

Topic: The Measurement of poverty and income inequality in the poor areas of Soweto.

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1.1 Introduction

The single most important issue facing South Africa ten years after the transition to democracy is breaking the grip of poverty on a substantial portion of its citizens. According to Luyt (2008) poverty levels in South Africa remain high, and have not been greatly reduced since 1994. There is a consensus amongst most economic and political analysts that approximately 40% of South Africans are living in poverty with the poorest 15% in a desperate struggle to survive. This means that approximately 18 million out of 45 million people have not experienced the benefits of country's newly found freedom. One of the sobering findings is that even if there is a general acceptance that a higher growth path is an important instrument to eradicate poverty, a large portion of the citizens would need the support of special programmes to alleviate the worst poverty. Poverty has been a constant presence in man's history, but its meaning has changed through time. Most people in traditional societies were poor, and this was accepted as natural and unavoidable. The current understanding, on the contrary, is that the condition of poverty is unacceptable, and that it should be possible to find the ways to eradicate it. This understanding is based on ethical and moral considerations; the notion that all human beings are equal, and should be entitled not only to civil and political rights, but also to social rights such as food, shelter, education and personal security.

1.2 Definitions of Poverty

Defining poverty, how it could be measured and alleviated have always been contested issues; it has also been a huge challenge for development practitioners, researchers, governments, multinational corporations and non-government organisations (Saunders, 2004; Noble, Ratcliffe and Wright, 2004 and Ratcliffe 2007 in Nyasula (2010). Over the decades, different authors have proposed different definitions and measurement that have been applauded for a while before being discarded as inadequate (Nyasula, 2010). That is because there are many difficulties inherent in defining and measuring Poverty (Townsend, 2004). Poverty is multi-dimensional and cannot be reduced to a single definition (Townsend, 2004). Some researchers, especially in developing countries, have attempted to broaden the concept of poverty to include aspects of wellbeing and inequality which reflect the experience of being poor more realistically (Davids, 2006). Poverty is also characterized by lack of purchasing power, exposure to risk malnutrition, high mortality rate, low life expectancy, insufficient access to social and economic services and few opportunities for income generation. Thus, the poor are often illiterate, in poor health, and have a short life span (World bank, 1995 in Osinubi 2003). Very often, the poor lack the capacity to escape from their situation by themselves. This characteristic is what causes the social conditions of extreme poverty to persist and to be transmitted from one generation to the next (Osinubi, 2003). The incidence of poverty in urban areas may be underestimated by poverty lines that take no account of the higher costs of many necessities. Many urban households face serious deprivations, despite having incomes above the US \$1 a day Poverty line.

However defined poverty is; there is a consensus among researchers or scholars is that; the definition assigned to poverty forms the basis on which intervention is drawn (Ife and Tesoriero, 2006). For instances a political definition necessitates political interventions to dealing with poverty. Similarly, economic definition inevitably leads to economic interventions. In recent years, it has been come to realisation of the donor community that while billions of dollars have been spent on social welfare programmes in developing countries, poverty continues to increase. As a result, the economic redistributive functions of most social assistance programmes have been questioned and calls made for more effective social assistance policies that would help to tackle growing trends of poverty worldwide, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNDP-HDR, 2005, Minter 1992). It is therefore clear that different kinds of action are needed at different levels; international, regional, national and

sub-national if it is to be significantly reduced (Luyt, 2008). Researcher such as Khosa (2000) found out that social grants recipients in South Africa live in families of three to more generations, and the money they earned is usually pooled as household income. He also estimated that each pensioner helps to provide an income for 7 to 11 people, thus the social grants trickle down to many more people than the individual beneficiary.

Two very broad concepts of poverty are being utilized today by statistical agencies and researchers throughout the world. One is the concepts of absolute poverty and the other, relative poverty (Schwartzman). Absolute poverty or destitution refers to the condition of not having the means to afford basic human needs such as clean water, nutrition, health care, education, clothing and shelter, it is also refers to a set standard which is consistent over time and between countries. Absolute poverty refers to a lack of the needs for physical subsistence; what Rountree in (Townsend 2004), called it the minimum necessary for the “maintenance of physical health” and physical efficiency”.

Relative poverty extends the concepts of poverty to consider individuals as social being, who have psychological needs to participate in a society and share in its customs and norms (Townsend, 2004). Relative poverty is therefore a measure of income inequality. The relative poverty rate will reflect a growing income inequality when the standard of living among those in more financially advantageous position rises while that of those considered poor stagnates. Conversely, the poverty rate can decrease, with low income people coming to have less wealth and income if wealthier people’s wealth is reduced by larger percentage than theirs. Poverty is more than just insufficient income. It also includes denial of choices and a lack of opportunities, lack of access to assets and credits, as well as social exclusion (Martin and Rosa, 2002). In a very unequal society; the social security system can play a stabilizing role, and also a mechanism for distribution.

1.3 Methods used to measure Poverty

There is no single correct approach to measure poverty. A wide range of methods has been used in different countries and different times. The traditional approach involves establishing an income threshold and calculating how many individuals, families or household fall below it. A person is considered poor if his or her consumption or income levels fall below some minimum levels to meet basic needs. What is necessary to satisfy basic need is poverty line. Poverty line varies across time and societies. Accordingly people are regarded as poor when their measured standard of living in terms of income or consumption is below the poverty lines. The poverty line is therefore the measure that separates the poor from the non-poor (Oosthuizen, 2006). The World Bank bases its poverty measures for the developing world as a whole and its main regions on two international poverty lines, which are the \$1 and \$2 a day. The \$1 a day line is a deliberately conservative definition of poverty in that it is anchored to the poverty lines typical of low-income countries. The \$2 a day line is more typical of middle-income countries. Richer countries naturally tend to have higher poverty line. The calculations aim for consistency across countries, the international poverty line is intended to have the same real value in different countries and over time. The international poverty line is converted to local currencies. Poverty line is one of several poverty measures that can be used to develop a better understanding of poverty, and to begin to eradicate it in all dimensions. The country need official poverty line, because the nature of poverty , vulnerability and income inequalities , and their shifts in response to economic trends and policy, need to be better understood if poverty reduction and social development programmes are to be well designed and effective. Poverty line was originally measured exclusively in monetary terms and in terms of income, it conceptualization and measurements has recently extended to encompasses the ability of individuals and households to effectively meet their basic needs and further , to engage on an equal footing in their society. A common method used to measure poverty is based on income or consumption levels. A person is considered poor if his or her consumption or income level falls below some minimum level necessary to meet basic needs. Poverty line differs from one country to other as each country uses lines which are appropriate to its level of development, social norms and value (World Bank, 2010). Most commonly used measure of poverty is a lower bound of \$1 per day per person

and an upper bound of \$2 a day per person. World Bank (2006) urged that this method is only appropriate as an indicator of global progress in poverty reduction and cross-country comparison, but it is not an appropriate measure for any specific country.

Inequality in the distribution of income is measured by the Gini coefficient, which can vary between “0” and “1”. The closer to 1, the more unequal a society is, and the closer to 0 the more equal a society is. The Gini coefficient measures the distribution of the national income. In a perfectly equal society 10% of the population will receive 10% of the income; 20% of the population will receive 20% of income and so on. For such a society the Gini coefficient will be zero. If, say, 10% of society receives 30% of the income, or 20% receives 50% of the income, the distribution is more unequal and the Gini coefficient higher. At 1, being the highest possible score, 1% of the population would receive 100% of the income. The Gini score for South Africa is about 0, 68. South Africa has one of the most unequal income distributions in the world. This overall figure, however, hides a particular aspect that the Gini is higher amongst African households than amongst non-African households (Bhorat, 2003 and Van der Berg & Louw, 2003).

The main driver of inequality currently in SA is no longer the Black/White divide, but rather the intra-group divide between rich Blacks and poor Blacks. The Gini coefficient, amongst Black households moved decisively up from 0, 49 in 1970 to 0,59 in 2000 (Van der Berg & Louw, 2003). Amongst Whites it moved from 0, 43 to 0, 49; Indians from 0, 42 to 0, 51 and Coloureds from 0, 53 to 0, 55. This intra-Black move is understandable, given the concerted efforts to transform the ownership and personnel structures of the economy. The EFSA Colloquium discussed the contradiction between poverty and inequality and came to the on conclusion that, through a period of economic take-off, rising inequality might be an inevitable consequence; poverty may be rolled back, but not necessarily inequality at the same time. It should be noted, however, that the intra-Black divide had already started to open up before 1995 (van der Berg, 2003: 5). That gives credence to the conclusion that economic take-off will leave some inequality in its wake.

1.4 The role of income redistribution on the poverty reduction

The level of poverty can be reduced by addressing inequality. This is done through state expenditure, financed through taxes and some borrowing. There is evidence that social grants such as the old-age pension and the children’s grant all help to reduce poverty to some extent (Van der Berg, 2003). These, linked to more and better quality social services, constitute what has become known as the “social wage”. The social wage is in essence redistribution and is dependent on higher expenditure by the state. The state has to balance spending on the social wage with other competing priorities such as fighting crime, providing education, developing infrastructure, dealing with HIV/Aids and, above all else, the priority of growing the economy. Growing the economy also requires expenditure, primarily on infrastructure and an enabling environment – lower taxes, lower interest rates, more skills training and the like. These all “cost money”, either directly or in tax income sacrificed and borrowings not made.

2. Research methodology

Questionnaires were chosen as the method for collecting the information required to measure poverty in the poor areas in Soweto. The survey questionnaire contains question about all sources of household income, such as income from employment, both formally and informally, and other household income in the form of pensions, social assistance benefits, childcare and other family support payments. The recent maps of Soweto were acquired from the Johannesburg Metropolitan Government and all the stands with dwelling on them were counted and rechecked by different staff and students to determine the number of stands for the different suburbs or townships of Soweto. Based on this count the townships were divided into 238 blocks and four households were sampled in each of these blocks. Overall, 952 household members were represented in the survey. One

questionnaire was found to be incomplete or unacceptable and was therefore discarded. Only 951 questionnaires are used with an average of 4, 77 members per households.

The household was selected as the basic unit to interview. Preference was given to the household instead of the family unit, because it includes both family and non-family members living together. Household were defined in an economic sense as people who live, eat and sleep together in one or more houses, huts or living units on the same site and depend, financially on one another to pool their income to buy food. In Soweto many families share the same stand, and live in shacks. The definition was however designed primarily to reflect information on socio-economic relationship and not family size.

Third year students from the Department of Economics and Econometrics at Soweto Campus of the University of Johannesburg were used as fieldworkers in the survey. Professor and senior lecturers in the department of economics and econometrics provided training to fieldworkers. The students were also trained to deal with refusal and in all cases substituted households in the same block were allocated. Most respondents cooperated willingly and only few refusals were encountered. All completed questionnaires were thoroughly checked by lecturers who acted as supervisors. All errors had to be rectified by fieldworkers before they were accepted and submitted for analysis. Ethical clearance for the projects, which included the scrutiny and acceptance of an informed consent form, was obtained beforehand from Research Ethics Committee of the faculty of Economic and Financial Sciences of the University of Johannesburg. The questionnaire was designed in conjunction with the statistical consultation Service (STATKON) at the University of Johannesburg. The questionnaire was based on the one used in Soweto in 1992 by Mears and Levin was then updated to enable the calculation of poverty gap for each household in the sample. The political climate in all the areas in Soweto was stable during the time of survey. Although precautions were taken to keep surveying and processing errors to a minimum some errors could have slipped in. Although the results of this survey can be considered reliable, they may not give exact, unquestionable values. They may, however yield useful estimates for interpretation and planning.

The aim of this paper is to use data collected in 2008 to measure the level of poverty on the sampled population in the poor areas of Soweto. This is an empirical study of 951 households with a survey population of 4532 people. This paper uses both the lower-bounds and “upper-bound” poverty lines proposed by Statistics South Africa to measure the poverty level of surveyed households in Soweto after adjusting the price to the 2008 level. The cumulative income and cumulative population will be used to construct the Lorenz curve which measures the inequality of the distribution of income of the same households. The Gini Coefficient will be calculated to measure the degree of the inequality of income distribution among the households. Lorenz curve and quintiles will be used to measure the impact of social security in reducing the level of poverty and the income inequality of the sampled population.

3. Research results and interpretation.

The total income of households in Soweto according to the survey data is R6181261, given an average income of R6499.74 per household for 951 households. For individual person the amount is R1358.22 per months for the 4551 persons in the survey. When this is divided by 2008 Rand/Dollar exchange rate of 8.6, a dollar share of each person per month is US\$7.93, which is, equals to US\$0.4 per day when divided by 365 days. The larger share of R5656484 or 91.5% was derived from work activities such as salaries and wages. Social grants account 8.5% of the total income equivalent to R524776. Within this category, state old age and disability is R360194 or 5, 8% and the child grants account for R164582 or 2.7%. Income of the surveyed household is lower on the first two deciles; it is only until the third deciles that it gets above R2000 per household per month.

Poverty line is typically constructed as a measure of “income” adequacy, expressed in money terms. It is comprises an aggregate cost of a minimum basket of goods and therefore indicates a required

level of household expenditure, but not the actual composition of individual households consumption (Statssa, 2007). Although South Africa did not have formal poverty line in the past, in 2005 Statistics South Africa has proposed two absolute poverty lines. The “lower-bounds” provides for essential food and non-food consumption. This amounts to R322 per person per month using 2005 prices. The “upper bound” includes an additional R271 for non-essential non-food items. The total amounts of this bound is R593 per person per month (Statistics South Africa, 2007). The lower-bound poverty line according to Statistics South Africa provides for essential food and non-essential food consumption, and the amount is R322 per person in 2000 price. Statistics South Africa has estimated that, when consuming the kinds of foodstuff commonly available to low-income South Africans, it costs R211 per person per month in 2000 prices to satisfy a daily energy requirement of 2261 kilocalories. This daily energy requirement is recommended by the South African Medical Council (Statistics South Africa, 2007).

The R211 is therefore the amount necessary to purchase enough food to meet the basic daily food-energy requirements for an average person a month, R111 per capita per month as a cost of non-food items is added to the amount of food items to give R322 per person per month in 2000 price. This amount is equivalent to a poverty line of R775.80 per person per month in 2008 prices. The upper threshold is estimates at R593 per person per month poverty line, while 19.9 percent of households consumed less than the “upper-bound” poverty line in 2008. When the poverty level of the surveyed population in Soweto is measured in terms of the proportion of individuals rather than the proportion of households, there was even more poverty. The proportion of the population that consumed less than the “lower bound” of R775.80 and upper-bounds lines of R1423.20 were 59.5 and 81.3 percent respectively. The individual-based mean-related poverty lines are substantially higher than the individual-based median line resulting in higher poverty rates for the mean-related poverty line.

4. Distribution of Income and Income Inequality of the sample population in 2008

This section uses income and expenditure and distribution of income to determine the level of poverty and inequality in the income distribution of the surveyed population. Table 1 shows the totals and the average income and expenditure of the sample population. The individual household data were arranged in ascending order by total income adding on less total expenditure to determine the data for the quintiles. The 951 households were divided into 10 quintiles of 20 percent. The data was then use to determine the poverty level and distribution of income of the sample population. The table shows that, for the first two quintiles average household expenditure is less than average household income. This means that the households falling in those quintiles cannot afford to feed their family, they are therefore poor. The table also shows that, the amount of the proportion of expenditure increases with rising income level except in quintile 9 where there is reduction from the previous quintile.

Table1 shows that, 20 percent of the Soweto population with the lowest income, or quintile 1, receives only 1.3 percent of the total income, while the richest or tenth quintile receives 34.3 percent. This is 26 times higher than the income received by population on the first quintiles. This shows that the income is unequally distributed between the poor and the rich in the sample population. The first quintile of the sample households spends R173680 or 4.3 percent and the tenth R951026 or 23.3 percent of the total expenditure. The share of the income received by the poor household (quintile one) becomes even smaller to 40075 or 0.7 when the social security grants are subtracted from the total income, while it increases in quintile 10 to 2131930 or 37.7. This shows the importance of states grants towards poverty alleviation. The inequality in the distribution of income and on the expenditure increases as the level of income increases. For example the percent differences of income in quintile 1 and 2 is only 1.1 percent while it is 4.8 percent between quintile 8 and 9 and 16.9 percent between quintiles 9 and 10. Martins (2005) indicated that most of the time; household falling into the first quintiles generally consists of people living in informal houses with no one working in the formal sector. On the expenditure side quintiles 1 and 2 difference by only 0.2 percent while quintile 9 and 10 is 8.9 percent.

Table 1: Totals and Average Income and Expenditure of the population in Soweto 2008.

Total	Total Income (Y) (a)	Y – Social Grants (b)	Total Expenditure (e)	Y-E	Average Income	Average Expenditure	Y-E
Quintile 1	78375 (1.3%)	40075 (0.9%)	175680 (4.3%)	-9730595 312	27926.73	51681.55	
Quintile 2	148143 (2.4%)	87063 (1.5%)	179847 (4.4%)	-31704	46416.88	59423.34	6162.01
Quintile 3	210080 (3.4%)	106280 (1.9%)	172198 (4.2%)	37882	59781.27	45636.43	-5936.61
Quintile 4	274430 (4.4%)	236250 (4.1%)	217484 (5.3%)	56946	87476.48	64969	-16932.29
Quintile 5	361415 (5.8%)	313833 (5.5%)	231435 (5.7%)	129980	91097.81	56800.21	-33500.06
Quintile 6	470727 (7.6%)	393307 (7.0%)	320775 (7.9%)	149 952	114401.42	76904.52	-43697.71
Quintile 7	605229 (9.8%)	567389 (10.0%)	369164 (9.1%)	236065	379709.83	92260.57	-65708.37
Quintile 8	792267 (12.8%)	721547 (12.8%)	838728 (20.5%)	558768	848876.89	126980.63	-7173451
Quintile 9	1087311 (17.6%)	1058791 (18.7%)	621014 (15.2%)	466297	240393.79	147026.43	11996.89
Quintile 10	2153284 (34.8)	2131930 (37.7%)	951026 (23.3%)	1202258	500564.79	232415.06	-36838.98
Total	6181261	5656465	406731				

Source: Survey Data 2008

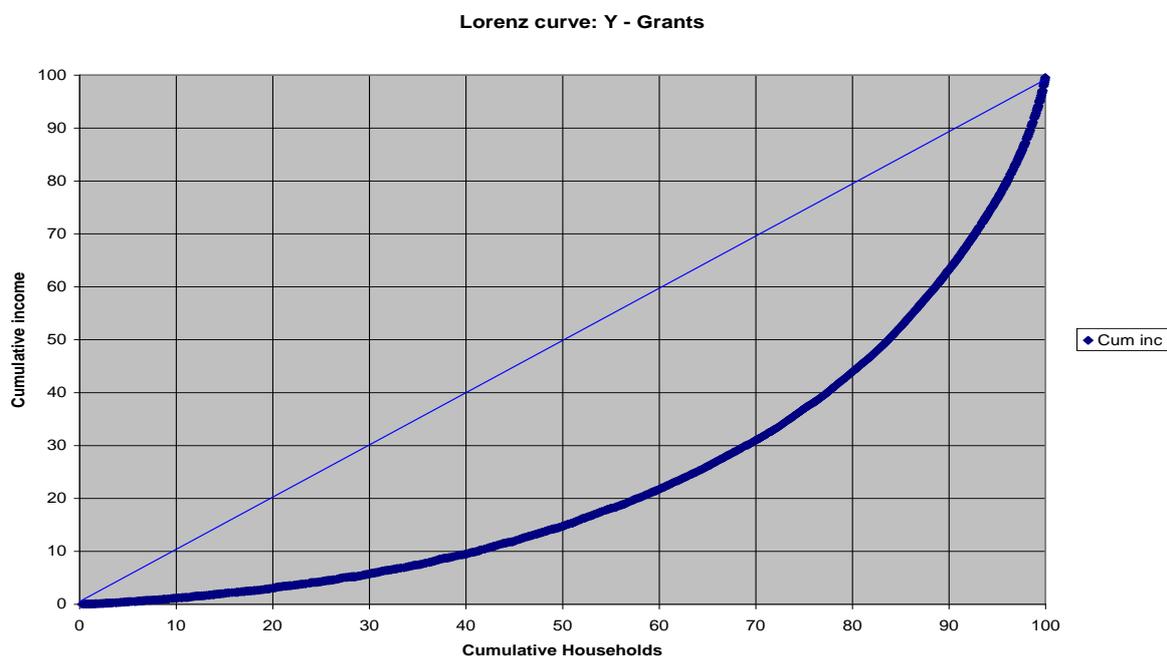
This is mainly because the lowest income group spends all most all of its income on consumer goods because they are poor. 6.5 percent of household in quintile 1 and 5.0 percent in quintile spend more than their total income on consumer goods, which is not possible unless they use their savings, or have other unreported sources of income or over stated their expenditure. The table therefore shows that the distribution of income is very unequal in the sample area.

This section uses the percent cumulative income and percent cumulative population to construct the Lorenz curve and to calculate Gini Coefficient to determine the inequality in the distribution of income of the sample population. The measurements on income inequality help to chart the economic gap within a country's wealthiest and poorest. Gini coefficient "measures the extent to which the distribution of income or consumption expenditure among individual's households within an economy deviates from a perfectly equal distribution World Bank in (Pasquali, Bedell and Magno). In figure, 1 the total amount of social grants is subtracted from the total income to see the impact of the state grants on reducing the inequality of income between the poor and the rich. In figure two, the total income including the state grants was used to construct the Lorenz curve. Gini coefficient is most widely used measure of the degree of inequality in the household income distribution. The lower the value of the Gini coefficient, the more equally household income is distributed (Statssa, 2008). Gini

coefficient varies from 0, in the case of perfect equality where all households earn equal income to one the case where one household earns all the income and other households earn nothing (Schwabe, 2004:4; Todaro and Smith 2009 and Gardner, 2009). Household's income differs widely in terms of their main income sources. Poor households are characterized by low share of income from work because they are more likely to be unemployed (Statss,2008).

Figure one and table one block (A) shows the calculation of Gini Coefficient based on disposable income from wages and salaries. The table and diagram show that 20 percent of the richest population receives 37.7 percent of the total income while the poorest 20 percent receive only 0.7 percent. Figure 2 and table one block (B) shows that, when the state grants is added to the total income. The richest 20 percent of the population receive 34.8 percent and the poorest population earns 1.3 percent. Figure 2 shows that when social grants are added to the total income the Lorenz curve moves slightly towards the equality line.

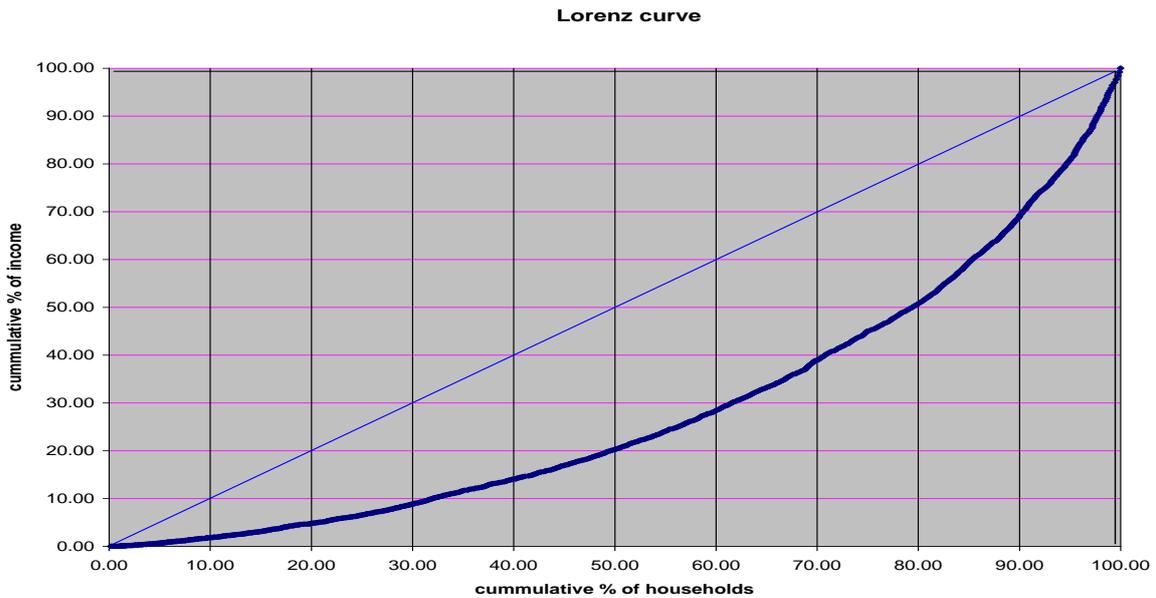
Figure 1: Lorenz Curve = Y – Social Grants



Gini Coefficient: **52.3**
 Survey Data: 2008.

The Gini Coefficient decreases from 52.3 percent to 43.4 percent (See diagram 2). The reduction of inequality through redistributive policies is therefore 8.9 percent. This shows that the social grants have played a very significant role in reducing the inequality of income distribution among the population. The Gini Coefficient of the sample population is less than the 0.68 percent of South Africa as a whole. The possible reason for a lower Gini Coefficient in Soweto was because as individual becomes more affluent in Soweto they migrate to upper market areas in Johannesburg suburbs and /or other areas, only people who are poor and cannot afford to stay on those expensive areas remains in Soweto, hence the lower Gini coefficient. The state social grants also decrease the gap between the poor and the rich in poor areas in Soweto.

Figure 2: Lorenz Curve when Income from Social Security is included



Gini Coefficient **43.4**

Survey Data:2008.

Kothari & Minoque (2002). Social development refers to planned development out comes that prioritize social impact, often through the social sector of health and education. The aim of development programmes is to ensure that the poor and vulnerable groups either benefit directly from development intervention or, where intervention are not targeted specifically at the poor or are not disadvantaged and made poorer as a result to their engagement with development process (Kothari and Minoque, 2002). Unlike many developing countries, South Africa does not have an overarching national poverty or development policy. Social grounds are seen by many as the government’s most effective poverty alleviation programme (Budlender et al, 2008). The quality of life of the majority of South Africans is severely constrained by poverty and lack of social and economic services. An improvement in the socio-economic position of the poor is therefore the ultimate goal. According to Statssa (2008), poor households in South Africa are highly dependent on social grants for survival in general. Due to the sensitivity of respondents to disclose their incomes, this question was only asked towards the end of the questionnaires.

5 Summary of the Main Findings

Poverty is multi-dimensional and cannot be reduce to a single definition. There is different view on how poverty should be defined. The definition assigned to poverty is based on basis on which intervention is drawn. Poverty has been a constant presence in man’s history, but its meaning has changed over time. Poverty is characterized by lack of purchasing power; exposure to risk malnutrition; low life; high mortality and inequality. They are often illiterate, poor health and short life span. The poor lack the capacity to escape from their situation themselves. Hence government should intervene to assist the poor, through the social security. The two broad concepts of poverty are absolute poverty which refers to a condition of not having the means to afford the basic human needs and relative poverty which measures income inequality.

Different methods have been used to measure poverty over time. A person is considered poor if his /her consumption or income level falls below some minimum level to meet basic need. The traditional approach for measuring poverty involves establishing income poverty line. Poverty line

varies from one country to another as each country using poverty line which is appropriate its level of development. In equality in the distribution of income is measured by the Gini Coefficient which varies from 0 to 1. The closer to 1, the more unequal distribution is and closer to 0 the more equal the income distribution is. In South Africa the inequality in the distribution of income is intra group for example income differences between rich black people and poor ones. Questionnaires were chosen as the method to measure poverty. The accumulative population and income will be used to measure calculate Gini Coefficient and quintile will be used to measure the impact of social security in reducing the level of poverty and income in equality. The total income in the surveyed population is R6181261 and an average of R6499.74 per household for 951 households. The amount derived from work activities was R5656484 of the 91, 5 percent of the surveyed population. The income from the social security was R524776, of which R360194 consists of old age and disability grants, while the total amount allocated for child grants R164582 or 2,7 percent only.

The expenditure was recorded in details to obtain a reasonable estimate of (or) proxy for this amount. The total income of households in Soweto according to the survey data is R6181261, given an average income of R6499.74 per household for 951 households. For individual person the amount is R1358.22 per months for the 4551 persons in the survey. When this is divided by 2008 Rand/Dollar exchange rate of 8.6, a dollar share of each person per month is US\$7.93, which is, equals to US\$0.4 per day when divided by 365 days. The larger share of R5656484 or 91.5% was derived from work activities such as salaries and wages. Social grants account 8.5% of the total income equivalent to R524776. Within this category, state old age and disability is R360194 or 5, 8% and the child grants account for R164582 or 2.7%. Income of the surveyed household is lower on the first two quintiles s; it is only until the third quintiles that it gets above R2000 per household per month.

This study revealed that there is existence of poverty in the urban area of Soweto. It was revealed that there is a considerable inequality in the distribution of wealth in the area. The inequality in wealth and different poverty levels were attributed to unequal opportunities to get some level of education, type of occupation and difference in household size and number of persons working in the household.

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