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# Multidimensional poverty in South Africa in 2001–16

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#### **ABSTRACT**

This study uses the Census 2001 and 2011 as well as Community Survey 2007 and 2016 data to derive a multidimensional poverty index in South Africa for each year, before assessing the changes in non-money-metric, multidimensional poverty over time. Both the incidence and intensity of multidimensional poverty decreased continuously, and these declines were more rapid than that of money-metric poverty. The decrease in multidimensional poverty between 2001 and 2016 was most rapid for female Africans residing in rural areas in Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal provinces. Multidimensional poverty was most serious in numerous district councils in these two provinces, despite the fact that poverty decline was also most rapid in these district councils. The results of the multidimensional poverty index decomposition indicated that Africans contributed more than 95% to multidimensional poverty, while unemployment, years schooling and disability were the three indicators contributing most to poverty.

#### KEYWORDS

Multidimensional poverty; multidimensional poverty index; South Africa

JEL J30: J32

#### 1. Introduction

Since the advent of democracy, one of the key objectives of the South African government has been the reduction of poverty, disparities and imbalances stemming from the Apartheid regime. Several large-scale economic programmes were implemented, specifically aiming at the achievement of various economic goals, such as more rapid economic growth and job creation, improved service delivery, and alleviation of poverty and inequality. With regard to poverty, it is important to accurately identify the most deprived areas and effectively target these areas by implementing appropriate poverty-reduction strategies. Hence, numerous approaches have arisen to derive the extent of poverty and profile of the poor.

Poverty can be measured objectively or subjectively. For the latter, an individual assesses whether or not they feel poor relative to a reference group (Ravallion, 1992, 1998; Statistics South Africa (StatsSA), 2012:8), and this may or may not involve a poverty line. For example, a person declares the income level he/she considers to be

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>These programmes include the Reconstruction and Development Program, Growth, Employment and Redistribution, Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa and the more recent New Growth Path and National Development Plan.

minimal to make ends meet (this amount may differ amongst respondents), and if his/her income is below this self-rated poverty line, he/she is identified as poor. Alternatively, the person self-assesses whether his/her income or overall welfare is below the average level of the people living in the same area. A person could also declare on a scale of, for instance, 0 (very dissatisfied) to 10 (very satisfied), how he/she feels about his/her life as a whole, and the person is distinguished as poor if his/her life satisfaction level is below a particular level, such as the midpoint of 5.<sup>2</sup>

Objective money-metric poverty can be measured with an either absolute or relative approach. The absolute approach entails the use of a poverty line, which represents the required income level to purchase a basket of essential items for survival (cost of basic needs method) or the level at which a person's food energy intake is enough to meet a predetermined food energy requirements, like 2100 calories per day (energy intake method) (Ravallion, 1998:10; Haughton & Khandker, 2009:49–50). Relative money-metric poverty involves the identification of the poorest (e.g. 20% or 40%) segment of the population using a relative poverty line, or setting a poverty line at a certain percentage of the mean or median per capita income (Govendor et al., 2006:9).

In South Africa, there has been an abundance of empirical studies on money-metric poverty since the early 1990s using numerous datasets, ranging from the Income and Expenditure Surveys (Simkins, 2004; Hoogeveen & Özler, 2006; Yu, 2008), Census and Community Surveys (CSs) (Leibbrandt et al., 2006; Yu, 2009) and All Media Products Survey (Van der Berg et al., 2005, 2007), to the National Income Dynamics Study (Yu, 2013), October Household Surveys and General Household Surveys (GHSs) (Posel & Rogan, 2012). In general, these studies found that money-metric poverty increased in the 1990s until 2000, before a downward trend took place.

The money-metric approach, while focusing on the low income or expenditure level when identifying the poor, does not capture 'the multiple aspects that constitute poverty' (StatsSA, 2014:2), as poverty involves numerous non-money-metric dimensions, such as health and educational deprivation, physical and social isolation, lack of asset possession and access to services, feeling of vulnerability, powerlessness and helplessness (Woolard & Leibbrandt, 1999:3; World Bank, 2000:18; Philip & Rayhan, 2004:1). Furthermore, numerous factors influence the reliability and comparability of money-metric poverty estimates, such as recall bias (respondents may not remember income earned long time ago), telescoping (respondents include income or consumption events before the reference period), whether income is captured in exact amounts or intervals, the number of intervals and width of each interval, and the presence of a high proportion of households with unspecified or zero income.<sup>3</sup>

Given these drawbacks of the money-metric approach and the multidimensional nature of poverty, South African studies on non-money-metric, multidimensional poverty have increasingly emerged in the 2000s and early 2010s using statistical techniques (such as principal components analysis, multiple correspondence analysis and factor analysis, as well as the totally fuzzy and relative (TFR) approach) to derive a non-income welfare index. Nonetheless, one serious shortcoming of these studies is that the analysis is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>For more detailed discussion of subjective poverty measures, refer to Govendor et al. (2006) and Jansen et al. (2015). <sup>3</sup>Refer to Yu (2016) for a more detailed discussion.



mainly confined to two groups of non-money-metric indicators, namely access to public services and ownership of private assets.

In recent years, the multidimensional poverty index (MPI) approach introduced by Alkire & Foster (2011a) has evolved in the international literature. This approach 'assesses the simultaneous or joint deprivations poor people or households experience in a set of indicators' (Alkire & Foster, 2011a:17). The MPI comprises two measures, namely poverty incidence and poverty intensity; the former means the percentage of population classified as multidimensionally poor (poverty headcount ratio), while the latter represents the proportion of average deprivation experienced by the poor (Santos & Alkire, 2011:34). An added advantage of this approach is that the index could be decomposed by sub-groups (such as gender and race) and indicators, to identify the key sub-groups and indicators that contribute most to deprivation.

The MPI approach is still a relatively new method in South Africa, as indicated by the presence of few studies applying this method to examine poverty. This may be due to the fact that this approach is more data hungry, covering a broader range of non-money-metric indicators. In fact, only one local study (StatsSA, 2014) derived comprehensive MPI poverty trends over time (2001-2011) by creating a South African Multidimensional Poverty Index (SAMPI), but numerous shortcomings are associated with the SAMPI approach on the selection of indicators and deprivation cut-off threshold of each indicator.

Therefore, this study aims to address these shortcomings to derive an improved, revised version of the SAMPI, before exploring the levels and trends of MPI poverty in South Africa in 2001-2016. MPI poverty is examined by gender, race and geographical units, with specific focus on what happened by province and district councils (DC). A wide range of non-money-metric indicators are considered when deriving the multidimensional deprivation score instead of restricting to private asset ownership and access to public services. The empirical analysis allows for the establishment of the main contributors to poverty in the South African context and a comparison to be made between multidimensional poverty and money-metric poverty. This approach can be viewed as a tool to identify the most vulnerable people, leading to the formation of better poverty-reduction policy as well as better allocation of resources to alleviate poverty.

#### 2. Literature review

For the recent local empirical studies examining multidimensional, non-money-metric poverty, some researchers have adopted the methods mentioned in Section 1, namely factor analysis (Bhorat et al., 2006; Bhorat et al., 2007; Bhorat & Van der Westhuizen, 2013; Bhorat et al., 2014), multiple correspondence analysis (Adams et al., 2015; Ntsalaze & Ikhide, 2016), principal components analysis (Nieftagodien & Van der Berg, 2007; Schiel, 2012; Bhorat et al., 2015) and the TFR approach (Ngwane et al., 2001; Qizilbash, 2002; Burger et al., 2017). A composite welfare index was constructed by considering household access to public services (e.g. fuel source, water source, sanitation facility) and ownership of private assets (e.g. television, fridge, telephone). These studies found a downward trend in non-money-metric poverty since 1993; this finding is not surprising, given the government's ongoing effort to improve the provision of free basic services since the economic transition (Bhorat & Van der Westhuizen 2013:1). Also, there were still



significant backlogs in the bottom income deciles, especially for African- and female-headed households.

Some studies adopted methods other than the above-mentioned statistical methods and included additional non-money-metric indicators to examine multidimensional poverty more comprehensively. First, six studies used the MPI method. Frame et al. (2016) focused on youths of 15–24 years while Omotoso and Koch concentrated on children of 0–17 years. Rogan (2016) examined gendered poverty while Mushongera et al. (2017) focused on Gauteng municipalities. Finn et al. (2013) carried out a general study examining MPI poverty by race, province and area type using the 1993 PSLSD and 2010/2011 National Income Dynamics Study data. StatsSA (2014) is the most inclusive MPI poverty study by province and municipality using the 2001 and 2011 census data. In general, these studies found that MPI poverty declined.

Few studies adopted alternative approaches to examine non-money-metric multidimensional poverty. Hirschowitz (2000), using an interim scoring approach, derived the household infrastructure and household circumstance indices to examine poverty using Census 1996 data, and found that Northern Cape and Eastern Cape were the least and most deprived provinces, respectively. StatsSA (2013) adopted the Bristol method to derive the severe poverty and less severe poverty indices with the 2008/2009 Living Conditions Survey data, and found that Western Cape was least deprived while the opposite took place in Eastern Cape and Limpopo. The 2017 StatsSA study, analysing the 2016 CS data, adopted the Van der Walt and Haarhoff composite index approach to derive infrastructure quality index and reliability index to examine poverty by municipality.

Noble et al. (2006), using the Census 2001 data, derived five indices (one from each deprivation domain: income, employment, education, health and living environment) by province, before aggregating these indices (20% equal weight to each index) into a provincial index of multiple deprivation with the aid of standardisation and exponential distribution (refer to Noble et al. (2006:29–31) for detailed explanation) to identify the most deprived municipalities. The later studies by Noble et al. (2010) as well as Noble & Wright (2013), using the same data, adopted a similar approach to derive the index of multiple deprivation, but the former study focused on the Eastern Cape while the latter study examined the former homeland areas.

Noble et al. (2006, 2010), Noble & Wright (2013), Burger et al. (2017), Mushongera et al. (2017) and StatsSA (2014, 2017) are rare studies that examined multidimensional poverty by smaller geographical areas. Of these studies, StatsSA (2014) and Burger et al. (2017) derived multidimensional poverty trends over time. Nonetheless, there are drawbacks to these two studies: it is not possible to decompose the index to identify the subgroups and indicators that contribute most to deprivation with the TFR approach adopted in Burger et al. (2017)<sup>7</sup>; for StatsSA (2014), there is much room for improvement on the choice of the indicators and deprivation cut-off points of some indicators (see Section 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>For detailed explanation of this approach, refer to Hirschowitz (2000:76–79).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>For more information on the Bristol method, refer to Gordon et al. (2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Van der Walt & Haarhoff (2004) provide a thorough explanation of this composite index approach.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>This is also the main drawback of the other statistical approaches mentioned in Section 2.



None of the existing local studies examined multidimensional poverty trends by DCs or included the most recently available CS 2016 data. Finally, not all of these studies included labour market activities as an indicator for deriving the multidimensional poverty index. As the persistently high unemployment rate (26.6% in the fourth quarter of 2018) is one of the major causes of poverty, it is imperative to include this dimension.

## 3. Methodology and data

## 3.1. Methodology

The global MPI approach was introduced in 2011 by Alkire and Foster for the purpose of measuring acute poverty across countries. This approach is relatively simpler compared with other highly statistical approaches and highly flexible in terms of the inclusion of dimensions and indicators. The global MPI comprises three dimensions: health, education and living standard. Each dimension is broken down into *m* indicators in total: the health dimension consists of nutrition and child morality; the education dimension accounts for years of schooling and school attendance; and the living standard dimension includes cooking fuel, water, sanitation, electricity, floor material and asset ownership (Santos & Alkire, 2011:5-6).

A two-step, 'dual cut-off' approach is involved to derive the MPI index (Alkire & Foster, 2011b: 296). Linked to each indicator is a certain minimum level of satisfaction which is referred to as the deprivation cut-off point, denoted as  $z_i$ . A person i is deprived if his/her achievement in this indicator,  $x_i$ , is below the cut-off, that is, if  $x_i < z_i$ , the dummy variable  $I_i$  equals 1; if  $x_i \ge z_i$ ,  $I_i$  equals zero. Next, the indicators' weights are chosen, and these weights sum to 1 ( $\sum_{i=1}^{m} w_i = 1$ ). Each dimension carries an equal weight of one-third, and an equal weighing scheme is also applied to the indicators within each dimension. The deprivation score  $c_i$  is calculated as  $\sum_{i=1}^{m} w_i I_i$ . This score ranges between zero and one.

Next, a specific cut-off point, k, represents the share of weighted deprivations that a person must have to be considered as multidimensionally poor. Somebody is considered poor if  $c_i \ge k$ . In the MPI, k = 1/3, meaning that the person's deprivation must be at least a third of the weighted indicators to be identified as MPI poor. Furthermore,  $c_i(k)$ , the censored deprivation score, is derived as follows: if  $c_i \ge k$ ,  $c_i(k) = c_i$ ; if  $c_i < k$ ,  $c_i(k) = 0$  (Santos & Alkire, 2011:11).

The MPI reflects both the proportion of the population that is multidimensionally poor (H, the poverty headcount ratio) and the average proportion of weighted deprivation the person experiences (A, the intensity of poverty). In equation terms, H = q/n, where q and n represent the number of multidimensionally poor and the total population respectively;  $A = (\sum_{i=1}^{n} c_{i(k)}/q)$ , which indicates the fraction of the m indicators in which the multidimensionally poor individual is deprived. The MPI is calculated as the product of H and A. Assuming two areas to have the same H, the area with higher A is associated with a higher MPI. That is, if the poor are deprived in an additional dimension, the MPI will increase even though H is unchanged. This is one of key strengths of MPI compared with other statistical approaches.

The MPI index can be decomposed by population sub-groups or indicators. The country's MPI equals  $\sum_{i=1}^{j} (n_i/n) \times \text{MPI}_i$ , where j represents the total number of sub-groups (for example, j = 4 for race and j = 9 for province),  $(n_i/n)$  is the population share of the *i*th

Table 1. Dimensions, indicators, deprivation cut-offs and weights for the MPI.

Indicator	Deprivation cut-off	Weighting scheme (I)	Weighting scheme (II)
[A] Years of schooling	If no household member aged 15 years or above has completed 7 years of schooling	3.5/28	3/18
[B] School attendance	If at least one child between the ages of 7–15 years is not attending an educational institution	3.5/28	3/18
[C] Child mortality	If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year	3.5/28	3/18
[D] Disability	If at least one household member is disabled	3.5/28	3/18
[E] Fuel for cooking	Using paraffin/wood/coal/dung/other/none	1/28	1/18
[F] Water	There is no piped water in the dwelling or on stand	1/28	1/18
[G] Sanitation type	No access to a flush toilet	1/28	1/18
[H] Dwelling type	Living in an informal shack/traditional dwelling/ caravan/tent/other	1/28	1/18
[I] Refuse removal frequency	Refuse is removed less than once a week or there is no concrete refuse removal system	1/28	1/18
[J] Asset ownership	Does not own more than one of the following: radio, television, fridge, computer, landline phone, cellular phone	1/28	1/18
[K] Overcrowding	More than two people per room	1/28	N/A
[L] Unemployment	All household members aged 15 to 65 years are unemployed (narrow definition)	7/28	N/A
	[A] Years of schooling [B] School attendance [C] Child mortality [D] Disability [E] Fuel for cooking [F] Water [G] Sanitation type [H] Dwelling type [I] Refuse removal frequency [J] Asset ownership	[A] Years of schooling  [B] School If at least one child between the ages of 7–15 years is not attending an educational institution  [C] Child mortality If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  [D] Disability If at least one household member is disabled Using paraffin/wood/coal/dung/other/none  [F] Water If at least one household member is disabled Using paraffin/wood/coal/dung/other/none  [G] Sanitation type If Dwelling type  [H] Dwelling type If Refuse removal frequency If asset ownership Does not own more than once a week or there is no concrete refuse removal system Does not own more than one of the following: radio, television, fridge, computer, landline phone, cellular phone  [K] Overcrowding If no household member aged 15 years or above has completed 7 years of schooling if at least one child between the ages of 7–15 years of schooling if at least one child between the ages of 7–15 years in the deuctional institution  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year  If at least	Indicator Deprivation cut-off scheme (I)  [A] Years of schooling above has completed 7 years of schooling [B] School If at least one child between the ages of 7–15 attendance years is not attending an educational institution [C] Child mortality If at least one child aged 0–4 years has passed away in the past year [D] Disability If at least one household member is disabled [E] Fuel for cooking [F] Water There is no piped water in the dwelling or on stand [G] Sanitation type [H] Dwelling type Iving in an informal shack/traditional dwelling/caravan/tent/other [I] Refuse removal frequency [J] Asset ownership Does not own more than once a week or there is no concrete refuse removal system Does not own more than one of the following: radio, television, fridge, computer, landline phone, cellular phone [K] Overcrowding [L] Unemployment All household members aged 15 to 65 years are

Source: Adapted from Santos & Alkire, 2011:6.

sub-group, and MPI<sub>i</sub> is the MPI of this sub-group. The contribution of the *i*th sub-group to the overall MPI is derived as( $(n_i/n) \times \text{MPI}_i/\text{MPI}_{\text{country}}$ ).<sup>8</sup> The MPI of the country could also be decomposed as: MPI<sub>country</sub> =  $\sum_{i=1}^{m} w_i \times \text{CH}_i$ , where CH<sub>i</sub> is the censored head-count ratio of the *i*th indicator.<sup>9</sup> The contribution of the *i*th indicator to the overall MPI is denoted as ( $w_i \times \text{CH}_i/\text{MPI}_{\text{country}}$ ).

There were already numerous adaptations that had been made to the global MPI in terms of the indicators chosen and respective cut-off points of the indicators to develop the StatsSA SAMPI, but this study makes further adaptations to construct an improved version of the SAMPI. These adaptations are influenced by the Millennium Development Goals (United Nations, 2008), the South African poverty context, the commonly chosen indicators in recent empirical studies and the availability of data in the four datasets used for the study.

Table 1 shows that, in the education dimension, as in the global MPI and StatsSA approaches, years of schooling and school attendance are the two indicators. Nonetheless, for the former indicator, the years of completed education threshold is changed from five to seven years for this study. Illiteracy usually refers to an educational level representing less than seven years of formal schooling (Barker, 2008:223), and this is more applicable to the South African context as it makes reference to all individuals who did not complete Grade 7.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>In the event where the contribution of poverty by a particular sub-group greatly exceeds its population share, it implies a very unequal distribution of poverty, for example, where females account for only 40% of the total population but contribute 90% to the multidimensional poverty of the country.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>This means that someone is only included as part of the poor in an indicator if both of these two conditions are met:  $x_i < z_i$  and  $c_i \ge 1/3$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Noble et al. (2006, 2010) and Noble & Wright (2013) also used Grade 7 as the threshold.

In the global MPI, the health dimension includes child mortality and nutrition, with the latter indicator involving the body mass index. Unfortunately, both Census and CS did not capture information on height and weight, and asked nothing about malnutrition, hunger or food security. While StatsSA (2014) included child mortality as the only indicator of the health dimension, disability is introduced in this study as the second indicator. 11 Disability is included because it is associated with lower living standard and a greater likelihood of marginalisation and discrimination, through its adverse impact on human capital formation opportunities in childhood, employment opportunities and productivity in adulthood, and access to appropriate transportation and social participation (Schultz & Tansel, 1997; Elwan, 1999; World Health Organisation and World Bank, 2011; Mitra et al., 2013).

The deprivation cut-off of this indicator is the presence of at least one disabled household member. In each dataset, the disabled is defined as follows:

- 2001 and 2007 the respondent was asked in 2001 if he/she suffers serious sight, hearing, communication, physical, intellectual and emotional disabilities that prevent his/her full participation in life activities. The same questions were asked in 2007 except that the word 'serious' was removed. If the respondent's answer is 'yes' to at least one type of disability, he/she is defined as disabled.
- 2011 and 2016 the respondent was asked if he/she (A) has no difficulty, (B) has some difficulty, (C) has a lot of difficulty, (D) cannot do at all, (E), do not know or (F) cannot be determined, with regard to seeing, hearing, communication, walking/climbing, remembering/concentrating and self-care. If the respondent's answer is either (C) or (D) to at least one activity, he/she is identified as disabled.

For the living standard dimension, some alternations have been made to the thresholds of each indicator. As in StatsSA (2014), stricter cut-off points are used for water (no piped water in the dwelling or in stand) and sanitation (no flush toilet), compared with the original cut-off points of the global MPI, to be in line with the longer-term goals of the Reconstruction and Development Program. In contrast, while StatsSA (2014) included all three fuel indicators (cooking, heating and lighting), we revert back to the global MPI methodology by only including the cooking fuel indicator, to avoid the unnecessary increase in overall importance of fuel in the weighting.

The floor type and electricity access (only captured in 2011 and 2016 respectively) indicators are excluded from the MPI approach, but are replaced by dwelling type, overcrowding and refuse removal frequency indicators. The respective cut-off points for these indicators are as follows: residing at formal dwellings (same as StatsSA 2014); more than two persons per room (as adopted in Mushongera et al. 2017; Omotoso & Koch 2017); less than once a week or no concrete refuse removal system (same as Adams et al. 2015). Finally, asset ownership only takes television, landline telephone, cellular telephone, fridge, computer and radio into consideration as they are the only asset variables asked across all four datasets.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Disability was also included in recent local (Frame et al., 2016; Omotoso & Koch 2017) and international (e.g. Suppa, 2015; Hanandita & Tampubolon, 2016; Martinez Jr & Perales, 2017) studies.



Economic activity is the fourth dimension as in some local MPI studies (Statistics SA, 2014; Frame et al., 2016; Mushongera et al., 2017; Omotoso & Koch, 2017), with unemployment being the indicator: if all working-age members of the household are unemployed under the narrow definition, this household is deprived.

#### 3.2. Data

Four StatsSA datasets are used: a 10% sample of Census 2001 and 2011, CS 2007 and 2016. These data provide ample information on demographics, educational attainment, economic activities, asset ownership, access to household goods and services, and income in bands. Nonetheless, some data limitations exist. First, it is impossible to include Census 1996 data as only landline telephone and cellular telephone information was captured as far as private asset ownership is concerned (Table A1). The second issue relates to the matching of the various DCs across the datasets, as some DCs were separated while others were integrated over the years. However, this problem can be solved, as shown in Table A2. The second limitation relates to the absence of the area type variable in CS 2007.

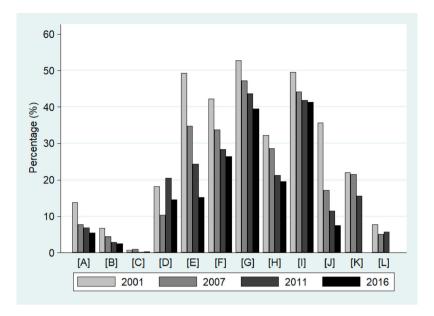
One serious drawback is the non-availability of the 2016 CS data on labour market activities, even though the information was captured. Also, the question on the number of rooms in the dwelling was not asked in 2016. Hence, the MPI is conducted twice (see Table 1): (I) including all 12 indicators to conduct the analysis for 2001, 2007 and 2011; and (II) including the first 10 indicators to conduct the analysis for all four years. Finally, information on income, despite being asked in CS 2016, was not released by StatsSA. Hence, comparison between MPI poverty and money-metric poverty is not possible for 2016.

#### 4. Empirical findings

#### 4.1. Extent of deprivation per indicator

Figure 1 illustrates that there was generally a continuous downward trend in the proportion of deprived population for all 12 indicators, except disability: its proportion went down in 2007 and increased in 2011 before decreasing again in 2016. This unusual trend may be attributed to the inconsistent questionnaire design. In 2016, there was still as high as 39.5% and 41.3% of the population not having their refuse removed at least once a week and with no access to a flush toilet, respectively. Only less than 1% of the population was deprived in the child mortality indicator in 2016, while the deprivation proportion was as low as 2.5% and 5.4% in the school attendance and years of schooling indicators.

Tables A3 and A4 indicate that greater deprivation was experienced by individuals from female-headed households. Also, deprivation per indicator was considerably higher for rural residents. The deprivation proportions were the highest for the Africans but lowest for the whites. Furthermore, Gauteng and the Western Cape were the least deprived provinces while the Eastern Cape, Limpopo and the North West were most deprived. Finally, the decline of the deprivation proportions between 2001 and 2016 was greater for Africans, females, rural residents and those staying in the above-mentioned three provinces.



**Figure 1.** Proportion (%) of population deprived in each indicator. Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2001, CS 2007, Census 2011 and CS 2016 data.

Note: the 2016 deprivation proportions of indicators [K] (overcrowding) and [L] (unemployment) are not available.

Tables A5 and A6 examine the proportion of the deprived population in each indicator by DC in 2001 and 2016, respectively. These proportions were high in the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu–Natal DCs (e.g. Alfred Nzo, Harry Gwala, OR Tambo and uMzinyathi) but low in the Western Cape and Gauteng DCs (e.g. Cape Winelands, City of Cape Town, City of Johannesburg and West Coast).

#### 4.2. MPI by sub-groups

The MPI estimates by gender, race, area type and province are shown in Tables 2 and A7. For the overall population, a downward trend of MPI took place under both weighting schemes, with the decline being relatively more rapid between 2001 and 2007. Also, poverty headcount estimates decreased more rapidly compared with poverty intensity estimates.

Table A7 shows that MPI poverty was more severe amongst those coming from female-headed households, but the gap between the male MPI and female MPI narrowed over the years. MPI was the highest for the Africans, followed by coloureds, Indians and whites. The decline of MPI was most rapid for the Africans while the white MPI stagnated. MPI was higher for rural residents as expected, even though a more drastic reduction of MPI poverty also occurred to them. Table 2 indicates that a downward trend of MPI poverty took place across all provinces, with Western Cape and Gauteng boasting the lowest MPI estimates while the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu–Natal and Limpopo had the highest estimates.

Comparing Tables A8 and A9, despite minor changes in the MPI ranking of the DCs before and after including the labour dimension, Cape Winelands, City of Cape Town,

Table 2. Multidimensional poverty by province, 2001–2016.

		2001			2007			2011			2016	
	Н	Α	MPI	Н	Α	MPI	Н	Α	MPI	Н	Α	MPI
					Weight	ing scheme (I	)					
Western Cape	0.0437	0.4312	0.0189	0.0171	0.4154	0.0071	0.0227	0.4119	0.0094			
Eastern Cape	0.2992*	0.4223*	0.1263*	0.1486*	0.4021*	0.0598*	0.1407*	0.4009*	0.0564*			
Northern Cape	0.0971*	0.4269*	0.0414*	0.0587*	0.4172*	0.0245*	0.0673*	0.4139*	0.0279*			
Free State	0.1434*	0.4309	0.0618*	0.0520*	0.4117*	0.0214*	0.0517*	0.4155*	0.0215*			
KwaZulu–Natal	0.2225*	0.4257*	0.0947*	0.1053*	0.4013*	0.0422*	0.0938*	0.4012*	0.0376*			
North West	0.1777*	0.4481*	0.0796*	0.0895*	0.4168	0.0373*	$0.0839^*$	0.4169*	$0.0350^*$			
Gauteng	0.0679*	0.4324	0.0294*	0.0329*	0.4197*	0.0138*	0.0326*	0.4179*	0.0136*			
Mpumalanga	0.1574*	0.4246*	0.0668*	0.0694*	0.4089*	0.0284*	0.0629*	0.4113	0.0259*			
Limpopo	0.1911*	0.4276*	0.0817*	0.0875*	0.4114*	0.0360*	0.0876*	0.4151*	0.0364*			
					Weighti	ing scheme (II	)					
Western Cape	0.0716	0.4082	0.0292	0.0334	0.3795	0.0127	0.0371	0.3808	0.0141	0.0218	0.3683	0.0080
Eastern Cape	$0.5007^*$	0.4569*	$0.2288^*$	0.3315*	0.4222*	0.1399*	$0.2940^*$	0.4248*	0.1249*	0.2103*	0.4096*	0.0861*
Northern Cape	0.1923*	0.4342*	$0.0835^*$	0.1303*	0.4155*	0.0541*	0.1695*	$0.4098^*$	0.0695*	0.1148*	0.3901*	0.0448*
Free State .	0.2676*	$0.4237^*$	0.1134*	0.0992*	0.4039*	0.0401*	$0.0960^*$	$0.4001^*$	$0.0384^*$	$0.0600^*$	$0.3827^*$	0.0230*
KwaZulu–Natal	0.3873*	0.4508*	0.1746*	0.2462*	0.4178*	0.1029*	0.2229*	0.4148*	0.0925*	0.1598*	0.4005*	0.0640*
North West	0.3351*	0.4481*	0.1502*	0.1859*	0.4175*	0.0776*	0.2029*	0.4079*	$0.0828^*$	0.1363*	0.3911*	0.0533*
Gauteng	0.0927*	0.4047	0.0375*	0.0576*	$0.3880^*$	0.0223*	$0.0470^*$	0.3895*	0.0183*	0.0435*	0.3782*	0.0165*
Mpumalanga	0.3250*	0.4319*	0.1404*	0.1573*	0.4033*	0.0634*	0.1587*	0.3947*	0.0627*	0.1133*	0.3847*	0.0436*
Limpopo	0.3913*	0.4329*	0.1694*	0.2018*	0.4026*	0.0813*	0.2497*	0.3888*	0.0971*	0.1620*	0.3848*	0.0623*

Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2001, CS 2007, Census 2011 and CS 2016 data. \*The value is statistically significant compared with that of the reference province category (Western Cape) at  $\alpha = 5\%$ .

Alfred Nzo

uThukela

iLembe

King Cetshwayo

Table 3. The 10 district councils with the greatest absolute decline in MPI.

	Weigh	ting scheme (I)		
District council	MPI in 2001	MPI in 2011	Decrease	MPI Rank in 2011
OR Tambo	0.1931	0.0857	0.1075	50
uMzinyathi	0.1745	0.0726	0.1019	49
uMkhanyakude	0.1575	0.0579	0.0995	45
Zululand	0.1405	0.0451	0.0954	36
Alfred Nzo	0.1706	0.0913	0.0794	51
Joe Gqabi	0.1392	0.0626	0.0766	46
Harry Gwala	0.1434	0.0668	0.0766	48
Chris Hani	0.1379	0.0627	0.0752	47
Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati	0.1204	0.0495	0.0709	41
uThukela	0.1181	0.0472	0.0709	39
	Weigh	ting scheme (II)		
District council	MPI in 2001	MPI in 2016	Decrease	MPI Rank in 2016
OR Tambo	0.3502	0.1484	0.2018	50
uMzinyathi	0.3203	0.1301	0.1902	49
uMkhanyakude	0.2980	0.1091	0.1888	46
Zululand	0.2736	0.0995	0.1741	43
Joe Gqabi	0.2597	0.0878	0.1719	41
Chris Hani	0.2566	0.0941	0.1625	42

0.1724

0.0787

0.0850

0.0876

0.1553

0.1537

0.1432

0.1417

51

37

39

0.2293 Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2001, CS 2007, Census 2011 and CS 2016 data.

0.3277

0.2323

0.2281

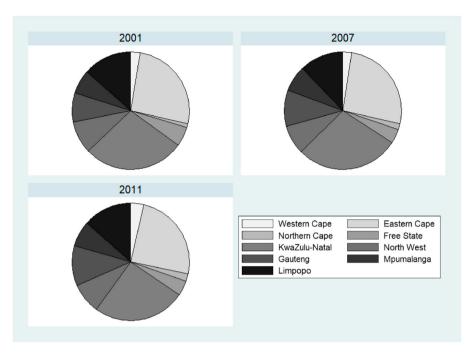
City of Johannesburg, Overberg and West Coast are associated with the lowest MPIs. In contrast, Alfred Nzo, Harry Gwala, OR Tambo, uMkhanyakude and uMzinyathi are amongst the DCs with the highest MPIs. Table 3 shows that the DCs with the highest MPIs are also the ones enjoying the greatest absolute decline in the estimates under both weighting schemes. These results suggest that resources were allocated to the right DCs to improve the non-income welfare of the poorest of the poor.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4.3. MPI decomposition

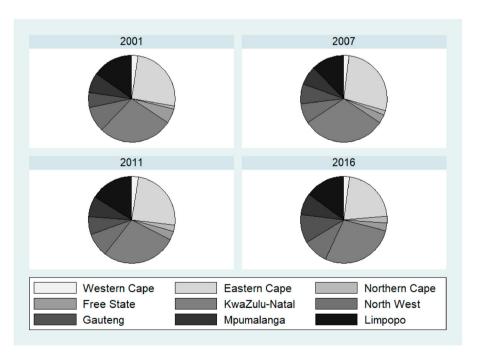
Table A11 shows that, regardless of which weighting scheme was adopted, the relative contribution by individuals from female-headed households was more dominant. Moreover, even though the African population represented about 80% of the population, their MPI contribution to poverty exceeded 95%. The relative contribution of the rural population (about two-thirds) greatly exceeded its population share (40%). Lastly, KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape were the provinces with the first and second largest MPI contributions; they accounted for about 50% share of MPI poverty (see Figures 2 and 3), despite only accounting for about one-third of the population.

Table 4 shows that, using weighting scheme (I), unemployment was the indicator contributing most to MPI, followed by years of schooling and disability. Using weighting scheme (II), disability and years of schooling contributed most to MPI poverty, with their respective shares being 24% and 13% in 2016 (Frame et al. (2016:18) and Rogan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>Table A10 shows the MPI results by municipality. Since the geographical demarcation of municipalities has changed drastically during the 15-year period, this study rather focuses on MPI poverty by DC.



**Figure 2.** MPI decomposition (%) by province using weighting scheme (I), 2001–2011. Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2001, CS 2007 and Census 2011 data.



**Figure 3.** MPI decomposition (%) by province using weighting scheme (II), 2001–2016. Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2001, CS 2007, Census 2011 and CS 2016 data.

Table 4. MPI decomposition (%) by indicator, 2001–2011.

		Weighting	scheme (I)			Weig	nting scher	ne (II)		
			Con	tribution to	MPI			Contribut	ion to MPI	
Dimension	Indicator	Contribution to total weight	2001	2007	2011	Contribution to total weight	2001	2007	2011	2016
Education	[A] Years of schooling	0.1250	14.35	12.49	10.51	0.1667	14.99	13.74	12.59	13.28
	[B] School attendance	0.1250	7.12	6.13	4.03	0.1667	6.99	6.76	4.61	5.33
Health	[C] Child mortality	0.1250	0.75	1.58	0.08	0.1667	0.80	1.76	0.09	0.80
	[D] Disability	0.1250	12.15	10.00	16.40	0.1667	15.41	14.36	25.25	23.60
	[E] Fuel for cooking	0.0357	7.54	7.22	6.14	0.0556	11.21	11.11	9.43	7.78
	[F] Water	0.0357	6.94	7.00	6.65	0.0556	10.32	10.85	10.50	10.97
	[G] Sanitation type	0.0357	7.62	8.00	7.73	0.0556	11.73	12.63	12.77	12.98
Standard of living	[H] Dwelling type	0.0357	5.86	6.23	5.40	0.0556	8.26	9.18	7.25	7.83
-	[I] Refuse removal	0.0357	7.07	7.45	7.21	0.0556	11.15	12.09	12.30	12.73
	[J] Asset ownership	0.0357	6.62	5.11	3.99	0.0556	9.13	7.52	5.22	4.71
	[K] Overcrowding	0.0357	3.32	3.49	3.24	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Economic activity	[L] Unemployment	0.2500	20.65	25.31	28.62	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2001, CS 2007, Census 2011 and CS 2016 data.

Table 5. MPI in each	nonulation	auintile	usina	weighting	scheme	(I)	2001-2011
Table 3. Will I III Cacil	population	quillille	using	Weighting	301101110	(1),	2001-2011.

		2001			2007			2011		Absolute
Income quintile	Н	Α	MPI	Н	Α	MPI	Н	Α	MPI	change, 2001–2011
Quintile 1	0.2817	0.4251	0.1197	0.1338	0.4142	0.0554	0.1318	0.4145	0.0546	0.0651
Quintile 2	0.2446	0.4303	0.1053	0.1090	0.4045	0.0441	0.1002	0.4029	0.0404	0.0649
Quintile 3	0.1664	0.4252	0.0708	0.0812	0.4047	0.0328	0.0675	0.4058	0.0274	0.0434
Quintile 4	0.0885	0.4248	0.0376	0.0417	0.3998	0.0167	0.0442	0.4043	0.0179	0.0197
Quintile 5	0.0253	0.4229	0.0107	0.0101	0.3992	0.0040	0.0065	0.3980	0.0026	0.0081
All	0.1663	0.4268	0.0710	0.0759	0.4073	0.0309	0.0707	0.4080	0.0288	0.0422
Income poverty headcount ratio		0.5462			0.4267			0.4424		0.1037

Source: Own calculations using the Census 2001, CS 2007 and Census 2011 data.

(2016:999) rather found years of schooling and nutrition as the respective indicator with the greatest contribution to MPI). Sanitation has the third highest contribution to MPI (nearly 13% in 2016), and this is not surprising, given the findings in Figure 1.

Child mortality contributed least to MPI poverty (as also found by StatsSA (2014:10)). This finding contradicts the results of Finn et al. (2013:10–11) and Rogan (2016:999), but it may be attributed to the way the data was captured: in censuses and CSs, the respondents were asked if any household member had passed away in the past year, but in the datasets used by Finn et al. and Rogan, the respondents were asked about the death of household members regardless of when it took place (these two studies used 20 years as the threshold).

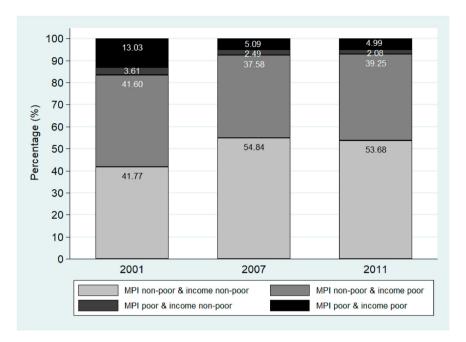
### 4.4. MPI poverty vs income poverty

The final part of the empirical analysis compares MPI with income poverty. The absolute lower bound poverty line was derived by StatsSA (2015:11) as R501 per capita per month in 2011 February–March prices (equivalent to R689 in 2016 December prices, using Stats-SA's latest CPI series; StatsSA, 2017), using the IES 2010/2011 consumption basket. The original Census and CS income data is problematic to some extent, with a high proportion of households reporting zero or unspecified income – 37% in 2001, 19% in 2007 and 29% in 2011. Hence, the income amounts for these households were imputed with the aid of sequential regression multiple imputation (SRMI).<sup>13</sup>

Table 5 shows that MPI poverty prevalence declined across all income quintiles, but the decrease in absolute terms was the greatest in the two poorest quintiles. Money-metric poverty decreased between 2001 and 2007 before a negligent increase took place in 2011. The latter increase was also found by Yu (2016:156).

Figure 4 shows that the proportion of population defined as both MPI and income poor decreased continuously. Upon examining these 'poorest of the poor', they were predominantly female African rural residents in Eastern Cape, KwaZulu–Natal and Limpopo. Finally, the last four columns of Table A8 compare MPI and income poverty by DC in 2011 and the rankings of the DCs from the two approaches are highly correlated – the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was 0.9039 (it was 0.9732 in 2001 and 0.8980 in 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>For detailed explanation of this approach, see Raghunathan et al. (2001), Lacerda et al. (2008) and Yu (2009).



**Figure 4.** Proportion (%) of population in each poverty status category. Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2001, CS 2007 and Census 2011 data.

#### 5. Conclusion

This study examined multidimensional poverty in South Africa in 2001–2016 with the MPI approach. This is the first local MPI study by DC and the first poverty study to include the CS 2016 data for analysis. Numerous adaptions were made to the original global MPI and StatsSA's SAMPI to cater for the South African poverty context to create an improved local version of the MPI. The empirical findings indicated a continuous and significant decline in MPI poverty, with this decline mainly driven by large reductions in the poverty headcount, whereas only a slight decrease in the intensity of poverty took place. Unemployment, years of schooling and disability were the top drivers of MPI poverty.

Regarding the results at DC level, the DCs with the lowest MPIs were concentrated in Western Cape (such as Cape Winelands, City of Cape Town, Overberg and West Coast), whereas the DCs associated with the highest MPIs were mainly located in Eastern Cape (e.g. Alfred Nzo and OR Tambo) and KwaZulu–Natal (Harry Gwala, uMkhanyakude and uMzinyathi). Furthermore, the DCs with the highest MPIs enjoyed the greatest absolute decline in the indices under both weighting schemes, and there was a strong correlation between MPI and income poverty.

Even though the empirical findings generally are in line with what was found by most recent local studies on multidimensional poverty and this study adds to the existing literature by comprehensively examining MPI poverty at DC level with an improved version of SAMPI, there is still room for improving the SAMPI further. First, assuming it is a difficult task to collect information on height and weight, it remains crucial for StatSA (in the next round of Census or CS) to capture more information on the health dimension so that a

wider range of indicators can be included, such as food hunger, food security (e.g. whether the size of the meals was cut, meals were skipped or a smaller variety of foods were eaten) and visits to health institutions (e.g. whether any household members did not consult a health worker despite being ill). Currently such information is captured comprehensively in the GHS.

For the living standard dimension, four separate groups of asset ownership indicators may be included: (1) household operation assets such as fridge, stove and washing machine; (2) communication assets such as telephone, computer and internet connection (this was adopted by the 2017 Mushongera et al. study); (3) transport assets such as motor vehicles and motorcycles; and (4) financial assets such as bank account, provident fund and informal savings like stokvel (at present, such information is captured by the GHS).

One may consider adding a second indicator to the economic activity dimension, namely the proportion of working-age population who did not seek work owing to illness, disability, lack of available transport or no money to pay for transport as these reasons relate to deprivation. This indicator was included by Noble et al. (2006, 2010) and Noble & Wright (2013), albeit they only considered the illness and disability reasons.

It was mentioned in Section 1 that poverty is associated with physical and social isolation, as well as feelings of vulnerability, powerlessness and helplessness, yet the global MPI, StatsSA MPI and this study did not consider these dimensions. For the physical isolation indicators, some were asked for the first time in CS 2016 (e.g. time taken to the place of work, distance of the main water source from the dwelling) but others were never asked in both Census and CS (e.g. distance to the nearest accessible telephone, time needed to get to the health institution that the household normally visits). Information on social isolation (such as attendance at a health club or religious group, as well as attending parties with families and friends) is thoroughly captured by the All Media Products Survey but hardly in the StatsSA datasets. Therefore, StatsSA may consider including a detailed section on isolation so that a fifth dimension can be added to the SAMPI.

Finally, whilst questions on crime experience, perception of safety, and interruption of water and electricity supply were asked for the first time in CS 2016, questions on other indicators relating to vulnerability, powerlessness and helplessness should also be asked (e.g. home security system, community crime watch unit, life cover policy, disease or death of livestock and crop failure), before this dimension can also be added to improve the construction of the SAMPI further.

## **Disclosure statement**

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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# **Appendix 1**

Table A1. Available information relating to the MPI indicators in the Censuses and Community Surveys, 1996-2016.

	Census 1996	Census 2001	CS 2007	Census 2011	CS 2016
Education					
Education year	✓	✓	1	1	/
Education attendance	1	1	/	1	1
Labour market status	•	•	•	·	
Labour narrow	/	/	/	✓	#
Labour broad		/		1	#
Work status (Employee/employer)	✓	1	/		
Occupation	1	1	1	✓	#
Industry	1	1	/	/	#
Formal/informal sector			/	/	#
Hours worked past week		/			
Health					
Mortality	✓	/	/	✓	/
Disability	· /	/	/	· /	/
Public assets and services					
Dwelling type	✓	✓	/	✓	/
Number of rooms	1	1	/	1	
Roof material				/	
Floor material				/	
Water source	✓	✓	/	/	/
Sanitation facility	1	1	/	/	/
Access to electricity					/
Fuel source for cooking	/	✓	/	✓	/
Fuel source for heating	1	1	/	/	/
Fuel source for lighting	1	1	1	/	/
Refuse removal frequency	1	1	1	/	/
Private assets					
Landline telephone	✓	✓	1	✓	/
Cellular telephone	✓	✓	1	✓	/
Fridge		✓	1	✓	/
Stove				✓	/
Washing machine				✓	/
Computer		✓	✓	✓	/
Vacuum cleaner				✓	/
TV		✓	✓	✓	/
Satellite dish				✓	/
Car				✓	/
Radio		✓	✓	✓	✓
Internet			✓	✓	✓
Post box			✓	✓	
Social grant					
Receipt of each type of social grant			✓		/

<sup>#</sup>All of the labour market-related data is not released by Statistics South Africa, despite the information being captured.

Table A2. Comparability of district councils across censuses and community surveys.

Province	Census 2001	CS 2007	Census 2011	CS 2016
Eastern Cape	Alfred Nzo	Alfred Nzo	Alfred Nzo	Alfred Nzo
KwaZulu–Natal	,	Amajuba	Amajuba	Amajuba
Eastern Cape	Amatole	Amatole	Amathole <sup>a</sup>	Amathole
			Buffalo City <sup>a</sup>	Buffalo City <sup>a</sup>
North West	Bojanala	Bojanala	Bojanala	Bojanala
Western Cape	Boland	Boland	Boland	Cape Winelands
impopo	Capricorn	Capricorn	Capricorn	Capricorn
Western Cape	Central Karoo	Central Karoo	Central Karoo	Central Karoo
Eastern Cape	Chris Hani	Chris Hani	Chris Hani	Chris Hani
Western Cape	City of Cape Town	City of Cape Town	City of Cape Town	City of Cape Town
Gauteng	Johannesburg	Johannesburg	City of Johannesburg	City of Johannesburg
Gauteng	City of Tshwane <sup>b</sup> Metsweding <sup>b</sup>	City of Tshwane <sup>b</sup> Metsweding <sup>b</sup>	City of Tshwane	City of Tshwane
North West	Southern	Southern	Dr Kenneth Kaunda	Dr Kenneth Kaunda
North West	Bophirima	Bophirima	Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati	Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompa
Western Cape	Eden	Eden	Eden	Eden
Ириmalanga	Ehlanzeni	Ehlanzeni	Ehlanzeni	Ehlanzeni
Gauteng	East Rand	East Rand	Ekurhuleni	Ekurhuleni
(waZulu–Natal	Durban	Durban	eThekwini	eThekwini
ree State	Northern Free State	Northern Free State	Fezile Dabi	Fezile Dabi
Northern Cape	Frances Baard	Frances Baard	Frances Baard	Frances Baard
Ириmalanga	Govan Mbeki	Govan Mbeki	Gert Sibande	Gert Sibande
(waZulu–Natal	Sisonke	Sisonke	Sisonke	Harry Gwala
(waZulu–Natal	iLembe	iLembe	iLembe	iLembe
astern Cape	Ukhahlamba	Ukhahlamba	Ukhahlamba	Joe Gqabi
Northern Cape		Kgalagadi	John Taolo Gaetsewe	John Taolo Gaetsewe
(waZulu–Natal		Uthungulu	Uthungulu	King Cetshwayo
ree State	Lejweleputswa	Lejweleputswa	Lejweleputswa	Lejweleputswa
ree State	Motheo	Motheo	Mangaung	Mangaung
impopo	Mopani <sup>c</sup> Bohlabela <sup>c</sup>	Mopani	Mopani	Mopani
Northern Cape	Namakwa	Namakwa	Namakwa	Namakwa
astern Cape	Port Elizabeth	Port Elizabeth	Nelson Mandela Bay	Nelson Mandela Bay
North West	Central	Central	Ngaka Modiri Molema	Ngaka Modiri Molema
Ириmalanga	Nkangala	Nkangala	Nkangala	Nkangala
astern Cape	OR Tambo	OR Tambo	OR Tambo	OR Tambo
Vestern Cape	Overberg	Overberg	Overberg	Overberg
Northern Cape	Karoo	Karoo	Pixley ka Seme	Pixley ka Seme
astern Cape	Cacadu	Cacadu	Cacadu	Sarah Baartman
Gauteng	Sedibeng	Sedibeng	Sedibeng	Sedibeng
impopo	Sekhukhune Cross	Greater Sekhukhune	Greater Sekhukhune	Sekhukhune
ree State	Thabo Mofutsanyana	Thabo Mofutsanyana	Thabo Mofutsanyana	Thabo Mofutsanyana
(waZulu–Natal	Ugu	Ugu	Ugu	Ugu
(waZulu–Natal	uMgungundlovu	uMgungundlovu	uMgungundlovu	uMgungundlovu
	uMkhanyakude	uMkhanyakude	uMkhanyakude	uMkhanyakude
(waZulu–Natal	uMzinyathi	uMzinyathi	uMzinyathi	uMzinyathi
(waZulu–Natal	Uthukela	Uthukela	Uthukela	Uthukela
impopo	Vhembe	Vhembe	Vhembe	Vhembe
.impopo	Waterberg	Waterberg	Waterberg	Waterberg
Vestern Cape	West Coast	West Coast	West Coast	West Coast
Gauteng	West Rand	West Rand	West Rand	West Rand
ree State	Xhariep	Xhariep	Xhariep	Xhariep
Northern Cape	Siyanda	Siyanda	Siyanda	ZF Mgcawu
	Zululand	Zululand	Zululand	Zululand

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>In the 2011 and 2016 data, Amathole and Buffalo City are integrated into one district council, Amathole, for consistent comparison with 2001 and 2007.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup>In the 2001 and 2007 data, City of Tshwane and Metsweding are integrated into one district council, City of Tshwane, for consistent comparison with 2011 and 2016.

cln the 2001 data, Mopani and Bohlabela are integrated into one district council, Mopani, for consistent comparison with 2007, 2011 and 2016.

Table A3. Proportion of population (%) deprived in each indicator by gender, race and area type, 2001–2016.

		Ma	ale			Fen	nale			Urk	oan			Ru	ıral	
	2001	2007	2011	2016	2001	2007	2011	2016	2001	2007	2011	2016	2001	2007	2011	2016
[A]	12.68	7.66	6.61	5.22	15.20	8.05	7.26	5.64	7.77	N/A	4.33	3.82	21.61	N/A	11.22	8.51
[B]	6.06	4.07	2.49	2.09	7.71	5.05	3.36	3.03	4.57	N/A	2.47	2.24	9.68	N/A	3.57	3.06
[C]	0.61	0.76	0.04	0.25	0.97	1.31	0.06	0.41	0.51	N/A	0.04	0.22	1.11	N/A	0.08	0.52
[D]	16.51	9.20	17.56	12.03	20.30	11.78	24.07	17.64	14.81	N/A	16.95	12.87	22.59	N/A	26.38	17.95
[E]	42.67	29.44	20.75	12.94	57.45	41.67	28.89	17.94	27.49	N/A	9.94	6.42	77.44	N/A	48.73	32.37
[F]	36.27	28.30	23.98	22.85	49.50	40.74	33.86	30.52	17.54	N/A	9.90	9.13	74.05	N/A	59.56	59.90
[G]	46.11	40.12	37.44	33.95	61.17	56.41	51.18	46.18	22.68	N/A	15.26	13.32	91.84	N/A	91.29	90.59
[H]	28.99	26.37	19.95	18.37	36.30	31.60	22.88	21.07	22.39	N/A	15.63	14.42	45.01	N/A	30.75	29.69
[1]	43.74	38.43	36.52	36.74	56.74	51.78	48.31	46.70	13.73	N/A	12.02	16.44	95.89	N/A	91.96	89.67
[J]	30.35	14.60	10.23	7.10	42.23	20.65	13.06	8.12	22.30	N/A	7.81	5.76	52.91	N/A	17.70	11.08
[K]	19.69	19.19	13.52	N/A	24.90	24.48	18.25	N/A	18.66	N/A	12.80	N/A	26.34	N/A	20.40	N/A
[L]	6.83	4.12	4.99	N/A	9.01	6.38	6.56	N/A	8.22	N/A	5.84	N/A	7.24	N/A	5.43	N/A
		Afri	can			Colo	ured			Ind	lian			WI	nite	
	2001	Afri 2007	can 2011	2016	2001	Colo 2007	ured 2011	2016	2001	Ind 2007	2011	2016	2001	WI 2007	nite 2011	2016
[A]	2001			2016	2001			2016	2001			2016	2001			2016
[A] [B]		2007	2011			2007	2011			2007	2011			2007	2011	
	16.34	2007 9.08	2011 7.98	5.94	8.08	2007 5.91	2011 4.31	3.57	1.93	2007 1.99	2011	3.22	0.78	2007	2011	2.15
[B]	16.34 7.58	9.08 4.72	7.98 3.02	5.94 2.59	8.08 6.29	2007 5.91 5.81	2011 4.31 3.67	3.57 3.45	1.93 2.77	2007 1.99 2.97	2011 1.98 2.25	3.22 1.95	0.78 1.64	2007 0.81 1.93	2011 0.90 0.95	2.15 0.87
[B] [C]	16.34 7.58 0.94	9.08 4.72 1.21	7.98 3.02 0.06	5.94 2.59 0.37	8.08 6.29 0.27	5.91 5.81 0.31	2011 4.31 3.67 0.03	3.57 3.45 0.20	1.93 2.77 0.08	2007 1.99 2.97 0.06	2011 1.98 2.25 0.00	3.22 1.95 0.06	0.78 1.64 0.04	2007 0.81 1.93 0.09	2011 0.90 0.95 0.00	2.15 0.87 0.05
[B] [C] [D]	16.34 7.58 0.94 19.68	9.08 4.72 1.21 10.95	7.98 3.02 0.06 21.96	5.94 2.59 0.37 14.99	8.08 6.29 0.27 15.71	5.91 5.81 0.31 10.84	2011 4.31 3.67 0.03 21.52	3.57 3.45 0.20 15.24	1.93 2.77 0.08 12.01	2007 1.99 2.97 0.06 10.32	2011 1.98 2.25 0.00 11.72	3.22 1.95 0.06 12.24	0.78 1.64 0.04 9.50	0.81 1.93 0.09 4.66	0.90 0.95 0.00 8.67	2.15 0.87 0.05 10.12
[B] [C] [D] [E]	16.34 7.58 0.94 19.68 60.55	9.08 4.72 1.21 10.95 43.08	7.98 3.02 0.06 21.96 29.90	5.94 2.59 0.37 14.99 18.18	8.08 6.29 0.27 15.71 12.60	5.91 5.81 0.31 10.84 5.83	2011 4.31 3.67 0.03 21.52 4.98	3.57 3.45 0.20 15.24 2.83	1.93 2.77 0.08 12.01 1.19	2007 1.99 2.97 0.06 10.32 1.18	2011 1.98 2.25 0.00 11.72 1.39	3.22 1.95 0.06 12.24 0.58	0.78 1.64 0.04 9.50 0.87	0.81 1.93 0.09 4.66 0.32	0.90 0.95 0.00 8.67 1.05	2.15 0.87 0.05 10.12 0.29
[B] [C] [D] [E] [F]	16.34 7.58 0.94 19.68 60.55 51.38	9.08 4.72 1.21 10.95 43.08 41.44	7.98 3.02 0.06 21.96 29.90 34.90	5.94 2.59 0.37 14.99 18.18 31.03	8.08 6.29 0.27 15.71 12.60 9.90	5.91 5.81 0.31 10.84 5.83 5.11	2011 4.31 3.67 0.03 21.52 4.98 4.90	3.57 3.45 0.20 15.24 2.83 3.93	1.93 2.77 0.08 12.01 1.19 4.51	2007 1.99 2.97 0.06 10.32 1.18 1.80	2011 1.98 2.25 0.00 11.72 1.39 1.90	3.22 1.95 0.06 12.24 0.58 1.63	0.78 1.64 0.04 9.50 0.87 4.49	0.81 1.93 0.09 4.66 0.32 3.32	2011 0.90 0.95 0.00 8.67 1.05 1.28	2.15 0.87 0.05 10.12 0.29 6.34
[B] [C] [D] [E] [F] [G]	16.34 7.58 0.94 19.68 60.55 51.38 64.73	9.08 4.72 1.21 10.95 43.08 41.44 58.38	7.98 3.02 0.06 21.96 29.90 34.90 53.35	5.94 2.59 0.37 14.99 18.18 31.03 47.29	8.08 6.29 0.27 15.71 12.60 9.90 14.56	5.91 5.81 0.31 10.84 5.83 5.11 9.01	2011 4.31 3.67 0.03 21.52 4.98 4.90 10.35	3.57 3.45 0.20 15.24 2.83 3.93 6.53	1.93 2.77 0.08 12.01 1.19 4.51 2.11	2007 1.99 2.97 0.06 10.32 1.18 1.80 1.78	2011 1.98 2.25 0.00 11.72 1.39 1.90 2.55	3.22 1.95 0.06 12.24 0.58 1.63 1.80	0.78 1.64 0.04 9.50 0.87 4.49 1.35	0.81 1.93 0.09 4.66 0.32 3.32 0.50	0.90 0.95 0.00 8.67 1.05 1.28 1.00	2.15 0.87 0.05 10.12 0.29 6.34 0.68
[B] [C] [D] [E] [F] [G]	16.34 7.58 0.94 19.68 60.55 51.38 64.73 39.30	9.08 4.72 1.21 10.95 43.08 41.44 58.38 35.06	7.98 3.02 0.06 21.96 29.90 34.90 53.35 25.48	5.94 2.59 0.37 14.99 18.18 31.03 47.29 22.97	8.08 6.29 0.27 15.71 12.60 9.90 14.56 9.34	5.91 5.81 0.31 10.84 5.83 5.11 9.01 7.70	4.31 3.67 0.03 21.52 4.98 4.90 10.35 8.49	3.57 3.45 0.20 15.24 2.83 3.93 6.53 7.27	1.93 2.77 0.08 12.01 1.19 4.51 2.11 2.68	1.99 2.97 0.06 10.32 1.18 1.80 1.78 1.97	2011 1.98 2.25 0.00 11.72 1.39 1.90 2.55 2.35	3.22 1.95 0.06 12.24 0.58 1.63 1.80 1.66	0.78 1.64 0.04 9.50 0.87 4.49 1.35 1.86	0.81 1.93 0.09 4.66 0.32 3.32 0.50 1.24	0.90 0.95 0.00 8.67 1.05 1.28 1.00 1.36	2.15 0.87 0.05 10.12 0.29 6.34 0.68 0.86
[B] [C] [D] [E] [F] [G] [H]	16.34 7.58 0.94 19.68 60.55 51.38 64.73 39.30 59.61	9.08 4.72 1.21 10.95 43.08 41.44 58.38 35.06 53.35	7.98 3.02 0.06 21.96 29.90 34.90 53.35 25.48 49.97	5.94 2.59 0.37 14.99 18.18 31.03 47.29 22.97 47.52	8.08 6.29 0.27 15.71 12.60 9.90 14.56 9.34 14.45	5.91 5.81 0.31 10.84 5.83 5.11 9.01 7.70 11.36	2011 4.31 3.67 0.03 21.52 4.98 4.90 10.35 8.49 11.47	3.57 3.45 0.20 15.24 2.83 3.93 6.53 7.27 10.84	1.93 2.77 0.08 12.01 1.19 4.51 2.11 2.68 3.13	2007 1.99 2.97 0.06 10.32 1.18 1.80 1.78 1.97 3.37	2011 1.98 2.25 0.00 11.72 1.39 1.90 2.55 2.35 3.86	3.22 1.95 0.06 12.24 0.58 1.63 1.80 1.66 9.77	0.78 1.64 0.04 9.50 0.87 4.49 1.35 1.86 9.59	0.81 1.93 0.09 4.66 0.32 3.32 0.50 1.24 8.64	2011 0.90 0.95 0.00 8.67 1.05 1.28 1.00 1.36 9.82	2.15 0.87 0.05 10.12 0.29 6.34 0.68 0.86 14.77

Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2001, CS 2007, Census 2011 and CS 2016 data.

Table A4. Proportion of population (%) deprived in each indicator by province, 2001–2016.

		Weste	rn Cape		_	Easteri	n Cape			Northe	n Cape			Free	State			KwaZul	u–Natal	
	2001	2007	2011	2016	2001	2007	2011	2016	2001	2007	2011	2016	2001	2007	2011	2016	2001	2007	2011	2016
[A]	6.21	4.20	3.38	2.96	20.41	11.22	10.37	8.09	17.76	11.44	10.06	6.72	14.38	8.88	7.30	5.78	15.02	7.84	7.34	5.11
[B]	4.81	4.47	2.71	2.65	9.26	5.44	3.33	2.76	7.06	5.62	3.81	3.38	5.29	2.44	2.22	1.91	9.45	6.00	4.78	3.57
[C]	0.21	0.26	0.01	0.12	0.84	1.06	0.06	0.35	0.62	0.83	0.07	0.43	0.84	0.97	0.06	0.30	1.27	1.75	0.08	0.43
[D]	13.70	7.82	16.66	11.91	21.94	13.98	24.67	17.40	18.32	12.04	30.36	20.01	21.32	11.97	25.63	18.88	19.96	13.13	21.96	17.82
[E]	15.85	6.11	4.38	1.98	71.60	55.34	35.81	20.83	32.75	18.24	14.40	9.27	50.46	23.19	11.59	6.24	54.00	41.91	31.94	19.11
[F]	13.11	7.97	9.29	9.10	66.33	60.47	53.81	49.77	16.87	20.12	21.70	22.52	28.85	12.33	10.18	8.91	56.39	46.20	39.52	36.80
[G]	12.20	6.90	8.92	5.57	70.65	65.91	60.15	55.12	32.80	33.68	34.04	31.18	55.73	42.68	33.53	28.28	65.04	63.07	60.99	59.98
[H]	16.73	14.47	15.72	14.57	51.85	48.46	39.17	35.72	15.55	16.20	16.12	15.43	32.66	25.74	18.17	15.98	43.16	42.43	30.12	29.43
[1]	11.63	9.40	9.44	11.75	66.99	66.85	62.30	60.04	27.37	28.18	33.95	37.82	42.88	25.51	28.72	30.28	58.87	57.08	55.35	58.65
[기]	17.76	7.98	6.71	4.21	55.32	31.38	20.35	14.07	33.77	17.98	14.18	10.76	34.12	14.75	8.56	5.71	41.40	20.74	14.45	8.96
[K]	19.41	22.55	13.49	N/A	28.65	25.04	25.02	N/A	23.95	22.46	15.30	N/A	20.94	17.25	10.69	N/A	24.01	24.95	21.19	N/A
[L]	4.58	3.05	4.05	N/A	8.38	5.42	5.78	N/A	5.62	4.26	4.36	N/A	9.00	6.45	6.71	N/A	7.96	4.47	4.95	N/A
		Nort	h West			Gau	teng			Mpum	alanga			Limp	оро			South	Africa	
	2001	2007	2011	2016	2001	2007	2011	2016	2001	2007	2011	2016	2001	2007	2011	2016	2001	2007	2011	2016
F A 3																				
[A]	17.19	12.88	11.19	7.64	7.10	4.77	3.76	3.76	15.82	8.44	7.93	5.98	16.62	8.65	8.16	7.71	13.80	7.83	6.90	5.41
[A] [B]	17.19 8.81	12.88 4.69	11.19 3.11	7.64 2.68	7.10 3.79	4.77 3.57	3.76 1.81	3.76 1.87		8.44 3.58			16.62 5.47	8.65 3.71	8.16 1.71			7.83 4.49	6.90 2.88	5.41 2.52
									15.82		7.93	5.98				7.71	13.80			
[B]	8.81 0.84 20.95	4.69	3.11 0.08 25.15	2.68 0.53 15.75	3.79 0.43 11.97	3.57 0.57 6.16	1.81 0.02 13.61	1.87 0.21 11.39	15.82 6.15 1.09 20.69	3.58 1.33 10.41	7.93 2.46 0.05 20.56	5.98 2.67 0.42 14.52	5.47 0.62 19.62	3.71 0.77 9.71	1.71 0.05 23.99	7.71 1.84 0.40 12.96	13.80 6.80 0.77 18.20	4.49 1.00 10.32	2.88 0.05 20.46	2.52 0.32 14.59
[B] [C]	8.81 0.84 20.95 54.08	4.69 1.19	3.11 0.08	2.68 0.53	3.79 0.43 11.97 23.49	3.57 0.57 6.16 15.95	1.81 0.02 13.61 10.56	1.87 0.21 11.39 7.87	15.82 6.15 1.09	3.58 1.33 10.41 46.98	7.93 2.46 0.05 20.56 31.45	5.98 2.67 0.42 14.52 20.74	5.47 0.62	3.71 0.77 9.71 63.39	1.71 0.05 23.99 53.55	7.71 1.84 0.40 12.96 40.11	13.80 6.80 0.77 18.20 49.25	4.49 1.00 10.32 34.72	2.88 0.05 20.46 24.38	2.52 0.32 14.59 15.22
[B] [C] [D] [E] [F]	8.81 0.84 20.95 54.08 48.97	4.69 1.19 10.89	3.11 0.08 25.15 21.88 31.37	2.68 0.53 15.75 13.01 36.71	3.79 0.43 11.97 23.49 14.63	3.57 0.57 6.16 15.95 11.61	1.81 0.02 13.61 10.56 8.65	1.87 0.21 11.39 7.87 8.38	15.82 6.15 1.09 20.69 60.67 42.15	3.58 1.33 10.41 46.98 32.77	7.93 2.46 0.05 20.56 31.45 28.94	5.98 2.67 0.42 14.52 20.74 26.56	5.47 0.62 19.62 76.43 63.86	3.71 0.77 9.71 63.39 59.09	1.71 0.05 23.99 53.55 49.98	7.71 1.84 0.40 12.96 40.11 52.63	13.80 6.80 0.77 18.20 49.25 42.16	4.49 1.00 10.32 34.72 33.67	2.88 0.05 20.46 24.38 28.39	2.52 0.32 14.59 15.22 26.35
[B] [C] [D] [E] [F] [G]	8.81 0.84 20.95 54.08 48.97 67.65	4.69 1.19 10.89 34.65 38.73 57.72	3.11 0.08 25.15 21.88 31.37 55.75	2.68 0.53 15.75 13.01 36.71 53.00	3.79 0.43 11.97 23.49 14.63 16.85	3.57 0.57 6.16 15.95 11.61 15.69	1.81 0.02 13.61 10.56 8.65 13.04	1.87 0.21 11.39 7.87 8.38 12.38	15.82 6.15 1.09 20.69 60.67 42.15 65.66	3.58 1.33 10.41 46.98 32.77 64.48	7.93 2.46 0.05 20.56 31.45 28.94 60.79	5.98 2.67 0.42 14.52 20.74 26.56 57.56	5.47 0.62 19.62 76.43 63.86 87.31	3.71 0.77 9.71 63.39 59.09 84.74	1.71 0.05 23.99 53.55 49.98 82.32	7.71 1.84 0.40 12.96 40.11 52.63 80.41	13.80 6.80 0.77 18.20 49.25 42.16 52.81	4.49 1.00 10.32 34.72 33.67 47.16	2.88 0.05 20.46 24.38 28.39 43.57	2.52 0.32 14.59 15.22 26.35 39.54
[B] [C] [D] [E] [F] [G] [H]	8.81 0.84 20.95 54.08 48.97 67.65 25.78	4.69 1.19 10.89 34.65 38.73 57.72 27.64	3.11 0.08 25.15 21.88 31.37 55.75 21.03	2.68 0.53 15.75 13.01 36.71 53.00 18.95	3.79 0.43 11.97 23.49 14.63 16.85 22.89	3.57 0.57 6.16 15.95 11.61 15.69 22.42	1.81 0.02 13.61 10.56 8.65 13.04 16.43	1.87 0.21 11.39 7.87 8.38 12.38 15.38	15.82 6.15 1.09 20.69 60.67 42.15 65.66 28.96	3.58 1.33 10.41 46.98 32.77 64.48 19.80	7.93 2.46 0.05 20.56 31.45 28.94 60.79 14.16	5.98 2.67 0.42 14.52 20.74 26.56 57.56 13.49	5.47 0.62 19.62 76.43 63.86 87.31 26.15	3.71 0.77 9.71 63.39 59.09 84.74 14.56	1.71 0.05 23.99 53.55 49.98 82.32 8.43	7.71 1.84 0.40 12.96 40.11 52.63 80.41 10.02	13.80 6.80 0.77 18.20 49.25 42.16 52.81 32.24	4.49 1.00 10.32 34.72 33.67 47.16 28.63	2.88 0.05 20.46 24.38 28.39 43.57 21.26	2.52 0.32 14.59 15.22 26.35 39.54 19.60
[B] [C] [D] [E] [F] [G] [H]	8.81 0.84 20.95 54.08 48.97 67.65 25.78 65.46	4.69 1.19 10.89 34.65 38.73 57.72 27.64 48.84	3.11 0.08 25.15 21.88 31.37 55.75 21.03 52.71	2.68 0.53 15.75 13.01 36.71 53.00 18.95 44.86	3.79 0.43 11.97 23.49 14.63 16.85 22.89 14.65	3.57 0.57 6.16 15.95 11.61 15.69 22.42 13.99	1.81 0.02 13.61 10.56 8.65 13.04 16.43 10.67	1.87 0.21 11.39 7.87 8.38 12.38 15.38 14.90	15.82 6.15 1.09 20.69 60.67 42.15 65.66 28.96 65.00	3.58 1.33 10.41 46.98 32.77 64.48 19.80 63.23	7.93 2.46 0.05 20.56 31.45 28.94 60.79 14.16 61.31	5.98 2.67 0.42 14.52 20.74 26.56 57.56 13.49 62.80	5.47 0.62 19.62 76.43 63.86 87.31 26.15 88.55	3.71 0.77 9.71 63.39 59.09 84.74 14.56 85.33	1.71 0.05 23.99 53.55 49.98 82.32 8.43 82.12	7.71 1.84 0.40 12.96 40.11 52.63 80.41 10.02 80.64	13.80 6.80 0.77 18.20 49.25 42.16 52.81 32.24 49.52	4.49 1.00 10.32 34.72 33.67 47.16 28.63 44.20	2.88 0.05 20.46 24.38 28.39 43.57 21.26 41.78	2.52 0.32 14.59 15.22 26.35 39.54 19.60 41.29
[B] [C] [D] [E] [F] [G] [H] [I]	8.81 0.84 20.95 54.08 48.97 67.65 25.78 65.46 33.62	4.69 1.19 10.89 34.65 38.73 57.72 27.64 48.84 17.65	3.11 0.08 25.15 21.88 31.37 55.75 21.03 52.71 13.00	2.68 0.53 15.75 13.01 36.71 53.00 18.95 44.86 8.60	3.79 0.43 11.97 23.49 14.63 16.85 22.89 14.65 20.53	3.57 0.57 6.16 15.95 11.61 15.69 22.42 13.99 10.38	1.81 0.02 13.61 10.56 8.65 13.04 16.43 10.67 7.31	1.87 0.21 11.39 7.87 8.38 12.38 15.38 14.90 6.05	15.82 6.15 1.09 20.69 60.67 42.15 65.66 28.96 65.00 33.31	3.58 1.33 10.41 46.98 32.77 64.48 19.80 63.23 13.34	7.93 2.46 0.05 20.56 31.45 28.94 60.79 14.16 61.31 8.90	5.98 2.67 0.42 14.52 20.74 26.56 57.56 13.49 62.80 5.89	5.47 0.62 19.62 76.43 63.86 87.31 26.15 88.55 45.30	3.71 0.77 9.71 63.39 59.09 84.74 14.56 85.33 19.62	1.71 0.05 23.99 53.55 49.98 82.32 8.43 82.12 11.72	7.71 1.84 0.40 12.96 40.11 52.63 80.41 10.02 80.64 6.86	13.80 6.80 0.77 18.20 49.25 42.16 52.81 32.24 49.52 35.64	4.49 1.00 10.32 34.72 33.67 47.16 28.63 44.20 17.21	2.88 0.05 20.46 24.38 28.39 43.57 21.26 41.78 11.49	2.52 0.32 14.59 15.22 26.35 39.54 19.60 41.29 7.57
[B] [C] [D] [E] [F] [G] [H]	8.81 0.84 20.95 54.08 48.97 67.65 25.78 65.46	4.69 1.19 10.89 34.65 38.73 57.72 27.64 48.84	3.11 0.08 25.15 21.88 31.37 55.75 21.03 52.71	2.68 0.53 15.75 13.01 36.71 53.00 18.95 44.86	3.79 0.43 11.97 23.49 14.63 16.85 22.89 14.65	3.57 0.57 6.16 15.95 11.61 15.69 22.42 13.99	1.81 0.02 13.61 10.56 8.65 13.04 16.43 10.67	1.87 0.21 11.39 7.87 8.38 12.38 15.38 14.90	15.82 6.15 1.09 20.69 60.67 42.15 65.66 28.96 65.00	3.58 1.33 10.41 46.98 32.77 64.48 19.80 63.23	7.93 2.46 0.05 20.56 31.45 28.94 60.79 14.16 61.31	5.98 2.67 0.42 14.52 20.74 26.56 57.56 13.49 62.80	5.47 0.62 19.62 76.43 63.86 87.31 26.15 88.55	3.71 0.77 9.71 63.39 59.09 84.74 14.56 85.33	1.71 0.05 23.99 53.55 49.98 82.32 8.43 82.12	7.71 1.84 0.40 12.96 40.11 52.63 80.41 10.02 80.64	13.80 6.80 0.77 18.20 49.25 42.16 52.81 32.24 49.52	4.49 1.00 10.32 34.72 33.67 47.16 28.63 44.20	2.88 0.05 20.46 24.38 28.39 43.57 21.26 41.78	2.52 0.32 14.59 15.22 26.35 39.54 19.60 41.29

Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2001, CS 2007, Census 2011 and CS 2016 data.



Table A5. Proportion of population (%) deprived in each indicator by district council, 2001

District council   [A]   [B]   [C]   [D]   [E]   [F]   [G]   [H]   [I]   [J]   [K]   [L]   Alfred Nzo   24,4   9,2   1,4   24,8   91,8   92,8   97,9   75,8   97,5   71,0   26,4   8,7   Amajuba   9,2   8,1   1,4   26,9   54,8   53,6   56,8   23,1   49,0   30,6   24,3   8,8   Amathole & Buffalo City   16,4   6,8   0,4   20,3   71,1   65,9   66,6   49,2   63,4   50,2   29,2   9,9   Bojanala   13,0   6,0   0,6   15,9   49,7   48,8   75,5   31,3   74,7   29,2   17,6   8,3   2,4   2,5   2,4   2,5   2,4   2,5   2,4   2,5   2,4   2,5   2,4   2,5   2,4   2,5   2,4   2,5   2,5   2,4   2,5
Amajuba         9.2         8.1         1.4         26.9         54.8         53.6         56.8         23.1         49.0         30.6         24.3         8.8           Amathole & Buffalo City         16.4         6.8         0.4         20.3         71.1         65.9         66.6         49.2         63.4         50.2         29.2         9.9           Bojanala         13.0         6.0         0.6         15.9         49.7         48.8         75.5         31.3         74.7         29.2         17.6         8.3           Capricorn         13.0         4.4         0.6         19.6         70.4         59.4         85.1         15.8         85.5         42.8         22.2         7.3           Central Karoo         15.6         8.9         0.3         26.6         30.9         5.5         13.2         3.7         17.3         31.8         24.5         5.3           Chris Hani         24.6         8.8         0.7         27.4         79.2         70.4         79.5         49.2         75.7         58.4         32.2         7.5           City of Cape Town         4.0         4.2         0.2         12.5         15.0         13.4         10.5
Amathole & Buffalo City         16.4         6.8         0.4         20.3         71.1         65.9         66.6         49.2         63.4         50.2         29.2         9.9           Bojanala         13.0         6.0         0.6         15.9         49.7         48.8         75.5         31.3         74.7         29.2         17.6         8.3           Cape Winelands         9.4         5.8         0.2         17.1         14.3         12.0         12.9         13.5         28.4         22.1         23.4         2.5           Capricorn         13.0         4.4         0.6         19.6         70.4         59.4         85.1         15.8         85.5         42.8         22.2         7.3           Central Karoo         15.6         8.9         0.3         26.6         30.9         5.5         15.1         15.8         85.5         42.8         22.2         7.5           City of Cape Town         4.0         4.2         0.2         12.5         15.0         13.4         10.5         18.8         4.6         14.5         17.5         5.4           City of Johannesburg         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.8         17.1         13.9
Amathole & Buffalo City         16.4         6.8         0.4         20.3         71.1         65.9         66.6         49.2         63.4         50.2         29.2         9.9           Bojanala         13.0         6.0         0.6         15.9         49.7         48.8         75.5         31.3         74.7         29.2         17.6         8.3           Cape Winelands         9.4         5.8         0.2         17.1         14.3         12.0         12.9         13.5         28.4         22.1         23.4         2.5           Capricorn         13.0         4.4         0.6         19.6         70.4         59.4         85.1         15.8         85.5         42.8         22.2         7.3           Central Karoo         15.6         8.8         0.7         27.4         79.2         70.4         79.5         49.2         75.7         58.4         32.2         7.5           City of Cape Town         4.0         4.2         0.2         12.5         15.0         13.4         10.5         18.8         4.6         14.5         17.5         5.4           City of Johannesburg         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.8         17.1         13.9
Bojanala         13.0         6.0         0.6         15.9         49.7         48.8         75.5         31.3         74.7         29.2         17.6         8.3           Cape Winelands         9.4         5.8         0.2         17.1         14.3         12.0         12.9         13.5         28.4         22.1         23.4         2.5           Capricorn         13.0         4.4         0.6         19.6         70.4         59.4         85.1         15.8         85.5         42.8         22.2         7.3           Central Karoo         15.6         8.9         0.3         26.6         30.9         5.5         13.2         3.7         17.3         31.8         24.5         5.3           Chris Hani         24.6         8.8         0.7         27.4         79.2         70.4         79.5         49.2         75.7         58.4         32.2         7.5           City of Cape Town         4.0         4.2         0.2         12.5         15.0         13.4         10.5         18.8         4.6         14.5         17.5         5.4           City of Johannesburg         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.3         28.2         20.4         31
Cape Winelands         9.4         5.8         0.2         17.1         14.3         12.0         12.9         13.5         28.4         22.1         23.4         2.5           Capricorn         13.0         4.4         0.6         19.6         70.4         59.4         85.1         15.8         85.5         42.8         22.2         7.3           Central Karoo         15.6         8.9         0.3         26.6         30.9         5.5         13.2         3.7         17.3         31.8         24.5         5.3           Chris Hani         24.6         8.8         0.7         27.4         79.2         70.4         79.5         49.2         75.7         58.4         32.2         7.5           City of Cape Town         4.0         4.2         0.2         12.5         15.0         13.4         10.5         18.8         4.6         14.5         17.5         5.4           City of Johannesburg         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.3         28.8         20.4         31.2         23.9         24.7         18.2         21.0         9.2           City of Tshwane         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.3         28.8         20.4
Central Karoo         15.6         8.9         0.3         26.6         30.9         5.5         13.2         3.7         17.3         31.8         24.5         5.3           Chris Hani         24.6         8.8         0.7         27.4         79.2         70.4         79.5         49.2         75.7         58.4         32.2         7.5           City of Cape Town         4.0         4.2         0.2         12.5         15.0         13.4         10.5         18.8         4.6         14.5         17.5         5.4           City of Johannesburg         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.8         17.1         13.9         14.1         19.5         7.7         19.2         21.0         9.2           City of Tshwane         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.3         28.8         20.4         31.2         23.9         24.7         18.2         12.3         6.4           Dr Kenneth Kaunda         15.3         7.1         0.9         19.9         47.9         21.6         37.1         31.8         23.0         29.8         17.0         7.4           Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati         28.8         14.6         1.2         29.8         66.6 <t< td=""></t<>
Chris Hani         24.6         8.8         0.7         27.4         79.2         70.4         79.5         49.2         75.7         58.4         32.2         7.5           City of Cape Town         4.0         4.2         0.2         12.5         15.0         13.4         10.5         18.8         4.6         14.5         17.5         5.4           City of Johannesburg         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.8         17.1         13.9         14.1         19.5         7.7         19.2         21.0         9.2           City of Tshwane         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.3         28.8         20.4         31.2         23.9         24.7         18.2         12.3         6.4           Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati         28.8         14.6         1.2         29.8         66.6         65.7         7.4         20.7         74.3         46.3         27.1         6.3           Eden         10.1         5.7         0.2         16.8         22.7         15.7         19.6         16.0         17.9         24.6         22.8         4.1           Elhanzeni         18.7         6.8         1.0         18.9         54.9         50.2
City of Cape Town         4.0         4.2         0.2         12.5         15.0         13.4         10.5         18.8         4.6         14.5         17.5         5.4           City of Johannesburg         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.8         17.1         13.9         14.1         19.5         7.7         19.2         21.0         9.2           City of Tshwane         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.3         28.8         20.4         31.2         23.9         24.7         18.2         12.3         6.4           Dr Kenneth Kaunda         15.3         7.1         0.9         19.9         47.9         21.6         37.1         31.8         23.0         29.8         17.0         7.4           Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati         28.8         14.6         1.2         29.8         66.6         65.7         77.4         20.7         74.3         46.3         27.1         6.3           Eden         10.1         5.7         0.2         16.8         22.7         15.7         19.6         16.0         17.9         24.6         22.8         4.1           Eden         10.1         7.6         4.0         0.5         11.9         31.2
City of Johannesburg         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.8         17.1         13.9         14.1         19.5         7.7         19.2         21.0         9.2           City of Tshwane         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.3         28.8         20.4         31.2         23.9         24.7         18.2         12.3         6.4           Dr Kenneth Kaunda         15.3         7.1         0.9         19.9         47.9         21.6         37.1         31.8         23.0         29.8         17.0         7.4           Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati         28.8         14.6         1.2         29.8         66.6         65.7         77.4         20.7         74.3         46.3         27.1         6.3           Eden         10.1         5.7         0.2         16.8         22.7         15.7         19.6         16.0         17.9         24.6         22.8         4.1           Ehlanzeni         18.7         6.8         1.0         18.9         54.9         50.2         78.4         19.2         77.2         38.2         24.9         6.6           Ekurhuleni         7.6         4.0         0.5         11.9         31.2         15.7
City of Johannesburg         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.8         17.1         13.9         14.1         19.5         7.7         19.2         21.0         9.2           City of Tshwane         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.3         28.8         20.4         31.2         23.9         24.7         18.2         12.3         6.4           Dr Kenneth Kaunda         15.3         7.1         0.9         19.9         47.9         21.6         37.1         31.8         23.0         29.8         17.0         7.4           Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati         28.8         14.6         1.2         29.8         66.6         65.7         77.4         20.7         74.3         46.3         27.1         6.3           Eden         10.1         5.7         0.2         16.8         22.7         15.7         19.6         16.0         17.9         24.6         22.8         4.1           Ehlanzeni         18.7         6.8         1.0         18.9         54.9         50.2         78.4         19.2         77.2         38.2         24.9         6.6           Ekurhuleni         7.6         4.0         0.5         11.9         31.2         15.7
City of Tshwane         6.5         3.7         0.4         11.3         28.8         20.4         31.2         23.9         24.7         18.2         12.3         6.4           Dr Kenneth Kaunda         15.3         7.1         0.9         19.9         47.9         21.6         37.1         31.8         23.0         29.8         17.0         7.4           Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati         28.8         14.6         1.2         29.8         66.6         65.7         77.4         20.7         74.3         46.3         27.1         6.3           Eden         10.1         5.7         0.2         16.8         22.7         15.7         19.6         16.0         17.9         24.6         22.8         4.1           Ehlanzeni         18.7         6.8         1.0         18.9         54.9         50.2         78.4         19.2         77.2         38.2         24.9         6.6           Ekurhuleni         7.6         4.0         0.5         11.9         31.2         15.7         15.2         26.5         10.2         23.6         17.2         10.4           eThekwini         7.3         5.6         0.7         13.8         25.2         29.6 <td< td=""></td<>
Dr Kenneth Kaunda         15.3         7.1         0.9         19.9         47.9         21.6         37.1         31.8         23.0         29.8         17.0         7.4           Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati         28.8         14.6         1.2         29.8         66.6         65.7         77.4         20.7         74.3         46.3         27.1         6.3           Eden         10.1         5.7         0.2         16.8         22.7         15.7         19.6         16.0         17.9         24.6         22.8         4.1           Ehlanzeni         18.7         6.8         1.0         18.9         54.9         50.2         78.4         19.2         77.2         38.2         24.9         6.6           Ekurhuleni         7.6         4.0         0.5         11.9         31.2         15.7         15.2         26.5         10.2         23.6         17.2         10.4           eThekwini         7.3         5.6         0.7         13.8         25.2         29.6         38.1         26.4         18.0         23.4         20.7         9.0           Fezile Dabi         13.4         4.4         0.8         21.5         47.9         15.1         38
Eden         10.1         5.7         0.2         16.8         22.7         15.7         19.6         16.0         17.9         24.6         22.8         4.1           Ehlanzeni         18.7         6.8         1.0         18.9         54.9         50.2         78.4         19.2         77.2         38.2         24.9         6.6           Ekurhuleni         7.6         4.0         0.5         11.9         31.2         15.7         15.2         26.5         10.2         23.6         17.2         10.4           eThekwini         7.3         5.6         0.7         13.8         25.2         29.6         38.1         26.4         18.0         23.4         20.7         9.0           Fezile Dabi         13.4         4.4         0.8         21.5         47.9         15.1         38.3         27.6         36.7         28.8         13.3         8.2           Frances Baard         15.6         6.2         0.6         22.1         73.2         42.9         55.1         46.8         52.3         38.7         15.9         21.5         48.8           Harry Gwala         21.9         11.4         1.1         21.9         83.8         68.7         <
Eden         10.1         5.7         0.2         16.8         22.7         15.7         19.6         16.0         17.9         24.6         22.8         4.1           Ehlanzeni         18.7         6.8         1.0         18.9         54.9         50.2         78.4         19.2         77.2         38.2         24.9         6.6           Ekurhuleni         7.6         4.0         0.5         11.9         31.2         15.7         15.2         26.5         10.2         23.6         17.2         10.4           eThekwini         7.3         5.6         0.7         13.8         25.2         29.6         38.1         26.4         18.0         23.4         20.7         9.0           Fezile Dabi         13.4         4.4         0.8         21.5         47.9         15.1         38.3         27.6         28.7         28.8         13.3         8.2           Frances Baard         15.6         6.2         0.6         22.1         36.0         16.0         26.4         17.7         25.7         28.5         21.5         6.8           Gert Sibande         17.0         7.2         1.7         22.1         73.2         42.9         55.1 <t< td=""></t<>
Ehlanzeni         18.7         6.8         1.0         18.9         54.9         50.2         78.4         19.2         77.2         38.2         24.9         6.6           Ekurhuleni         7.6         4.0         0.5         11.9         31.2         15.7         15.2         26.5         10.2         23.6         17.2         10.4           eThekwini         7.3         5.6         0.7         13.8         25.2         29.6         38.1         26.4         18.0         23.4         20.7         9.0           Fezile Dabi         13.4         4.4         0.8         21.5         47.9         15.1         38.3         27.6         36.7         28.8         13.3         8.2           Frances Baard         15.6         6.2         0.6         22.1         36.0         16.0         26.4         17.7         25.7         28.5         21.5         6.8           Gert Sibande         17.0         7.2         1.7         22.1         37.2         42.9         55.1         46.8         52.3         38.7         15.9         7.3           Harry Gwala         21.9         11.4         1.1         21.9         83.8         68.7         79.6
Ekurhuleni         7.6         4.0         0.5         11.9         31.2         15.7         15.2         26.5         10.2         23.6         17.2         10.4           eThekwini         7.3         5.6         0.7         13.8         25.2         29.6         38.1         26.4         18.0         23.4         20.7         9.0           Fezile Dabi         13.4         4.4         0.8         21.5         47.9         15.1         38.3         27.6         36.7         28.8         13.3         8.2           Frances Baard         15.6         6.2         0.6         22.1         36.0         16.0         26.4         17.7         25.7         28.5         21.5         6.8           Gert Sibande         17.0         7.2         1.7         22.1         73.2         42.9         55.1         46.8         52.3         38.7         15.9         7.3           Harry Gwala         21.9         11.4         1.1         21.9         83.8         68.7         79.6         68.0         82.0         67.5         28.3         9.4           ILembe         18.6         10.6         1.5         21.4         61.9         71.6         80.3
eThekwini         7.3         5.6         0.7         13.8         25.2         29.6         38.1         26.4         18.0         23.4         20.7         9.0           Fezile Dabi         13.4         4.4         0.8         21.5         47.9         15.1         38.3         27.6         36.7         28.8         13.3         8.2           Frances Baard         15.6         6.2         0.6         22.1         36.0         16.0         26.4         17.7         25.7         28.5         21.5         6.8           Gert Sibande         17.0         7.2         1.7         22.1         73.2         42.9         55.1         46.8         52.3         38.7         15.9         7.3           Harry Gwala         21.9         11.4         1.1         21.9         83.8         68.7         79.6         68.0         82.0         67.5         28.3         9.4           iLembe         18.6         10.6         1.5         21.4         61.9         71.6         80.3         57.9         81.6         49.8         26.9         6.7           Joe Gqabi         25.3         10.0         0.9         26.0         82.7         74.2         87.5
Fezile Dabi         13.4         4.4         0.8         21.5         47.9         15.1         38.3         27.6         36.7         28.8         13.3         8.2           Frances Baard         15.6         6.2         0.6         22.1         36.0         16.0         26.4         17.7         25.7         28.5         21.5         6.8           Gert Sibande         17.0         7.2         1.7         22.1         73.2         42.9         55.1         46.8         52.3         38.7         15.9         7.3           Harry Gwala         21.9         11.4         1.1         21.9         83.8         68.7         79.6         68.0         82.0         67.5         28.3         9.4           iLembe         18.6         10.6         1.5         21.4         61.9         71.6         80.3         57.9         81.6         49.8         26.9         6.7           Joe Gqabi         25.3         10.0         0.9         26.0         82.7         74.2         87.5         41.5         78.1         65.0         36.7         7.5           John Taolo Gaetsewe         24.0         10.1         1.5         26.9         63.8         75.9         81
Frances Baard         15.6         6.2         0.6         22.1         36.0         16.0         26.4         17.7         25.7         28.5         21.5         6.8           Gert Sibande         17.0         7.2         1.7         22.1         73.2         42.9         55.1         46.8         52.3         38.7         15.9         7.3           Harry Gwala         21.9         11.4         1.1         21.9         83.8         68.7         79.6         68.0         82.0         67.5         28.3         9.4           iLembe         18.6         10.6         1.5         21.4         61.9         71.6         80.3         57.9         81.6         49.8         26.9         6.7           Joe Gqabi         25.3         10.0         0.9         26.0         82.7         74.2         87.5         41.5         78.1         65.0         36.7         7.5           John Taolo Gaetsewe         24.0         10.1         1.5         26.9         63.8         75.9         81.2         27.4         83.7         46.8         26.2         4.8
Gert Sibande         17.0         7.2         1.7         22.1         73.2         42.9         55.1         46.8         52.3         38.7         15.9         7.3           Harry Gwala         21.9         11.4         1.1         21.9         83.8         68.7         79.6         68.0         82.0         67.5         28.3         9.4           iLembe         18.6         10.6         1.5         21.4         61.9         71.6         80.3         57.9         81.6         49.8         26.9         6.7           Joe Gqabi         25.3         10.0         0.9         26.0         82.7         74.2         87.5         41.5         78.1         65.0         36.7         7.5           John Taolo Gaetsewe         24.0         10.1         1.5         26.9         63.8         75.9         81.2         27.4         83.7         46.8         26.2         4.8
Harry Gwala     21.9     11.4     1.1     21.9     83.8     68.7     79.6     68.0     82.0     67.5     28.3     9.4       iLembe     18.6     10.6     1.5     21.4     61.9     71.6     80.3     57.9     81.6     49.8     26.9     6.7       Joe Gqabi     25.3     10.0     0.9     26.0     82.7     74.2     87.5     41.5     78.1     65.0     36.7     7.5       John Taolo Gaetsewe     24.0     10.1     1.5     26.9     63.8     75.9     81.2     27.4     83.7     46.8     26.2     4.8
iLembe     18.6     10.6     1.5     21.4     61.9     71.6     80.3     57.9     81.6     49.8     26.9     6.7       Joe Gqabi     25.3     10.0     0.9     26.0     82.7     74.2     87.5     41.5     78.1     65.0     36.7     7.5       John Taolo Gaetsewe     24.0     10.1     1.5     26.9     63.8     75.9     81.2     27.4     83.7     46.8     26.2     4.8
Joe Gqabi         25.3         10.0         0.9         26.0         82.7         74.2         87.5         41.5         78.1         65.0         36.7         7.5           John Taolo Gaetsewe         24.0         10.1         1.5         26.9         63.8         75.9         81.2         27.4         83.7         46.8         26.2         4.8
John Taolo Gaetsewe 24.0 10.1 1.5 26.9 63.8 75.9 81.2 27.4 83.7 46.8 26.2 4.8
Lejweleputswa 16.0 6.4 1.0 19.6 50.1 27.5 53.9 37.1 29.8 36.4 21.2 10.5
Mangaung 11.6 4.2 0.6 19.4 37.7 29.1 53.3 26.2 41.9 28.3 24.3 8.1
Mopani 20.6 6.9 0.7 19.1 78.9 63.3 88.9 28.7 90.2 44.2 23.8 8.2
Namakwa 12.7 3.4 0.3 16.9 17.1 12.0 39.2 9.2 21.7 30.7 20.9 5.1
Nelson Mandela Bay 5.5 4.8 0.2 16.3 30.4 16.8 17.0 21.1 12.3 25.4 16.0 9.2
Ngaka Modiri Molema 21.8 13.0 1.0 25.6 59.0 60.5 77.1 18.1 80.1 38.0 24.5 6.9
Nkangala 12.4 4.7 0.6 20.9 53.2 30.3 58.9 23.2 61.4 24.6 14.8 7.4
OR Tambo 29.7 14.7 1.7 22.6 89.7 93.5 94.3 75.0 95.0 74.2 34.7 7.5
Overberg 10.1 5.6 0.2 11.4 16.4 13.3 15.3 15.2 21.9 22.0 19.7 4.0
Pixley ka Seme 25.5 10.5 0.9 16.9 37.5 17.9 47.7 13.9 26.3 37.9 27.6 6.1
Sarah Baartman 16.8 8.3 0.3 21.4 46.6 24.7 51.2 22.9 29.9 35.3 21.4 5.9
Sedibeng 8.0 3.7 0.5 16.5 20.4 11.2 15.6 17.3 51.0 21.6 14.7 9.7
Sekhukhune 16.4 5.5 0.6 22.3 81.4 81.7 95.9 22.2 95.8 48.9 21.9 6.8
Thabo Mofutsanyana 14.2 5.1 1.0 24.2 63.8 40.2 74.9 40.7 61.8 39.5 21.3 9.2
Uqu 20.7 11.3 1.4 21.7 70.0 82.6 83.3 50.7 86.6 51.4 28.5 6.4
uMgungundlovu 12.0 7.2 1.1 17.4 45.9 39.6 60.2 40.6 60.7 35.8 16.6 8.7
uMkhanyakude 25.1 17.2 1.5 23.9 83.2 88.3 92.2 56.3 96.3 61.0 33.6 6.4
uMzinyathi 31.1 15.2 1.5 22.5 83.6 82.6 85.0 65.7 86.8 67.2 25.2 7.4
Uthukela 16.7 10.4 2.0 25.9 72.8 69.8 78.9 51.8 77.3 45.7 21.3 8.4
Vhembe 14.3 3.7 0.4 18.3 80.0 60.1 89.7 37.0 91.2 45.9 23.8 9.3
Waterberg 18.4 7.6 0.8 20.5 65.3 53.7 69.5 23.4 74.1 42.3 25.7 6.1
West Coast 11.2 6.2 0.3 12.5 12.6 9.4 14.0 7.9 28.7 24.5 23.8 2.1
West Rand 11.4 5.5 0.7 12.9 32.9 18.1 23.9 28.8 21.3 26.5 20.4 9.0
Xhariep 25.8 9.4 0.5 23.8 56.4 17.9 31.4 18.3 31.0 42.5 24.7 7.4
ZF Mgcawu 15.8 7.4 0.7 16.7 30.4 19.3 30.2 15.4 34.2 39.0 27.3 4.3
Zululand 20.0 11.7 2.2 29.6 78.8 76.9 85.9 54.9 85.3 57.4 27.5 6.6

Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2001 data.

Table A6. Proportion of population (%) deprived in each indicator by district council, 2016.

District council [A] [B] [C] [D] [E] [F] [G] [H] [I] [J] [K]  Alfred Nzo 10.1 2.6 0.8 23.5 49.8 85.7 95.9 58.9 95.4 27.7 30	
Alfred Nzo 10.1 2.6 0.8 23.5 40.8 85.7 95.9 58.0 95.4 27.7 30	
7111CG 1920 0.1 7.0 10.1 2.0 0.0 23.3 47.0 03.7 73.7 30.7 73.4 27.7 30.	6 5.0
Amajuba 3.0 3.1 0.5 17.5 13.4 12.6 50.3 17.0 50.8 6.0 19	6 5.4
Amathole 7.1 2.1 0.2 15.9 17.3 49.5 51.5 35.4 61.5 12.5 27	9 6.4
Bojanala 6.0 2.2 0.4 12.5 12.3 34.3 61.1 25.5 40.5 7.3 12	2 6.5
Cape Winelands 3.5 4.8 0.1 11.9 3.4 10.3 3.5 15.5 16.5 5.4 15	7 2.3
Capricorn 7.3 1.8 0.3 12.2 22.7 36.3 73.8 6.1 73.6 5.4 8	9 6.9
Central Karoo 5.8 3.6 0.5 20.7 5.1 4.0 2.6 1.2 6.9 8.6 17	3 4.3
Chris Hani 12.5 3.8 0.3 17.6 12.8 54.1 64.4 42.7 71.5 11.6 31	
City of Cape Town 2.4 2.2 0.1 11.0 1.2 9.6 6.0 15.3 10.8 3.4 12	1 4.6
City of Johannesburg 3.4 1.9 0.2 10.7 6.2 6.1 8.4 15.1 12.8 5.9 15	2 6.0
City of Tshwane 3.7 1.9 0.2 10.8 6.8 9.7 21.6 15.4 20.7 4.5 9	1 5.4
Dr Kenneth Kaunda 7.1 2.3 0.4 16.2 8.6 8.4 10.3 12.4 18.9 6.9 10	
Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati 11.9 3.6 1.1 23.8 16.7 60.6 63.1 9.0 66.4 12.1 18	0 5.1
Eden 4.1 2.6 0.2 14.4 3.7 6.9 6.2 12.5 10.3 5.2 15	
Ehlanzeni 7.0 3.0 0.4 13.4 18.1 39.9 80.7 6.5 80.3 3.8 9	
Ekurhuleni 4.0 1.7 0.2 12.1 10.8 9.2 10.5 15.6 12.4 7.7 13	
eThekwini 3.5 3.3 0.2 15.1 4.5 13.8 29.7 17.9 24.2 4.7 15	
Fezile Dabi 6.4 2.3 0.3 17.6 6.0 6.0 18.2 13.4 16.5 6.3 6	
Frances Baard 5.0 2.6 0.2 15.8 5.7 11.4 15.1 14.8 28.8 8.8 12	
Gert Sibande 5.8 2.6 0.6 16.4 28.4 16.9 34.2 21.5 47.4 7.7 10	
Harry Gwala 9.8 3.4 0.7 17.7 43.0 68.2 82.3 61.7 79.8 18.7 22	
iLembe 6.0 2.5 0.5 19.2 23.0 61.0 78.7 27.4 72.1 13.4 24	
Joe Ggabi 10.4 2.9 0.2 14.0 21.4 55.0 67.3 31.1 66.8 18.9 24	
John Taolo Gaetsewe 7.9 3.6 0.6 25.9 18.2 64.2 72.1 16.7 78.7 11.6 17	
King Cetshwayo 5.7 4.1 0.3 19.7 20.3 33.8 75.7 32.9 78.5 7.3 29	
Lejweleputswa 4.8 1.9 0.4 19.5 4.7 6.6 16.6 16.4 26.7 5.7 11	
Mangaung 5.3 1.7 0.2 18.2 3.6 8.9 32.8 12.1 21.3 4.4 11.	
Mopani 9.2 1.5 0.3 11.6 51.3 55.6 85.4 8.8 85.5 6.5 11.	
Namakwa 5.3 2.9 0.1 23.8 4.0 4.2 18.5 4.4 14.4 7.5 13	
Nelson Mandela Bay 2.7 2.2 0.1 13.6 4.0 5.9 6.2 6.8 14.8 4.3 8	
Ngaka Modiri Molema 9.1 3.4 0.7 17.6 16.2 53.2 68.1 16.8 64.1 10.8 18	
Nkangala 4.9 2.4 0.3 14.3 17.8 17.8 47.8 15.6 53.6 7.0 8	
OR Tambo 11.2 3.7 0.6 20.1 34.4 84.4 92.5 59.0 93.4 20.0 33	
Overberg 5.0 2.9 0.2 12.6 3.5 9.3 4.0 15.3 12.3 4.9 13	
Pixley ka Seme 11.0 4.0 0.4 22.5 8.0 10.9 18.9 10.4 23.8 12.4 17	
Sarah Baartman 7.2 2.6 0.2 17.8 6.1 13.7 17.3 11.5 14.9 8.5 13	
Sedibeng 4.0 2.1 0.2 13.1 4.7 6.3 7.5 11.6 12.3 4.5 9	
Sekhukhune 7.2 2.4 0.5 15.8 35.4 68.4 94.2 11.2 92.4 8.2 10	
Thabo Mofutsanyana 5.8 1.7 0.3 19.8 10.5 13.3 44.2 22.0 52.2 5.9 11.	
Ugu 6.7 4.7 0.4 21.3 23.4 69.6 80.3 42.3 84.2 13.4 22	2 4.5
uMgunqundlovu 3.9 3.9 0.5 14.5 9.8 20.8 56.4 24.8 61.9 6.2 14	2 5.2
uMkhanyakude 6.9 4.4 0.3 17.1 51.9 72.5 93.9 31.6 97.5 17.7 30	6 4.1
uMzinyathi 11.0 3.8 0.7 20.0 42.1 65.4 82.8 55.0 84.3 16.3 28	
Uthukela 4.3 3.6 1.1 21.4 29.2 49.9 75.4 32.8 73.7 8.6 23	
Vhembe 7.9 1.7 0.3 11.7 57.6 60.6 84.3 13.1 85.7 6.3 13	
Waterberg 6.3 1.9 0.6 14.7 26.6 36.9 54.4 11.6 56.6 9.1 11.	
West Coast 3.8 2.9 0.1 14.5 2.6 6.4 6.2 11.1 13.9 7.2 18	
West Rand 4.8 2.0 0.3 12.8 13.0 15.9 14.2 20.1 18.6 7.5 15.	
Xhariep 11.1 2.0 0.2 19.2 5.9 7.4 12.4 11.6 29.9 9.5 11.	7 5.9
ZF Mgcawu 5.3 4.2 0.8 16.4 8.6 12.2 27.4 24.4 29.4 13.2 16	4 3.3
Zululand 5.3 3.5 0.6 24.3 27.1 53.2 84.5 43.2 82.5 10.5 26	7 3.8

Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2011 and CS 2016 data.

<sup>a</sup>As the 2016 results on overcrowding and unemployment are not available, the 2011 results are shown instead.

Table A7. Multidimensional poverty by gender, race and area type, 2001–2016.

		2001				2007		2011			2016		
		Н	Α	MPI	Н	Α	MPI	Н	Α	MPI	Н	Α	MPI
						Weighting	scheme (I)						
Gender	Male	0.1392	0.4265	0.0594	0.0621	0.4065	0.0252	0.0570	0.4081	0.0233		N/A	
	Female	$0.2003^*$	0.4271	$0.0855^*$	$0.0940^*$	$0.4080^*$	0.0384*	0.0876*	0.4079	$0.0357^*$			
Race	African	0.2052	0.4271	0.0876	0.0935	0.4073	0.0381	0.0861	0.4079	0.0351			
	Coloured	0.0381**	0.4174**	0.0159**	0.0177**	0.4102**	0.0072**	0.0208**	0.4106**	0.0085**			
	Indian	0.0033**	0.3987**	0.0013**	0.0035	0.3889**	0.0013**	0.0043**	0.4092**	0.0018**			
	White	0.0017**	0.4047**	0.0007**	0.0012**	0.4145**	0.0005**	0.0013**	0.3984**	0.0005**			
Area type	Urban	0.0783	0.4354	0.0341	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.0351	0.4163	0.0146			
	Rural	0.2805***	0.4238***	0.1189***	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.1307***	0.4043***	0.0528***			
All		0.1663	0.4268	0.0710	0.0759	0.4073	0.0309	0.0707	0.4080	0.0288			
						Weighting	scheme (II)						
Gender	Male	0.2512	0.4403	0.1106	0.1401	0.4135	0.0579	0.1292	0.4050	0.0523	0.0863	0.3908	0.0337
	Female	0.3502*	$0.4440^*$	0.1555*	0.2015*	0.4113*	0.0829*	0.1937*	0.4092*	0.0792*	0.1310*	0.3961*	0.0519*
Race	African	0.3619	0.4431	0.1603	0.2043	0.4130	0.0844	0.1921	0.4078	0.0783	0.1261	0.3944	0.0497
	Coloured	0.0838**	0.4181**	0.0350**	0.0456**	0.3939**	0.0180**	0.0483**	0.3946**	0.0190**	0.0279**	0.3798**	0.0106**
	Indian	0.0128**	0.3657**	0.0047**	0.0129**	0.3690**	0.0048**	0.0119**	0.3755**	0.0045**	0.0117**	0.3544**	0.0042**
	White	0.0050**	0.3734**	0.0019**	0.0041**	0.3760**	0.0015**	0.0041**	0.3660**	0.0015**	0.0057**	0.3460**	$0.0020^{**}$
Area type	Urban	0.1138	0.4155	0.0473	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.0542	0.3935	0.0213	0.0411	0.3790	0.0156
	Rural	0.5304***	0.4497***	0.2385***	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.3328***	0.4111***	0.1368***	0.2344***	0.3988***	0.0935***
All		0.2952	0.4422	0.1306	0.1666	0.4124	0.0687	0.1580	0.4073	0.0643	0.1067	0.3938	0.0420

Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2001, CS 2007, Census 2011 and CS 2016 data.

<sup>\*</sup>The value is statistically significant compared with that of the reference gender category (male) at  $\alpha = 5\%$ .

<sup>\*\*</sup>The value is statistically significant compared with that of the reference race category (African) at  $\alpha = 5\%$ .

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>The value is statistically significant compared with that of the reference area type category (urban) at  $\alpha = 5\%$ .

Table A8. MPI and income poverty by district council using weighting scheme (I), 2001–2011.

Table Ao. WIFT and Incom	200		200		2011					
District council	MPI	Rank	MPI	Rank	MPI	Rank	Income poverty	Rank		
Alfred Nzo	0.1706	49	0.0703	45	0.0913	51	0.7213	50		
Amajuba	0.0753	29	0.0292	26	0.0264	25	0.5891	38		
Amathole	0.1104	37	0.0579	39	0.0534	43	0.5343	29		
Bojanala	0.0619	24	0.0255	24	0.0277	28	0.3641	13		
Cape Winelands	0.0154	2	0.0042	1	0.0064	2	0.2855	6		
Capricorn	0.0666	25	0.0302	29	0.0292	31	0.5461	31		
Central Karoo	0.0233	6	0.0072	4	0.0122	7	0.4099	16		
Chris Hani	0.1379	44	0.0757	46	0.0627	47	0.6084	41		
City of Cape Town	0.0194	3	0.0080	6	0.0096	5	0.2853	5		
City of Johannesburg	0.0256	8	0.0110	8	0.0096	4	0.2630	3		
City of Tshwane	0.0292	9	0.0151	13	0.0133	8	0.2620	2		
Dr Kenneth Kaunda	0.0539	21	0.0245	23	0.0193	17	0.4388	21		
Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati	0.1204	42	0.0537	36	0.0495	41	0.6067	40		
Eden	0.0240	7	0.0068	3	0.0135	9	0.3420	10		
Ehlanzeni	0.0723	28	0.0295	28	0.0290	30	0.5484	32		
Ekurhuleni	0.0349	12	0.0147	12	0.0169	13	0.2948	7		
eThekwini	0.0438	16	0.0175	15	0.0171	14	0.3646	14		
Fezile Dabi	0.0451	17	1.1202	51	0.0190	16	0.4543	23		
Frances Baard	0.0435	15	0.0221	18	0.0264	24	0.4361	20		
Gert Sibande	0.0800	32	0.3191	50	0.0283	29	0.4855	26		
Harry Gwala	0.1434	47	0.0689	43	0.0668	48	0.6603	46		
iLembe	0.1122	39	0.0546	37	0.0459	37	0.5634	35		
Joe Ggabi	0.1392	45	0.0799	47	0.0626	46	0.6032	39		
John Taolo Gaetsewe	0.1118	38	0.0475	35	0.0483	40	0.5400	30		
King Cetshwayo	0.1159	40	0.0459	33	0.0471	38	0.5859	37		
Lejweleputswa	0.0680	26	0.0202	17	0.0215	20	0.4690	25		
Mangaung	0.0506	19	0.0170	14	0.0173	15	0.3627	12		
Mopani	0.0925	35	0.0378	32	0.0390	34	0.6202	43		
Namakwa	0.0199	4	0.0080	7	0.0113	6	0.3209	9		
Nelson Mandela Bay	0.0335	11	0.0141	11	0.0153	11	0.4112	17		
Ngaka Modiri Molema	0.1005	36	0.0606	42	0.0529	42	0.5622	34		
Nkangala	0.0507	20	0.0240	22	0.0197	18	0.4156	18		
OR Tambo	0.1931	51	0.0839	48	0.0857	50	0.7105	49		
Overberg	0.0204	5	0.0073	5	0.0090	3	0.2728	4		
Pixley ka Seme	0.0548	22	0.0235	20	0.0247	23	0.4453	22		
Sarah Baartman	0.0460	18	0.0132	9	0.0160	12	0.4214	19		
Sedibeng	0.0328	10	0.0136	10	0.0136	10	0.3599	11		
Sekhukhune	0.0810	33	0.0465	34	0.0447	35	0.6422	44		
Thabo Mofutsanyana	0.0777	31	0.0335	30	0.0268	26	0.5496	33		
Ugu	0.1245	43	0.0700	44	0.0570	44	0.5827	36		
uMgungundlovu	0.0694	27	0.0294	27	0.0294	32	0.4558	24		
uMkhanyakude	0.1575	48	0.0604	41	0.0579	45	0.7252	51		
uMzinyathi	0.1745	50	0.0860	49	0.0726	49	0.7057	48		
Uthukela	0.1181	41	0.0570	38	0.0472	39	0.6540	45		
Vhembe	0.0839	34	0.0356	31	0.0384	33	0.6164	42		
Waterberg	0.0763	30	0.0265	25	0.0271	27	0.4876	27		
West Coast	0.0101	1	0.0044	2	0.0057	1	0.2455	1		
West Rand	0.0426	14	0.0223	19	0.0235	22	0.3032	8		
Xhariep	0.0594	23	0.0237	21	0.0233	21	0.4983	28		
ZF Mgcawu	0.0376	13	0.0200	16	0.0201	19	0.3732	15		
Zululand	0.1405	46	0.0591	40	0.0451	36	0.7054	47		

Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2011, CS 2007 and Census 2011 data.

Table A9. MPI by district council using weighting scheme (II), 2001–2016.

	200	)1	200	)7	201	1	2016	
District council	MPI	Rank	MPI	Rank	MPI	Rank	MPI	Rank
Alfred Nzo	0.3277	50	0.1762	48	0.2120	51	0.1724	51
Amajuba	0.1374	27	0.0704	30	0.0639	27	0.0330	23
Amathole	0.1951	36	0.1263	38	0.1151	35	0.0725	35
Bojanala	0.1221	25	0.0559	24	0.0591	26	0.0393	27
Cape Winelands	0.0382	5	0.0176	5	0.0159	4	0.0084	2
Capricorn	0.1409	28	0.0671	29	0.0773	31	0.0439	29
Central Karoo	0.0600	13	0.0208	8	0.0261	11	0.0139	9
Chris Hani	0.2566	44	0.1587	44	0.1410	42	0.0941	42
City of Cape Town	0.0229	1	0.0107	2	0.0114	2	0.0071	1
City of Johannesburg	0.0279	2	0.0139	4	0.0100	1	0.0120	6
City of Tshwane	0.0502	10	0.0330	15	0.0225	9	0.0168	11
Dr Kenneth Kaunda	0.0979	19	0.0449	20	0.0366	18	0.0243	18
Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati	0.2355	42	0.1278	40	0.1434	43	0.1045	44
Eden	0.0467	9	0.0198	6	0.0249	10	0.0095	3
Ehlanzeni	0.1493	29	0.0663	28	0.0707	29	0.0476	31
Ekurhuleni	0.0429	7	0.0224	12	0.0220	8	0.0212	16
eThekwini	0.0586	12	0.0288	13	0.0262	12	0.0191	14
Fezile Dabi	0.0834	17	0.0222	11	0.0319	15	0.0150	10
Frances Baard	0.0812	16	0.0413	19	0.0490	22	0.0258	19
Gert Sibande	0.1635	32	0.0740	31	0.0694	28	0.0463	30
Harry Gwala	0.2714	46	0.1900	49	0.1770	48	0.1298	48
iLembe	0.2293	39	0.1394	41	0.1187	37	0.0876	40
Joe Ggabi	0.2597	45	0.1671	47	0.1467	44	0.0878	41
John Taolo Gaetsewe	0.2314	40	0.1196	37	0.1492	45	0.1084	45
King Cetshwayo	0.2323	41	0.1265	39	0.1156	36	0.0787	37
Lejweleputswa	0.1171	23	0.0366	18	0.0336	16	0.0197	15
Mangaung	0.0896	18	0.0293	14	0.0287	13	0.0183	13
Mopani	0.1857	34	0.0884	34	0.1040	34	0.0683	34
Namakwa	0.0530	11	0.0199	7	0.0290	14	0.0175	12
Nelson Mandela Bay	0.0421	6	0.0214	10	0.0194	7	0.0103	5
Ngaka Modiri Molema	0.1985	37	0.1196	36	0.1295	40	0.0790	38
Nkangala	0.1077	22	0.0511	23	0.0467	21	0.0364	26
OR Tambo	0.3502	51	0.2210	51	0.1966	50	0.1484	50
Overberg	0.0351	4	0.0132	3	0.0181	6	0.0121	7
Pixley ka Seme	0.1054	21	0.0477	22	0.0543	24	0.0331	24
Sarah Baartman	0.1014	20	0.0338	16	0.0389	19	0.0240	17
Sedibeng	0.0443	8	0.0209	9	0.0162	5	0.0128	8
Sekhukhune	0.1868	35	0.1031	35	0.1210	38	0.0776	36
Thabo Mofutsanyana	0.1504	30	0.0633	27	0.0549	25	0.0354	25
Ugu	0.2464	43	0.1561	43	0.1500	46	0.1142	47
uMgungundlovu	0.1312	26	0.0742	32	0.0749	30	0.0407	28
uMkhanyakude	0.2980	48	0.1635	46	0.1597	47	0.1091	46
uMzinyathi	0.3203	49	0.1990	50	0.1799	49	0.1301	49
Uthukela	0.2281	38	0.1468	42	0.1255	39	0.0850	39
Vhembe	0.1674	33	0.0796	33	0.0990	33	0.0659	33
Waterberg	0.1616	31	0.0617	26	0.0790	32	0.0550	32
West Coast	0.0350	3	0.0103	1	0.0157	3	0.0098	4
West Rand	0.0642	14	0.0339	17	0.0363	17	0.0263	20
Xhariep	0.1204	24	0.0586	25	0.0453	20	0.0269	21
ZF Mgcawu	0.0806	15	0.0461	21	0.0526	23	0.0270	22
Zululand	0.2736	47	0.1621	45	0.1322	41	0.0995	43

Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2011, CS 2007, Census 2011 and CS 2016 data.

Table A10. The 10 least and 10 most deprived municipalities in 2011 (using weighting scheme (I)) and 2016 (using weighting scheme (II)).

10 mun	icipalities with th	ne lowest	: MPI	10 municipalities with the highest MPI						
Municipality	Province	Н	Α	MPI	Municipality	Province	Н	Α	MPI	
		Census	2011 (u	ısing we	ighting schem	e (I))				
Laingsburg	Western Cape	0.0087	0.4176	0.0036	Ntabankulu	Eastern Cape	0.2910	0.3892	0.1132	
Saldanha Bay	Western Cape	0.0093	0.3969	0.0037	Mbhashe	Eastern Cape	0.2819	0.3924	0.1106	
Bergrivier	Western Cape	0.0099	0.3788	0.0038	Engcobo	Eastern Cape	0.2699	0.4002	0.1080	
Cape Agulhas	Western Cape	0.0102	0.3993	0.0041	Mbizana	Eastern Cape	0.2677	0.3958	0.1060	
Swartland	Western Cape	0.0114	0.4054	0.0046	Msinga	KwaZulu–Natal	0.2666	0.3952	0.1054	
Hessequa	Western Cape	0.0126	0.3966	0.0050	Intsika Yethu	Eastern Cape	0.2592	0.4003	0.1038	
Witzenberg	Western Cape	0.0126	0.4108	0.0052	Port St Johns	Eastern Cape	0.2606	0.3930	0.1024	
Drakenstein	Western Cape	0.0128	0.4078	0.0052	Vulamehlo	KwaZulu-Natal	0.2517	0.3968	0.0999	
Nama Khoi	Northern Cape	0.0132	0.4029	0.0053	Ngquza Hill	Eastern Cape	0.2469	0.4035	0.0996	
Langeberg	Western Cape	0.0155	0.4066	0.0063	Nyandeni	Eastern Cape	0.2481	0.3906	0.0969	
		CS 2	016 (usii	ng weigl	nting scheme (	II))				
Bergrivier	Western Cape	0.0070	0.3635	0.0025	Ntabankulu	Eastern Cape	0.5137	0.4140	0.2127	
Swartland	Western Cape	0.0129	0.3499	0.0045	Port St Johns	Eastern Cape	0.4589	0.4578	0.2101	
Drakenstein	Western Cape	0.0162	0.3485	0.0056	Umzumbe	KwaZulu–Natal	0.4642	0.4271	0.1983	
Overstrand	Western Cape	0.0153	0.3822	0.0059	Mbizana	Eastern Cape	0.4706	0.4196	0.1974	
Mossel Bay	Western Cape	0.0167	0.3714	0.0062	Joe Morolong	Northern Cape	0.4795	0.3989	0.1913	
City of Cape Town	Western Cape	0.0194	0.3673	0.0071	Msinga	KwaZulu–Natal	0.4552	0.4173	0.1900	
Witzenberg	Western Cape	0.0202	0.3672	0.0074	Ratlou	North West	0.4482	0.4072	0.1825	
Knysna	Western Cape	0.0202	0.3669	0.0074	Ubuhlebezwe	KwaZulu–Natal	0.4184	0.4176	0.1747	
Bitou	Western Cape	0.0216	0.3546	0.0077	Engcobo	Eastern Cape	0.3904	0.4285	0.1673	
George	Western Cape	0.0212	0.3724	0.0079	Mbhashe	Eastern Cape	0.3885	0.4205	0.1634	

Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2011 and CS 2016 data.

Table A11. MPI decomposition (%) by gender, race, area type and province, 2001–2016.

			MPI contribution – weighting										
			Population share				scheme (I)		MPI contribution – weighting scheme (II)				
		2001	2007	2011	2016	2001	2007	2011	2001	2007	2011	2016	
Gender	Male	55.53	56.82	55.37	54.33	46.42	46.41	44.69	47.03	47.92	45.03	43.59	
	Female	44.47	43.18	44.63	45.67	53.57	53.59	55.31	52.96	52.08	54.97	56.41	
Race	African	79.30	79.31	79.53	82.27	97.87	97.75	96.87	97.38	97.40	96.82	97.35	
	Coloured	8.91	8.45	8.80	8.30	1.99	1.98	2.60	2.39	2.21	2.60	2.09	
	Indian	2.63	2.54	2.50	2.09	0.05	0.11	0.15	0.09	0.18	0.17	0.21	
	White	9.16	9.7	8.75	7.33	0.09	0.16	0.16	0.13	0.22	0.21	0.35	
Area type	Urban	56.44	N/A	62.76	66.07	27.08	N/A	31.77	20.43	N/A	20.81	24.51	
	Rural	43.56	N/A	37.24	33.93	72.92	N/A	68.23	79.56	N/A	79.19	75.48	
	Western Cape	9.93	10.60	11.18	11.23	2.64	2.44	3.63	2.22	1.95	2.45	2.14	
	Eastern Cape	14.55	13.49	12.60	10.52	25.89	26.08	24.64	25.50	27.48	24.46	21.56	
	Northern Cape	1.83	2.13	2.21	2.31	1.07	1.69	2.13	1.17	1.68	2.39	2.46	
	Free State	6.21	5.70	5.53	5.50	5.40	3.95	4.12	5.39	3.32	3.30	3.00	
Province	KwaZulu-Natal	20.91	20.82	19.48	18.28	27.89	28.46	25.43	27.96	31.18	27.99	27.84	
	North West	8.19	6.67	6.96	7.34	9.18	8.05	8.44	9.42	7.54	8.95	9.31	
	Gauteng	19.73	22.32	23.54	26.85	8.16	9.98	11.11	5.67	7.26	6.69	10.52	
	Mpumalanga	6.89	7.79	7.76	7.86	6.49	7.15	6.96	7.41	7.19	7.56	8.15	
	Limpopo	11.76	10.47	10.74	10.13	13.54	12.19	13.54	15.26	12.39	16.21	15.02	

Source: Authors' calculations using the Census 2001, CS 2007, Census 2011 and CS 2016 data.