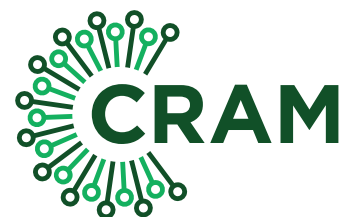# 14

The Uneven Geography of the COVID-19 Crisis

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The Uneven Geography of the COVID-19 Crisis

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30 September 2020

Abstract

This paper analyses the impact of the pandemic on different parts of South Africa, bearing in mind their contrasting vulnerability and resilience. It compares the severity of the initial COVID-19 shock (February-April 2020) and the subsequent trajectory (April-June) of the metros, smaller cities/towns and rural areas. It also considers the different impacts within cities – between suburbs, townships, shack areas and peri-urban areas. A key question is whether COVID-19 has aggravated pre-existing spatial disparities? A second question is whether government social support has helped to mitigate these gaps in income and well-being? The paper reveals that the pandemic has magnified the existing economic and social divides (i) between cities and rural areas, and (ii) between suburbs and townships/informal settlements within cities. Government grants have helped to offset the large economic disparities between places, but the incidence of hunger is still much higher in informal settlements, townships and rural areas than in suburbs. There is a strong case for more targeted efforts to boost jobs and livelihoods in lagging urban and rural areas. Pre-existing conditions were bad enough, but now there is further ground to make up, and the withdrawal of temporary relief grants could be a serious setback for poor communities and groups reliant on cash transfers.

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Executive summary

This paper analyses the impact of the pandemic on different parts of South Africa, bearing in mind their contrasting vulnerability and resilience. It compares the severity of the initial COVID-19 shock and the subsequent trajectory of the metros, smaller cities/towns and rural areas. It also considers the different impacts within cities – between suburbs, townships, shack areas (informal settlements and backyarders) and peri-urban areas (small-holdings, farms or tribal land on the urban fringe). A key question is whether COVID-19 has aggravated pre-existing spatial disparities? A second question is whether government support has helped to mitigate these gaps in income and well-being?

The metros proved more resilient than rural areas and cities/towns. They started out in February in a much stronger position with 57% of adults (over 18) in paid employment, compared with 46% in smaller cities/towns and 42% in rural areas. All regions lost about a fifth of their jobs between February-April. However between April-June metros and smaller cities/towns had already begun their recovery whilst rural areas continued to lose jobs. The net result was that **rural unemployment in June was 52% compared with 43% in cities/towns and 35% in the metros.**

The suburbs resisted the shock of the lockdown better than townships and informal settlements. They were in a strong position in February with 58% of adults in paid employment, then lost one in seven of their jobs (14%) by April, compared with one in four in the townships (24%) and peri-urban areas (23%) and more than a third of jobs (36%) in shack areas! Shack dwellers were extremely vulnerable to the lockdown and restrictions on informal enterprise and related activities. There were signs of a recovery in shack areas between April-June although partly because furloughed workers had been brought back onto the payroll. Overall, **the economic crisis has hit poor urban communities much harder than the suburbs, resulting in a rate of unemployment of 42-43% in townships and informal settlements compared with 24% in the suburbs.**

In summary, the pandemic has magnified pre-existing economic divides (i) between cities and rural areas, and (ii) between suburbs and townships/informal settlements within cities.

Turning to the provision of social support, **rural communities have been much bigger beneficiaries of government grants than the metros and smaller cities/towns**. Nearly three out of five rural respondents (59%) lived in households receiving social grants in June 2020, compared with less than half in cities/towns (47%) and one in three in the metros (32%). This was because rural residents were far less likely to be in paid employment. Government grants have clearly helped to protect rural livelihoods and compensate these areas for their weak local economies and lack of jobs. However, this poses a risk to these communities when the temporary relief is withdrawn.

Similar points apply to the differences within cities, where more than half of peri-urban respondents (54%) lived in households receiving social grants, compared with less than half of township residents (45%), two in five shack dwellers (40%) and one in four suburban residents (26%). The implication is that **government grants have helped to offset unemployment and poverty in townships and informal settlements**. The premature withdrawal of social programmes could aggravate conditions in poor urban communities.

In terms of special relief from the crisis, **one in three rural residents (33%) said that someone in their household had received the COVID-19 grant, compared with one in four in cities/towns (24%) and one in five in the metros (21%).** These differences are smaller than for other grants, suggesting that the COVID-19 grant is benefiting people who did not qualify for government support before, such as unemployed men. Among urban residents, 29% of peri-urban residents said their households had received the COVID-19 grant, compared with 27% in townships, 18% of shack dwellers and 16% in suburban areas. The proportion of shack dwellers receiving these and

other grants is surprisingly low considering their levels of poverty and distress. Further research is required to explain this.

The **proportion of respondents who said their household had run out of money to buy food in April was 44% in the metros, 48% in the cities/towns and 52% in the rural areas**. These figures were very high everywhere. By June 2020, these proportions had fallen to 35% in the metros, 37% in the cities/towns and 40% in the rural areas.

The **proportion of respondents who said that someone in their household had gone hungry in the last seven days (in May/June) was 17% in the metros, 24% in the cities/towns and 29% in the rural areas.** By July these proportions had fallen to 13% in the metros, 16% in the cities/towns and 20% in the rural areas. In other words, hunger had fallen everywhere, but was still worse in the rural areas.

Turning to the differences within cities, the **proportion of respondents who said their household had run out of money to buy food in April was 31% in the suburbs, 48% in the townships and 61% in the shack areas**. Shack-dwellers were noticeably worse off than rural respondents. This adds to the concern that far fewer shack-dwellers receive government grants. By June 2020, these proportions had fallen to 24% in the suburbs, 40% in the townships and 50% in the shack areas. Everywhere improved, although the gap between the shack-dwellers and other groups was still large. Shack-dwellers also continued to be worse off than rural residents, and with less social relief.

The **proportion of urban respondents who said that someone in their household had gone hungry in the last seven days (in May/June) was 11% in the suburbs, 22% in the townships and 32% in the shack areas.** By July/August these proportions had fallen to 7% in the suburbs, 16% in the townships and 22% in the shack areas. The differences between urban neighbourhoods clearly remained very large.

Summing up, government social grants have helped to offset the large economic gaps between places, but the incidence of hunger is still much higher in informal settlements, townships and rural areas than in suburbs. There is a case for more targeted efforts to boost jobs and livelihoods in lagging urban and rural areas. Pre-existing conditions were bad enough, but now there is further ground to make up, and the withdrawal of temporary relief grants could be a serious setback for poor communities reliant on cash transfers, especially for groups who did not qualify for grants before, such as unemployed young men.

1. Introduction

The geography of the country's worst public health crisis in a century has been neglected to date, despite major contrasts in the vulnerability and resilience of different places. South Africa is one of the most unequally developed countries in the world (Makgetla, 2018; Turok, 2018), so one would expect the pandemic to have uneven spatial impacts. The geography of the economy matters because some places are better resourced than others to withstand and recover from shocks, having more diverse industries and stronger local institutions. The spatial distribution of the population also matters because the risks and hazards facing different communities vary greatly, with different levels of education and employment, and different local resources to fall back on in times of stress.

The focus of the disease analysis and response has been at the national and provincial levels, yet the coronavirus spreads locally through human contact and interaction. Large cities became the infection hotspots and experienced higher mortality rates than towns and rural areas, reflecting their relatively high population densities and their strong connections to external regions and nations. Assessing the impact of COVID-19 on the welfare of people living in townships, informal settlements and rural areas is vital because of the precarious nature of jobs and livelihoods in these communities. Many of these places also have inhospitable living environments and weaker social infrastructure and safety nets than suburban areas (Turok, 2014a, 2016; Seeliger and Turok, 2014; Visagie and Turok, 2020).

The impact of the socio-economic shock and the nature of the subsequent recovery are bound to differ between localities and regions. Spatial disparities in South Africa are usually reduced to a simple urban-rural divide (e.g. World Bank, 2018). This duality is far too limited because it ignores the exchange of resources, trade in goods and services, and other interactions between urban and rural areas (Turok, 2018). It also obscures the enormous economic and social variations across different kinds of urban area. For example, the economies of big cities have little in common with those of small cities and towns (Motlanthe, 2017; Todes and Turok, 2018; Turok, 2016). Put simply, different places within the country face different challenges and opportunities. These need to be taken more seriously for the country as a whole to prosper.

The main objective of this paper is to assess the impact of the COVID-19 crisis on different types of locality and region. This is important for government responses to be targeted more carefully on the places that have suffered the worst effects or are struggling the most to recover. A blanket approach to the provision of support that treats places equally will not narrow the gaps between them. The analysis is novel and exploratory because the first phase of the NIDS-CRAM study focused on individual characteristics (race, gender, education, occupation, earnings, etc.) and paid little attention to spatial considerations.

Two particular locational typologies are employed for this analysis of spatial patterns and trends. The first is concerned with the disparities between three different types of area - large cities ('metros'), smaller cities and towns ('cities/towns') and the countryside ('rural areas'). The rationale for this is explained below. The second focuses on the differences within cities between relatively rich and poor neighbourhoods. A four-fold classification based upon residents' own perceptions is used to distinguish between suburbs, townships, shack dwellers (informal settlements and backyarders) and peri-urban areas (which include small-holdings, farms or tribal land on the urban fringe). The rationale for this typology is also explained below.

Looking at the first locational typology, the scale and composition of local economies should influence their ability to bounce back from the difficult conditions experienced during the first few months of the lockdown. In particular, large cities have more productive and diversified economies than towns and rural areas, with stronger public and private institutions and human capabilities (Martin, 2018; Turok, 2018). Many of their firms would have had larger reserves and other assets to rely on. They would have been better placed to diversify into producing goods and services for new markets (e.g. for personal protective equipment and other medical supplies).

In contrast, rural areas tend to have narrower and more fragile economies. Household earnings are

lower, with greater dependence on remittances from elsewhere (Makgetla, 2018; Turok, 2014b). It is more difficult for firms and families in these places to replace lost income with other sources. Consequently, one would expect cities to be better positioned than towns and rural areas to resist the economic consequences of the pandemic. Yet, this advantage may have been offset by their greater openness to external trade and consequent susceptibility to the closure of national borders, airports and seaports. Tourism has been an obvious casualty of the lockdown, affecting cities as well as towns and rural areas.

Turning to the second theme of differences within cities, the marked contrasts between the infrastructure and quality of life of suburbs, townships and informal settlements are bound to influence the challenges people face in relation to their livelihoods and living conditions. One would expect suburban residents to be more resilient to the lockdown because their jobs tend to be more secure and higher paid. Professionals and white-collar workers found it easier to work from home than manual workers and had larger savings to protect them in the event of being laid-off. Suburban residents have higher levels of education and training, so they are more employable and have more options available in the event of job loss. Car ownership is higher, so they are also more mobile than residents of poorer neighbourhoods dependent on public transport.

In contrast, people living in townships and informal settlements experience higher population densities and more crowded living conditions (Turok, 2014a; Turok and Borel-Saladin, 2016). They suffered greater burdens from restrictions on movement and rules that they stay at home. Their health services, schools, transport and childcare facilities are inferior and poorly equipped to cope with pandemics, the protocols of social distancing and other sources of adversity. Residents have higher levels of debt and fewer fixed assets to cushion them from setbacks. Temporary workers and informal enterprises are particularly vulnerable to stoppages in trade which can lead to indefinite layoffs and business closures. Households also tend to rely more on state support in the form of social grants, free basic services and free school meals, which were stopped in most provinces when the schools closed. Consequently, one would expect these residents to experience greater misery and hunger during economic downturns and restrictions on public spending. They are more likely to need relief in the form of food parcels and top-ups to social grants.

The paper focuses on three particular dimensions of the COVID-19 crisis: the labour market, household incomes and the incidence of hunger. These phenomena are closely connected. The chain of causation runs from the labour market to household incomes and onto hunger. The logic is that changes in employment (such as job loss) are transmitted to households through a loss of earnings, which in turn affects whether people go hungry. The scale and severity of the shock are moderated by provision of social protection from the government in the form of social grants and food parcels. A special COVID-19 social relief of distress grant worth R350 per month was introduced in June 2020. The causal chain also works when conditions improve. The stronger the recovery, the bigger the gain in employment and earnings, and the fewer people who go hungry.

The next section discusses the methods employed in the paper. The following section considers the changes in employment and unemployment. The subsequent section assesses the changes in household incomes and social assistance, followed by the incidence of hunger. Each section begins by considering the contrast between metros, cities/towns and rural areas. It then examines the differences within cities between suburbs, townships, informal settlements and peri-urban areas.

2.   Methods and definitions

This paper draws primarily upon survey data from waves 1 and 2 of the National Income Dynamics Study: Coronavirus Rapid Mobile Survey (NIDS-CRAM). The NIDS-CRAM was designed as a 'barometer' for assessing the socio-economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on South African individuals and households (Spaull et al, 2020). The survey was based upon a sample of adults who were previously surveyed as part of Wave 5 of the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) in 2017. Hence, the NIDS-CRAM provides another two rounds of socio-economic data for a subsample of

individuals (aged 18 years and older) from the NIDS:W5 who were re-interviewed in May/June 2020 (NIDS-CRAM: wave 1) and again in July/August (NIDS-CRAM: wave 2). At times we make use of the NIDS:W5 as a baseline to give a sense of conditions before the onset of the pandemic.

Our approach is to describe the impact of COVID-19 on a broadly representative sample of individuals living in different localities and regions. This is the first attempt to compile empirical evidence about the uneven geography of the crisis. This interpretation of the trends and dynamics is a first step. Further research is required to corroborate the analysis and help to explain some of the striking findings, using different data sources and methods.

A natural concern of these findings is the extent to which the NIDS-CRAM might under- or over-sample segments of the population from particular regions. Both the NIDS and NIDS-CRAM apply weights which were calibrated to improve representivity between sample and population and explicitly include spatial controls (see Kerr et al, 2020 and Branson and Wittenberg, 2019). Notwithstanding post-stratification adjustments, our results should still be treated with caution for the following reasons: firstly, the NIDS-CRAM sample is small even at the national level, which leads to fairly large standard errors[3]. We take care to report on the margin of error in all our estimates. Secondly, the original NIDS 2008 sample (which the NIDS-CRAM is based upon) is limited in its design for sub-national analysis.[4] Therefore we take care to focus our analysis on larger geographic aggregations and avoid reporting at a provincial level.

We construct two different locational typologies based upon two different levels of spatial analysis – inequalities between cities and rural areas, and within urban areas. The first typology divides the country into cities and rural areas using three mutually exclusive types of location based upon an individual's reported sub-place[5]:

- 'Metros': the eight largest urban agglomerations in South Africa. These are defined as sub-places that fall within metropolitan municipalities that are also classified as urban according to StatsSA. The eight metros are Johannesburg, Cape Town, eThekwini, Ekurhuleni, Tshwane, Nelson Mandela Bay, Buffalo City and Mangaung.
- 'Cities/towns': smaller cities and towns. These are technically defined as sub-places that fall within urban areas according to StatsSA but excluding those within metropolitan municipalities.
- 'Rural areas': rural and either commercial farms or land governed by traditional authorities. These cover the rest of the country and are areas classified as 'rural' according to StatsSA.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the population in these categories as applied to the Community Survey (CS) 2016, NIDS W5 and NIDS-CRAM W1 and W2.[6] The CS 2016 provides a useful baseline with which to appraise the representivity of the estimates in the remaining surveys as a much larger household survey. The CS2016 and NIDS W5 are very closely aligned which gives confidence to the original NIDS design. Further to this, age, gender and demographic splits between these surveys are also a very close match (see Appendix B).

However, both the NIDS-CRAM W1 and W2 appear to significantly underestimate the percentage of individuals living in rural areas whilst overestimating those living in smaller cities/towns. Only 17.6% of the adult population was living in rural areas in NIDS-CRAM W1 compared to more than 30% in the NIDS W5 and CS2016. The difference is found in the proportion of individuals living in cities/towns which is estimated at 45% of the adult population in NIDS-CRAM W1 compared with 27% of the population in both the NIDS W5 and CS2016.

3   7,073 and 5,676 individuals were re-interviewed in waves 1 and 2 of the NIDS-CRAM respectively.

4   The NIDS 2008 sampling frame was limited to only 400 clusters nationally as opposed to more than 3,000 for similar sized surveys such as the QLFS which was explicitly intended to be representative of provinces and metropolitan municipalities.

5   The NIDS-CRAM is a telephonic survey which meant that location information was derived from a person's self-reported place of residence and linked back to StatsSA classification of sub-places. The NIDS-CRAM:W2 had 155 missing location responses however this was reduced to 39 by imputing the location of the place of residence from NIDS:W5 on the condition that the individual reported that they were living in the same residence as in NIDS.

6   We construct our sample of 'locational types' as a set of 'cross-sections' rather than as a 'balanced panel' across the NIDS:W5, NIDS-CRAM:W1 and NIDS-CRAM:W2 surveys. We do this in order to maximize on our sample size (a large number of observations are dropped when constructing a balanced panel) which increases the precision of our estimates.

Despite the large mismatch, the demographic profiles for each spatial category across surveys are a surprisingly close match which might suggest that the larger (smaller) population sizes in the NIDS-CRAM in cities/towns (rural areas) had less impact on who was sampled within each area (see Appendix B). In light of these concerns, we refrain from reporting any of our findings using absolute totals and instead focus on the proportions or percentages between waves which are not sensitive to fluctuations in the size of the population. We reiterate that our findings are exploratory and any hard facts would need to be backed up with evidence from other sources.

Figure 1: Location type: metros, cities/towns and rural areas
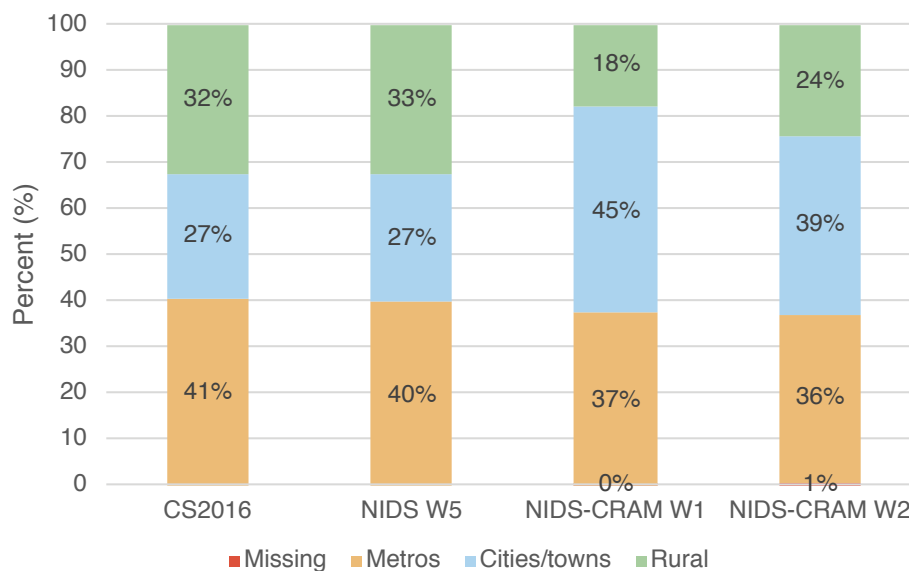
Source: Community Survey 2016, NIDS W5, NIDS-CRAM W1 and 2
Notes: CS 2016 and NIDS:W5 estimates are restricted to the adult population to be comparable with the NIDS-CRAM. See table A1 for sample size and 95% confidence intervals. N = 5676 for NIDS-CRAM W2. The data are weighted.

The second locational typology focuses on differences within urban areas. This is based upon a respondent's perception of their neighbourhood type and limited to a sub-sample of individuals who were already located in urban areas according to their reported place of residence. Data on household location in face-to-face interviews is usually based upon geo-coordinates which are captured directly at the time of the interview. In light of the fact that the NIDS-CRAM was a telephonic survey, respondents were also asked about how they perceived their area type which we manipulate to produce a four-fold classification[7]:

- 'Suburbs': which residents identified as "formal residential" areas. This category could include a variety of urban neighbourhood types including individuals living in apartment blocks through to affluent households in low-rise suburbia.
- 'Townships': which residents identified as "townships". Former black townships have been slow to transform and many experience inadequate infrastructure and low levels of formal economic activity.
- 'Shack-dwellers': which residents identified as "informal settlements". We augment this category to include residents who recorded living in "an informal house like a shack" and hence explicitly include other forms of informality such as backyard shacks.
- 'Peri-urban': which residents identified as a range of low-density categories including "farm", "small holding" or "traditional". We have imposed the condition that a person's sub-place was classified as urban by StatsSA and hence these neighbourhoods would be in or around the urban fringe.

It should be noted that our urban typologies are not technically representative of different urban areas themselves, but of urban resident's perceptions of neighbourhood types. There is bound to

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7   The NIDS-CRAM questionnaire asks respondents to answer the following: "Which of the following best describes the area you live in now: Traditional, informal settlement, township, formal residential, farm, or small holding?"

be some discrepancy between how individuals perceive their neighbourhood and how this would be defined through geo-referencing. There is no way of independently checking the level of correlation. Nonetheless, it is still interesting to consider how socio-economic outcomes map against these self-identified urban types.

Figure 2: Urban type: Suburbs, townships, shack-dwellers and peri-urban
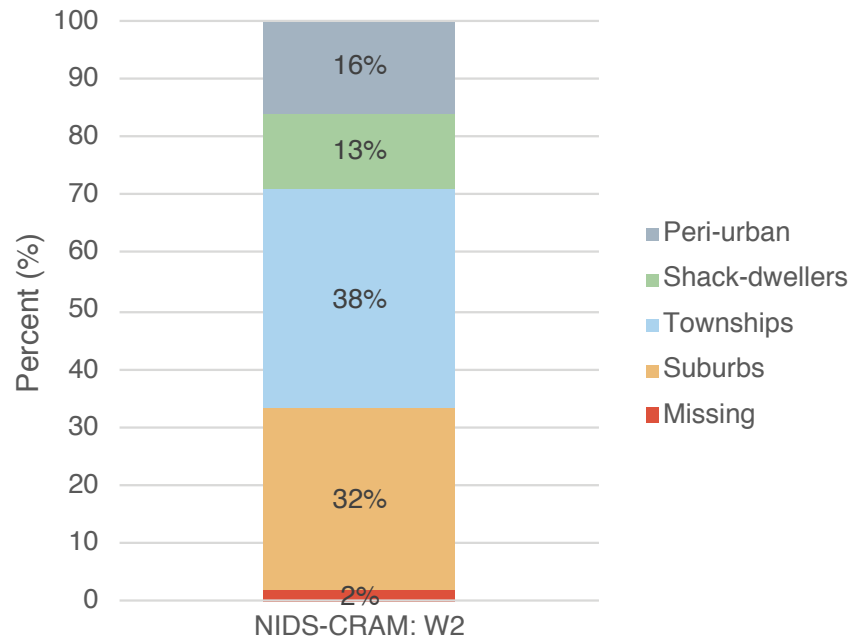
Figure 2 shows the distribution of urban types derived from the NIDS-CRAM W2. We are not able to recreate these categories for previous waves of the survey because respondents were only asked about their perception of their location type in the NIDS-CRAM W2. Instead, we create an urban panel incorporating socio-economic data from previous waves based upon self-identified neighbourhood type from W2 – even if some people had changed location between waves.[8]

3.   The impact of COVID-19 on different places

3.1.   Labour Market

This section considers the impact of the pandemic on employment conditions in different parts of the country, starting with the contrasts between cities and rural areas, and then examining the differences within cities.

Metros vs Cities/towns vs Rural areas

An important finding from the NIDS-CRAM W1 was the large fall in the employment-to-population ratio (which we refer to as 'total employment' in the rest of the paper) of approximately 15% between February-April 2020, which amounted to 3 million jobs. If workers who were absent from work (or reported earning zero income) are not counted among the employed, then the reduction in total employment was even more dramatic, falling by 33% (Ranchhod and Daniels, 2020; Spaull et al, 2020).

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8   The large majority of respondents did not change their place of residence between waves: 82% of NIDS-CRAM respondents in W2 reported that they were in the same dwelling as in W1, while 73% of respondents reported living in the same dwelling as when interviewed in 2017 (i.e. NIDS W5).

Figure 3 shows that these national figures mask important spatial differences. First, employment levels were already much lower in rural areas than in cities, as measured in February before the crisis hit. The labour markets of the metros were much stronger with 60% of all adults (aged 18 years and older) holding a job, compared with 43% in rural areas.

Second, the impact of the crisis was severe across both urban and rural areas. All regions initially experienced a strong decline in total jobs between February-April of roughly 15%. This reduction was even larger if furloughed workers (i.e. those who were employed but received no income) are excluded at approximately 20%.

Third, there was little recovery in employment after the hard lockdown between April-June, as restrictions on activity were eased. It appears that there was a slight upturn in the number of people in paid employment in the metros and cities/towns, but this seems to have been mostly as a result of furloughed workers being brought back onto the payroll or returning to self-employment. The slight reduction in rural areas was not statistically significant.

Figure 3: Geographic type: Percentage employed or furloughed (adults 18 years +)
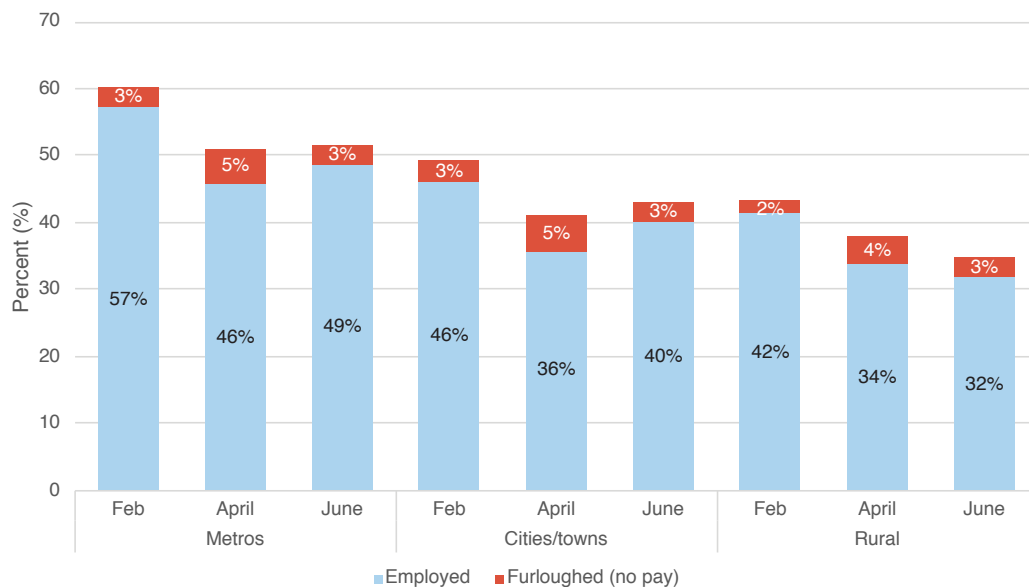
The net employment losses in *figure 3* conceal the extent of job churn that occurred as people moved into and out of employment. The graph on the left of *figure 4* suggests that as many as 22%, 27% and 29% of the employed lost their jobs in metros, cities/towns and rural areas respectively between February-April. This was the most stringent period of the lockdown and government relief was still being planned. The period April to June has seen these losses begin to moderate in both metros and cities/towns (declining by about 4-6 percentage points). However, rural areas still experienced job losses of a similar intensity (a slight recorded reduction was not statistically significant).

The graph on the right of *figure 4* shows that some people did manage to get jobs during the severe lockdown, although they were far fewer than those who lost jobs. Job gains were similar across all types of location, with roughly 10% of adults who were previously not employed (i.e. either unemployed or not economically active) finding employment between February-April. However, a disparity began to emerge between locations in the following period (April-June), where the rate of hiring in the metros increased by 20%, by 16% in cities/towns, but did not change much in rural areas. Overall, rural areas experienced both a larger fall in jobs and a greater lag in recovery than the cities.

Figure 4: Urban type: Labour market churn
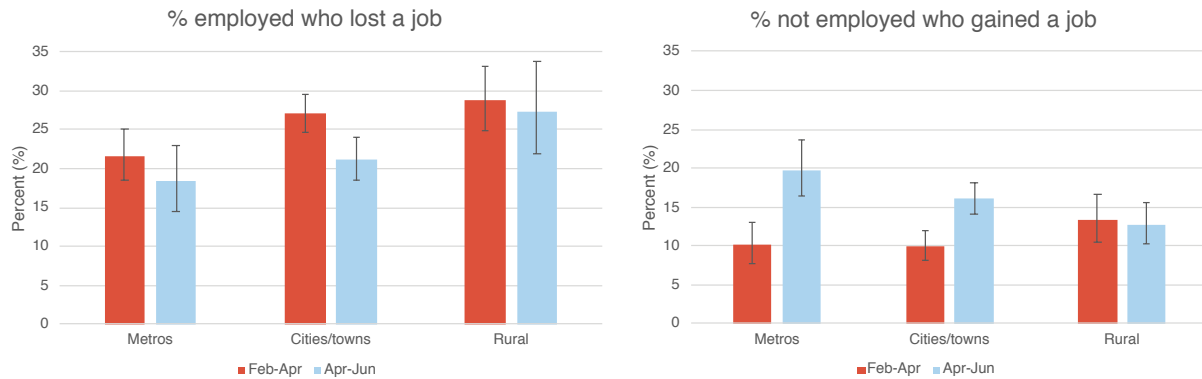
% employed who lost a job

% not employed who gained a job

Figure 5 shows the 'headline' rate of unemployment across the metros, cities/towns and rural areas. The base period is taken from the NIDS:W5 in 2017 where rates of unemployment were surprisingly low.[9] This probably mean that the unemployment rate is somewhat understated in the NIDS compared with nationally representative surveys like the Labour Force Surveys over the same time period (Ardington, 2020; Ranchhod & Daniels, 2020). Nevertheless, the trend over time is very striking as are the differences in joblessness between cities and rural areas. In 2017, rural unemployment was at least 10 percentage points higher than in the cities.

These disparities seem to have widened since the onset of COVID-19. The rate of unemployment in rural areas shot up to 48% in April 2020 and 52% in June. Unemployment in both cities/towns and metros also increased to 45% and 43% in cities/towns and 37% and 35% in metros in April and June respectively. The gap in the unemployment rate between metros and rural areas has therefore risen from 10 to 18 percentage points over the period. The rate of unemployment in the cities/towns falls between the metros and rural areas.

Figure 5: Geographic type: Rate of unemployment
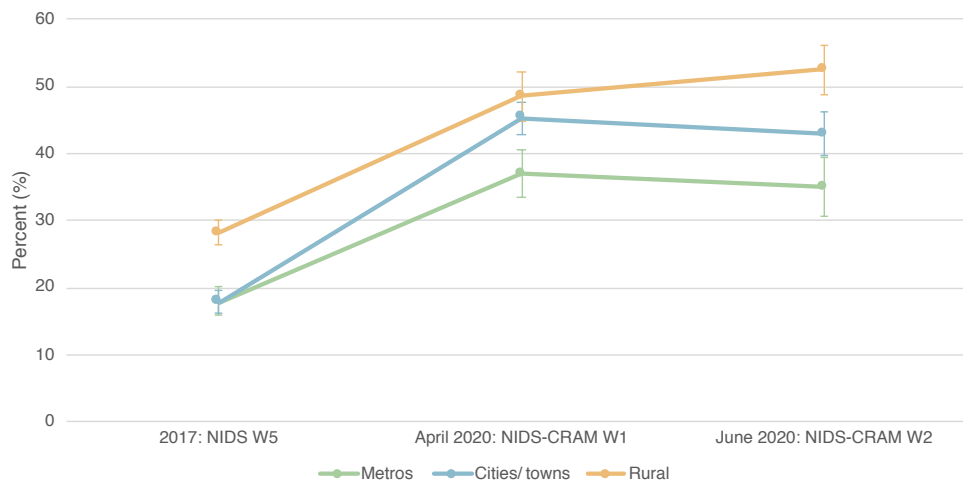
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9 There are bound to be some changes in labour market status in the years between 2017 and February 2020 – which would have been the appropriate pre-crisis baseline. Nevertheless, we do not suspect that changes between 2017 and 2020 were dramatic in light of what is reported about changes to the rate of unemployment for this period in the QLFS.

Suburbs vs Townships vs Shack dwellers vs Peri-urban areas

South African cities also contain striking disparities which may be amplified by the COVID-19 crisis. People living in different neighbourhoods experience very different types of vulnerability, opportunity and resilience, which warrant careful scrutiny.

Figure 6 shows how rates of employment differed across people living in cities in NIDS-CRAM W2 according to their neighbourhood type. Adults who perceived themselves to be living in the suburbs had the highest total employment levels in February at close to 60%, followed by townships (55%) and peri-urban areas (49%). Employment levels are difficult to estimate for shack-dwellers (due to the size of measurement error), but they may have been as high as the suburbs before the crisis (probably reflecting many informal livelihoods).

All areas experienced a major shock to employment between February-April. However, the reduction in jobs was largest among shack-dwellers (falling by 27%), followed by peri-urban areas (20%), townships (15%) and the suburbs (12%). These differences are even bigger if furloughed workers are removed, with employment falling by as much as 36% among shack dwellers, 23-24% in townships and peri-urban areas, but only 14% in the suburbs. The extreme fall in employment in shack settlements probably reflects their dependence on informal jobs shut down during level 5 of the lockdown.

Shack dwellers experienced some apparent recovery in employment by June (partly through furloughed workers going back onto the payroll) as lockdown restrictions eased. Yet, total employment was still 10 percentage points lower than in February. Suburban residents also showed some signs of improvement, while conditions in the townships and peri-urban areas did not. (Note that none of these changes were large enough to be statistically significant)

Figure 6: Urban type: Percentage employed or furloughed (adults 18 years and older)

Source: NIDS-CRAM W1 and W2
Notes: The sample is adults aged 18 years and older. Furloughed workers had a job but reported zero earnings. See table A3 for 90% confidence intervals. Self-identified neighbourhood type is defined in W2. The data are weighted.

The total number of households impacted by employment shifts was even larger when considering job losses and job gains (i.e. the extent of labour market churn). *Figure 7* suggests that roughly 1 in 4 people in townships or peri-urban areas who were employed in February lost their job by April. This was as high as 1 in 3 among shack-dwellers. Jobs in the suburbs contracted by only about 17%. The corresponding job gains between February-April among those previously without employment (i.e. either unemployed or not economically active) were consistently low at roughly 10% in all places.

In the subsequent period (April-June) job losses appeared to moderate across all areas (with the exception of peri-urban) although they were still as high as 1 in 5 people in townships, shack-dwellers and peri-urban areas. The job gains between April-June were largest among shack dwellers followed next by the suburbs. The overall message is that a large proportion of individuals experienced the stress of job churn (both losing and gaining employment) during the COVID-19 crisis. Shack dwellers were the most vulnerable (with huge losses and gains), while suburban residents experienced the greatest stability.

Figure 7: Urban type: Labour market churn

The impact of the crisis on the labour market of cities can be seen in changes to the rate of unemployment in all neighbourhoods (*figure 8*). Rising unemployment rates were far larger for people living in peri-urban areas (up by 30 percentage points), compared with townships (by 24 percentage points), shack-dwellers (by 20 percentage points) and the suburbs (13 percentage points). The direction of the trends and differences in rates between location types clearly illustrate how suburban residents were less affected by the crisis. Shack-dwellers also showed some resilience ending the period with an apparent lower rate of unemployment than peri-urban areas (and the same as townships). However, shack dwellers also had to contend with considerable volatility as unemployment soared to 50% in April before declining again in June. The situation is still dire everywhere, with an unemployment rate of 24% in the suburbs, 42% among shack-dwellers, 43% in the townships and 52% in the peri-urban areas in June.

Figure 8: Urban type: Rate of unemployment
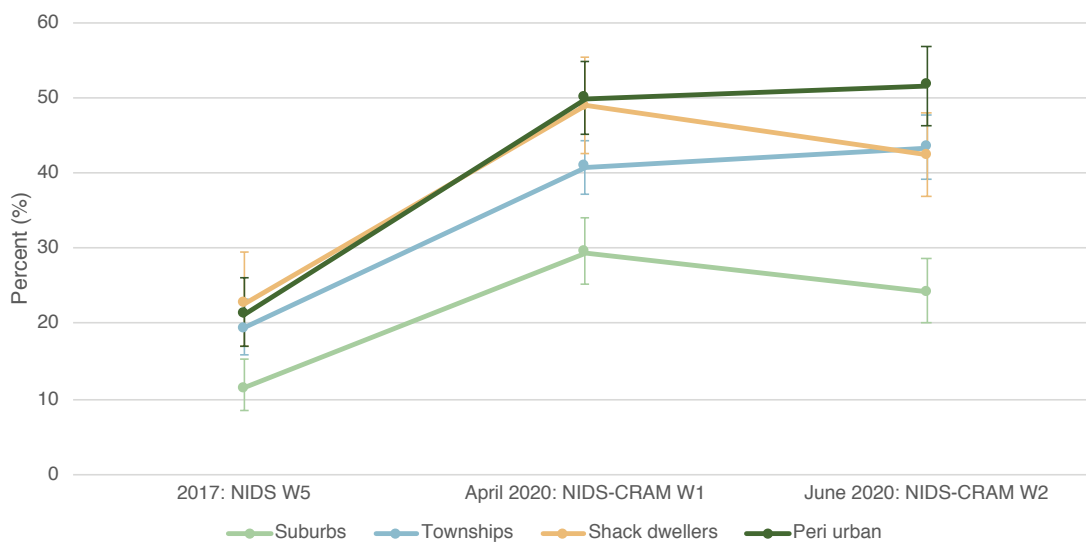
3.2.   Social support

This section considers the welfare safety net provided by government grants and examines the extent to which it cushioned households in different places from the economic shock of COVID-19.

Metros vs Cities/towns vs Rural areas

It is well known that rural communities in South Africa are generally far more reliant on government grants than urban communities (Makgetla, 2018; Turok, 2014b, 2018). This is because rural economies are much weaker, unemployment is much higher and people are generally poorer. The NIDS-CRAM Wave 2 asked respondents about their various sources of household income. *Figure 9* shows that nearly three out of five rural respondents (59%) received social grants in June 2020, compared with less than one in two residents in cities/towns (47%) and less than one in three metro residents (32%). In other words, grants were the main source of livelihood protection in rural areas, where the proportion of residents receiving them was nearly double the proportion in the metros. These figures reflect the sum of 'grants only' and 'earnings plus grants'.

At the same time, rural respondents were far less likely to be in paid employment. Less than one in three rural residents (32%) had work-related earnings, compared with less than half of residents in cities/towns (44%) and more than half of metro residents (54%). These figures reflect the sum of 'earnings only' and 'earnings plus grants'. Therefore, government grants have clearly helped to compensate rural areas for their fragile local economies and the shortfall in employment. Without this form of income support, the economic gap between cities and rural areas would have been much larger. However, increasing reliance on grants is also a source of vulnerability for these communities if one or more of these cash transfers is withdrawn.

Figure 9: Geographic type: Sources of household income, June 2020
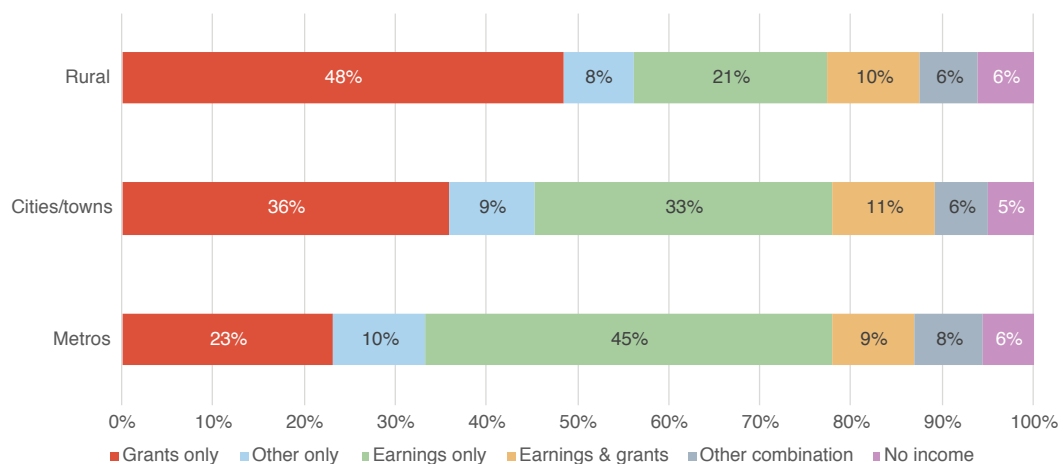
Source: NIDS-CRAM: W2
Notes: See table A6 for 90% confidence intervals. The data are weighted.

The government introduced the special COVID-19 distress relief grant in June specifically to target adults who had no other source of income, such as working-age unemployed men. Over 5 million people currently benefit from a grant of R350 per month. The NIDS-CRAM wave 2 survey asked respondents about their receipt of this grant. *Figure 10* shows that one in three adults in rural areas (33%) reported that someone in their household had received a COVID-19 grant, compared with less than one in four in cities/towns (24%) and just over one in five in the metros (21%). These proportions are lower than for other grants, and the differences between cities and rural areas are narrower, suggesting that the COVID-19 grant is benefiting groups that have not qualified for government support before. The higher proportion of rural beneficiaries is consistent with the higher rate of unemployment in the countryside. However, this poses risks for poor communities and groups such as unemployed young men because the COVID-19 grant was only envisaged to provide temporary relief and is due to be withdrawn at the end of October.

Figure 10: Geographic type: Percentage adults reporting their household received a COVID-19 SRD Grant

Suburbs vs Townships vs Shack dwellers vs Peri-urban areas

Turning to the differences within cities, peri-urban areas were more likely to benefit from government grants than people in the townships, shack areas and suburbs (*figure 11*). More than half of peri-urban respondents (54%) lived in a household which received social grants in June 2020, compared with less than half of township respondents (45%), two in five shack dwellers (40%) and one in four suburban residents (26%). In other words, the proportion of peri-urban residents receiving grants was more than double the proportion in the suburbs. These intra-urban disparities are wider than between rural areas and metros (see *figure 9*). These estimates reflect the sum of 'grants only' and 'earnings plus grants'.

At the same time, peri-urban residents were far less likely to be in employment. Just over one in three peri-urban residents (35%) lived in households with work-related earnings, compared with less than half of shack dwellers (45%), about half of township respondents (49%) and nearly three in five suburban residents (57%). The implication is that government grants have helped to offset unemployment and poverty in townships, shack areas and peri-urban areas.

Figure 11: Urban type: Sources of household income, June 2020
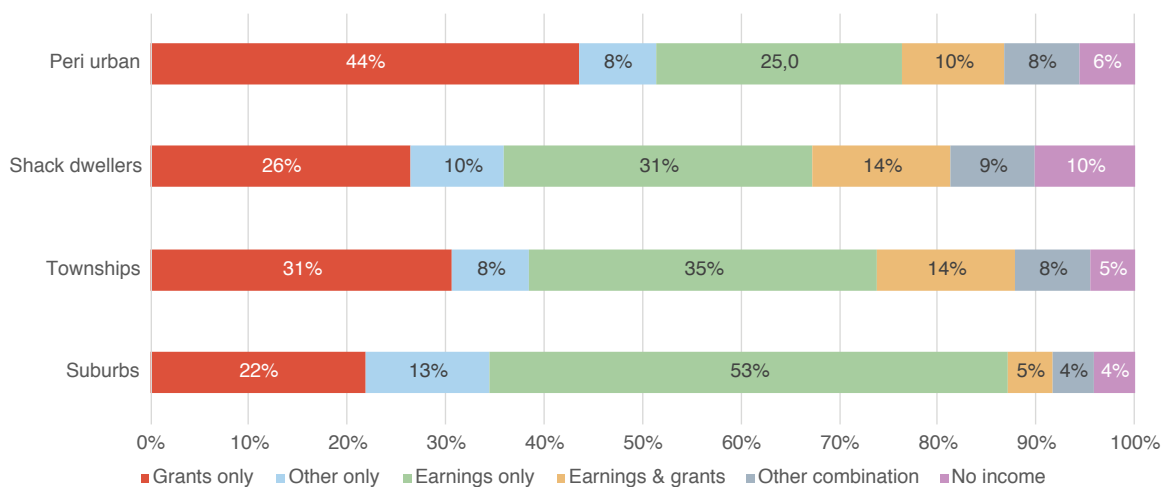
Figure 11: Urban type: Sources of household income, June 2020

Figure 12 shows that among urban residents, 29% of peri-urban adults lived in a household where someone had received the COVID-19 grant. This was 27% for residents in townships, 18% among shack dwellers and 16% for residents living in suburban households. The proportion of shack dwellers receiving the COVID-19 relief and other social grants is surprisingly low considering the level of poverty and distress in these areas. Further research is required to explain the reasons for this. It may, for example, reflect the fact that many shack dwellers do not have a proper address (street name and house number) for claiming grants. It could also reflect the disproportionate number of foreign nationals living in shacks.

Figure 12: Urban type: Percentage adults reporting their household received a COVID-19 SRD Grant
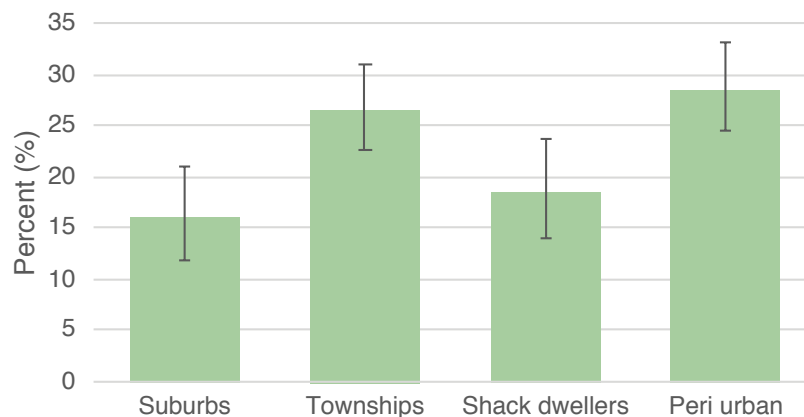
To summarise this section, government grants have clearly helped to compensate rural areas, townships and informal settlements for their relatively weak economic situation compared with metros, and especially the suburban areas of cities. The level of these grants is generally low, so they are not a substitute for productive employment. They help to alleviate poverty rather than providing a pathway to lift people out of poverty. Temporary grants also create vulnerabilities in poor communities if they are withdrawn prematurely.

3.3. Food poverty

This section considers the proportion of households in different places that have experienced financial hardship and food insecurity (hunger).

Metros vs Cities/towns vs Rural areas

The NIDS-CRAM Wave 1 data showed that 47% of adults throughout the country reported that their household had **run out of money to buy food** in April 2020. The graph on the left of *figure 13* shows the differences between metros (44%), cities/towns (48%) and rural areas (52%). The figures are very high everywhere, but rural households were clearly finding it rather more difficult than their counterparts in the metros. *Figure 13* also shows that the problem was much worse in April 2020 than it was in 2016, when the last Community Survey was conducted.[10] In 2016, the breakdown was metros (16%), cities/towns (21%) and rural areas (28%). By April 2020, the gap between metros and rural areas may have narrowed, but roughly twice as many respondents were experiencing this hardship as in 2016.

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10 The Community Survey 2016 asked individuals whether their household had run out of money to buy food in the past 12 months whereas the NIDS-CRAM only asked about the past month. The much wider timeframe in the Community Survey implies that our 2016 baseline would be even lower if individuals had been asked to report about the past month.

Figure 13: Geographic type: Hunger and food poverty
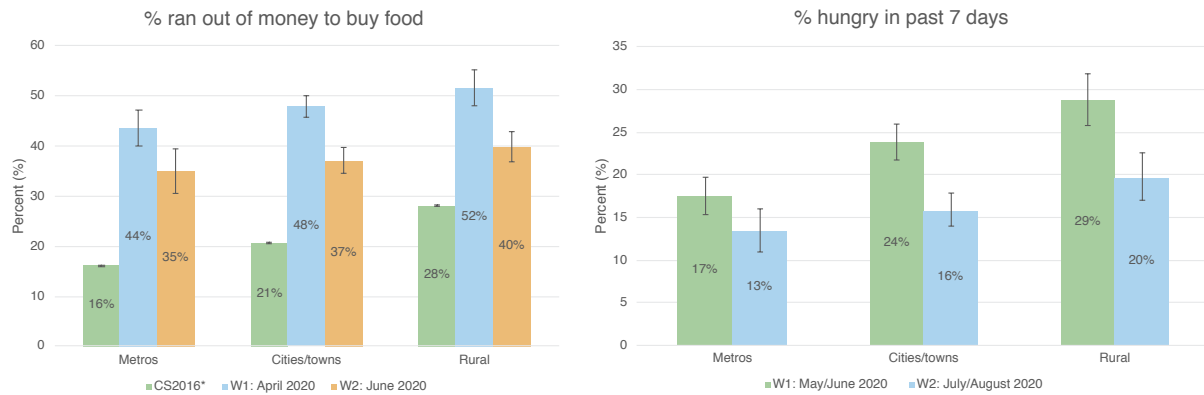
% ran out of money to buy food

% hungry in past 7 days

CS2016* W1: April 2020 W2: June 2020

W1: May/June 2020 W2: July/August 2020

The NIDS-CRAM Wave 2 data shows that the proportion of respondents that said they had run out of money to buy food in June 2020 had fallen to 35% in the metros, 37% in the cities/towns and 40% in the rural areas. In other words, the numbers of respondents that had run out of money to buy food had fallen by about a fifth in all areas compared with April. This is a noticeable improvement, and is likely to reflect the extra government support through social grants. Nevertheless, more than a third of respondents were still struggling to buy food at some point during the month of June 2020. This is significantly higher than in 2016, indicating a persistent problem.

The NIDS-CRAM Wave 1 data also showed that one in five respondents (21%) reported that **someone in their household had gone hungry** in the last seven days. This was referring to when the survey was done in May/June – after many households had started receiving the government grants. The graph on the right of *figure 13* shows the breakdown between metros (17%), cities/towns (24%) and rural areas (29%). There is a large difference between the big cities and rural areas, indicating the much higher incidence of food poverty in the countryside. Nearly one in three rural respondents said someone had gone hungry in May/June, compared with one in six metro respondents.

The Wave 2 data shows that the proportion of respondents saying that someone in their household had gone hungry in the last seven days (in July/August) had fallen to 13% in the metros, 16% in the cities/towns and 20% in the rural areas (*Figure 13*). This was a significant fall in hunger of close to 10 percentage points between May/June and July/August for rural areas. This may reflect the fact that a higher proportion of rural households benefit from social grants, so rural areas would benefit disproportionately from a top-up to these grants. The metros also contain more foreign migrants than rural areas, who do not qualify for government grants.

Suburbs vs Townships vs Shack dwellers vs Peri-urban areas

The graph on the left of *figure 14* shows the proportion of respondents that said that their household had **run out of money to buy food** in April 2020, broken down between suburbs (31%), townships (48%), shack areas (61%) and peri-urban areas (46%). The difference between shack-dwellers and suburban residents was much larger than between metros and rural areas (shown in *figure 13*). Indeed, shack-dwellers were noticeably worse off than rural respondents (notwithstanding fairly large measurement errors for shack areas). The problem is linked to the fact that far fewer shack dwellers received government grants than rural residents, while being more dependent on precarious forms of employment, so they were disproportionately harmed by the lockdown and restrictions on economic activity.

Figure 14: Urban type: Hunger and food poverty
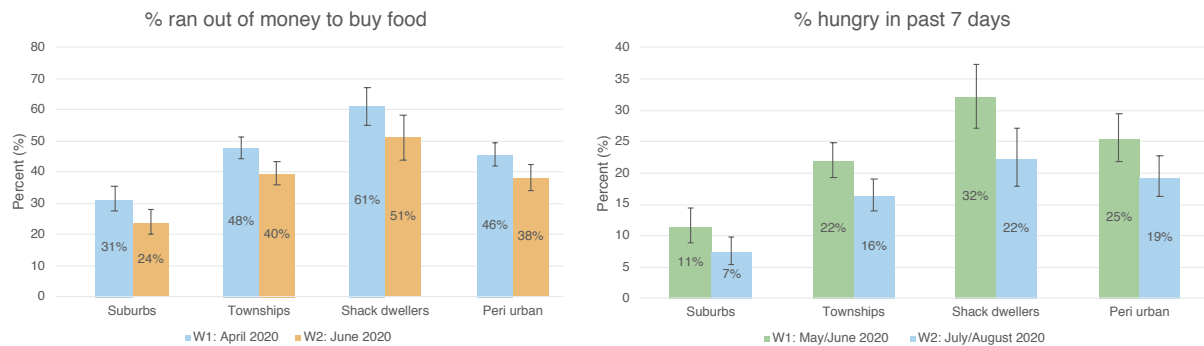
% ran out of money to buy food

% hungry in past 7 days

Suburbs: 31%, 24%
Townships: 48%, 40%
Shack dwellers: 61%, 51%
Peri urban: 46%, 38%

■ W1: April 2020 ■ W2: June 2020

Suburbs: 11%, 7%
Townships: 22%, 16%
Shack dwellers: 32%, 22%
Peri urban: 25%, 19%

■ W1: May/June 2020 ■ W2: July/August 2020

The Wave 2 data shows that the proportion of respondents whose household had run out of money to buy food in June 2020 had fallen to 24% in the suburbs, 40% in the townships, 50% in the shack areas and 38% in the peri-urban areas. These reductions compared with April are broadly similar in size across the different locations. This was a notable improvement, although the gap between the shack-dwellers and suburban residents was still extremely large. Shack-dwellers also continued to be worse off than rural residents.

The graph on the right of *figure 14* shows the proportion of respondents who said that **someone in their household had gone hungry** in the last seven days (in May/June), broken down between suburbs (11%), townships (22%), shack areas (32%) and peri-urban areas (25%). The difference between shack-dwellers (one in three) and suburban residents (one in nine) is very striking, and larger than the gap between metros and rural areas. This indicates the high incidence of food poverty among shack dwellers.

The Wave 2 data shows that the proportion of respondents saying that someone in their household had gone hungry in the last seven days (in July/August) had fallen to 7% in the suburbs, 16% in the townships, 22% in the shack areas and 19% in the peri-urban areas. There was a reduction all round, although the gap between the shack-dwellers and suburban residents remained extremely large.

4.   Conclusion

South Africa is one of the most unevenly developed countries in the world with stark differences in life chances between locations. COVID-19 has exposed the unequal living conditions and vulnerabilities of different communities very visibly. Overcrowded and under-serviced settlements have been particularly at risk from the spread of the coronavirus and could suffer again from any resurgence. They have also been ravaged by the economic effects of enforced physical distancing through hard lockdowns and restrictions on travel to work.

Evidence from the NIDS-CRAM surveys indicates that COVID-19 has magnified pre-existing social and economic divisions both (i) between cities and rural areas, and (ii) between suburbs and townships/informal settlements within cities. The metros proved to be more resilient than rural areas and smaller cities/towns, perhaps because of their stronger institutions and higher levels of human capital. The chasm within cities between suburbs and informal settlements has proved to be even larger. Shack dwellers were extremely vulnerable to the shutdown and constraints on informal enterprise.

Government social grants have helped to offset the economic disparities between places and

compensate the residents of rural areas and townships for their high levels of unemployment and poverty. However, only a minority of households have benefited from the special COVID-19 relief grant. As a result, the incidence of hunger is still much higher in informal settlements, townships and rural areas than in suburban areas. Conditions in these places were bad enough before the crisis, but now there is considerable further ground to make up. The imminent withdrawal of temporary cash transfers could be a serious setback for poor and vulnerable communities reliant on social support, especially for groups who did not qualify for grants before, such as unemployed young men.

Looking ahead, there are several implications for the government's response to the crisis.

First, it is important to recognise that different parts of the country face different challenges. Treating unequal places in the same manner won't narrow the gap between them. Blanket national policies and actions are insensitive to these variations and can have unintended consequences in amplifying inequalities. National programmes need complementary efforts to boost jobs and livelihoods in lagging urban and rural areas. This means targeting places as well as people in tackling poverty and unemployment.

Second, the findings suggest that a special focus on informal settlements and backyarders is warranted because they have been hardest hit by the crisis and face the most uncertain prospects of recovery. Pre-existing conditions were miserable enough, but now the task of upgrading is that much more urgent. Density and overcrowding are symptoms of poverty, rather than fundamental causes of contagion. Congested settlements need to be de-risked by converting population density into more resilient 'economic density'. Investment in buildings and infrastructure should lie at the heart of settlement upgrading, accompanied by the development of skills, jobs, incomes and more functional environments for enterprise and economic development to thrive. De-densification through relocation is a distraction when resources and energy should be focused on improving basic services and reconfiguring layouts.

Third, wide disparities between urban and rural areas will continue to spur migration out of the countryside and into cities in search of a better life. The process cannot be suppressed. Rather, local authorities should work with national and provincial governments in recognising people's constitutional right to freedom of movement and support the provision of basic services and shelter in the cities. Preparing land for human settlement in anticipation of urbanisation is more cost-effective than trying to retrofit infrastructure into dense informal settlements and fend off unauthorised land occupations from disaffected backyarders.

Lastly, more effort is required to improve the quality of information and intelligence on local economic and health conditions. The focus of the COVID-19 analysis and response has been at the national and provincial levels, yet the transmission mechanisms are essentially local, and the public health, economic and social impacts have also been highly localised. Stronger evidence and research would improve understanding of these dynamics and help to empower local institutions and partnerships to develop constructive responses. This would go some way to help kick-start the recovery and realise the potential of all places.

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Appendix A

Table A1: Geographic type: Metros, cities/towns and rural

	CS2016 (18+)				NIDS W5 (18+)				NIDS-CRAM W1				NIDS-CRAM W2			
	Estiamte	Lower	Upper	N	Estiamte	Lower	Upper	N	Estiamte	Lower	Upper	N	Estiamte	Lower	Upper	N
Missing									0.04	0.01	0.18	3	0.78	0.41	1.49	39
Metro	40.77	40.7	40.85	765236	39.92	34.64	45.44	5990	37.33	33.39	41.45	1627	36.39	32.1	40.91	1223
Other urban	26.96	26.89	27.02	581066	27.39	23.18	32.05	9046	45.01	41.6	48.48	3836	38.65	35.16	42.26	2628
Rural	32.27	32.2	32.34	819318	32.69	28.4	37.29	11986	17.61	15.61	19.81	1607	24.18	21.3	27.32	1786
Total	100			2165620	100			27022	100			7073	100			5676

Source: Community Survey 2016, NIDS W5, NIDS-CRAM W1 and W2; 95% confidence intervals

Table A2: Urban type: Suburbs, townships, shack-dwellers and peri-urban

	Estimate	Lower	Upper	N
Missing	1.72	1.07	2.75	76
Formal residential	31.5	28.1	35.1	949
Township	37.57	33.58	41.74	1392
Shack-dweller	13.35	11.09	15.99	487
Peri-urban	15.86	13.53	18.51	947
Total	100			3851

Source: Community Survey 2016, NIDS W5, NIDS-CRAM W1 and W2; 95% confidence intervals

Table A3: Employment status

			Feb				April				June			
			Not Employed	Employed	Furloughed	Total	Not Employed	Employed	Furloughed	Total	Not Employed	Employed	Furloughed	Total
Geo type														
	Metro	%	39.89	57.17	2.95	100	49.06	45.97	4.98	100	48.29	48.70	3.01	100
		CI	[36.88,42.97]	[54.27,60.02]	[2.01,4.30]	100	[45.95,52.17]	[43.04,48.93]	[3.88,6.36]	100	[44.17,52.44]	[44.50,52.93]	[2.00,4.51]	100
	Other Urban	%	50.74	46.29	2.97	100	59.05	35.82	5.13	100	57.00	40.10	2.90	100
		CI	[48.49,52.99]	[44.15,48.44]	[2.19,4.01]	100	[56.80,61.27]	[33.68,38.01]	[4.25,6.17]	100	[54.15,59.80]	[37.42,42.84]	[2.06,4.06]	100
	Rural	%	56.77	41.51	1.72	100	61.99	33.69	4.32	100	65.11	31.82	3.07	100
		CI	[53.21,60.25]	[38.06,45.05]	[1.24,2.40]	100	[58.90,64.98]	[30.81,36.71]	[3.05,6.09]	100	[62.08,68.03]	[28.88,34.91]	[2.30,4.08]	100
Urban Panel														
	Formal residential	%	40.62	57.51	1.87	100	47.51	49.43	3.06	100	44.63	51.76	3.61	100
		CI	[36.52,44.86]	[53.15,61.75]	[0.97,3.56]	100	[42.97,52.10]	[44.96,53.90]	[2.02,4.60]	100	[40.59,48.73]	[47.65,55.85]	[2.23,5.79]	100
	Township	%	45.32	51.27	3.41	100	53.64	39.16	7.20	100	55.17	42.11	2.72	100
		CI	[42.02,48.67]	[48.19,54.34]	[2.10,5.48]	100	[50.46,56.79]	[35.79,42.64]	[5.41,9.53]	100	[51.22,59.05]	[38.29,46.04]	[1.85,3.98]	100
	Shack dweller	%	38.13	59.17	2.70	100	54.78	38.08	7.14	100	48.59	49.18	2.22	100
		CI	[32.93,43.62]	[53.13,64.94]	[1.34,5.36]	100	[48.72,60.71]	[32.63,43.84]	[4.57,11.00]	100	[43.42,53.79]	[43.68,54.71]	[1.23,3.98]	100
	Peri urban	%	51.44	44.72	3.84	100	61.02	34.58	4.40	100	64.38	32.74	2.89	100
		CI	[47.04,55.81]	[40.65,48.86]	[2.10,6.92]	100	[56.69,65.18]	[30.43,38.98]	[3.13,6.15]	100	[60.13,68.41]	[28.77,36.97]	[1.46,5.61]	100

Source: NIDS-CRAM W1 and W2; 90% confidence intervals

Table A4: Job churn

		Feb - April		April - June	
		Job loss	Job gain	Job loss	Job gain
Geo type					
Metro	%	21.59	10.18	18.3	19.81
	CI	[18.50,25.03]	[7.83,13.13]	[14.43,22.93]	[16.44,23.68]
Cities/towns	%	27.02	9.91	21.11	16.04
	CI	[24.64,29.53]	[8.20,11.92]	[18.46,24.04]	[14.14,18.15]
Rural	%	28.84	13.29	27.37	12.76
	CI	[24.95,33.06]	[10.53,16.63]	[21.82,33.72]	[10.35,15.63]
Urban Panel					
Suburbs	%	16.92	7.77	11.54	18.67
	CI	[13.21,21.41]	[5.16,11.55]	[8.32,15.79]	[14.78,23.30]
Townships	%	23.9	11.14	20.07	14.43
	CI	[20.38,27.81]	[8.46,14.53]	[15.87,25.05]	[11.38,18.14]
Shack dwellers	%	33.55	11.33	21.26	28.72
	CI	[26.42,41.52]	[7.47,16.82]	[14.91,29.37]	[23.08,35.10]
Peri urban	%	26.98	7.77	27.57	13.68
	CI	[22.44,32.05]	[5.42,11.02]	[21.47,34.65]	[10.85,17.11]

Table A5: Rate of unemployment

			NIDS W5 (18+)	CRAM W1 (April)	CRAM W2 (June)
Geo type	Metros	%	17.9	36.89	34.89
		CI	[15.96,20.03]	[33.45,40.46]	[30.51,39.54]
	Cities/towns	%	17.88	45.24	42.86
		CI	[16.28,19.59]	[42.77,47.74]	[39.65,46.14]
	Rural	%	28.19	48.48	52.48
		CI	[26.43,30.01]	[44.87,52.10]	[48.76,56.16]
Urban Panel	Suburbs	%	11.44	29.47	24.16
		CI	[8.42,15.35]	[25.27,34.05]	[20.13,28.70]
	Townships	%	19.36	40.74	43.36
		CI	[15.98,23.26]	[37.20,44.38]	[39.19,47.63]
	Shack dwellers	%	23.08	49.31	42.88
		CI	[17.43,29.89]	[42.90,55.73]	[37.56,48.37]
	Peri urban	%	21.12	49.92	51.57
		CI	[16.98,25.95]	[45.07,54.78]	[46.38,56.73]

Table A6: Sources of household income, June 2020

		Earnings only	Grants only	Other only	Earnings & grants	Other combination	No income	Total
Geo type								
Metros	%	44.58	23.21	10.1	9.093	7.518	5.509	100
	CI	[39.45,49.82]	[20.09,26.64]	[8.073,12.56]	[7.296,11.28]	[5.755,9.764]	[3.957,7.623]	
Cities/towns	%	32.61	35.93	9.368	11.35	5.758	4.987	100
	CI	[30.35,34]	[33.36,38.58]	[7.865,11.12]	[9.683,13.25]	[4.92,6.728]	[3.907,6.346]	
Rural	%	21.3	48.4	7.704	10.16	6.389	6.039	100
	CI	[18.89,23.92]	[45.28,51.54]	[5.91,9.986]	[8.607,11.97]	[4.995,8.137]	[4.816,7.549]	
Urban Panel								
Suburbs	%	52.69	21.78	12.69	4.466	4.274	4.1	100
	CI	[48.08,57.26]	[18.7,25.2]	[10.05,15.9]	[3.255,6.099]	[2.94,6.176]	[2.781,6.006]	
Townships	%	35.34	30.67	7.817	14.03	7.677	4.46	100
	CI	[31.69,39.18]	[27.56,33.96]	[6.009,10.11]	[11.42,17.13]	[6.265,9.377]	[3.171,6.24]	
Shack dwellers	%	31.44	26.41	9.467	13.96	8.667	10.06	100
	CI	[25.63,37.88]	[22.2,31.1]	[7.13,12.47]	[10.46,18.39]	[5.387,13.66]	[6.123,16.09]	
Peri urban	%	25.02	43.49	7.884	10.39	7.592	5.623	100
	CI	[20.75,29.84]	[39.21,47.86]	[5.497,11.18]	[7.983,13.43]	[5.966,9.617]	[3.996,7.86]	

Source: NIDS-CRAM W2; 90% confidence intervals

Table A7: Percentage adults reporting their household received a COVID-19 SRD Grant

			No	Yes	Total
Geo type	Metros	%	79.47	20.53	100
		CI	[75.15,83.21]	[16.79,24.85]	
	Cities/towns	%	76.47	23.53	100
		CI	[73.97,78.81]	[21.19,26.03]	
	Rural	%	66.86	33.14	100
		CI	[63.26,70.28]	[29.72,36.74]	
Urban Panel	Suburbs	%	84.04	15.96	100
		CI	[79.02,88.03]	[11.97,20.98]	
	Townships	%	73.36	26.64	100
		CI	[68.99,77.33]	[22.67,31.01]	
	Shack dwellers	%	81.6	18.4	100
		CI	[76.24,85.98]	[14.02,23.76]	
	Peri urban	%	71.39	28.61	100
		CI	[66.89,75.51]	[24.49,33.11]	

Table A8: Hunger

			Anyone gone hungry in last week		Child gone hungry in last week		Ran out of money for food		
			W1	W2	W1	W2	CS2016 (year)*	W1: (in April)	W2: (in June)
Geo type	Metros	%	17.43	13.33	10.98	8.743	16.22	43.6	34.93
		CI	[15.28,19.81]	[11.03,16.02]	[8.653,13.83]	[6.322,11.97]	[16.14,16.29]	[40.11,47.15]	[30.62,39.49]
	Cities/towns	%	23.79	15.82	16.85	11.81	20.77	47.89	37.1
		CI	[21.79,25.92]	[13.98,17.84]	[14.64,19.31]	[10.09,13.78]	[20.67,20.86]	[45.78,50.02]	[34.54,39.74]
	Rural	%	28.79	19.69	17.94	13.13	28.17	51.64	39.85
		CI	[25.89,31.88]	[17.04,22.64]	[15.22,21.01]	[10.36,16.51]	[28.08,28.26]	[48.13,55.14]	[36.9,42.87]
	Suburbs	%	11.36	7.314	6.883	7.704		31.28	23.8
		CI	[8.887,14.41]	[5.444,9.76]	[4.947,9.5]	[5.226,11.22]		[27.48,35.35]	[20.09,27.94]
	Townships	%	21.9	16.4	14.4	11.48		47.82	39.65
		CI	[19.25,24.8]	[14.06,19.04]	[11.72,17.56]	[8.89,14.7]		[44.34,51.33]	[36.09,43.33]
Urban Panel	Shack dwellers	%	32.39	22.51	20.14	9.289		61.28	51.04
		CI	[27.61,37.58]	[18.19,27.51]	[14.69,26.97]	[6.02,14.07]		[55.06,67.15]	[43.88,58.16]
	Peri urban	%	25.38	19.22	14.65	13.41		45.75	38.2
		CI	[21.75,29.39]	[16.19,22.67]	[11.73,18.15]	[10.58,16.86]		[42.16,49.39]	[33.98,42.61]

Source: Community Survet 2016; NIDS-CRAM W1 and W2; 90% confidence intervals

National (age)

Legend: 15-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65-74, 75+

NIDS:W5 — 18%, 29%, 21%, 14%, 9.7%, 3%, 5%, 3%
NIDS-CRAM:W1 — 16%, 26%, 23%, 15%, 11%, 7%, 3%
NIDS-CRAM:W2 — 16%, 26%, 23%, 15%, 10%, 7%, 3%
CS2016 — 21%, 27%, 20%, 14%, 10%, 6%, 3%

Metros (age)

NIDS:W5 — 17%, 31%, 21%, 14%, 9%, 5%, 3%
NIDS-CRAM:W1 — 13%, 26%, 28%, 15%, 10%, 6%, 3%
NIDS-CRAM:W2 — 13%, 28%, 24%, 15%, 9%, 6%, 4%
CS2016 — 17%, 26%, 23%, 16%, 10%, 6%, 2%, 2%

National (gender)

Legend: Don't know, Male, Female

NIDS:W5 — 0%, 48%, 52%
NIDS-CRAM:W1 — 0%, 47%, 53%
NIDS-CRAM:W2 — 0%, 47%, 53%
CS2016 — 0%, 48%, 52%

Metros (gender)

NIDS:W5 — 0%, 49%, 51%
NIDS-CRAM:W1 — 0%, 46%, 54%
NIDS-CRAM:W2 — 0%, 50%, 51%
CS2016 — 0%, 50%, 51%

National (race)

Legend: Don't know, African, Coloured, Indian, White

NIDS:W5 — 0%, 79%, 9%, 3%, 9%
NIDS-CRAM:W1 — 0%, 78%, 10%, 2%, 10%
NIDS-CRAM:W2 — 0%, 79%, 9%, 2%, 10%
CS2016 — 0%, 78%, 9%, 3%, 10%

Metros (race)

NIDS:W5 — 1%, 67%, 12%, 6%, 15%
NIDS-CRAM:W1 — 0%, 67%, 13%, 5%, 16%
NIDS-CRAM:W2 — 0%, 65%, 12%, 5%, 18%
CS2016 — 0%, 68%, 12%, 5%, 14%

Rural — Age distribution

	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
NIDS:W5	21%	27%	20%	13%	10%	7%	3%
NIDS-CRAM:W1	17%	29%	17%	13%	13%	8%	4%
NIDS-CRAM:W2	17%	29%	20%	14%	12%	7%	3%
CS2016	25%	28%	16%	12%	10%	6%	3%

Cities/towns — Age distribution

	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75+
NIDS:W5	17%	30%	21%	14%	11%	2% / 3%	4.9%
NIDS-CRAM:W1	17%	25%	22%	16%	10%	3%	7%
NIDS-CRAM:W2	17%	23%	23%	16%	11%	3%	7%
CS2016	20%	29%	20%	15%	10%	2%	5%

Legend: 15-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65-74, 75+

Rural — Gender

	Don't know	Male	Female
NIDS:W5	0%	46%	54%
NIDS-CRAM:W1	0%	47%	53%
NIDS-CRAM:W2	0%	45%	55%
CS2016	0%	46%	54%

Cities/towns — Gender

	Don't know	Male	Female
NIDS:W5	0%	50%	50%
NIDS-CRAM:W1	0%	47%	53%
NIDS-CRAM:W2	0%	46%	54%
CS2016	0%	49%	51%

Legend: Don't know, Male, Female

Rural — Race

	Don't know	African	Coloured	Indian	White
NIDS:W5	0%	97%	1%	2%	1%
NIDS-CRAM:W1	0%	94%	3%	1%	3%
NIDS-CRAM:W2	0%	98%	0.3%	0.5%	1%
CS2016	0%	95%	2%	0.2%	3%

Cities/towns — Race

	Don't know	African	Coloured	Indian	White
NIDS:W5	0%	74%	14%	1%	12%
NIDS-CRAM:W1	0%	82%	9%	1%	7%
NIDS-CRAM:W2	0%	79%	12%	1%	8%
CS2016	0%	72%	15%	2%	11%

Legend: Don't know, African, Coloured, Indian, White

For further information please see   **cramsurvey.org**