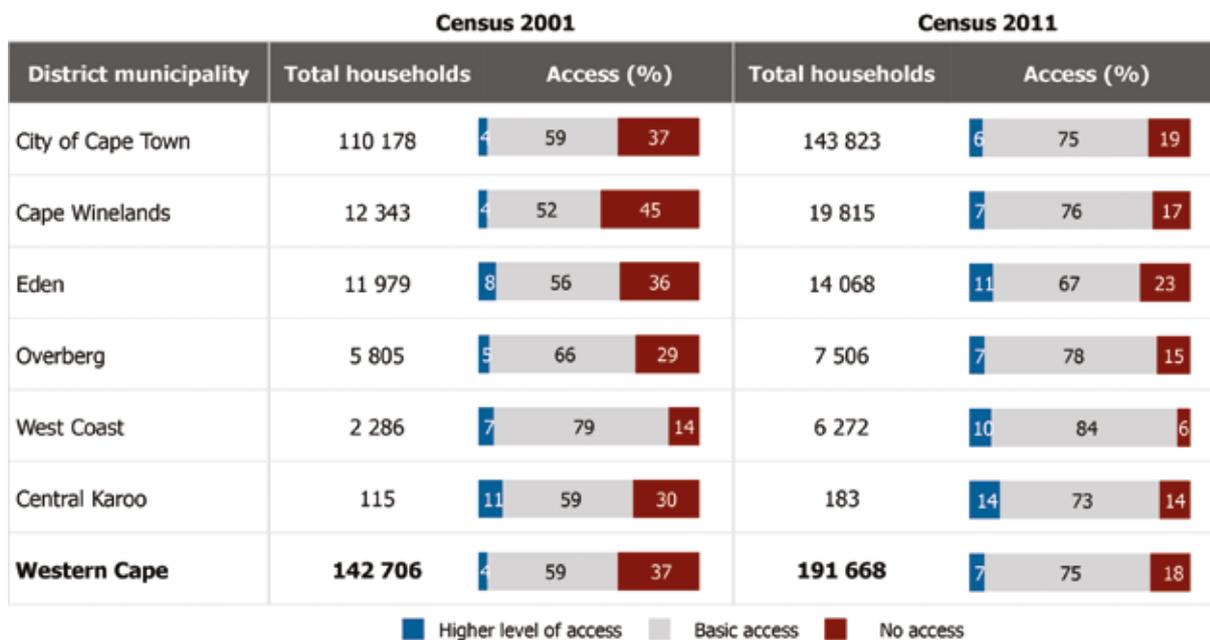


Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

Note: Higher levels of service: Flush toilet (connected to sewerage system); Basic levels of service: Flush toilet (with septic tank) / Pit latrine with ventilation (VIP)

Access to basic levels of water services has improved in all district municipalities since 2001.

CHART 12 ACCESS TO WATER IN THE WESTERN CAPE: HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN SHACKS NOT IN BACKYARDS

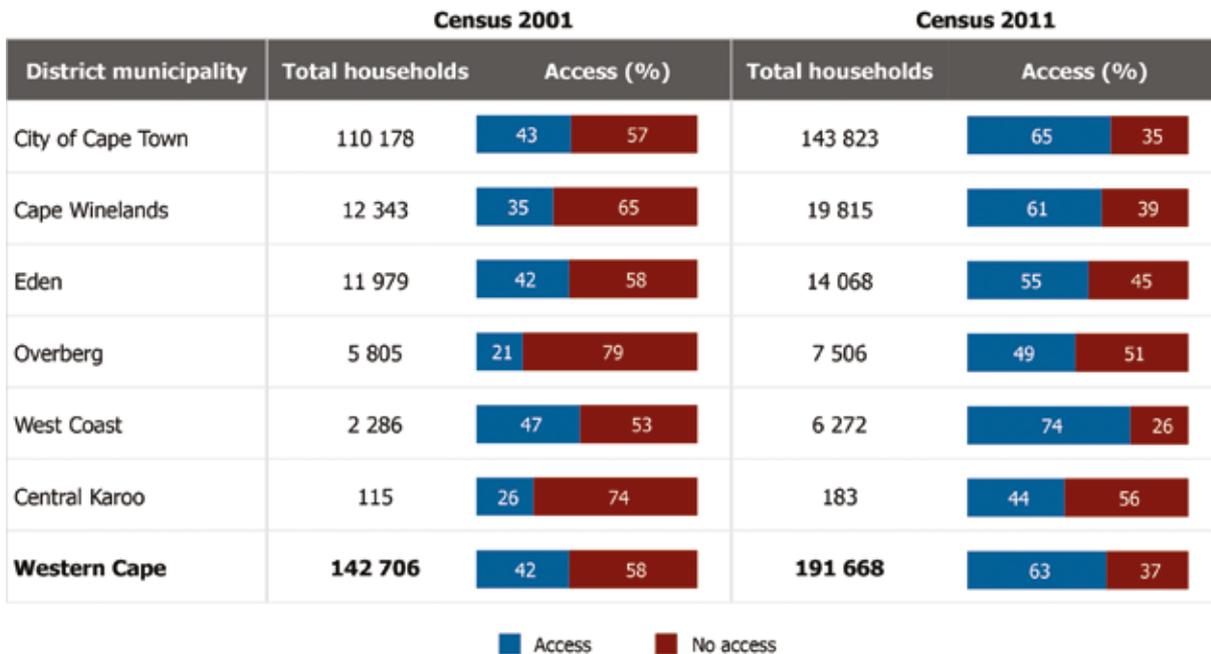


Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

Note: Higher levels of service: Piped (tap) water inside dwelling; Basic levels of service: Piped (tap) water inside yard / Piped (tap) water on community stand: distance less than 200m from dwelling

Access to electricity has improved in all district municipalities since 2001. However in some district municipalities such as Eden, the Overberg and Cape Winelands a high proportion do not have access to electricity.

CHART 13 ACCESS TO ELECTRICITY IN THE WESTERN CAPE: HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN SHACKS NOT IN BACKYARDS



Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

Note: Access to electricity: Use electricity for lighting

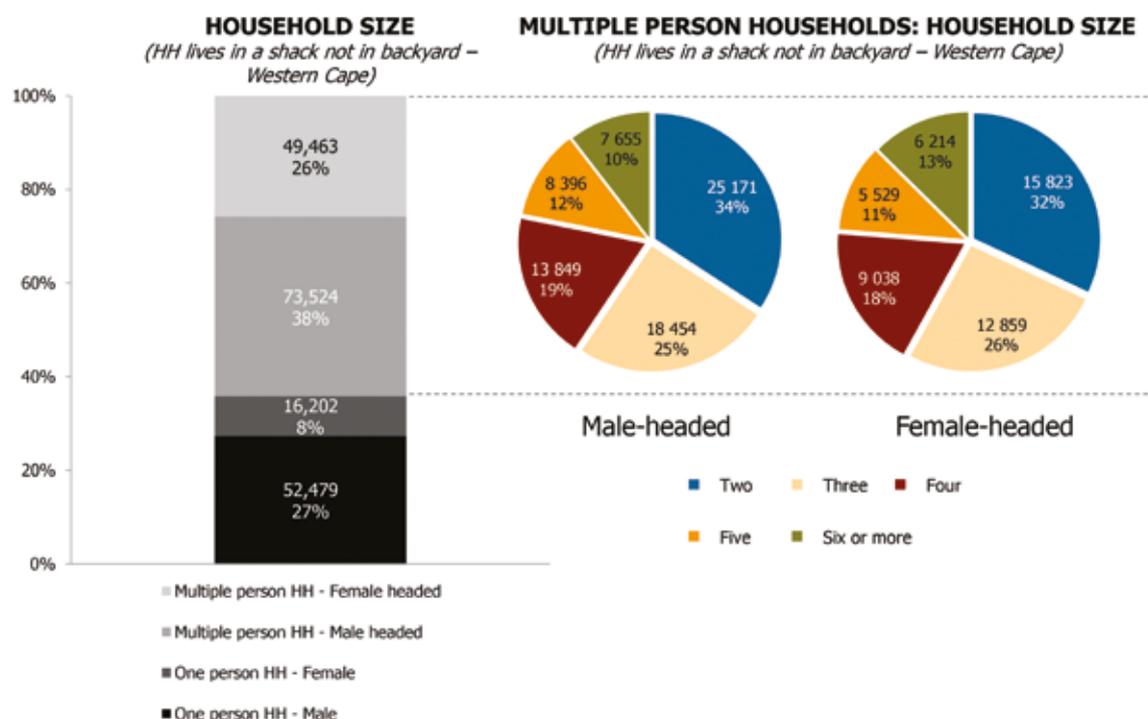
5.2 Household characteristics

The average household size for households who live in shacks not in backyards at 2.6 is slightly lower than the provincial average of 3.2. This reflects the high proportion of one-person households who live in shacks not in backyards. Census 2011 indicates that roughly 36% of households who live in shacks not in backyards in the Western Cape are one-person households; for households in the province as a whole this proportion is 21%.

The size distribution of households living in shacks not in backyards from the census together with data on the gender of the head of the household is summarised below. Two thirds of households (66%) are male-headed.

CHART 14

HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN SHACKS NOT IN BACKYARDS IN THE WESTERN CAPE: SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD, BY GENDER OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD



Source: Census 2011

Data on number of rooms in the dwelling together with data on the number of people who live in the household can be used to assess over-crowding. Assuming that dwellings that contain more than two individuals per room are over-crowded, 18% of all multi-person households who live in shacks not in backyards in the Western Cape live in over-crowded conditions. Female-headed multi-person households are more likely to be over-crowded (20% versus 17%).

5.3 Children in informal settlements

Census 2011 data on children has only been released for EAs, and not by dwelling type. The analysis of children therefore focuses on informal residential EAs. Census data indicates that there are 131,033 children under the age of 18 who live in informal residential EAs accounting for 8% of all children in the Western Cape. There is a noticeable skew towards very young children in informal residential areas; 41% of all children are under the age of five, compared to 32% for the province as a whole.

Age group of children	Children in Informal residential EAs	Percentage	All children	Percentage
0 - 4	54 121	41%	564 800	32%
5 - 6	15 777	12%	197 612	11%
7 - 10	23 618	18%	352 096	20%
11 - 14	20 813	16%	349 297	20%
15 - 17	16 705	13%	275 620	16%
Total	131 033	100%	1 739 425	100%

According to the census, 87% of children under the age of 15 in informal residential EAs in the Western Cape have both parents still living¹⁰ (the corresponding proportion for the province as a whole is 89%¹¹).

School attendance for those aged 7 to 17 living in informal residential EAs is high, and is not significantly different than for the province as a whole. Eighty nine per cent of children aged 7 to 17 living in informal residential EAs in the Western Cape currently attend an educational institution.

Children 7 - 17	Informal residential EA	All children
7 - 10	93%	93%
11 - 14	93%	93%
15 - 17	80%	81%
Total*	89%	90%

Source: Census 2011

Note: * Total school attendance aged 7 - 17. Census reports this for children aged 5 and up

5.4 Migration

Census 2011 contains data on how long individuals have lived in their current dwellings but analysis using the current variables available make this difficult to interpret. Nevertheless we can look at those individuals who moved into their current dwelling after 2001 and who currently reside in informal residential EAs (data on migration by type of dwelling is not available). Roughly 30% of all individuals who live in informal residential EAs moved between 2001 and 2011. The table below summarises findings in this regard. Source: Census 2011

¹⁰ For children in the country as whole living in informal EAs this proportion is 81%

¹¹ For children in the country as a whole this proportion is 80%

MIGRATION IN THE WESTERN CAPE	
Total number of people who moved between 2001 and 2011	1 441 573
Number of people who moved between 2001 and 2011 who live in informal EAs	122 332
Proportion of those who live in informal EAs who moved between 2001 and 2011	30%
Proportion of total who moved between 2001 and 2011 who live in informal EAs	8%
Provinces most moved from (informal EAs)	Eastern Cape (45%) Western Cape (41%)

Source: Census 2011

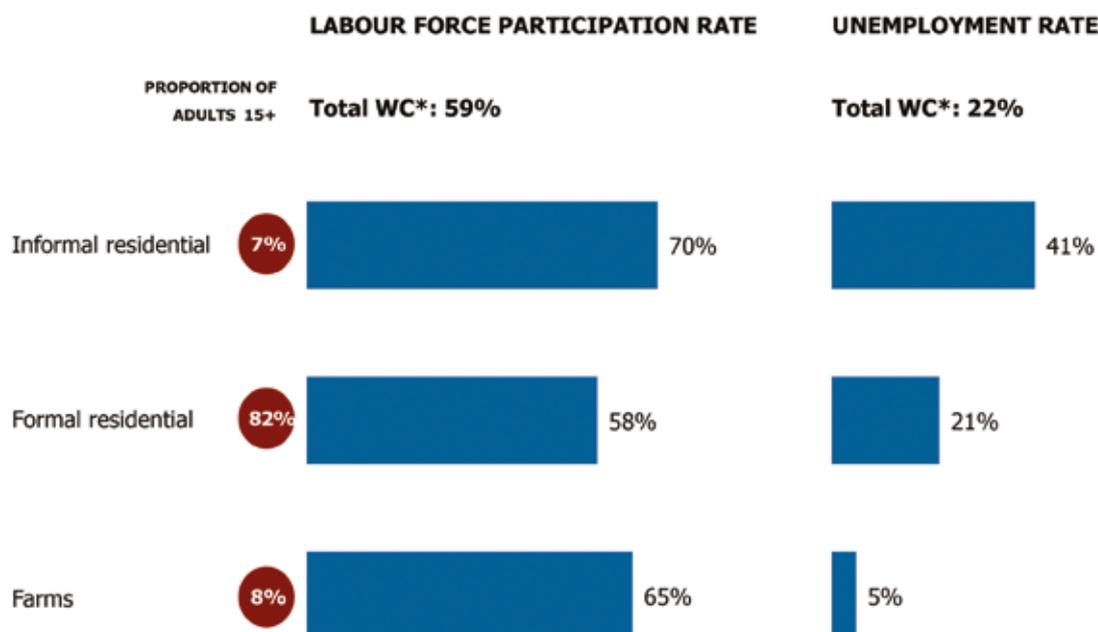
5.5 Employment and income

5.5.1 Employment

Census 2011 data on employment has only been released for EAs, and not by dwelling type. The analysis of employment therefore focuses on informal residential EAs. According to Census 2011, labour force participation rates are higher in informal residential EAs than in formal residential EAs and unemployment rates are noticeably higher. This is consistent with informal settlements acting as 'arrival cities' accommodating those seeking an entry point into the labour market.

CHART 15

ADULTS AGED 15+ IN THE WESTERN CAPE: LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY TYPE OF ENUMERATION AREA



Source: Census 2011

Note: * Total WC also includes: Collective living quarters (2%), Small holdings (1%), Commercial (1%), Vacant (1%), Industrial (0%), Parks and recreation (0%), Traditional residential (0%). Brackets show proportion of adults 15+ living in EA type

On the whole, a lower proportion of employed adults living in informal residential EAs are employed in the formal sector compared to all employed adults.

	Formal Sector	Informal Sector	Private household	Don't know
Informal residential EA	69%	15%	13%	4%
All employed adults in province	78%	11%	8%	2%

Source: Census 2011

There is no data on the specific industries of employment.

Education levels are noticeably lower for adults aged 15 or older who live in informal residential EAs than for adults in the province as a whole. Seventy two per cent of employed adults living in informal EAs in the Western Cape do not have a matric.

	Informal residential EA					All adults				
	No schooling	Less than Matric	Matric	Technikon, University or other post matric	Other	No schooling	Less than Matric	Matric	Technikon, University or other post matric	Other
Employed	2%	70%	25%	2%	0%	2%	46%	32%	20%	1%
Unemployed	3%	77%	19%	1%	0%	2%	69%	25%	5%	0%
Discouraged work-seeker	3%	78%	18%	1%	0%	2%	71%	23%	3%	0%
Other not economically active	3%	79%	15%	2%	0%	3%	62%	19%	7%	9%
Total adults 15+	3%	74%	20%	2%	0%	2%	55%	26%	13%	4%

Source: Census 2011

5.5.2 Income

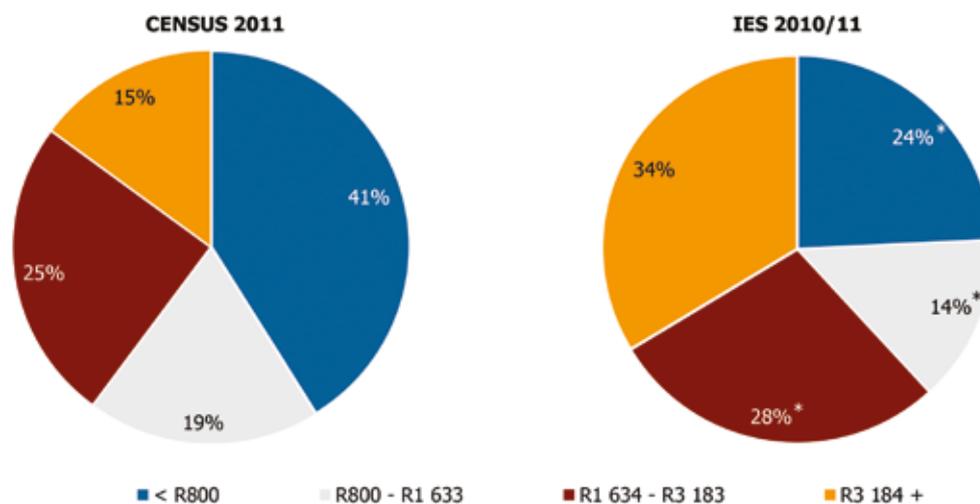
According to the 2011 Census 41% of households living in shacks not in backyards earn less than R800 per month. However the quality of census data on household income is relatively poor. Each respondent is asked to report their individual income in one of twelve fairly wide bands¹². Household income as reported by the Census is a derived variable, calculated by adding together the individual incomes of all members of the household¹³. A far more detailed source of data on incomes is the IES¹⁴. That data source indicates that 24% of households living in shacks not in backyards earned less than R800 in 2011. However, a limitation of the IES is its sample frame, which is drawn from the Census 2001. The data source may well contain a bias towards older more established informal settlements, which may contain a higher earning sample of households. A further limitation of the IES is the small sample size. There are a total of 136 households who live in shacks not in backyards in the Western Cape.

¹² "What is the income category that best describes the gross monthly or annual income of (name) before deductions and including all sources of income? (e.g. Social grants, UIF, remittances, rentals, investments, sales or products, services, etc.)"

¹³ As individual incomes were recorded in intervals rather than exact amounts, a fixed amount was allocated to each range in order to calculate household income. This is summarised in the appendix

¹⁴ Analysis of income in the IES excludes imputed rentals for housing

CHART 16 HOUSEHOLD LIVES IN A SHACK NOT IN BACKYARD IN THE WESTERN CAPE: MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME¹⁵

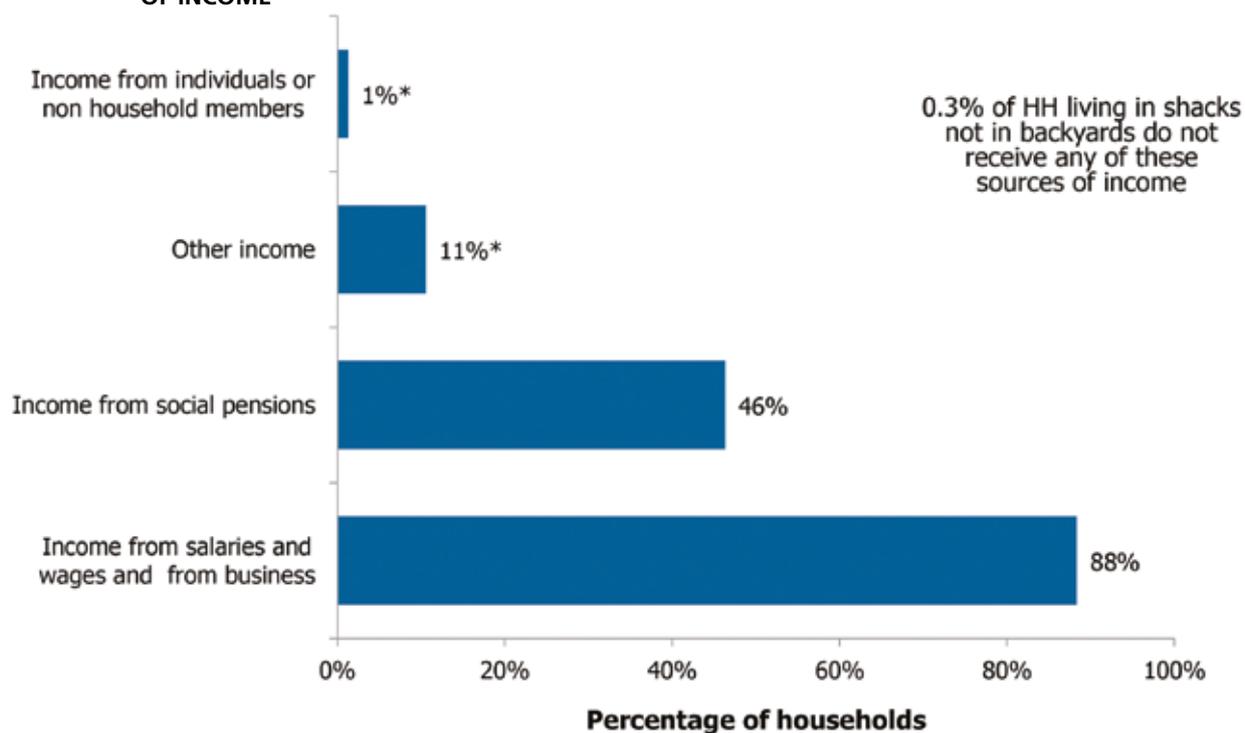


Source: Census 2011, IES 2010/11

According to the IES, 69% of households in shacks not in backyards in the province have a household income of less than R3 500 per month.

The IES indicates that the primary income source for households living in shacks not in backyards in the province is salaries/wages. Around 46% receive government grants.

CHART 17 HOUSEHOLD LIVES IN A SHACK NOT IN BACKYARD IN THE WESTERN CAPE: SOURCES OF INCOME



Source: IES 2010/11 (* less than 40 observations)

¹⁵ In the IES 2010/11 for the province as a whole, these proportions are: < R800 (8%), R800 - R1 633 (9%), R1 634 - R3 183 (16%), R3 184 - R6 366 (20%), R6 367 + (46%). In the Census 2011 they are: < R800 (20%), R800 - R1 633 (12%), R1 634 - R3 183 (18%), R3 184 - R6 366 (16%), R6 367 + (35%)

5.6 Housing waiting lists and subsidy housing

There is no data available in the census on housing waiting lists and subsidy housing. According to the GHS, 32% of households in shacks not in backyards in the Western Cape have at least one member on the waiting list for an RDP or state subsidised house. Data from the same survey can be used to quantify the number of households who live in shacks not in backyards that might be eligible to obtain a subsidised house. Criteria include a household income of less than R3 500 per month, a household size of more than one individual, not having another dwelling, and no previous housing subsidy received. Using these criteria, around 50% of households living in shacks not in backyards in the province appear to qualify for subsidy housing.

PART 6

Profiling informal settlements in the City of Cape Town

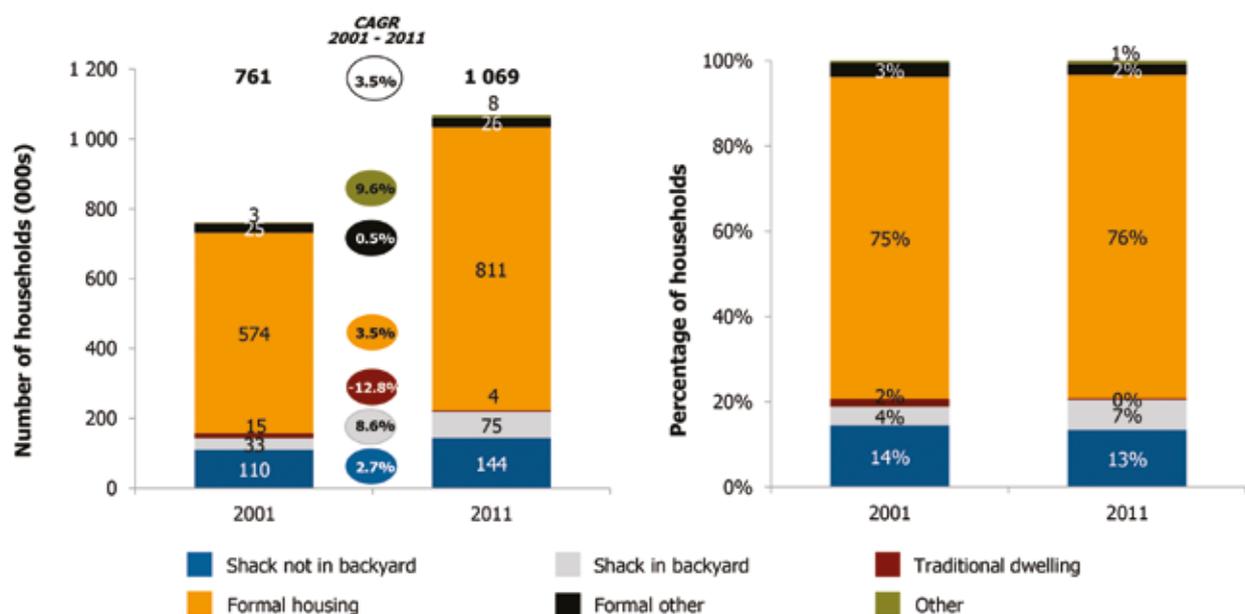
Data summarised for the City of Cape Town focuses mainly on household level data. Data for individuals in the municipality has been included in the appendix.

6.1 Number of households

According to the Census there has been a significant increase in the number of households living in formal dwellings in the City of Cape Town since 2001, although the proportion of households living in formal dwellings has remained static¹⁶. In 2001 79% lived in formal dwellings. By 2011 this had decreased slightly to 78%. The number living in shacks in backyards has increased at a faster rate, albeit off a lower base.

The number of households living in shacks not in backyards has increased by 33,645 over the ten year period although the proportion of households living in shacks not in backyards has declined slightly from 14% in 2001 to 13% in 2011.

CHART 18 TYPE OF MAIN DWELLING IN THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN



Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

Note: Formal housing contains: House or brick/concrete structure on a separate stand or yard, Town / cluster / semi-detached house, Flat or apartment. Formal other contains: House/flat/room in backyard, Room/flatlet on a property or larger dwelling/servants quarters/granny flat

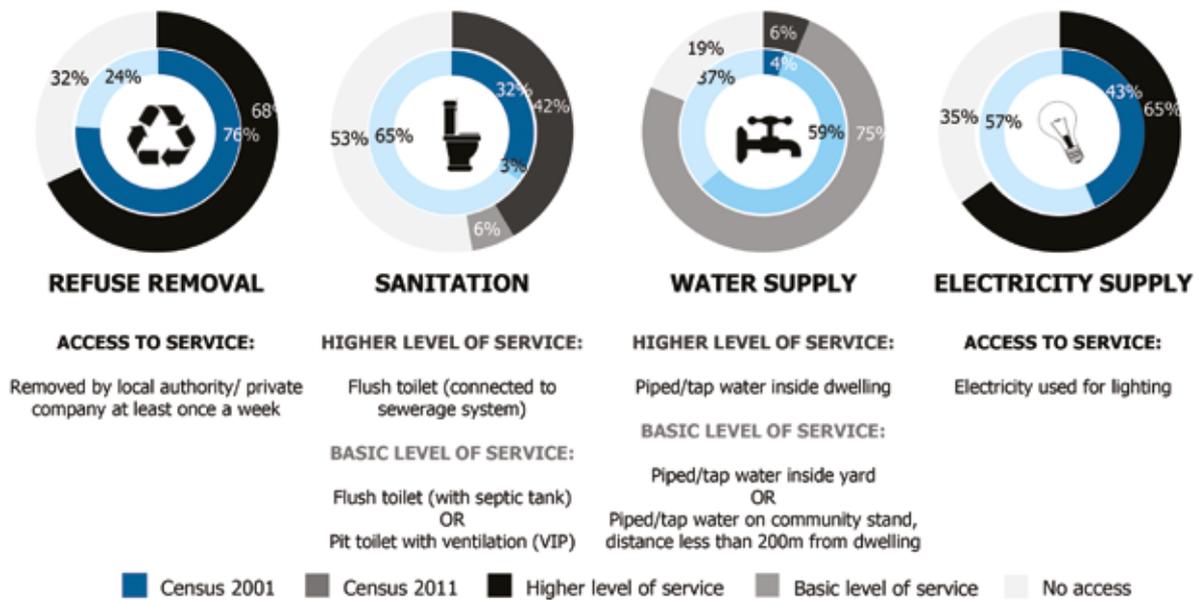
¹⁶ Formal dwelling contains: House or brick/concrete structure on a separate stand or yard, Town / cluster / semi-detached house, Flat or apartment, House/flat/room in backyard, Room/flatlet on a property or larger dwelling/servants quarters/granny flat

According to the 2011 Census, roughly 46% of households living in shacks not in backyards in the City of Cape Town regard themselves as owners, with a slightly lower 42% who say they occupy the dwelling for free. Six per cent of households say they rent their dwellings¹⁷.

6.2 Access to services

Access to water and sanitation services have been categorised into higher and basic levels of service. Current and historic levels of access are summarised below for households living in shacks not in backyards in the City of Cape Town.

CHART 19 ACCESS TO SERVICES IN THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN 2001 VS. 2011: HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN SHACKS NOT IN BACKYARDS



Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

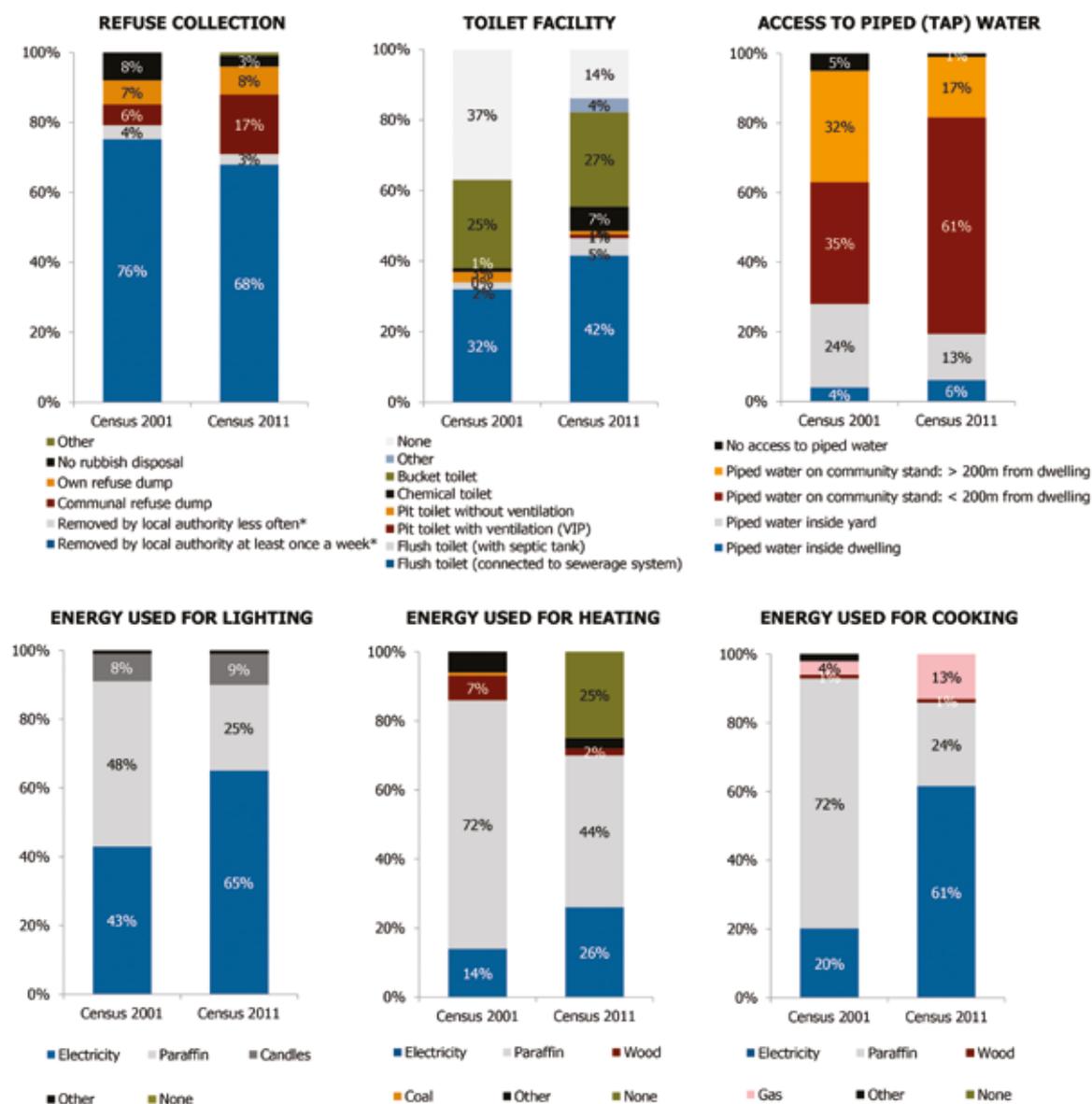
Note: There is no indication as to the location of the toilet (in the dwelling, in the yard, and so on)

On average households living in shacks not in backyards in the City of Cape Town appear to live under better conditions than in 2001. There have been noticeable improvements in services for those who live in shacks not in backyards, particularly access to flush toilets and piped water within 200 metres from the dwelling. Use of electricity for lighting by these households increased from 43% in 2001 to 65% in 2011. More detailed data on the nature of services is summarised in the charts below.

¹⁷Six per cent responded 'other'

CHART 20

ACCESS TO SERVICES IN THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN: HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN SHACKS NOT IN BACKYARDS



Source: Census 2001, Census 2011

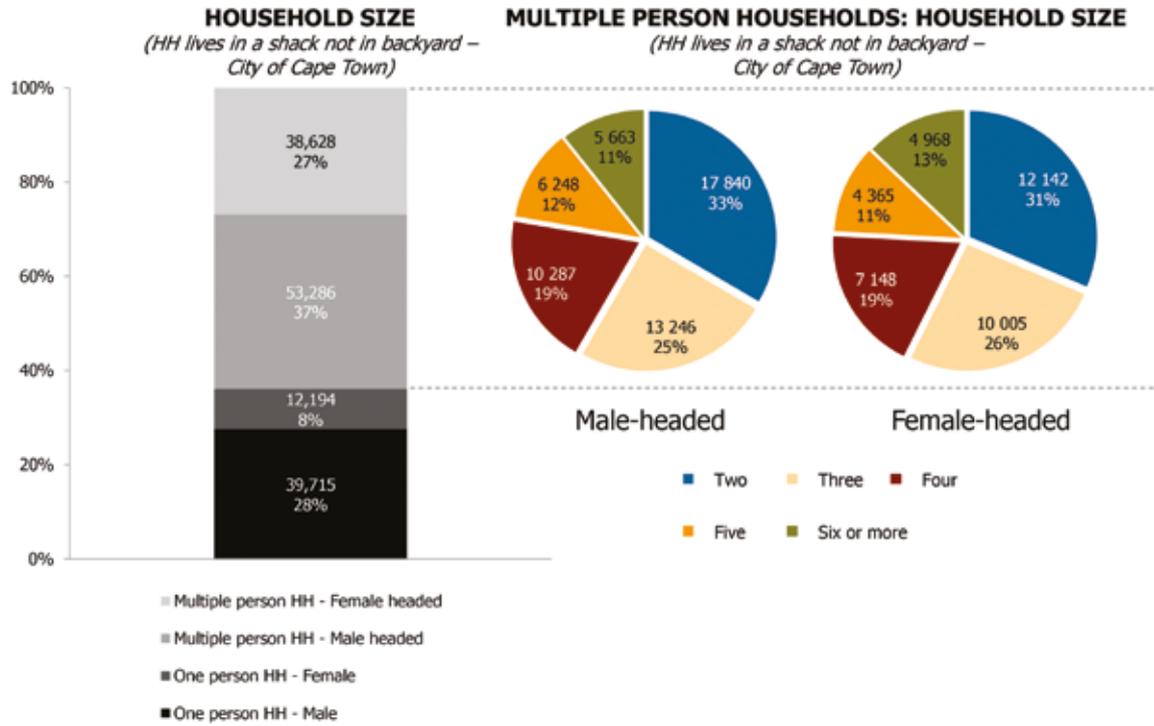
* In the Census 2011 these include refuse removed by private company

6.3 Household characteristics

The average household size for households who live in shacks not in backyards in the City of Cape Town at 2.6 is slightly lower than the metropolitan average of 3.2. This reflects the high proportion of one-person households who live in shacks not in backyards. Census 2011 indicates that roughly 36% of households who live in shacks not in backyards in the City of Cape Town are one-person households; for households in the metro as a whole this proportion is 22%.

The size distribution of households living in shacks not in backyards from the census together with data on the gender of the head of the household is summarised below. Nearly two thirds of households (65%) are male-headed.

CHART 21 HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN SHACKS NOT IN BACKYARDS IN THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN: SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD, BY GENDER OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD



Source: Census 2011

PART 7

Other non-survey data sources

Other non-survey data sources have been explored, including the Housing Development Agency, Eskom and other providers of data. Additionally, data is available from the City of Cape Town as well as provisional data based on a study commissioned by the Western Cape province.

7.1 Land and Property Spatial Information System (LaPsis)

LaPsis, an online system developed by the HDA, builds on data gathered by the NDHS and overlays onto it land and property data including cadastre, ownership, title documents and deeds (from the Deeds Office), administrative boundaries (from the Demarcation Board) and points of interest from service providers such as AfriGIS¹⁸. The informal settlements layer was last updated in November 2011. The data indicates there are 74 informal settlements in the Western Cape; 24% of these have a household/shack count.

7.2 Eskom's Spot Building Count (also known as the Eskom Dwelling Layer)

Eskom has mapped and classified structures in South Africa using image interpretation and manual digitisation of high resolution satellite imagery. Where settlements are too dense to determine the number of structures given the resolution of the satellite imagery the area is categorised as a 'Dense Informal' area. These areas are often informal settlements although Eskom does not have a specific definition in that regard. Identifiable dwellings and building structures are mapped by points while dense informal settlements are mapped by polygons. The dataset was last updated in November 2011.

Data provided by Eskom revealed 234 polygons categorised as Dense Informal in the Western Cape, covering a total area of 17 square kilometres.

7.3 Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC)

CORC is an NGO that operates in all provinces across the country, with the aim of providing support to "networks of communities to mobilise themselves around their own resources and capacities"¹⁹. In order to provide a fact base to enable communities to develop a strategy and negotiate with the State with regard to service provision and upgrading, CORC profiles informal settlements and undertakes household surveys. These surveys have been conducted in areas across the country by community members in these settlements. Community members are trained by CORC and are provided with a basic stipend to enable them to do their work. Improvements are made to questionnaires using

¹⁸ AfriGIS was given informal settlements data by the provincial departments of housing to create the map layers

¹⁹ See <http://www.sasdialliance.org.za/about-corc/>

community consultation and professional verification. This ensures that comprehensive and relevant data is collected. CORC also gathers other settlement level data on service provision including the number and type of toilets and taps. A list of settlements that have been enumerated recently in the Western Cape is summarised below, together with household and population estimates.

TABLE 11 ENUMERATION OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS BY CORC IN THE WESTERN CAPE			
Name of settlement	Date of enumeration	Number of households	Population
Doornbach	2009	1 855	4 555
Joe Slovo	2009	2 748	7 946
Manenberg	2009	3 139	1 322
Sheffield Road	2009	149	504
Barcelona	2010	2 230	6 600
Europe	2010	1 832	5 125
Los Angeles	2010	325	876
TT Section	2010	272	995
Athlone	2011	2 709	7 681
BBT Section	2011	56	156
BT Section	2011	68	168
Burundi	2011	586	1 217
Devon valley	2011	10	15
Garden City	2011	298	758
Gif	2011	17	41
Kylmore	2011	9	26
la Rochelle	2011	25	100
Langrug	2011	1 858	4 088
Masilunge	2011	50	106
Meerlust	2011	10	25
Mitchell's Plain	2011	3 992	11 976
Schoopiehoegte	2011	19	79
Shukushukuma	2011	349	647
7de Laan	2012	46	113
Bonnietown	2012	30	86
City Mission	2012	26	44
Ethembeni	2012	242	604
Faure	2012	24	34
Flamingo Crescent	2012	87	211
Kukutown	2012	25	65
Lanquedoc	2012	815	2 906
Mossienes	2012	5	9
Mshiniwam	2012	250	454
Tokoloshe	2012	3	6
Uitkyk bos	2012	30	121
Vlakteplaas	2012	21	89
Vygieskraal	2012	232	692
Woodroad	2012	10	28

7.4 Provincial data: Western Cape

Provincial estimates from the Western Cape have not changed since the previous informal settlements study in 2011 by Eighty20. Data coverage and methodologies summarised below are taken directly out of that study.

The Western Cape Department of Human Settlements has commissioned a study of informal settlements in the province, excluding the City of Cape Town. While findings are provisional and unpublished, that data indicates there are 51,224 shacks spread across 230 informal settlements as summarised below.

	Number of informal settlements	Number of informal dwellings in informal settlements
Cape Winelands	72	21 652
Central Karoo	1	17
Eden	107	14 035
Overberg	35	8 787
West Coast	15	6 733
Total (excl. City of Cape Town)	230	51 224

Source: Western Cape Department of Human Settlements 2011

7.5 Municipal data: City of Cape Town

A report entitled "Informal Dwelling Count for Cape Town in Informal Settlements (1993 – 2008)" was released in June 2011, and incorporates shack counts from aerial photography up to June 2008²⁰. The City's Corporate GIS branch (within the Information and Knowledge Management Department) has been responsible for these shack counts since 2002²¹. They commissioned the aerial photography and were responsible for ortho-rectification²². Shack counts have since been updated using November 2009 and March 2011 aerial photography (see chart below)²³.

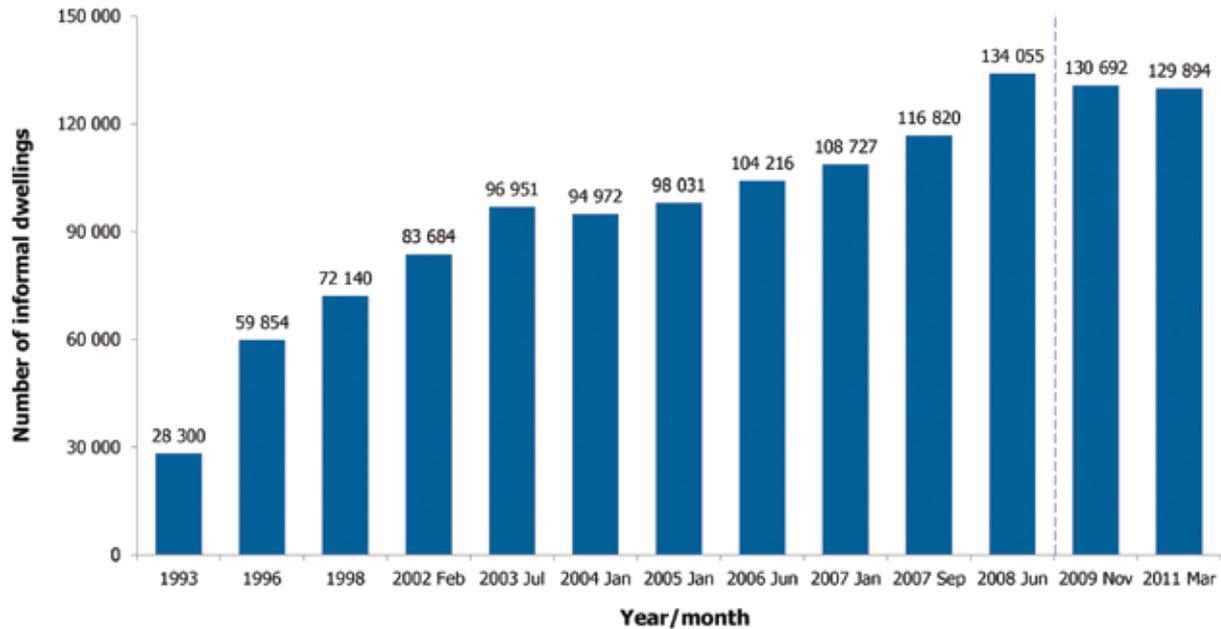
²⁰ According to this data source, three suburbs, namely Khayelitsha, Philippi and Gugulethu together accounted for 60% of the number of informal dwellings in the City of Cape Town in June 2008

²¹ Shack counts are done using the Feature Analyst software, an automated process with around 80% success rate, leaving a 20% count to be done manually (a point is captured on every shack). To determine whether an informal settlement is serviced or not, the GIS branch uses a cadastral overlay which incorporates property ownership, road networks and so on. This information is then verified with the City's service departments. The definition and spatial delimitation of informal settlements used in this report is based on the SDI and GIS Department's informal settlement layers, derived from informal dwelling count of roofs captured from aerial photographs.

²² Ortho-rectification is the process of geometrically correcting an aerial photograph so that distances are uniform and the photograph can be measured like a map

²³ The 2009 imagery was flown at a 15cm resolution and the 2011 imagery was flown at a 10-12cm resolution

CHART 22 ACTUAL SHACK COUNTS BASED ON AERIAL IMAGERY IN THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN: NUMBER OF INFORMAL DWELLINGS IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS



Source: City of Cape Town (2011), Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, Informal Dwelling Count (Based on Aerial Photography) for Cape Town in informal settlements (excluding Backyards) (1993 – 2008), Janet Gie
 Source: City of Cape Town GIS department, November 2009 and March 2011 informal dwelling counts

According to City of Cape Town's Solid Waste Department's December 2012 GPS Survey, there appear to be 141,765 informal dwellings living in informal settlements. The number of shacks was captured by GPS and post-processed over a two week period in December 2012 by a Solid Waste contractor. The informal dwelling counts using aerial photography is done with the involvement of several operational departments such as Solid Waste, Electricity, and Water and Sanitation to help identify new settlements. Field staff are also involved in validating the existence of these settlements and to ascertain some basic information by means of field surveys and discussions with community leadership.

Shack counts are generally an undercount due to the difficulty of determining boundaries of every structure particularly when they are built right next to each other and are located under vegetation.

With regards to the number of informal settlements in the City of Cape Town, estimates from 2008 indicate the number of informal settlements in the City of Cape Town is over 350²⁴. According to City of Cape Town's Solid Waste Department's December 2012 GPS Survey, there are 378 informal settlements in the metro.

The figure of 141,765 informal dwellings living in 378 informal settlements and its methodology are being tested by the municipality, after which it will become the official figure for the City of Cape Town for 2012.

The City of Cape Town is currently developing a GIS Informal Settlement project. The purpose of this project is to collate the numerous sources of data relating to informal settlements available to the City (including shack counts from aerial photography, physical dwelling counts, and survey household estimates) and to develop more up-to-date, reliable household and dwelling figures. Each department involved in the project will collect and capture their own data sets, before sending the data to the Corporate GIS branch to ensure all the standards have been adhered to.

²⁴ City of Cape Town (2011), Strategic Development Information and GIS Department, Informal Dwelling Count (Based on Aerial Photography) for Cape Town in informal settlements (excluding Backyards) (1993 – 2008), Janet Gie

All data sets will have Meta Data attached and will include the following:

- Settlement name
- Settlement boundaries
- Number of settlements
- Number of shacks per settlement
- Number of doors per settlement needed for refuse collection
- All utility services such as stand pipes, number of toilets, water pipes
- Health data
- Number of households

There will also be reports of previous studies done in specific settlements.

7.6 Summary of estimates

There are discrepancies between the various estimates of the number of informal settlements in the Western Cape. For example, LaPsis 2011 estimates that there are 48 informal settlements in the City of Cape Town compared to the 2012 municipal estimate of 378. It is not clear whether the definitions of informal settlements are aligned.

	Number of informal settlements		
	LaPsis 2011: Informal settlements atlas	Provincial estimates 2011	Municipal estimates 2012
Cape Winelands	20	72	
Central Karoo		1	
City of Cape Town	48		378
Eden	5	107	
Overberg		35	
West Coast	1	15	
Western Cape	74		

Note: Provincial estimates from the Western Cape Department of Human Settlements exclude the City of Cape Town

Note: According to Eskom's Spot Building Count last updated in November 2011, there are 234 polygons in the Western Cape classified as "Dense Informal"

Provincial estimates of the total number of shacks, derived primarily from shack counts, align well with Census data on the number of households living in shacks not in backyards.

	Number of shacks in IS	Number of informal dwellings in IS	Number of households in informal settlements	
	Provincial estimates 2011	Municipal estimates 2012	Census 2011: HH in shacks not in backyards	Census 2011: HH in informal residential EAs
Cape Winelands	21 652		19 815	15 232
Central Karoo	17		183	0
City of Cape Town		141 765	143 823	117 735
Eden	14 035		14 068	8 327
Overberg	8 787		7 506	6 923
West Coast	6 733		6 272	834
Western Cape			191 668	149 051

Note: Provincial estimates from the Western Cape Department of Human Settlements exclude the City of Cape Town

PART 8

Appendix: Municipal data on children and employment

Children in informal settlements:

TABLE 15 NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN BY AGE GROUP IN THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN				
Age group of children	Children in Informal residential EAs	Percentage	All children	Percentage
0 - 4	43 182	42%	370 296	34%
5 - 6	12 505	12%	125 442	11%
7 - 10	18 623	18%	218 773	20%
11 - 14	16 318	16%	213 817	19%
15 - 17	13 086	13%	170 263	15%
Total	103 714	100%	1 098 592	100%

Source: Census 2011

TABLE 16 CHILDREN AGED 7 - 17 YEARS IN THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN: ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN AT AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION		
Children 7 - 17	Informal residential EA	All children
7 - 10	93%	94%
11 - 14	93%	93%
15 - 17	82%	84%
Total*	90%	91%

Source: Census 2011

Note: * Total school attendance aged 7 - 17. Census reports this for children aged 5 and up

Employment:

TABLE 17 EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS IN THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN: LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE FOR ADULTS AGED 15+		
	Labour force participation rate	Unemployment rate
Informal residential EA	71%	42%
All adults in province	60%	24%

Source: Census 2011

TABLE 18 SECTOR OF WORK IN THE CITY OF CAPE TOWN: PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED ADULTS 15+				
	Formal Sector	Informal Sector	Private household	Don't know
Informal residential EA	68%	14%	14%	4%
All employed adults in province	79%	9%	9%	2%

Source: Census 2011

PART 9

Appendix: Statistics South Africa Surveys

9.1 Censuses 2011 and 2001

Census 2011

- Demarcation → Classification → Listing (Dwelling Unit, Business, Park, and so on)
- Demarcation for the 2011 Census involved subdividing the country into Place Names and Enumeration Areas based on specifications of administrative boundaries, size and population density
- Data used in the demarcation process included Dwelling Frame data from Stats SA and various external data sources, including:
 - Aerial photography, satellite imagery
 - Addresses (Place Names)
 - Cadastral data
 - Administrative boundaries
- Demarcation produced a total of 103,576 EAs which were classified into ten EA Types in line with the status of the majority of visible dwellings at the time of demarcation:
 - Formal residential
 - Informal residential
 - Traditional residential
 - Farms
 - Smallholdings
 - Industrial
 - Parks and Recreation
 - Vacant
 - Collective living quarters
 - Commercial
- The EAs were demarcated according to specific rules and guidelines per EA Type. Where the data was incomplete or missing, Spot 5 satellite images were used resulting in some larger EAs being split further during the verification and listing fieldwork

Census 2001

- Demarcation for the Census in 2001 resulted in ten EA Types based on its geographic location as well as the land use and type of dominant dwellings within each EA
- Ten EA Types were categorised in 2001:
 - Urban settlement
 - Informal settlement
 - Tribal settlement
 - Farms
 - Smallholdings
 - Industrial
 - Recreational
 - Vacant
 - Institution + Hostel
- The name changes in some EA Types is due to a change in terminology and not a change in methodology

Censuses 2001 & 2011

- Enumerator Area Summary Books were printed, containing a map and/or aerial photographs of each EA, an orientation map for each EA (route from the nearest town), a list of all dwellings in the EA with their addresses where applicable, or some type of identifying description
- The EA Summary Book is used during the listing phase to record each residential and non-residential structure found in the EA as well as vacant stands
- In the instance of collective living quarters, each room / ward / cell / dormitory / section was listed
- Extra dwellings found not on the list were to be added and enumerated

9.2 Census 2011: Derived household income

Household income in the Census is a derived variable, calculated by adding together the individual incomes of all members of the household. The result for each household is then reallocated into the relevant income category. A fixed amount had to be allocated to each income range in order to derive household income. These amounts were as follows:

Range	Proxy values calculated
No Income	0
R1 - R 4 800	3 200
R 4 801 – R 9 600	7 200
R 9 601 – R 19 200	13 576
R 19 201 – R 38 400	27 153
R 38 401 – R 76 800	54 306
R 76 801 – R 153 600	108 612
R 153 601 – R 307 200	217 223
R 307 201 – R 614 400	434 446
R 614 401 – R1 228 800	868 893
R1 228 801 – R2 457 600	1 737 786
R2 457 601 or more	4 915 200

9.3 General Household Survey 2011

- The 2011 GHS is a survey covering a broad array of topics including housing conditions, tenure and access to services, household composition, grants, disability, education and schooling, health and access to health facilities, general indicators of well-being and employment
- In some instances, small sample sizes limit the extent to which data can be interrogated
- In the case of the Western Cape, the sample for all households is 2,898 while the sample size for households in shacks not in backyards is 161
- The sample frame is based on Census 2001 EA level data
- This has been augmented throughout the past decade through additional listings, including work done for the 2007 Community Survey
- There are continuous changes across Primary Sampling Units (PSUs)
- PSUs comprise several EAs grouped according to geotype
- Three different sample designs were used over the years: 2002-2004, 2005-2007, 2008-present
- Sample may be biased toward older, more established settlements if the sample design does not explicitly incorporate newer informal settlements
- The target population of the GHS is private households in all provinces of South Africa as well

as residents in workers' hostels. The survey does not cover other collective living quarters such as students' hostels, old age homes, hospitals, prisons and military barracks

9.4 Income and Expenditure Survey 2010/11

- The 2010/11 IES is a survey of income and expenditure patterns
- It is based on a combination of the diary and recall methods of capture
- In some instances, small sample sizes limit the extent to which data can be interrogated
- In the case of the Western Cape, the sample for all households is 2,970 while the sample size for households in shacks not in backyards is 136
- This survey was conducted between September 2010 and August 2011
- The sampling frame for the IES 2010/11 was obtained from Stats SA's Master Sample based on the 2001 Census Enumeration Areas (EAs). The Master Sample is designed to cover all households living in private dwelling units and workers living in workers' quarters in South Africa
- The IES 2010/11 sample is based on an extended sample of 3,254 PSUs which consist of the 3,080 PSUs in the Master Sample and an additional 174 urban PSUs selected from the PSU frame
- The estimates in the IES have not been weighted to Census 2011; rather the survey has been weighted to mid-March 2011 population estimates
- The IES uses an integrated weighting system not tailored to estimate households; therefore it is advisable to use proportions and averages rather than actual population numbers
- Stats SA is confident that estimates are representative of the sample on the ground and that shacks are covered well in the IES (as well as the Census)

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