North West: Informal settlements status
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Acknowledgements
• Eighty 20

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# Contents

**PART 1: Introduction**  
3

**PART 2: Data sources**  
4  
2.1 Survey and Census data  
4  
2.2 Other data from Stats SA  
8  
2.3 National Department of Human Settlements (NDHS) and LaPsis  
8  
2.4 Eskom’s Spot Building Count (also known as the Eskom Dwelling Layer)  
8  
2.5 Provincial data: North West  
9

**PART 3: The number and size of informal settlements in the North West**  
10  
3.1 Estimating the number of households who live in informal settlements  
10  
3.2 Estimating the number of informal settlements  
13

**PART 4: Profiling informal settlements in the North West**  
15  
4.1 Basic living conditions and access to services  
15  
4.2 Profile of households and families  
17  
4.3 Income, expenditure and other indicators of wellbeing  
18  
4.3.1 Income  
18  
4.3.2 Expenditure  
19  
4.3.3 Other indicators of wellbeing  
19  
4.4 Age of settlements and permanence  
19  
4.5 Housing waiting lists and subsidy housing  
22  
4.6 Health and vulnerability  
23  
4.7 Education  
25

**PART 5: Conclusions**  
26

**PART 6: Contacts and references**  
27

**PART 7: Appendix: Statistics South Africa surveys**  
28  
7.1 Community Survey 2007  
28  
7.2 General Household Survey  
28  
7.3 Income and Expenditure Survey 2005/6  
29  
7.4 Census 2001  
29  
7.5 Enumerator Areas  
29
List of abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CORC</td>
<td>Community Organisation Resource Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA</td>
<td>Enumeration Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GHS</td>
<td>General Household Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIS</td>
<td>Geographical Information Systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GTI</td>
<td>GeoTerralmage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDA</td>
<td>Housing Development Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH</td>
<td>Households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IES</td>
<td>Income and Expenditure Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LaPsis</td>
<td>Land and Property Spatial Information System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDHS</td>
<td>National Department of Human Settlements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSU</td>
<td>Primary Sampling Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stats SA</td>
<td>Statistics South Africa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART 1

Introduction

In terms of the HDA Act No. 23, 2008\(^1\), the Housing Development Agency (HDA), is mandated to assist organs of State with the upgrading of informal settlements. The HDA therefore commissioned this study to investigate the availability of data and to analyse this data relating to the profile, status and trends in informal settlements in South Africa, nationally and provincially as well as for some of the larger municipalities. This report summarises available data for the North West Province.

\(^1\)The HDA Act No.23, 2008, Section 7 (1) k.
PART 2

Data sources

A number of data sources have been used for this study. These include household level data from the 2001 Census and a range of nationally representative household surveys. Settlement level data was also reviewed, including provincial data and data from the NDHS, the HDA and Eskom.

There is no single standard definition of an informal settlement across data sources, nor is there alignment across data sources with regard to the demarcation of settlement areas. It is therefore expected that estimates generated by various data sources will differ.

It is critical when using data to be aware of its derivation and any potential biases or weaknesses within the data. Each data source is therefore discussed briefly and any issues pertaining to the data are highlighted. A more detailed discussion on data sources is provided in the national report on informal settlements.

2.1 Survey and Census data

Household-level data for this report was drawn from various nationally representative surveys conducted by Statistics South Africa including 2007 Community Survey (CS)\(^2\), the General Household Survey (GHS) from 2002 to 2009 and the 2005/6 Income and Expenditure Survey (IES)\(^3\). In addition, the study reviewed data from the 2001 Census\(^4\).

The census defines an informal settlement as ‘An unplanned settlement on land which has not been surveyed or proclaimed as residential, consisting mainly of informal dwellings (shacks)\(^5\)’. In turn, the census defines an ‘informal dwelling’ as: ‘A makeshift structure not erected according to approved architectural plans’. In the 2001 Census all residential enumeration areas\(^5\) (EA) are categorised as either Informal Settlements, Urban Settlements, Tribal Settlements or Farms. In addition, dwellings are categorised as either formal dwellings\(^6\) or informal dwellings, including shacks not in backyards, shacks in backyards and traditional dwellings. There are therefore two potential indicators in the 2001 Census that can be used to identify households who live in informal settlements, one based on enumeration area (Informal Settlement EA) and the other based on the type of dwelling (shack not in backyard).

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\(^2\) The Community Survey is a nationally representative, large-scale household survey. It provides demographic and socio-economic information such as the extent of poor households, access to facilities and services, levels of employment/unemployment at national, provincial and municipal level.

\(^3\) The Income and Expenditure Survey was conducted by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA) between September 2005 and August 2006 (IES 2005/2006). It is based on the diary method of capture and was the first of its kind to be conducted by Stats SA.

\(^4\) The Census data is available for all SA households; where more detail is required the 10% sample of this data set is used. Choice of data set is highlighted where applicable.

\(^5\) An EA is the smallest piece of land into which the country is divided for enumeration, of a size suitable for one fieldworker in an allocated period of time. EA type is then the classification of EAs according to specific criteria which profiles land use and human settlement in an area.

\(^6\) Formal dwellings include house or brick structure on a separate stand, flat in a block of flats, town/detached house, house/flat/room in backyard and a room/flatlet on a shared property.
According to the 2001 Census, 155,000 households in the North West (16% of households) lived in an informal dwelling or shack not in a backyard in 2001 while a significantly lower number of households (58,000 households corresponding to 6% of households) lived in enumeration areas that are characterised as Informal Settlements. Just under 29,000 households lived in both.

Unlike census data, survey data does not provide an EA descriptor. However, surveys do provide an indication of dwelling types, aligned with the main categories defined in the census. In the absence of an EA descriptor for informal settlements, the analysis of survey data relies on a proxy indicator based dwelling type, namely those who live in an ‘Informal dwelling/shack, not in backyard e.g. in an informal/squatter settlement’.

Census data can provide an indication of the suitability of this proxy. According to the Census, of those households in the North West who live in EAs categorised as Informal Settlements, 50% live in shacks not in backyards. A further 44% of households in these EAs live in formal dwellings, 3% live in shacks in backyards (it is not clear whether the primary dwelling on the property is itself a shack) and 3% live in traditional dwellings.

Conversely the data indicates that a very high proportion (81%) of all households in the North West who live in shacks not in a backyard do not, in fact, live in EAs categorised as Informal Settlements. 38% live in EAs categorised as Tribal Settlements and 32% live in Urban Settlement EAs.
The analysis based on surveys using the dwelling type indicator ‘shack not in backyard’ to identify households who live in informal settlements should therefore be regarded as indicative as there is insufficient data in the surveys to determine whether these households do, in fact, live in informal settlements as defined by local or provincial authorities.

A further challenge with regard to survey data relates to the sampling frame. In cases where survey sample EAs are selected at random from the Census 2001 frame, newly created or rapidly growing settlements will be under-represented. Given the nature of settlement patterns, informal settlements are arguably the most likely to be under-sampled, resulting in an under-count of the number of households who live in an informal settlement. Further, if there is a relationship between the socio-economic conditions of households who live in informal settlements and the age of the settlement (as it seems plausible there will be) a reliance on survey data where there is a natural bias towards older settlements will result in an inaccurate representation of the general conditions of households who live in informal settlements. A second word of caution is therefore in order: survey data that is presented may under-count households in informal settlements and is likely to have a bias towards older, more established settlements.

An additional consideration relates to sample sizes. While the surveys have relatively large sample sizes, the analysis is by and large restricted to households who live in shacks not in backyards, reducing the applicable sample size significantly. Analysis of the data by province or other demographic indicator further reduces the sample size. In some cases the resulting sample is too small for analysis.
A final consideration relates to the underlying unit of analysis. Survey and census data sources characterise individuals or households rather than individual settlements. These data sources provide estimates of the population who live in informal settlements as well as indications of their living conditions. The data as it is released cannot provide an overview of the size, growth or conditions at a settlement level although it is possible to explore household-level data at provincial and municipal level depending on the data source and sample size.

The definition of a household is critical in understanding household level data. By and large household surveys define a household as a group of people who share a dwelling and financial resources. According to Statistics SA ‘A household consists of a single person or a group of people who live together for at least four nights a week, who eat from the same pot and who share resources’. Using this definition, it is clear that a household count may not necessarily correspond to a dwelling count; there may be more than one household living in a dwelling. Likewise a household may occupy more than one dwelling structure.

From the perspective of household members themselves the dwelling-based household unit may be incomplete. Household members who share financial resources and who regard the dwelling unit as ‘home’ may reside elsewhere. In addition, those who live in a dwelling and share resources may not do so out of choice. Household formation is shaped by many factors, including housing availability. If alternative housing options were available the household might reconstitute itself into more than one household. Thus, while the survey definition of a household may accurately describe the interactions between people who share a dwelling and share financial resources for some or even most households, in other cases it may not. The surveys themselves do not enable an interrogation of this directly.

It may be possible for Statistics South Africa to match EA level data from the 2001 Census to settlements to provide an overview of specific settlements. Given that the Census data is ten years old, and that conditions in informal settlements are likely to have changed significantly since then, the feasibility of this analysis was not established.

### Table 1: Sample Sizes in the Different Surveys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of households</td>
<td>Total number of households living in informal settlement EAs</td>
<td>Total survey sample size</td>
<td>Sample size for households living in shacks not in a backyard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>979 217</td>
<td>154 693</td>
<td>57 765</td>
<td>2 369</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 2001 (10% sample), Community Survey 2007, IES 2005/6, GHS 2009; Household databases.
2.2 Other data from Stats SA

A dwelling frame count was provided by Stats SA for the upcoming 2011 Census. The Dwelling Frame is a register of the spatial location (physical address, geographic coordinates, and place name) of dwelling units and other structures in the country. It has been collated since 2005 and is approximately 70% complete. The Dwelling Frame is used to demarcate EAs for the 2011 Census.

There are 57 sub-places in the North West with at least one EA classified as ‘Informal Residential’, totalling 184 EAs (covering a total area of 64.15 square kilometres). There are Dwelling Frame estimates for 32 (56%) of these ‘Informal Residential’ EAs, totalling 10,547 Dwelling Frames. Since the Dwelling Frame is only approximately 70% complete, and not all units are counted within certain dwelling types, the count should not be seen as the official count of dwellings or households within the EA Type.

2.3 National Department of Human Settlements (NDHS) and LaPsis

The 2009/2010 Informal Settlement Atlas compiled by the NDHS indicates there are 179 informal settlement polygons in the North West. No household estimates are provided.

LaPsis (Land and Property spatial information systems), an online system developed by the HDA, builds on the data gathered by the NDHS and overlays onto it land and property data including cadastre, ownership, title documents and deeds (from the Deeds Office), administrative boundaries (from the Demarcation Board) and points of interest from service providers such as AfriGIS. The data indicates there are 200 informal settlements in the North West. No household estimates are provided.

2.4 Eskom’s Spot Building Count (also known as the Eskom Dwelling Layer)

Eskom has mapped and classified structures in South Africa using image interpretation and manual digitisation of high resolution satellite imagery. Where settlements are too dense to determine the number of structures these areas are categorised as dense informal settlements. Identifiable dwellings and building structures are mapped by points while dense informal settlements are mapped by polygons.

Shape files provided by Eskom revealed 66 polygons categorised as Dense Informal Settlements in the North West, covering a total area of 9.9 square kilometres. The dataset does not characterise the areas, nor does it match areas to known settlements. Latest available data is based on 2008 imagery. Eskom is currently in the process of mapping 2009 imagery and plans to have mapped 2010 imagery by the end of the year.

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9 An EA is the smallest piece of land into which the country is divided for enumeration, of a size suitable for one fieldworker in an allocated period of time. EA type is then the classification of EAs according to specific criteria which profiles land use and human settlement in an area.

10 The EA descriptor for informal settlements in the 2011 Census is ‘Informal Residential’. In 2001 the EA type was ‘Informal Settlement’.

11 AfriGIS was given informal settlements data by the provincial departments of housing to create the map layers.
2.5 Provincial data: North West

North West Province is in the process of updating its 2009 estimates of the number of informal settlements in the province. Those estimates indicated a total of 150 informal settlements in the province containing just over 66,000 dwelling units which housed a population of 264,270 individuals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality (district and local)</th>
<th>Settlements (#)</th>
<th>Area (ha)</th>
<th>Dwelling units</th>
<th>Population (#)</th>
<th>Share Pop (District)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bojanala Platinum District Municipality</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgetliengrivier</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>2 049</td>
<td>8 196</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madibeng</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>332.26</td>
<td>11 442</td>
<td>45 768</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moretele</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses Kotane</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>52.22</td>
<td>1 930</td>
<td>7 720</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rustenburg</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>769</td>
<td>25 102</td>
<td>100 394</td>
<td>61.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>77</strong></td>
<td><strong>1242</strong></td>
<td><strong>40 523</strong></td>
<td><strong>162 078</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dr Kenneth Kaunda</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maquassi Hills</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20.05</td>
<td>740</td>
<td>2 960</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matlosana</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>86.71</td>
<td>2 352</td>
<td>9 408</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlokwve</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>2 223</td>
<td>9 052</td>
<td>29.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venterdorp</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>65.04</td>
<td>2 403</td>
<td>9 612</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>250.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>7 718</strong></td>
<td><strong>31 032</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ngaka Modiri-Molema</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditsobotta</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>83.09</td>
<td>3 169</td>
<td>12 676</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mafikeng</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>75.62</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>3 156</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramotshere</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31.72</td>
<td>1 173</td>
<td>4 692</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratlou</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswaing</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>116.78</td>
<td>4 399</td>
<td>17 596</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>307.21</strong></td>
<td><strong>9 530</strong></td>
<td><strong>38 120</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ruth Mompati</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Taung</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kagisano</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34.89</td>
<td>1 288</td>
<td>5 152</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lekwa-Teemane</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35.06</td>
<td>1 295</td>
<td>5 180</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamusa</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>84.38</td>
<td>2 729</td>
<td>10 916</td>
<td>33.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Molopo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19.03</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>2 812</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naledi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>68.99</td>
<td>2 245</td>
<td>8 980</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>242.35</strong></td>
<td><strong>8 260</strong></td>
<td><strong>33 040</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
<td><strong>2 042</strong></td>
<td><strong>66 031</strong></td>
<td><strong>264 270</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART 3

The number and size of informal settlements in the North West

3.1 Estimating the number of households who live in informal settlements

According to the Census, 58,000 households in the North West (6% of households in the province) lived in EAs classified as Informal Settlements in 2001. 44% lived in enumeration areas classified as Tribal Settlements and a further 35% in enumeration areas classified as Urban Settlements. North West accounts for 5% of all households in informal settlement EAs in the country (it accounts for 8% of all households overall).

Census data at a municipal level is summarised below for the North West.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Number of HH in Informal Settlement EA</th>
<th>% of HH in municipality/province that live in Informal Settlement EAs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bojanala</td>
<td>10 013</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati (formerly Bophirima)</td>
<td>1 645</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>1 146</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr Kenneth Kaunda (formerly Southern)</td>
<td>5 315</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other*</td>
<td>39 646</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>North West</strong></td>
<td><strong>57 765</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.9%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census 2001.

Note: The 12th amendment to the Constitution in December 2005 reduced the number of districts from 53 to 52 (Bohlabela was eliminated), and also eliminated cross-border districts (each district is now completely contained within a province). With regards to North West, the districts of City of Tshwane and West Rand (both in Gauteng) and Frances Baard and Kgalagadi (both in the Northern Cape), were all four in 2001 also in North West Province. Those households are included in the ‘Other’ estimate above.

With regards to settlement type, Informal Settlement is one of the ten EA descriptors used.
According to the 2007 Community Survey, 146,000 households (approximately 16% of households in the North West) live in shacks not in backyards, down from 155,000 households (16% of households) as reported by the 2001 Census. In terms of absolute numbers there was a decrease of around 9,000 in the number of households living in shacks not in backyards between 2001 and 2007.

According to the 2007 Community Survey 12% of households in shacks not in backyards live in this province (7% of all households in the country live in this province).

Survey-based estimates of the number of households who live in shacks not in backyards vary, sometimes quite significantly. For instance, in 2001 the Census estimates around 155,000 households living in shacks not in backyards in the North West while the 2002 GHS estimates around 85,000 such households. That data sources indicates a significant increase in the number of households who live in shacks not in backyards between 2004 and 2005. This may reflect changes to the sampling frame. Estimates based on the GHS indicate an annual growth of 4% between 2002 and 2009, while estimates based on the Census and Community Survey indicate an annual growth of -1% between 2001 and 2007. A comparison of census and survey data based on a number of sources is summarised below.
According to the 2007 Community Survey, at 72,000 Bojanala has the highest number of households living in shacks not in backyards of all municipalities in the North West. The chart below summarises municipal-level data for North West for households that live in shacks not in backyards as well as backyard shacks.

Source: Community Survey 2007 HH.
Data from the 2001 Census and the 2007 Community Survey can be used to explore growth rates for households living in shacks at a municipal level. This data is summarised in the bubble chart below. The size of the bubble indicates the size of the segment in 2007 while its location along the x-axis indicates the annual rate of growth. Of course in some of these areas high growth has occurred off a very low base. For those areas with significant scale, Bojanala has the highest rate of growth of backyard shacks at 8% per annum, and Southern has the highest rate of growth of shacks not in backyards at 5% per annum.

3.2 Estimating the number of informal settlements

While survey and census data provide an estimate based on households, various data sources provide estimates of the number of informal settlements. The LaPsis data estimates 200 informal settlements across the province while the Atlas data set from the NDHS indicates 179 informal settlement polygons.

Available data sources at a ‘settlement’ level are summarised below together with household level data based on the 2001 Census and the 2007 Community Survey. Note that settlements are identified and defined differently in these data sources.
# Research Report

## Estimates and/or Counts of Informal Settlements and Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Number of Informal Settlements</th>
<th>Number of Households in Informal Settlements</th>
<th>Number of Dwelling Units in Informal Settlements</th>
<th>Number of People in Informal Settlements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bojanala</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>10 013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr Ruth Segomotsi Mompati (formerly Bophirima)</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1 645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngaka Modiri Molema (formerly Central)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr Kenneth Kaunda (formerly Southern)</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5 315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other12</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Households in informal settlements to be upgraded between 2010/11 and 2013/14 (Outcome 814): 28,840 in North West.

While both LaPsis and Atlas databases rely on provincial data and should therefore be aligned with provincial estimates, there are often differences. For instance, the North West Province estimates 150 informal settlements while LaPsis reflects 200 in this province. The provincial estimate of the number of dwelling units, at 66,000 is significantly lower than the 2007 Community Survey which indicates 146,000 households living in shacks not in backyards. The provincial estimate is more closely aligned to the 2001 Census estimate of 58,000 households living in EAs classified as informal settlements. However, there are noticeable discrepancies between Census data and provincial data at a district level.

These differences may arise as a result of different data currency; provincial or municipal estimates may have been collated more recently than national estimates. Variances may also reflect a lack of alignment regarding the definition of an informal settlement as well as different data collection methodologies.

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12 The 12th amendment to the Constitution in December 2005 reduced the number of districts from 53 to 52 (Bohiabela was eliminated), and also eliminated cross-border districts (each district is now completely contained within a province). With regards to North West, the districts of City of Tshwane and West Rand (both in Gauteng) and Frances Baard and Kgagad (both in the Northern Cape), were all four in 2001 also in North West Province. Those households are included in the ‘OTHER’ estimate above.

Outcome B relates to Sustainable Human Settlements and Improved Quality of Life. National government has agreed on twelve outcomes as a key focus of work between 2010/11 and 2013/14.
PART 4
Profiling informal settlements in the North West

The analysis of survey data investigates the characteristics of the dwellings and the profile of households and individuals living in shacks not in backyards. As noted this variable is a proxy for households who live in informal settlements. Where available, Census 2001 data relating to households who live in Informal Settlement EAs has been summarised in the introductory comments at the start of each sub-chapter.

4.1 Basic living conditions and access to services

In 2001, 29% of North West households living in informal settlement EAs had piped water in their dwelling or on their yard. A further 33% could obtain piped water within 200 metres of their dwellings. 28% had access to piped water in excess of 200 metres from their dwellings (there is no indication of how far away the water source is) while 11% had no access at all. 14% of households in informal settlement EAs had flush toilets, 68% used pit latrines, 3% used bucket latrines and the remaining 15% had no access to toilet facilities. 27% of households in informal settlement EAs used electricity for lighting and 28% had their refuse removed by the local authority.
Key trends relating to access to services for households living in shacks not in backyards are summarised in the chart below.

**CHART 6**

ACCESS TO SERVICES: HOUSEHOLD LIVES IN SHACK NOT IN BACKYARD IN NORTH WEST

**Toilet facility**

- **Census 2001**
  - Pit latrine: 20%
  - Bucket latrine: 12%
  - Flush: 50%
  - Other*: 1%
  - None: 1%

- **Community Survey 2007**
  - Pit latrine: 12%
  - Bucket latrine: 16%
  - Flush: 55%
  - Other*: 2%
  - None: 2%

**Source of drinking water**

- **Census 2001**
  - Piped water in dwelling: 21%
  - Other**: 33%
  - Piped water in yard: 44%
  - Piped water on community stand: 11%

- **Community Survey 2007**
  - Piped water in dwelling: 12%
  - Other**: 31%
  - Piped water in yard: 43%
  - Piped water on community stand: 15%

**Energy used for lighting**

- **Census 2001**
  - Electricity: 49%
  - Candles: 44%
  - Paraffin: 6%
  - Other***: 1%

- **Community Survey 2007**
  - Electricity: 55%
  - Candles: 33%
  - Paraffin: 11%
  - Other***: 1%

**Refuse collection**

- **Census 2001**
  - Removed by local authority less often: 1%
  - Communal refuse dump: 14%
  - No rubbish disposal: 50%
  - Removed by local authority at least once a week: 37%
  - Own refuse dump: 3%

- **Community Survey 2007**
  - Removed by local authority less often: 2%
  - Communal refuse dump: 16%
  - No rubbish disposal: 43%
  - Removed by local authority at least once a week: 3%
  - Own refuse dump: 1%

Source: Census 2001 and Community Survey 2007 HH.

* Other toilet facilities includes Chemical toilet and Dry toilet facility.
** Other water source includes borehole, flowing water, stagnant water, well, spring and Other.
*** Other energy sources includes gas, solar and Other.

Note: In the 2007 CS, refuse removed by local authority also includes refuse removed by private company.
Access to services appears to have improved between 2001 and 2007; the proportion of households who live in shacks not in backyards who say they have no toilet facilities declined from 20% in 2001 to 12% in 2007. Drinking water access improved and use of electricity for lighting increased from 49% to 55% between 2001 and 2007. In 2001, 34% of households that live in shacks not in a backyard had their refuse removed by the local authority. In 2007, 38% of households that live in a shack not in a backyard had their refuse removed by the local authority or a private company.

As has been highlighted, a word of caution is required in interpreting this data given potential biases in the sample design towards more established settlements where service provision is better.

4.2 Profile of households and families

In 2001, 19% of North West households living in informal settlement EAs were single person households. The average household size was 3.7. 14% of households were living in over-crowded conditions. The majority of households were headed by males (62%).

According to the 2007 Community Survey, 23% of households living in shacks not in backyards comprise a single individual. This is the same as the national average for households living in shacks not in backyards. 43% of North West households living in shacks not in backyards comprise four or more persons. The average household size of households living in shacks not in backyards in 2007 is 3.5 (also 3.5 in 2001), compared to 3.8 in 2007 for those living in formal dwellings (this was 3.9 in 2001). 24% of households living in shacks not in backyards live in over-crowded conditions.

Household heads in shacks not in backyards are also noticeably younger than those in formal dwellings; 32% are under the age of 35 compared to 21% in households who live in formal dwellings.

212,000 children under the age of 18 live in shacks not in backyards corresponding to 40% of the total North West population who live in such dwellings. According to the Community Survey 58% of households in the province in shacks not in backyards have one or more children.

Data from the GHS can be used to explore the relationships between household members in more detail. While the Community Survey finds that 23% of households are single person households as noted above, the 2009 GHS indicates that roughly 26% of households living in shacks not in backyards comprise single persons. That survey indicates that 21% of households living in shacks not in backyards are nuclear families comprising a household head, his or her spouse and children only. Single parent households, at 11% of households in shacks not in backyards are also noticeable (79% of single parent households are headed by a woman). 25% of households who live in shacks not in backyards contain extended family members or unrelated individuals. Average household size in the North West for shacks not in backyards has steadily decreased from 3.5 in 2004 to 3.0 in 2009.

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15 A household is considered over-crowded if there are more than two people per room. It is possible that this estimate is understated in the case where more than one household inhabits the same dwelling.

16 Compared to North West households who live in formal housing, the household composition of North West households in shacks not in backyards differs most noticeably with respect to households that contain extended family or non-related members. 41% of North West households in formal dwellings include extended family members or non-related members. 23% comprise a single individual, 18% are nuclear families and 11% single parents – statistics which are not very different from those relating to households living in shacks not in backyards.
4.3 Income, expenditure and other indicators of wellbeing

4.3.1 Income
While both the 2001 Census and the 2007 Community Survey gather some data on income, the quality of this data is relatively poor. A far more reliable source of this data is the 2005/6 Income and Expenditure Survey (IES). That data source indicates that 88% of households who live in shacks not in backyards have a household income of less than R3,500 per month measured in 2006 Rand terms. Inflating incomes to 2010 Rands (and assuming no real shift in income) 77% of households living in shacks not in backyards earn less than R3,500 per month in 2010 Rand terms.

As expected, the survey indicates that the proportion of households living in shacks not in backyards declines as incomes increase. Around one in five of all households earning less than R3,500 (in 2006 Rands) live in shacks not in backyards.

The 2007 GHS indicates that 134,000 adults aged 15 and above living in shacks not in backyards in the North West are employed. That same data indicates an unemployment rate of 34%, above the provincial average of 25% for adults aged 15 and above. While unemployment rates are high, according to the 2009 GHS, the primary income source for households in shacks not in backyards is salaries and wages (58%). 17% say their main income source is from remittances and a further 10% is from pensions and grants17.

Note that data may be unstable because of small sample sizes.
2004 Labour Force Survey data indicates that 24% of employed individuals living in shacks not in backyards in the North West are employed in the informal sector, a proportion that is slightly above the provincial average (22%). 64% are employed in the formal sector (73% of them are permanently employed) and a further 12% are domestic workers18.

4.3.2 Expenditure
According to the IES, the proportion of North West households living in shacks not in backyards that transfer maintenance or remittances19 at 45% is well above the average for North West households as a whole (36%)20.

4.3.3 Other indicators of wellbeing
Aside from income and expenditure data, food security indicators from the GHS can be used to assess levels of poverty. These highlight high levels of deprivation in informal settlements, particularly with respect to children21.

![Chart 8: Measures of deprivation: North West](chart)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Informal dwellings/shack not in backyard</th>
<th>All North West households (including shacks not in backyards)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Limited number of foods to feed children past year</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insufficient food for children in past year</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run out of food in past year</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children ever go to bed hungry in past year</td>
<td>33%*</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GHS 2009 HH.
Note: Those questions referring to children exclude those households with no children.
*Note: Small sample sizes, less than 40 observations (not below 20).

4.4 Age of settlements and permanence

In 2001, the majority of households living in informal settlement EAs in the North West (74%) were living there five years previously. In 2001, 44% of households living in informal settlement EAs claimed to own their dwelling; 21% rented and 34% occupied the dwelling rent-free. 14% of households in informal settlement EAs had another dwelling aside from their main dwelling.

Analysis of data from the 2007 Community Survey indicates that the majority of people living in the North West in a shack not in a backyard in 2007 had been living there for an extended period of time. Across the province, 65% said they had not moved since 2001. Of those who said they had moved since 2001 the majority moved within the province; 8% moved from Gauteng.

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18 Sample sizes are too small to assess employment in agriculture.
19 Both cash and in kind payments.
20 For single person households living in shacks not in backyards in the North West, this proportion is 62%.
21 “Did you rely on a limited number of foods to feed your children during the past year because you were unable to produce enough food/are running out of money to buy food for a meal?”, “Did your children ever say they are hungry during the past year because there was not enough food in the house?”, “Did any of your children ever go to bed hungry because there was not enough food/money to buy food?” – Yes/No.
According to the 2009 GHS, 96% of North West households living in shacks not in backyards indicate that they were living in a shack not in backyard five years previously. The survey does not indicate whether the dwelling or the broad location of the dwelling is the same. There may be some basis for a degree of scepticism when looking at this data. As noted in the overview of data sources, there may well be a sampling bias towards older, more established settlements. In addition, if households in informal settlements believe there is a link between the duration of their stay in that settlement and their rights either to remain in the settlement or to benefit from any upgrading programmes they may well have an interest in over-stating the length of time they have lived in their dwellings.

The 2009 GHS asks respondents when (i.e. in what year) their dwellings were originally built. The data indicates that 35% of shacks not in backyards in the North West were built within the past five years. At first glance this would appear to be at odds with the statistic cited above that 96% of households living in shacks not in a backyard were living in that same type of dwelling five years ago. However, as already noted, that data does not necessarily imply the household lives in the same dwelling, or in the same location. Further, given the poor condition of many shacks (discussed in Section 4.6 below) and the vulnerability of many settlements to fire and flooding, it is entirely plausible that many shacks are completely rebuilt frequently.

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22 For all South African households in shacks not in backyards, the proportion is 89%.
23 It would be unsurprising if many households, particularly those that rent their dwellings or those that occupy older dwellings, do not know when their dwellings were constructed. In such cases, the questionnaire directs respondents to provide a best estimate. There is no indicator in the data as to whether the household has estimated the answer or knows the answer.
24 The exact survey question is: “when was this dwelling originally built?” Enumerators are instructed to “mark the period in which the dwelling was completed, not the time of later remodeling, additions or conversions. If the year is not known, give the best estimate.” It is not entirely clear how a household who has recently rebuilt its shack following its destruction in a fire would answer the question. Does the year in which this dwelling was originally built refer to the original dwelling or to the rebuilt dwelling?
The survey data indicates that shacks not in backyards tend to be newer than houses/dwellings on separate stands as summarised below.

**Chart 10**

### Year Current Dwelling Was Originally Built: North West

#### Shack not in backyard

- 1940: 20%*
- 1990: 24%
- 2000: 21%
- 2005: 35%
- 2009: 20%

#### House/dwelling on separate stand

- 1940: 39%
- 1990: 27%
- 2000: 20%
- 2005: 13%
- 2009: 24%

Source: GHS 2009 HH.

Note: The survey states that if the year is not known, the best estimate should be given. Although it is not shown here, this accounts for the very few ‘unspecified’ responses.

* Sample size small (< 40).
Data on tenure status can also provide an indication of permanence. The primary survey categories include rental, ownership (with or without a mortgage or other form of finance) and rent free occupation. Survey data on tenure from the 2001 Census and the 2007 Community Survey is summarised below. These sources indicate that while rental is relatively uncommon for shacks not in backyards (in contrast to backyard shacks where rentals dominate) a larger proportion of households say they own their dwelling rather than occupy their dwelling rent-free.

Data on tenure status can be difficult to interpret. On the one hand those who say they own their dwellings may be communicating a strong sense of belonging and permanence despite the informal nature of the dwelling. Alternatively those who say they own their dwellings may simply be referring to their ownership of the building materials used to construct their dwellings. While some respondents who own the physical materials used to build their dwellings, but not the land on which it is located, may indicate they occupy their dwellings rent free, others may justifiably indicate that they own their shacks. Data on rentals is also difficult to interpret. Some households who say they rent their shacks may own the building materials but rent the land; if they were to be evicted from the land they would still retain possession of the dwelling materials. Other renter households may rent both the structure and the land.

4.5 Housing waiting lists and subsidy housing

According to the 2009 GHS, 21,000 (18%) of North West households in shacks not in backyards have at least one member on the waiting list for an RDP or state subsidised house. Conversely, of the 122,000 North West households with at least one member on the housing waiting list, 17% live in shacks not in backyards; 72% live in a dwelling/structure on a separate stand and 4% in a backyard shack. Around 50% of North West households in shacks not in backyards have been on the waiting list for less than two years.
Data from the 2009 GHS explores whether any household members have received a government housing subsidy. For North West households living in shacks not in backyards a very low percentage (1%) report having received a subsidy. Of course many households living in informal settlements that have received a subsidy are unlikely to own up to this.

Data from the same survey can be used to explore how many households who live in shacks not in backyards might be eligible to obtain a subsidised house. Criteria include a household income of less than R3,500 per month, a household size of more than one individual, no ownership of another dwelling, and no previous housing subsidy received. Using these criteria, around 54,000 North West households living in shacks not in backyards (47% of households in this category) appear to qualify to be on the waiting list.

When interpreting this data it is important to recall the definition of households used in surveys. Households are not necessarily stable units nor are they necessarily comprised of individuals who would choose to live together if alternative accommodation was available. It is therefore plausible that some households may reconstitute themselves if one current household member were to obtain a subsidised house.

4.6 Health and vulnerability

The 2009 GHS indicates that approximately 18% of individuals who live in a shack not in a backyard say they have suffered from an illness or injury in the past month. This is slightly lower than the disease burden reported by those living in formal dwellings (21%). Of course the subjective ‘norm’ may differ across communities. More affluent individuals living in formal dwellings in well-serviced neighbourhoods who are generally in good health may have a lower ‘sickness threshold’; the symptoms they experience when they report being ill may not warrant a mention by an individual whose immunity is generally compromised. It should also be noted that there may be an age skew; those who live in informal settlements are on average younger. Holding other things constant, one should therefore expect a lower burden of disease for those living in shacks not in backyards.

Those living in shacks not in backyards are more likely than those who live in formal dwellings to use public clinics as their primary source of medical help. Just under 70% walk to their medical facility and two thirds take less than 30 minutes to get there using their usual means of transport. This is not noticeably different from those who live in formal dwellings. Once again a word of caution is in order; the data may be biased towards better established dwellings that have access to facilities.
Contrary to strong anecdotal evidence, respondents who live in shacks not in backyards in the North West appear to be only slightly more likely to report being a victim of crime compared to other households. 21% of households in shacks not in backyards have a member who was a victim of crime in the last year, slightly higher than 17% for the province as a whole.

The data on crime is incomplete – while it records whether there has been an incident it does not explore how many incidents have taken place. Those who live in shacks not in backyards who have been victims of crime may be targeted more often than victims who live in other dwellings. It is also plausible that those who live in shacks not in backyards might be more reluctant than other households to report having been a victim of crime. For instance, they may not want to draw the attention of law enforcement officials to their area given their own illegal status. Alternatively the lack of privacy within informal settlements may increase respondents’ concern that neighbours (or the perpetrators of crime) might overhear their conversations with enumerators.
Another critical issue within informal settlements relates to risk of fire and flooding; the higher the density of the settlements and poorer the quality of building materials the greater the risk. None of the nationally representative surveys explore past experience of such events, exposure to these risks or ability to mitigate these risks should they occur. However there is some survey data relating to the durability of the dwelling structure. According to the GHS, 49% of households living in shacks not in backyards in the North West live in dwellings where the conditions of the walls or the roof is weak or very weak. This is higher than for households who live in backyard shacks (24%), but lower than the corresponding percentage for households who live in traditional dwellings (69% have weak or very weak walls or roofs). The corresponding statistic for formal housing is 20%.

4.7 Education

In 2001, 23% of North West adults aged 18 and above living in informal settlement EAs had no schooling; 14% had a Matric and a further 2% completed Technikon, University or other Post Matric.

According to the 2009 GHS, 78% of adults aged 18 and above living in shacks not in backyards have not completed matric; 13% have no schooling. 84% of children aged 5 to 18 who live in shacks not in backyards go to school compared to the provincial average of 92%.

88% of school-going children who live in shacks not in backyards walk to school, the vast majority in less than 30 minutes. As has been highlighted above, a word of caution is required in interpreting this data given potential biases in the sample design towards more established settlements.

**Chart 13**

**Usual Mode of Transport to Educational Facility by Children Aged 5-17 (Live in Shacks Not in Backyard): North West**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of Transport</th>
<th>North West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Walking</td>
<td>53 330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other forms of transport</td>
<td>7 326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Time taken to educational facilities: walking**

- 0 – 30 min: 82%
- 60 min+: 18%*

Source: GHS 2009 Persons.
Note: Travel time refers to travelling in one direction using their normal type of transport.
Note: If more than one type of transport was used, then the type of transport that covers the most distance is classified as the normal mode of transport.
Note: Other forms of transport includes minibus taxis, bus, train, private vehicle and bicycle/motorcycle.
Note*: Small sample size, less than 40 observation.

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25 Formal housing includes dwelling/house or brick structure on a separate stand/yard, flat/apartment in a block of flats, room/flatlet on a property or a larger dwelling/ervants quarters, town/village/semi-detached house, dwelling/house/flat/room in backyard.

26 26% of children in South Africa aged 0-4 living in shacks not in backyards currently attend an Early Childhood Development Centre (ECD) compared to 29% for the country as a whole while 88% of children in South Africa aged 5 to 18 who live in shacks not in backyards go to school compared to the national average of 93%.
By their nature, informal settlements are difficult to monitor. They can change more rapidly than the systems designed to monitor them. Nevertheless, there is some data available in the case of North West Province.

The schema below summarises some of the most common indicators associated with individuals, households, dwellings and settlements. While the importance of the indicators depends on the analysis required, those indicators in red are thought to be particularly important to track over time in order to assess priorities for upgrading purposes. To populate this data, a range of data sources is required, including photography, household surveys, municipal data relating to services provided and available infrastructure as well as location and capacity indicators relating to facilities such as schools, hospitals and law enforcement.
PART 6

Contacts and references

List of key contacts

Alwyn Esterhuizen, AfriGIS (email and telephone)
Isabelle Schmidt Dr., Statistics South Africa (telephone and email)
Maria Rodrigu, Chamber of Mines Information Services (email and telephone)
Niel Roux, Statistics South Africa (email and telephone)
Pieter Sevenshuysen, Remote Sensing and GIS Applications, GTI (email and telephone)
Rob Anderson, Statistics South Africa (email and telephone)
Stuart Martin, GTI (email and personal interview)

Other sources

Census 2001, Statistics South Africa
Community Survey 2007, Statistics South Africa
General Household Survey (various years), Statistics South Africa
Income and Expenditure Survey 2005/6, Statistics South Africa
Labour Force Survey 2004, Statistics South Africa
2009 National Housing Code, Incremental Interventions: Upgrading Informal Settlements (Part 3)
Bhekani Khumalo (2009), ‘The Dwelling Frame project as a tool of achieving socially-friendly Enumeration Areas boundaries for Census 2011, South Africa’, Statistics South Africa
Catherine Cross (2010), ‘Reaching further towards sustainable human settlements’, Presentation to DBSA 2010 Conference, 20 October 2010, HSRC
Land and Property Spatial Information System (LaPsis) data, provided by the HDA
National Department of Human Settlement 2009/2010 Informal Settlement Atlas, provided by the HDA
PART 7

Appendix: Statistics
South Africa surveys

7.1 Community Survey 2007

The 2007 Community Survey, the largest survey conducted by Stats SA, was designed to bridge the gap between the 2001 Census and the next Census scheduled for 2011. A total of 274,348 dwelling units were sampled across all provinces (238,067 completed a questionnaire, 15,393 were categorised as non-response and 20,888 were invalid or out of scope). There is some rounding of data (decimal fractions occurring due to weightings are rounded to whole numbers, therefore the sum of separate values may not equal the totals exactly) in deriving final estimates. In addition, imputation was used in some cases for responses that were unavailable, unknown, incorrect or inconsistent. Imputations include a combination of logical imputation, where a consistent value is calculated using other information from households, and dynamic imputation, where a consistent value is calculated from another person or household having similar characteristics.

Several cautionary notes on limitations in the data were included with the release of reports on national and provincial estimates in October 200727. The October 2007 release adjusted estimates of the survey at national and provincial levels to ensure consistency by age, population group and gender. Estimates at a municipal level were reviewed due to systematic biases (as a result of small sample sizes). These revisions used projected values from the 1996 and 2001 Censuses. Adjustments were made to the number of households separately to the number of individuals.

Direct estimates from the Community Survey are therefore not reliable for some municipalities. However, measurement using proportions rather than numbers is less prone to random error. Therefore the Community Survey is useful for estimating proportions, averages and ratios for smaller geographical areas.

7.2 General Household Survey

The target population of the General Household Survey consists of all private households in South Africa as well as residents in workers’ hostels. The survey does not cover other collective living quarters such as students’ hostels, old age homes, hospitals, prisons and military barracks. It is therefore representative of non-institutionalised and non-military persons or households in South Africa.

27 More details on this can be found in the Community Survey statistical release provided by Stats SA (P0301.1).
The sample was selected by stratifying by province and then by district council. Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) were randomly selected from the strata and then Dwelling Units were randomly selected from within the PSUs. For the 2007 GHS, a total of 34,902 households were visited across the country and 29,311 were successfully interviewed during face-to-face interviews. For the 2009 GHS, a total of 32,636 households were visited across the country and 25,361 were successfully interviewed during face-to-face interviews. To arrive at the final household estimate the observations were weighted up to be representative of the target population.

7.3 Income and Expenditure Survey 2005/6

The Income and Expenditure Survey is a survey of the income and expenditure patterns of 21,144 households. This survey was conducted by Stats SA between September 2005 and August 2006. It is based on the diary method of capture. It is the most comprehensive nationally representative source for data on household income; however income estimates in this survey are lower than estimates in the national income accounts reported by the Reserve Bank. The Analysis of Results report published by Stats SA highlights that respondents will under-report income either through forgetfulness or out of a misplaced concern that their reported data could fall into the hands of the taxation authority. No adjustments have been made.

7.4 Census 2001

The Statistical Act in South Africa regulates the country’s Censuses. In general a census should be conducted every five years unless otherwise advised by the Statistics Council and approved by the Minister in charge. The Act also allows the Minister to postpone a census. In the case of the census meant to follow that of 2001, a postponement was granted in order to examine the best approach to build capacity and available resources for the next census. Consequently the next Census will only take place in late 2011.

7.5 Enumerator Areas

All EAs, which are mapped during the dwelling frame and listing process for Census, have a chance to be selected for the master sample used in the Stats SA sample surveys. Once an EA is listed, the listing is maintained, and it has a chance to be selected for a survey based on the Stats SA stratification criteria. Thus, the EA is chosen regardless of the classification that was done in Census 2001.

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### Table 5: 2011 Enumeration Area Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2011 EA types</th>
<th>EA land-use/zoning</th>
<th>Acceptable Range in Dwelling Unit (DUs) Count per EA</th>
<th>Ideal EA Dwelling Unit Count (DUs)</th>
<th>Geographic size constraint</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Formal residential</td>
<td>Single house; Town house; High rise buildings</td>
<td>136-166</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal residential</td>
<td>Unplanned squatting</td>
<td>151-185</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional residential</td>
<td>Homesteads</td>
<td>124-151</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farms</td>
<td></td>
<td>65-79</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>&lt; 25km diameter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks and recreation</td>
<td>Forest; Military training ground; Holiday resort; Nature reserves; National parks</td>
<td>124-151</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective living quarters</td>
<td>School hostels; Tertiary education hostel; Workers’ hostel; Military barrack; Prison; Hospital; Hotel; Old age home; Orphanage; Monastery</td>
<td>&gt;500</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>Factories; Large warehouses; Mining; Saw Mill; Railway station and shunting area</td>
<td>113-139</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>&lt;25 km²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smallholdings</td>
<td>Smallholdings/ Agricultural holdings</td>
<td>105-128</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant</td>
<td>Open space/ Restant</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>&lt;100 km²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Mixed shops; Offices; Office park; Shopping mall CBD</td>
<td>124-151</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>&lt;25 km²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics South Africa
The Housing Development Agency (HDA)
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