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The Political and Social Economy of Care:

South Africa Research Report 2

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SOUTH AFRICA:
Analysis of time use data on work/care regimes and macro data on the care diamond

Introduction

This research paper explores the data from the South African time use survey carried out by Statistics South Africa in 2000. The first part of the paper involves a systematic exploration of patterns of time use of males and females in respect of paid work, unpaid care work and care more narrowly defined using a range of different categorisations. The second part of the paper computes a set of macro measures that aim to provide a sense of the size of the different elements of the care diamond.

The 2000 time use survey represented the first time that Statistics South Africa had attempted this type of investigation. The sample size was much smaller than that used for the institution's regular household surveys, but nevertheless substantial when compared with the surveys that are generally done by other institutions in the country. The realised sample for the survey was 8 564 households and 14 553 respondents. The data were weighted so as to be representative of the country's population aged 10 years and above as a whole. The weights adjusted the data in terms of sex, population group, age group and settlement type. The latter categorisation distinguished between formal urban settlements, informal urban settlements, commercial farming areas, and 'other' rural areas. The last-named category largely coincides with the predominately deep rural and underdeveloped areas that made up the apartheid-era 'homelands'. For the purposes of this report, the category is referred to as 'deep rural'.

At the time the time use survey was conducted, Statistics South Africa estimated the country's population at around 44 million, with just under 36 million people aged 10 years and above. Because the sample was relatively small relative to the full population, and given the significant diversity in the country's population, detailed disaggregations of the data are not reliable. The relative sizes of the different sub-groups used for the analysis must thus be borne in mind when considering results.

Defining paid and unpaid work

The various definitions of paid and unpaid work used in this paper are informed by the categories defined by the System of National Accounts (SNA). This international system sets out the rules that countries must use in calculating gross domestic product (GDP). More specifically, the rules state that only those activities that fall within the 'production boundary' of the SNA should be included when calculating GDP. This production boundary includes all production of goods and services for the market, as well as production of goods for own consumption. The boundary thus includes subsistence production, unpaid work in the family business, and even collection of fuel and water. (Few countries, however, include the latter in calculations of GDP.)

The SNA recognises that the production boundary does not cover all forms of work or production. In particular, the boundary excludes unpaid production of services. This work, which includes housework and care of household members and others in the community, constitutes what we term unpaid care work. It is also sometimes referred to as 'extended' SNA work.

The South African time use survey utilised a slightly adapted version of the UN trial classification for time use surveys. This classification has ten one-digit categories, three of which correspond to SNA work, three of which correspond to extended SNA work (or unpaid care work), and four of which correspond to non-work activities.

Appendix 1 lists the ten broad categories of the classification, while Appendix 2 provides the full list of activity codes used in the South African time use survey. The broad categories making up SNA work are (a) employment for establishments, which more or less corresponds to formal sector work; (b) primary production activities not for establishments, which includes subsistence production as well as collection of fuel and water; and (c) services for income and other production of goods not for establishments, which more or less corresponds to non-agricultural informal sector work. The categories making up unpaid care work are (a) household maintenance, management and shopping for own household; (b) care for children, the sick, elderly and disabled for own household; and (c) community services and help to other households.

Description of the survey population

A standard set of disaggregations were used to explore patterns in time use among different groups, namely population group, age group, marital status, relationship to children, employment status, settlement type, personal and household income level, and household composition. All of these are cross-tabulated by sex, given the importance of gender in shaping time use. (Overall, 53% of the weighted sample was female, in line with the overall pattern for this age group in the population.) This first sub-section describes the distribution of the survey population in terms of each of these disaggregations. It points out, in particular, which groupings are probably too small to provide reliable results.

Table 1 shows the distribution by population group and sex. Population group reflects the racial categories used in the apartheid era for classifying the population and thus determining relative advantage. The categories are listed from most disadvantaged to most advantaged in terms of apartheid. The 'coloured' group includes those of mixed-race origin as well as descendants of slaves brought by the Dutch from Indonesia and Malaysia in previous centuries. Africans dominate, at over three-quarters of the population and whole-population statistics thus usually mirror the African patterns to a large extent. The Indian group is too small to produce very reliable results. As expected, the distributions for male and female are very similar.

Table 1 Distribution of sample by population group and sex

	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Total
Male	76%	9%	3%	12%	100%
Female	76%	10%	3%	11%	100%
Total	76%	9%	3%	12%	100%

In Table 2 three age groups are used, representing children (10-17 years), the primary reproductive and productive years (18-49 years) and the ones in which having young children is most likely, and those who are older (50 years and above). For the purposes of this report, these groups are referred to as children, younger adults and older adults. The middle group accounts for more than half of the weighted sample. The other two groups should also be large enough to produce relatively reliable results. The distributions across male and female are similar, but with more women in the older age group reflecting greater longevity.

Table 2 Distribution of sample by age group and sex

	10-17	18-49	50+	Total
Male	29%	56%	15%	100%
Female	26%	56%	18%	100%
Total	27%	56%	16%	100%

In South Africa, the grouping that contains women aged 60 and above and men aged 65 and above is important because they qualify for the state old age pension if they pass the means test, which a large proportion do. This group accounts for 10% of all males and 18% of all females and will be used for further tabulations where considered relevant.

Table 3 looks at marital status. For the tables that followed, the three groupings are, for the purposes of simplicity, termed "single", "married", "'widowed" and "divorced". In reality, the categories are slightly more complex than this in that the married group includes those living together "as husband and wife" even if not formally married, while the divorced categories include those who are separated from partners. The "single" group covers those who have never been married i.e. who are not living together with a partner and have not been separated from, or widowed by, one.

Table 3 reveals that over half of the sample population has never been married. In this respect South Africa differs from many other countries. More restricted tabulations reveal that even if we exclude those under 20 or 30 years, 39% and 20% respectively have never been married. The married group, at around a third of the sample population, should also produce reliable results, but this is not the case for the much smaller widowed and divorced (or separated) groupings. The distributions for male and female are relatively similar. Females are, however, less likely than males to be never married and more likely to be widowed or divorced. These patterns partly reflect the different age compositions.

Table 3 Distribution of sample by marital status and sex

	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Total
Male	61%	35%	1%	2%	100%
Female	56%	32%	8%	4%	100%
Total	58%	33%	5%	3%	100%

Status in respect of children is measured in terms of both the age of the children, and whether the children live with the individual. Thus the first category ('7-18 alive') reflects individuals who have at least one biological child aged between 7 and 18 years, but none of these children live with them. The second category ('7-18 with') reflects those who have at least one biological child aged 7-18 years living with them. The third and fourth categories are similar, but defined in relation to children under seven years, which corresponds more or less to the pre-school age in South Africa and is also the age when children generally need greater care.

Table 4 shows that close on two-thirds of respondents claimed to have no biological children. This figure seems low, and examination of the data show that 12% were not asked the questions relating to children. This 12% were therefore classified, for lack of data, as not having children. Results for this group must be treated with some caution as the group might include some who did have children. However, two-thirds of these people lived in households which contained no children. The overwhelming majority (86%) of the remainder were never married, which might have been the reason for the fieldworker not asking this question. This leaves only 1% of those who were ever married and living in households with at least one child without a response to this question.

Lack of children was more common among men than women, reflecting in part the men who might impregnate women but not take further interest in the children produced. The grouping of individuals with children aged under seven years living with them should produce relatively reliable results as might, to a lesser extent, those with children aged under 18 living with them. The other two groups are too small to be reliable. The fact that the two groups comprising those with children who are all living elsewhere between them account for 8% of the sample population, and 22% of those claiming children, nevertheless reveals the extent to which children and parents are separated in the country. Also noteworthy is that 30% (35% male and 21% female) of those claiming children have never been married.

Table 4 Distribution of sample by childed status and sex

	No children	7-18 alive	7-18 with	<7 alive	<7 with	Total
Male	68%	4%	9%	6%	13%	100%
Female	58%	3%	13%	3%	23%	100%
Total	63%	4%	11%	4%	18%	100%

Table 5 utilises the standard labour force categories of employed (i.e. having done SNA-type work in the last seven days), unemployed (i.e. not having done SNA-type work, but having actively sought work), and not economically active (NEA i.e. not having done SNA-type work and not having actively sought it. The distribution can nevertheless be

expected to differ from those found in standard labour force statistics for South Africa because of the inclusion of children from age ten years. Just over two-fifths of the sample is employed, with half of the males in this situation compared to 37% of females. This gender pattern is balanced by the NEA group, where over half of the females are NEA compared to 43% of the males. The unemployed group is probably too small to produce very reliable results. The relatively small proportion of the sample that is employed accounts for the fact that the survey shows a relatively low average time spent on SNA work (see below).

Table 5 Distribution of sample by work status and sex

	Employed	Unemployed	NEA	Total
Male	50%	7%	43%	100%
Female	37%	8%	55%	100%
Total	43%	7%	49%	100%

Table 6 gives the distribution by settlement type. Close on half the sample population lives in urban formal settings, and over a third in deep rural areas. Results in respect of the other two groups should be treated with caution, but those for urban informal are presented below given the importance of this often poverty-stricken group in policy terms. The fact that women are somewhat more likely than men to be found in deep rural areas reflects the restrictions placed on the movement of African women during the apartheid years. Also to be borne in mind are the strong racial patterns. In particular, 99% of those in deep rural areas, and 97% in urban informal areas, are African.

Table 6 Distribution of sample by settlement type and sex

	Urban formal	Urban informal	Deep rural	Commercial farm	Total
Male	49%	9%	35%	7%	100%
Female	48%	9%	38%	6%	100%
Total	49%	9%	36%	6%	100%

The time use questionnaire asks about personal and household income using income categories. Personal income referred to the income accruing directly to a particular person, whatever the source i.e. it was not restricted to earned income. Responses of zero income were allowed for this question. Household income referred to all money coming into the household. Responses of zero were not allowed here, on the assumption that all households need to have some amount of money to survive. For the purposes of analysis, these two measures have each been collapsed in each case into four groups. Unfortunately, the categories preclude the use of equal-sized groups.

Table 7 has about a third of the sample claiming no cash income at all, while another third records an income of less than R500 per month. Only about one-fifth have an income of R1,000 or more. The reported patterns in respect of male and female is as expected given employment patterns and other factors, with substantially more men than women in the highest income group. R1,000 was in 2000 (and still is) higher than the monthly amount of the old age and disability grants, which are the largest grants, and which from July 2000 stood at R540 per month.

Table 7 Distribution of sample by personal income and sex

	No cash	1-500	501-1000	1000+	Total
Male	33%	30%	14%	24%	100%
Female	34%	36%	15%	15%	100%
Total	33%	33%	15%	19%	100%

Table 8 shows nearly half of respondents living in households with incomes below R800. This is the level that is meant to be used by many municipalities for distinguishing 'indigent' from other households for the purposes of subsidy in respect of water and electricity. The remaining respondents are more or less evenly divided in the two categories R800-R1,799 per month, and R1800 and above. The patterns for male and female are more similar than for personal income, but there is as before a tendency for men to live in better-off households. This reflects, among others, the higher female proportion in the population in the poverty-stricken deep rural areas.

Table 8 Distribution of sample by household income and sex

	0-399	400-799	800-1799	1800+	Total
Male	18%	28%	26%	28%	100%
Female	18%	31%	26%	25%	100%
Total	18%	30%	26%	27%	100%

The final disaggregation investigated is based on household composition. Three age group categories of household members are defined – children (under 18 years), 'adults' (19-49 years) and 'older' (50 years and above). Each of the columns reflects a different combination of these three categories. For example, if a household contains at least one member from each of the categories, it is 'Ch+Ad+Old', whereas if it has no member in the adult category but at least one member in each of the other categories, it is 'Ch+Old'. These three categories between them yield seven possible different combinations. The number of respondents reporting that they live in a household consisting only of children is, however, so small that it is not worth reporting on.

Table 9 shows that among the remaining households, those with children and adults are most common, followed by those consisting of all three 'generations'. The households consisting only of older people or only of children and older people are probably too few