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Income Poverty at Small Area Level in South Africa in 2011

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1. Introduction

This report presents a diagnostic analysis of income poverty at small area level across South Africa utilising an analysis of income poverty at ward level using data derived from Statistic South Africa's Census 2011.

2. Background

This report complements a report on multiple deprivation also based on the Census 2011 (Noble et al., 2013). In that report deprivation was conceptualised as a lack of material possessions, social and human capital, decent housing and associated services. Poverty on the other hand can be regarded as the lack of resources to obtain such items or services of which people are deprived (Townsend, 1987). So, in addition to examining multiple deprivation at small area level it is also useful to look at income poverty.

Despite attempts by government to introduce an official income poverty line, no such poverty line has so far been adopted. Indeed, arguments have been made that a realistic poverty line must take into account the resources required for an “acceptable standard of living”. Such a poverty line would require at the very least consideration of a consensual measure of poverty (e.g. Wright and Noble, 2013) as well as detailed further work using the “minimum income standards approach” (see e.g. Hirsch, 2013).

A number of income poverty lines have been used by analysts in South Africa over the years. A common one which has been used extensively¹ is based on work undertaken by Hoogeveen and Özler (2006). They propose two poverty lines - a “lower bound” poverty line and an “upper bound” poverty line.

Notwithstanding our overriding commitment to relative poverty measures which measure the extent to which people's resources fall below those required for an acceptable standard of living, the Hoogeveen and Özler poverty lines are utilised for the analyses in this paper. Inflating Hoogeveen and Özler's lines to 2011 prices using the published CPI results in two per capita poverty lines - a lower bound poverty line of R604 per capita per month and an upper bound poverty line of R1113 per capita per month.

¹ See, for example, Leibbrandt et al. (2010).

3. Methodology

Almost all analyses of income poverty are undertaken using survey data to produce national/provincial measures of poverty or, occasionally, to produce measures of poverty relating to particular subgroups such as population groups or gender. Spatial analysis below province level is rare and is usually limited to distinctions between particular area types such as urban/rural (Leibbrandt et. al., 2010) or using simulated income (Alderman et. al., 2003). In this analysis we present measures at different spatial scales with a focus on the electoral ward.

The poverty measures used are usually expressed in terms of the headcount ratio (p_0) which can be thought of as the proportion of the population in poverty. In addition poverty gap measures (p_1 and p_2) are usually given. In this analysis the intention is to produce the equivalent of a poverty headcount ratio at ward level. Put another way, the resultant measure will describe the proportion of the population in a ward who are below either the lower bound or the upper bound poverty line.

In order to produce a ward level measure it is necessary to derive information from the 2011 census as no survey source is reliable for such small areas. Achieving this measure utilising census data obtained using Superstar requires a number of complex data manipulations. In brief, the banded household income (which is itself a derived variable being the aggregate of individual banded income) needs to be translated into point income and a per capita income created. This can then be compared to each of the poverty lines and proportions of individuals falling below the lines for each ward computed. Necessarily there is some loss of information when the banded income is translated into point income. To do this the same procedure that Stats SA used when creating the banded household income from banded individual income is utilised. Basically, the logarithmic mean of the band was employed to specify the particular point income value for the band.

Although the primary measures developed were at ward level, the same methodology was used to create province level, district municipality level and local municipality level results.

4. Results

National and Provincial level

Using the methodology detailed above, the poverty headcount ratios for South Africa as a whole in 2011 are, for the lower bound line 0.56 and for the upper bound line 0.65. It is notoriously difficult to compare poverty rates from different studies in South Africa as they typically use different poverty lines, different data sources and, different concepts of income. However these national figures compare reasonably well with the figures generated from the first wave of NIDS (see Argent *et al.*, 2009 and Leibbrandt *et al.*, 2010).

The following table presents the poverty rates calculated using the same methodology for the nine provinces.

Table 1: National and Provincial Poverty Rates derived from Census 2011 using two poverty lines derived from Hoogeveen and Özler (2006)

Province	Lower Bound (R604)	Upper bound (R1113)
Western Cape	40.1	51.6
Eastern Cape	69.0	76.9
Northern Cape	54.7	66.0
Free State	58.9	68.9
KwaZulu-Natal	62.7	71.1
North West	58.7	67.7
Gauteng	40.7	49.0
Mpumalanga	60.2	69.6
Limpopo	70.3	78.2
All South Africa	55.7	64.6

From this table it is clear that income poverty in provinces containing former homelands such as Limpopo, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal have the highest provincial poverty rates, well above the national rates (whichever poverty line is used). On the other hand the poverty rates in the Western Cape and Gauteng are the lowest – much lower than the South Africa average.

District and Local Municipality Rates

We now present results at both district and local municipality levels. Because metropolitan authorities (Metros) are neither local nor district municipalities a decision has to be taken as to how to deal with them. In terms of Statistics SA's typologies and outputs they are often included in both classifications. However, given their population size we have decided to include them with the district municipality analyses but exclude them from the local municipality analyses.

District Municipalities (including Metros)

There are 52 district municipalities (including Metros). The following two tables present respectively the 10 district municipalities/Metros with the highest lower bound poverty rates and those with the lowest lower bound poverty rates. There are no Metros amongst the district municipalities/Metros with the highest poverty rates. In fact, the poorest district municipalities all contain significant proportions of former homeland areas. As can be seen the lower bound poverty rates all exceed 70%. Five are in KwaZulu-Natal, four are in the Eastern Cape and one is in Limpopo.

Table 2: The 10 district municipalities/Metros with the highest lower bound poverty rates in 2011

Province	District Code	District Name	% of population below Lower Bound Poverty Line	Rank (Where 1=area with highest lower bound poverty rates and 52 = area with lowest lower bound poverty rates)
Eastern Cape	DC44	Alfred Nzo	81.6	1
Eastern Cape	DC15	O.R.Tambo	80.5	2
KwaZulu-Natal	DC27	Umkhanyakude	80.1	3
KwaZulu-Natal	DC24	Umzinyathi	78.7	4
KwaZulu-Natal	DC26	Zululand	77.6	5
KwaZulu-Natal	DC43	Sisonke	76.3	6
Eastern Cape	DC12	Amathole	75.6	7
Limpopo	DC47	Greater Sekhukhune	74.7	8
KwaZulu-Natal	DC23	Uthukela	74.0	9
Eastern Cape	DC14	Joe Gqabi	73.4	10

On the other hand four of the district municipalities/Metros with the lowest lower bound poverty rates are Metros. Five of the district municipalities/Metros are in the Western Cape and four are in Gauteng.

Table 3: The 10 district municipalities/Metros with the lowest lower bound poverty rates

Province	District Code	District Name	% of population below Lower Bound Poverty Line	Rank (Where 1=area with highest lower bound poverty rates and 52 = area with lowest lower bound poverty rates)
Western Cape	DC4	Eden	46.4	43
Northern Cape	DC6	Namakwa	44.8	44
Gauteng	DC48	West Rand	43.6	45
Gauteng	EKU	Ekurhuleni	43.0	46
Western Cape	DC2	Cape Winelands	41.0	47
Western Cape	DC3	Overberg	40.9	48
Western Cape	CPT	City of Cape Town	39.0	49
Gauteng	JHB	City of Johannesburg	38.8	50
Gauteng	TSH	City of Tshwane	37.2	51
Western Cape	DC1	West Coast	36.8	52

Local Municipalities (excluding Metros)

There are 226 local municipalities (excluding Metros). The following two tables present the local municipalities in the poorest *decile* and the local municipalities in the least poor *decile* respectively using the lower bound poverty line. Each table therefore contains 22 local municipalities.

As with the district municipalities, the local municipalities with the highest rates of lower bound poverty all contain significant proportions of former homelands. Eleven of the municipalities are in KwaZulu-Natal, eight are in the Eastern Cape, two in Limpopo and one in the North West. All have lower bound poverty rates in excess of 80% with the poorest – Port St Johns – having a lower bound poverty rate of nearly 87%.

Table 4: The 10 per cent of Local Municipalities in South Africa with the highest lower bound poverty rates

Province	Local Municipality Code	Local Municipality Name	% of population below Lower Bound Poverty Line	Rank (Where 1=area with highest lower bound poverty rates and 226 = area with lowest lower bound poverty rates)
Eastern Cape	291	Port St Johns	86.7	1
Eastern Cape	298	Ntabankulu	86.3	2
KwaZulu-Natal	569	Indaka	86.2	3
KwaZulu-Natal	576	Msinga	85.5	4
KwaZulu-Natal	575	Nqutu	84.7	5
Eastern Cape	290	Ngquza Hill	84.3	6
Eastern Cape	297	Mbizana	84.2	7
Eastern Cape	292	Nyandeni	84.2	8
KwaZulu-Natal	582	Umhlabuyalingana	82.9	9
North West	665	Ratlou	82.6	10
KwaZulu-Natal	580	Nongoma	82.4	11
KwaZulu-Natal	583	Jozini	82.3	12
Eastern Cape	284	Engcobo	82.3	13
KwaZulu-Natal	546	Maphumulo	82.1	14
KwaZulu-Natal	588	Ntambanana	81.9	15
KwaZulu-Natal	598	Umzimkhulu	81.7	16
Eastern Cape	293	Mhlontlo	81.7	17
Eastern Cape	270	Mbhashe	81.5	18
Limpopo	985	Makhuduthamaga	81.5	19
KwaZulu-Natal	542	Nkandla	81.4	20
Limpopo	969	Blouberg	81.4	21
KwaZulu-Natal	585	Hlabisa	81.1	22
KwaZulu-Natal	573	Imbabazane	81.0	23

If we consider the decile of local municipalities with the lowest 'lower bound' poverty rates, we find that 13 of the 22 municipalities are in the Western Cape, three in the Northern Cape, two each in Gauteng and Mpumalanga, one in Limpopo and one in the North West. There are no local municipalities from the Eastern Cape, Free State or KwaZulu-Natal in the least poor decile.

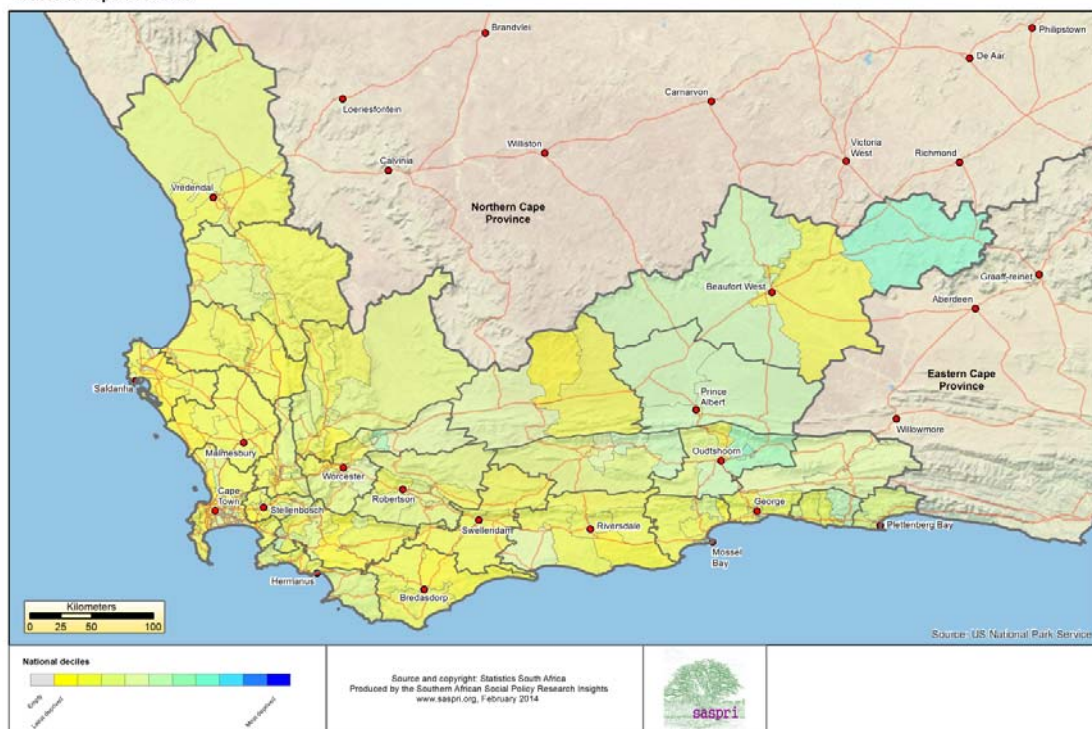
Table 5: The 10 per cent of Local Municipalities in South Africa with the lowest lower bound poverty rates

Province	Local Municipality Code	Local Municipality Name	% of population below Lower Bound Poverty Line	Rank (Where 1=area with highest lower bound poverty rates and 226 = area with lowest lower bound poverty rates)
Gauteng	763	Mogale City	42.1	204
Western Cape	168	Breede Valley	41.9	205
Northern Cape	368	Khâi-Ma	41.5	206
Western Cape	172	Overstrand	41.2	207
Gauteng	764	Randfontein	40.7	208
Western Cape	167	Stellenbosch	40.5	209
Western Cape	165	Witzenberg	40.2	210
Western Cape	170	Swellendam	40.1	211
Western Cape	160	Matzikama	39.8	212
Western Cape	161	Cederberg	39.7	213
North West	662	Rustenburg	39.5	214
Western Cape	166	Drakenstein	39.1	215
Mpumalanga	868	Emalahleni	39.0	216
Gauteng	761	Midvaal	38.4	217
Western Cape	175	Hessequa	37.7	218
Mpumalanga	869	Steve Tshwete	36.9	219
Western Cape	163	Saldanha Bay	36.8	220
Northern Cape	362	Gamagara	36.5	221
Western Cape	164	Swartland	36.5	222
Limpopo	977	Thabazimbi	36.2	223
Northern Cape	363	Richtersveld	36.0	224
Western Cape	173	Cape Agulhas	35.4	225
Western Cape	162	Bergrivier	31.6	226

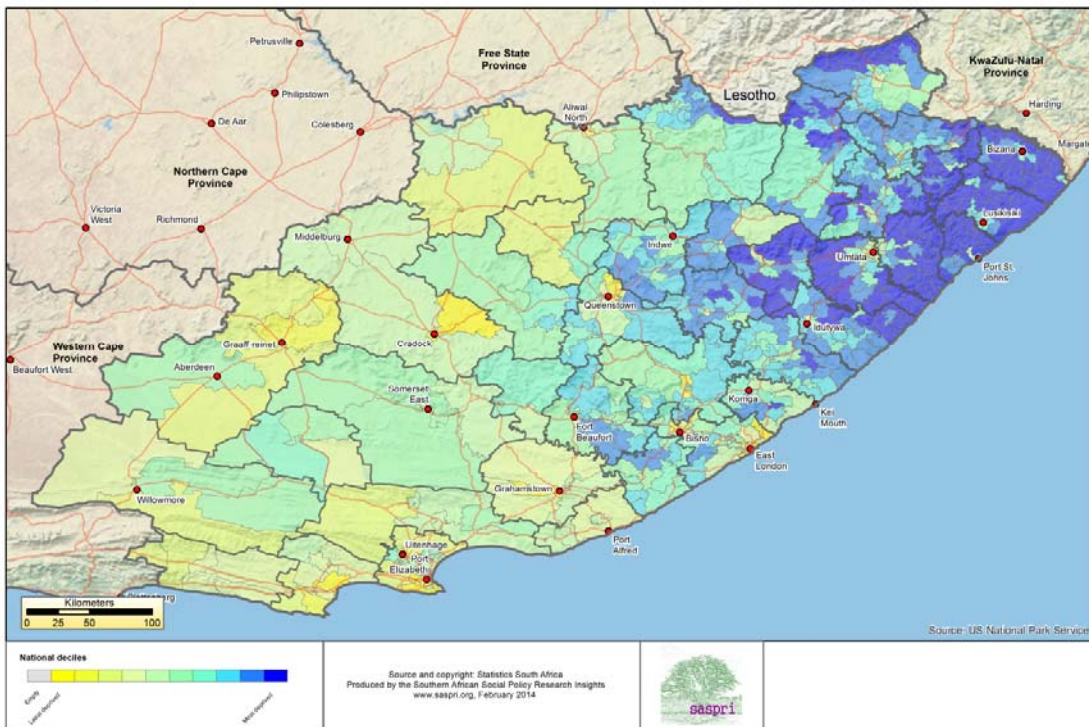
Ward level Results

The following maps show the distribution at provincial level for the lower bound poverty line. Maps for the upper bound poverty line are contained in Appendix 1. For both sets of maps, all the wards in the country are divided into 10 equal groups (deciles) and mapped. The wards in the decile with the highest poverty rates are shaded deep blue whilst the wards in the decile with the lowest poverty rates shaded bright yellow with a gradation in between as shown in the maps' legends.

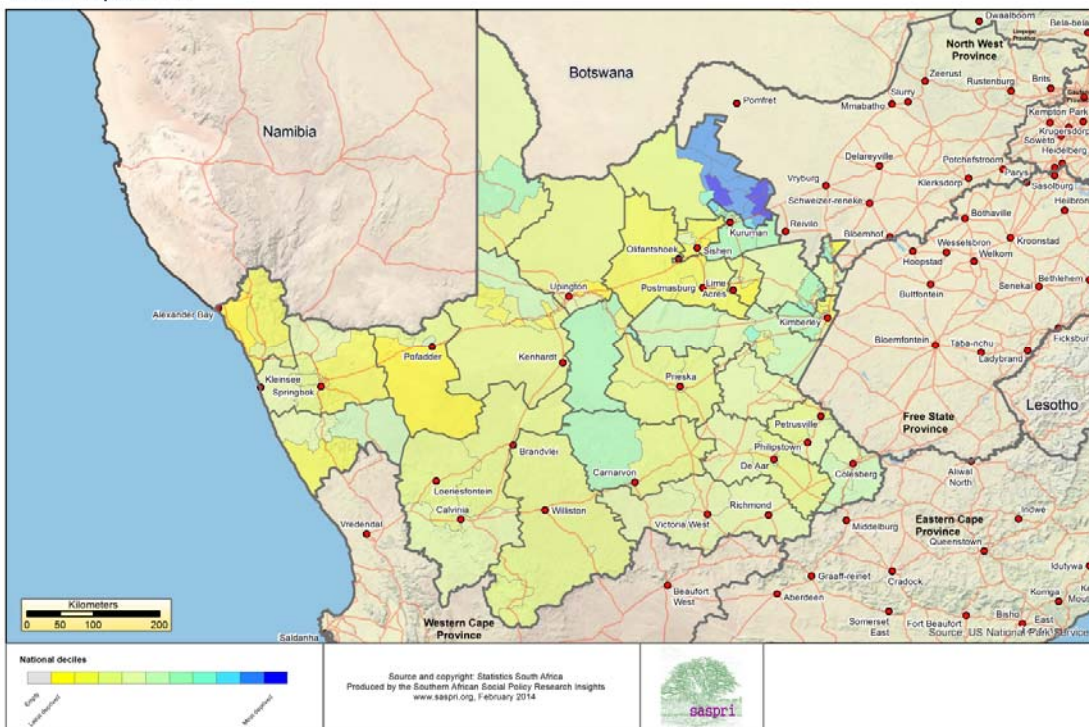
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R604 per capita pcm)
Western Cape Province



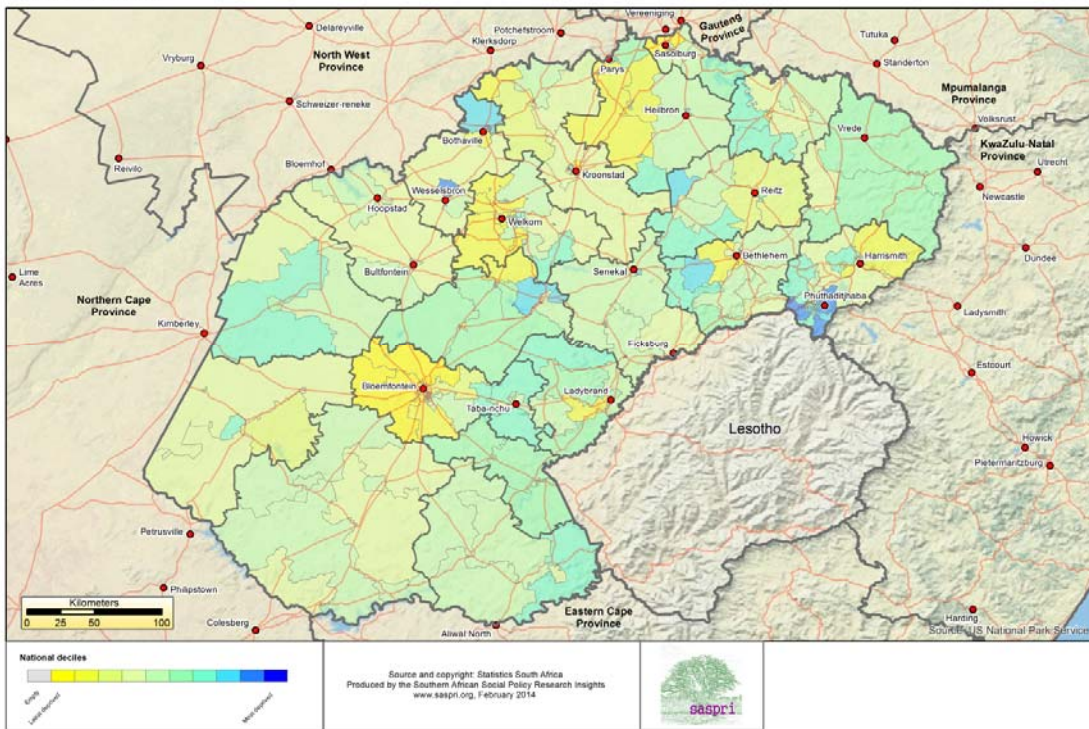
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R604 per capita pcm)
Eastern Cape Province



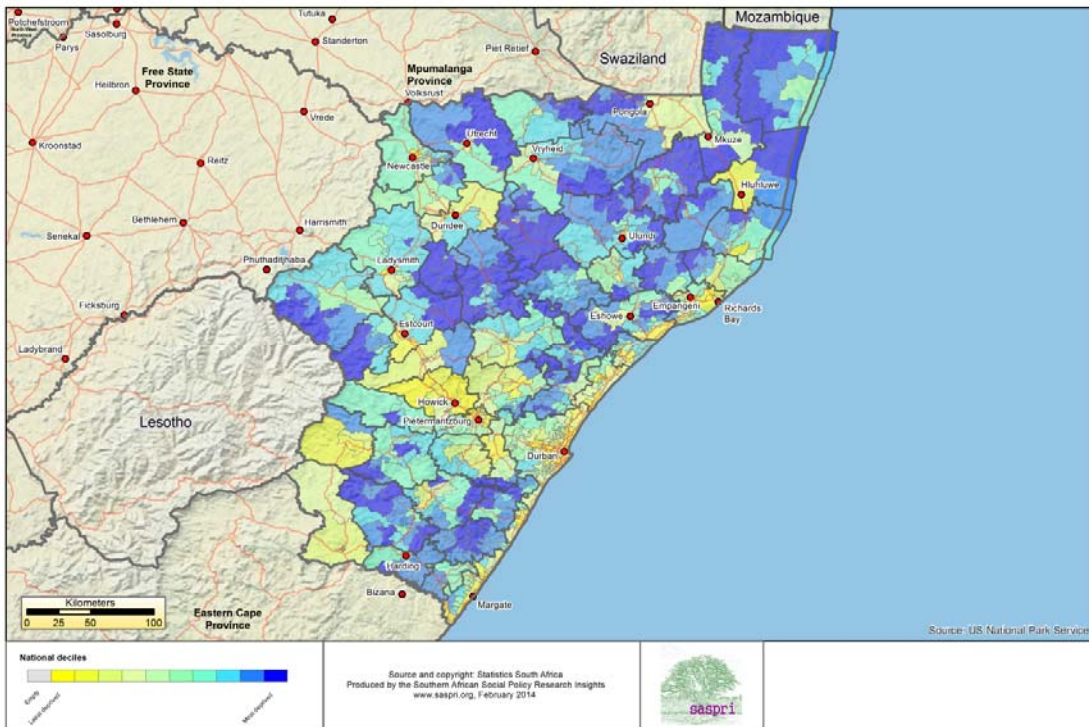
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R604 per capita pcm)
Northern Cape Province



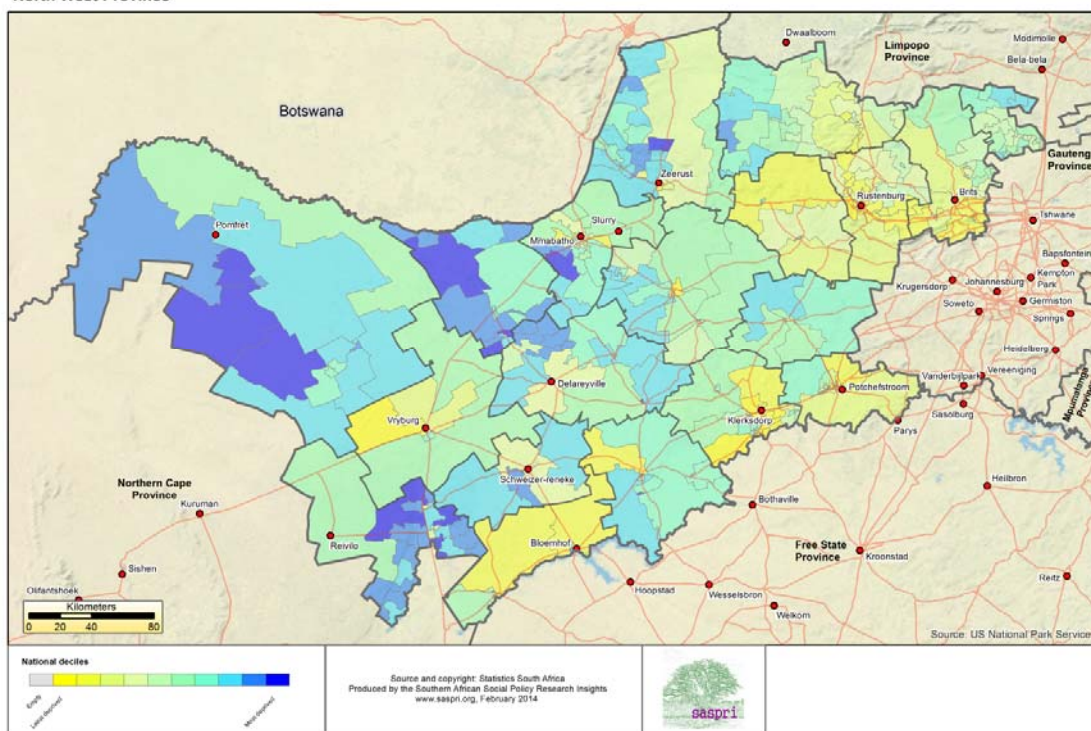
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R604 per capita pcm)
Free State Province



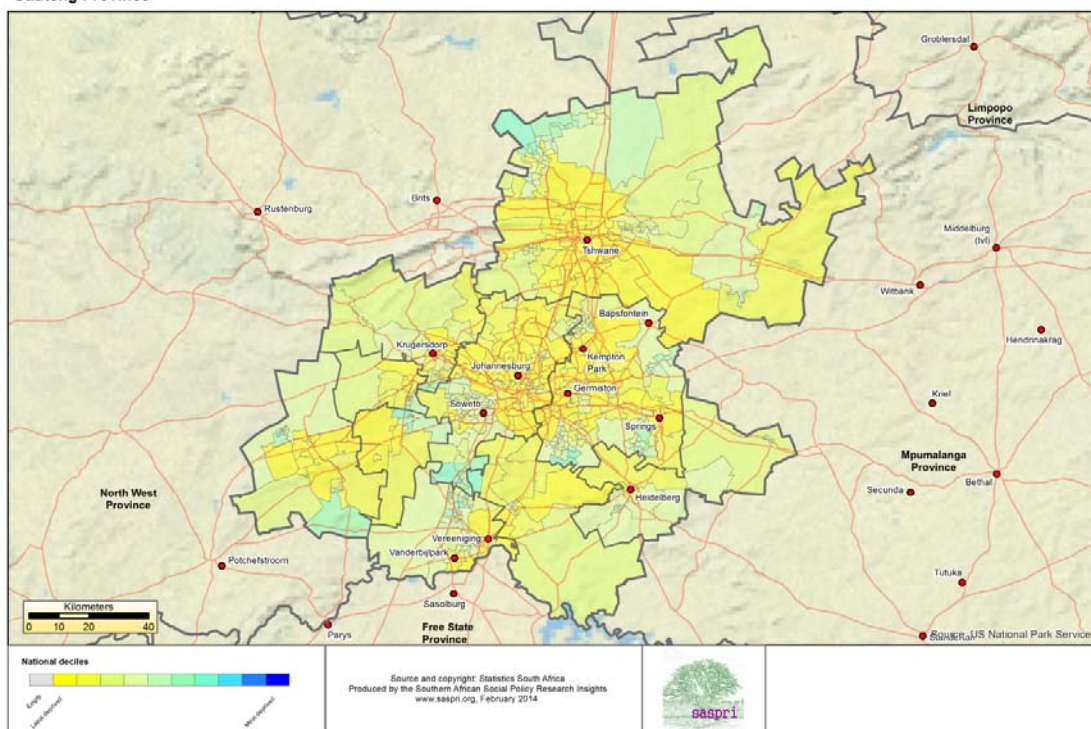
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R604 per capita pcm)
KwaZulu-Natal Province



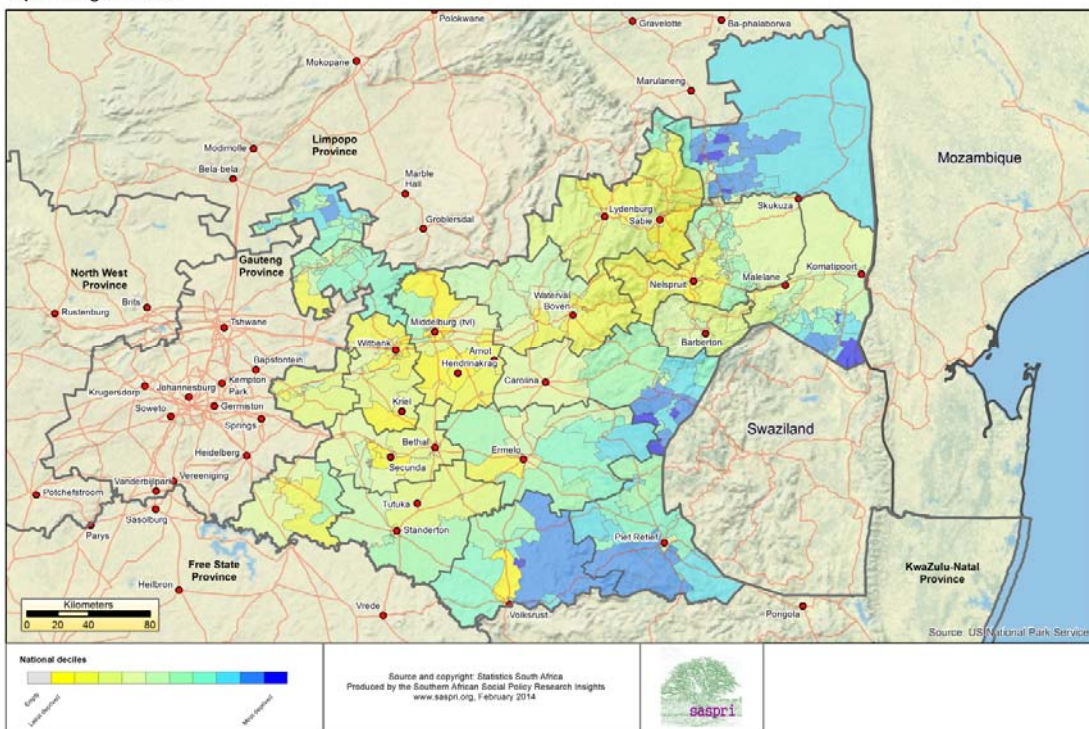
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R604 per capita pcm)
North West Province



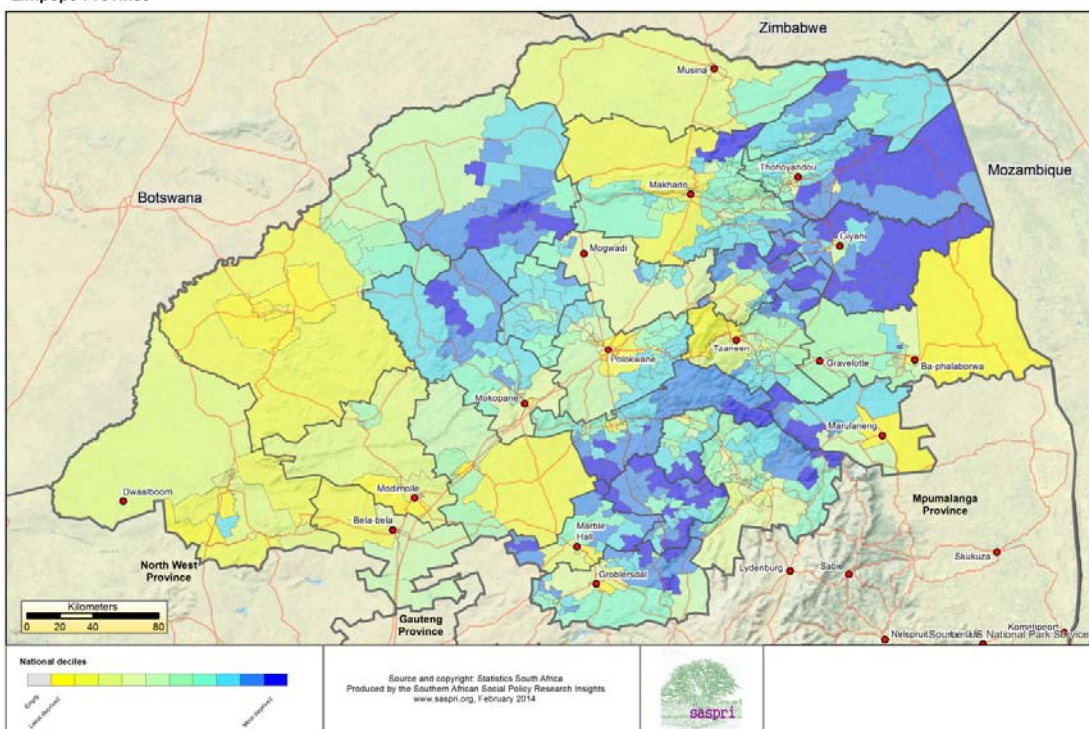
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R604 per capita pcm)
Gauteng Province



Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R604 per capita pcm)
Mpumalanga Province



Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R604 per capita pcm)
Limpopo Province



The maps serve to confirm one of the key findings of this report – that income poverty (like multiple deprivation) is concentrated in the former homelands. Looking at the maps of the provinces which have former homelands within them such as the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu -Natal and Limpopo, it is clear that the deeper blue areas coincide with the former homelands areas. In the next section of this report we will explore this in more detail.

The mapped data can also be presented in tabular form. All the wards in the country are divided into 10 equal groups or deciles according to their lower bound poverty rates. Decile 10 is the decile of wards with the highest lower bound poverty rates and decile 1 is the decile of wards with the lowest lower bound poverty rates. The following table shows the percentage of each province's wards that are within each decile

From this table it is clear that neither the Western Cape nor Gauteng have any wards in deciles 8, 9 or 10. On the other hand both the Eastern Cape and Limpopo have nearly 52% of their wards in these three deciles. KwaZulu-Natal is not far behind with just over 47% in these deciles.

Table 6: Percentage of a province's wards in each decile of the national distribution - lower bound poverty rates

	Deciles										N
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Western Cape	20.2	31.8	20.4	8.8	11.9	5.4	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	387
Eastern Cape	3.4	2.9	4.8	6.7	8.0	10.9	11.8	15.0	15.1	21.5	715
Northern Cape	8.3	10.3	20.6	23.2	12.4	10.3	6.7	2.1	3.6	2.6	194
Free State	8.2	7.3	6.3	12.9	20.5	16.4	13.6	9.8	4.7	0.3	317
KwaZulu-Natal	6.8	6.5	5.6	6.0	8.7	8.0	11.0	11.4	16.9	19.2	828
North West	6.3	12.0	9.1	9.1	12.0	14.6	12.0	12.0	8.6	4.2	383
Gauteng	28.6	16.0	19.7	18.7	8.7	5.7	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	507
Mpumalanga	9.0	10.0	10.5	13.4	11.9	13.2	12.2	9.7	7.0	3.2	402
Limpopo	4.2	3.7	5.7	4.8	4.6	9.8	15.3	19.5	17.9	14.6	543

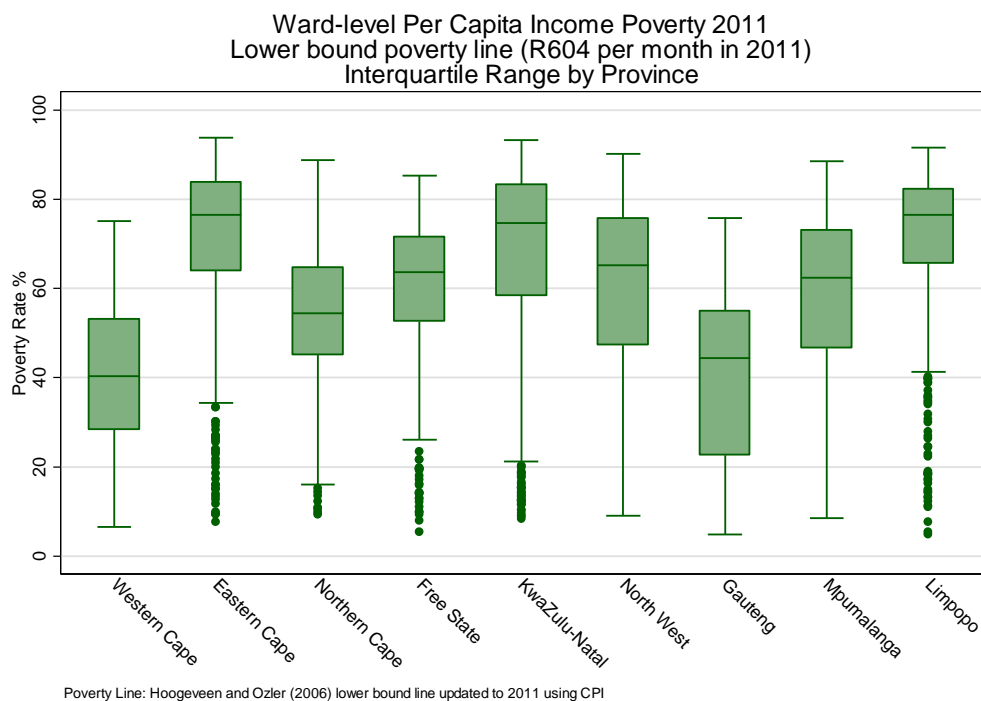
Note: Decile 1 = the 10% of wards with the lowest poverty headcount (using lower bound poverty line)

The next chart further explores the distribution of wards within provinces as regards their rates of poverty (again using the lower bound poverty line). The chart is similar to those presented in our report on the SAIMD 2011 (Noble et al., 2013) and displays as a box plot the interquartile range by province. Unlike those used in the SAIMD report, this plot displays the interquartile range of ward poverty rates rather than ranks. This means

that those provinces where the middle 50% of wards have high poverty rates the box will be towards the top of the chart. A short box represents a concentration of wards within a particular part of the distribution.

Looking at the chart below (**Figure 1**), the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo have interquartile ranges towards the poorest end of the distribution. The interquartile range for Limpopo and (to a lesser extent) the Eastern Cape have a compact interquartile range. In fact the poverty rate for the median ward in Limpopo is higher than in any other province.

Figure 1



To complete the analysis of ward level income poverty we present the 10 poorest wards in the country and the 10 least poor wards in the country, using the lower bound poverty line. The equivalent wards for the upper bound poverty line are contained in Appendix 2.

Table 7 shows that seven of the ten wards in the country with the highest lower bound poverty rates are situated in the Eastern Cape – all in local municipalities which themselves are located within the former Transkei homeland. The other three are in

KwaZulu-Natal also in municipalities mainly within the former KwaZulu homeland. The lower bound poverty rates in these wards are all in excess of 90%.

Table 7: The 10 wards in South Africa with the highest rates of poverty (lower bound)

Province	District Municipality	Local Municipality	Ward Code	Ward Number	Lower Bound Poverty Rate (%)	Rank (Where 1=ward with highest lower bound poverty rates and 4276 = ward with lowest lower bound poverty rates)
Eastern Cape	Alfred Nzo	Mbizana	24403012	12	93.8	1
KwaZulu-Natal	Uthukela	Indaka	52303007	7	93.3	2
Eastern Cape	O.R.Tambo	Nyandeni	21505028	28	92.9	3
Eastern Cape	Alfred Nzo	Ntabankulu	24404001	1	92.8	4
KwaZulu-Natal	Uthukela	Indaka	52303008	8	92.6	5
Eastern Cape	O.R.Tambo	Nyandeni	21505017	17	92.4	6
Eastern Cape	O.R.Tambo	Nyandeni	21505026	26	92.4	7
Eastern Cape	Alfred Nzo	Mbizana	24403028	28	92.3	8
Eastern Cape	O.R.Tambo	Port St Johns	21504011	11	91.9	9
KwaZulu-Natal	Umzinyathi	Msinga	52404018	18	91.9	10

By contrast, seven of the ten wards with the lowest poverty rates (lower bound) in the country are in Gauteng - either in Johannesburg or Tshwane. The poverty rates for these wards are between 5% and 6.5% - far lower than the South Africa average.

Table 8: The 10 wards in South Africa with the lowest rates of poverty (lower bound)

Province	District Municipality	Local Municipality	Ward Code	Ward Number	Lower Bound Poverty Rate (%)	Rank (Where 1=ward with highest lower bound poverty rates and 4276 = ward with lowest lower bound poverty rates)
Gauteng	City of Tshwane	City of Tshwane	79900044	44	6.4	4267
Gauteng	City of Tshwane	City of Tshwane	79900083	83	6.3	4268
Gauteng	City of Tshwane	City of Tshwane	79900078	78	6.0	4269
Gauteng	City of Johannesburg	City of Johannesburg	79800112	112	6.0	4270
Gauteng	City of Johannesburg	City of Johannesburg	79800115	115	5.8	4271
Gauteng	City of Johannesburg	City of Johannesburg	79800094	94	5.6	4272
Limpopo	Waterberg	Thabazimbi	93601006	6	5.5	4273
Free State	Mangaung	Mangaung	49400025	25	5.4	4274
Limpopo	Capricorn	Polokwane	93504021	21	4.9	4275
Gauteng	City of Johannesburg	City of Johannesburg	79800093	93	4.9	4276

As was the case for the SAIMD 2011, it has been a recurring theme of analysis of small area poverty that the poorest wards are in former homeland areas. This next section explores poverty in the former homelands in greater detail.

5. The Former Homelands

Using digitised former homeland boundaries we created a look up table which assigns 2011 wards and fractions thereof to each former homeland as appropriate. This enables us to aggregate data to the former homeland boundaries and so describe poverty within the former homelands.

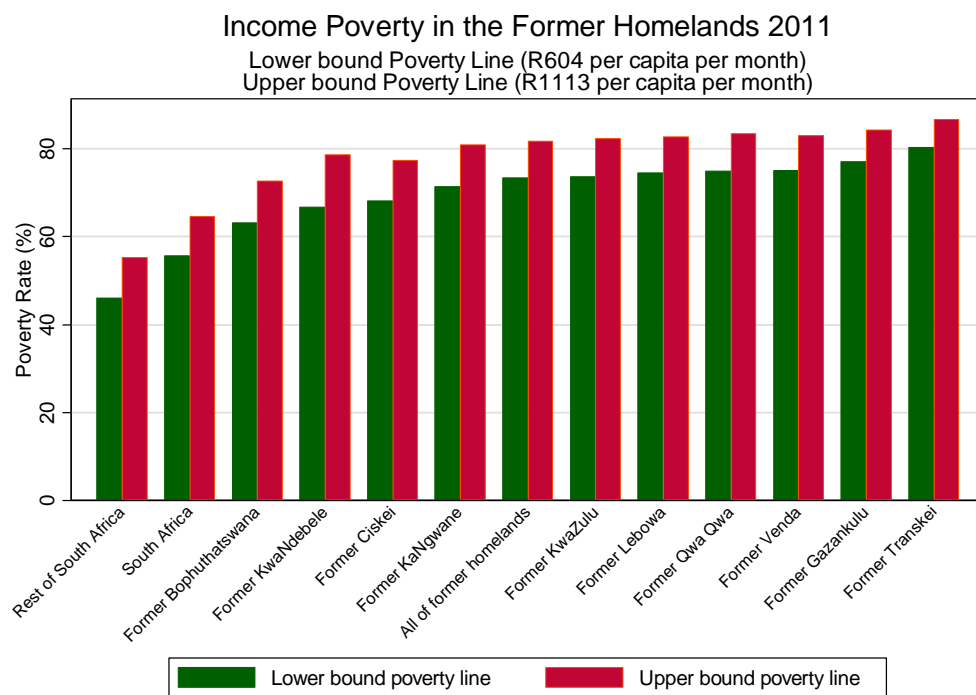
The table below shows the poverty rates for both the lower bound poverty line and the upper bound poverty line for each of the former homeland areas, and, additionally, the combined former homeland average as well as the figure for all of South Africa and that part of South Africa not comprising former homelands which we have termed "the rest of South Africa".

Table 9: Poverty in the former homelands (upper and lower bound poverty lines)

Area	Lower Bound (R604) %	Upper bound (R1113) %
Former Bophuthatswana	63.1	72.7
Former Ciskei	68.0	77.2
Former Gazankulu	77.0	84.2
Former KaNgwane	71.4	80.9
Former KwaNdebele	66.7	78.5
Former KwaZulu	73.6	82.3
Former Lebowa	74.5	82.7
Former Qwa Qwa	74.9	83.4
Former Transkei	80.3	86.6
Former Venda	75.1	82.9
All of former homelands	73.4	81.7
Rest of South Africa	46.0	55.3
South Africa	55.7	64.6

From this table it is clear that using either poverty line the former homelands have much greater rates of poverty than South Africa excluding the former homelands and than South Africa as a whole. Whichever poverty line is used the former Transkei is considerably more deprived than the former homeland average with lower bound poverty rates exceeding 80%. This information is shown graphically on the chart below.

Figure 2



6. Income Poverty and Multiple Deprivation

How is income poverty associated with multiple deprivation? If the maps in this report are compared with those in the report on the South African Index of Multiple Deprivation 2011 (Noble et al., 2013) a strikingly similar picture emerges. However, visual inspection is only part of the picture. The following table presents Spearman rank correlations between the SAIMD 2011 at ward level and both the upper bound and lower bound income poverty lines also at ward level.

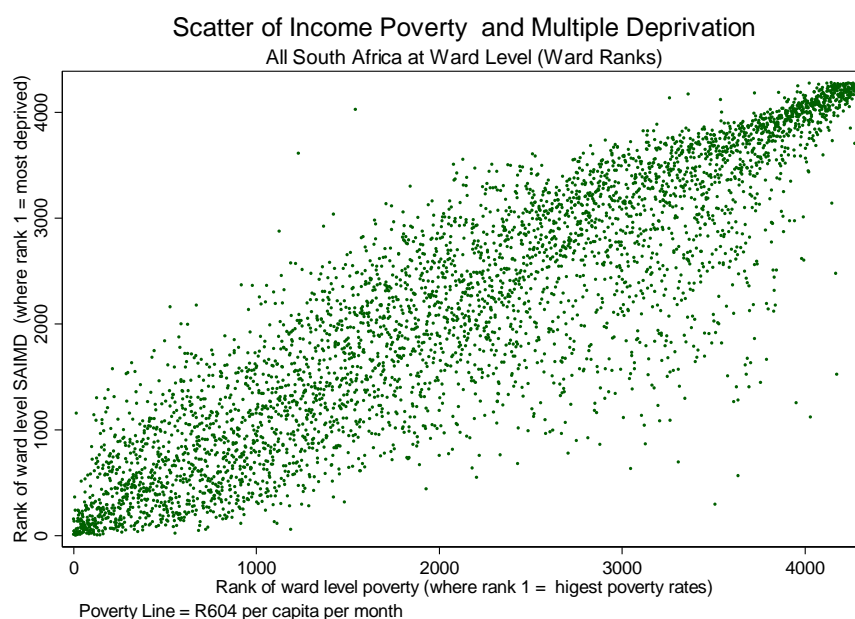
Table 10 Spearman Rank Correlation at Ward Level between SAIMD and Poverty Rates

	SAIMD	Lower Bound Poverty	Upper Bound Poverty
SAIMD 2011	1		
Lower Bound Poverty	0.8944*	1	
Upper Bound Poverty	0.8873*	0.9921*	1

($p < .001$)

As can be seen from the table the upper and lower bound poverty rates are both highly correlated with the SAIMD 2011. This can be seen graphically for the lower bound poverty line in the scatter plot below:

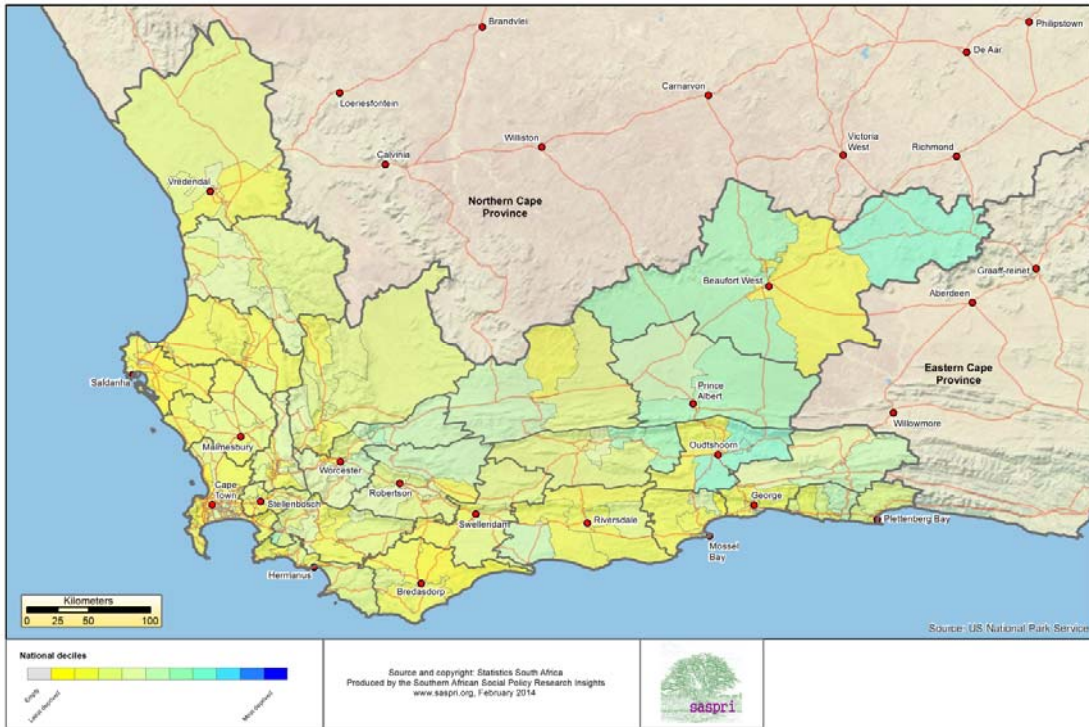
Figure 3



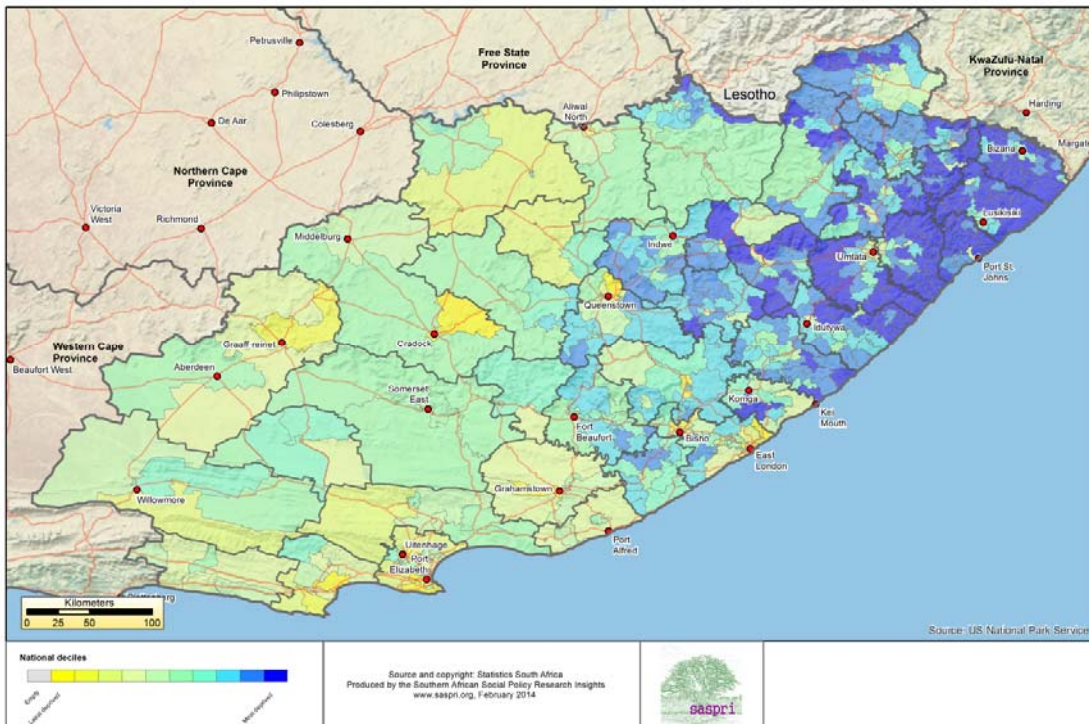
The scatter plot, however, while illustrating the correlation between the measures also illustrates that there are many areas where income poverty is not associated with multiple deprivation and vice versa.

Appendix 1

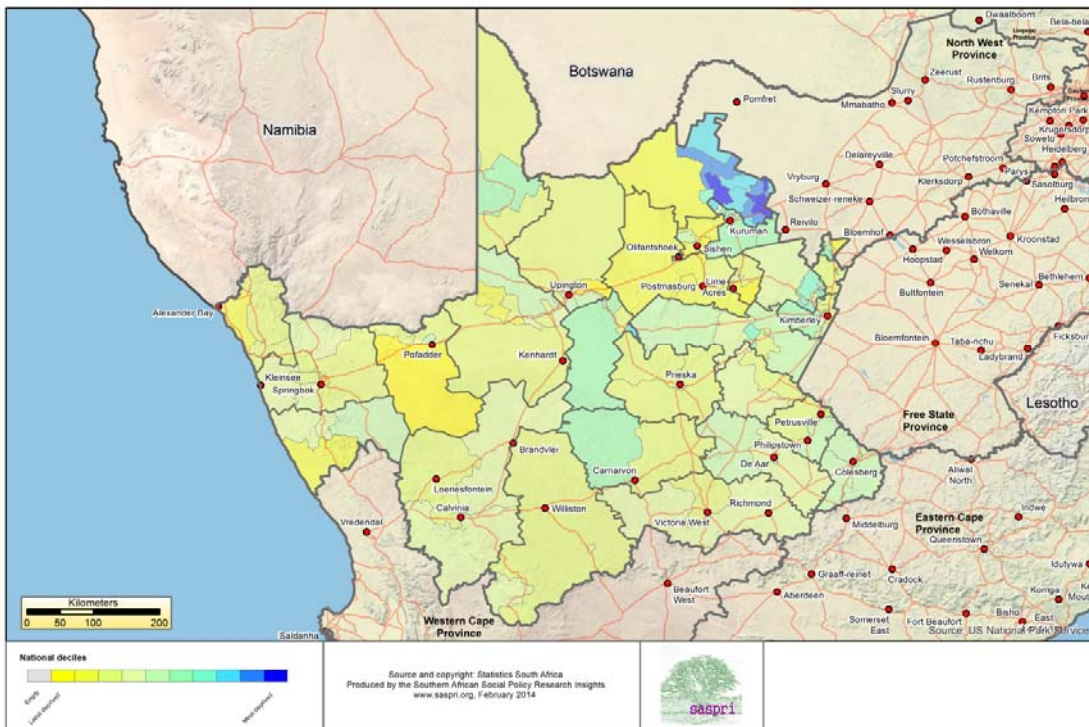
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R1113 per capita pcm)
Western Cape Province



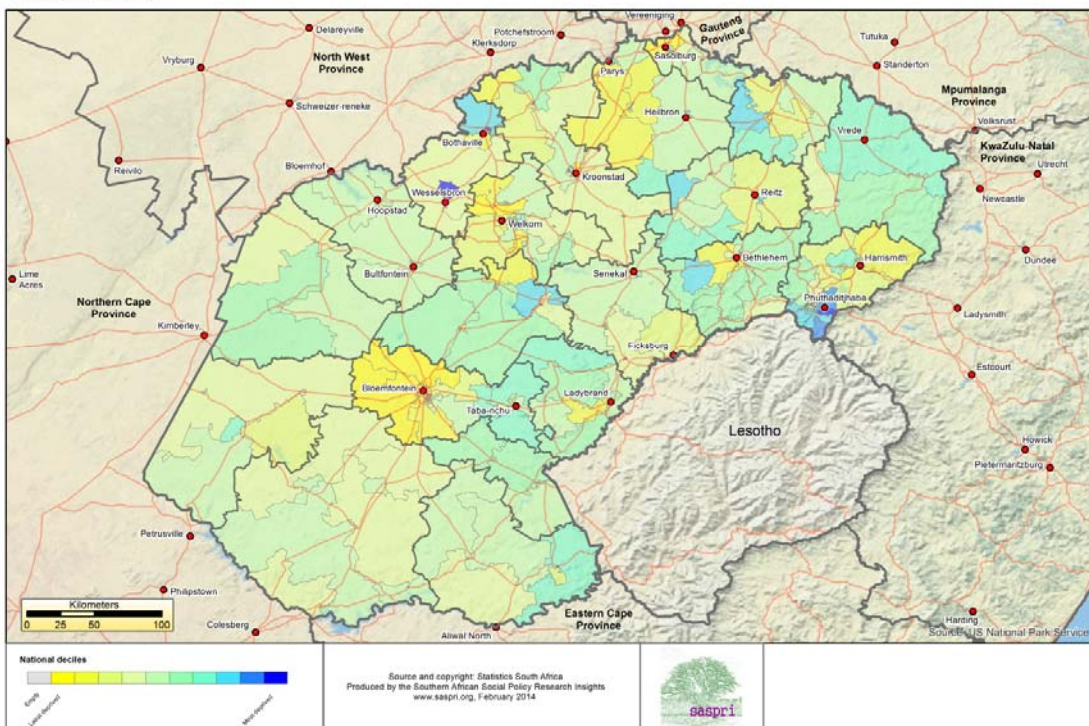
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R1113 per capita pcm)
Eastern Cape Province



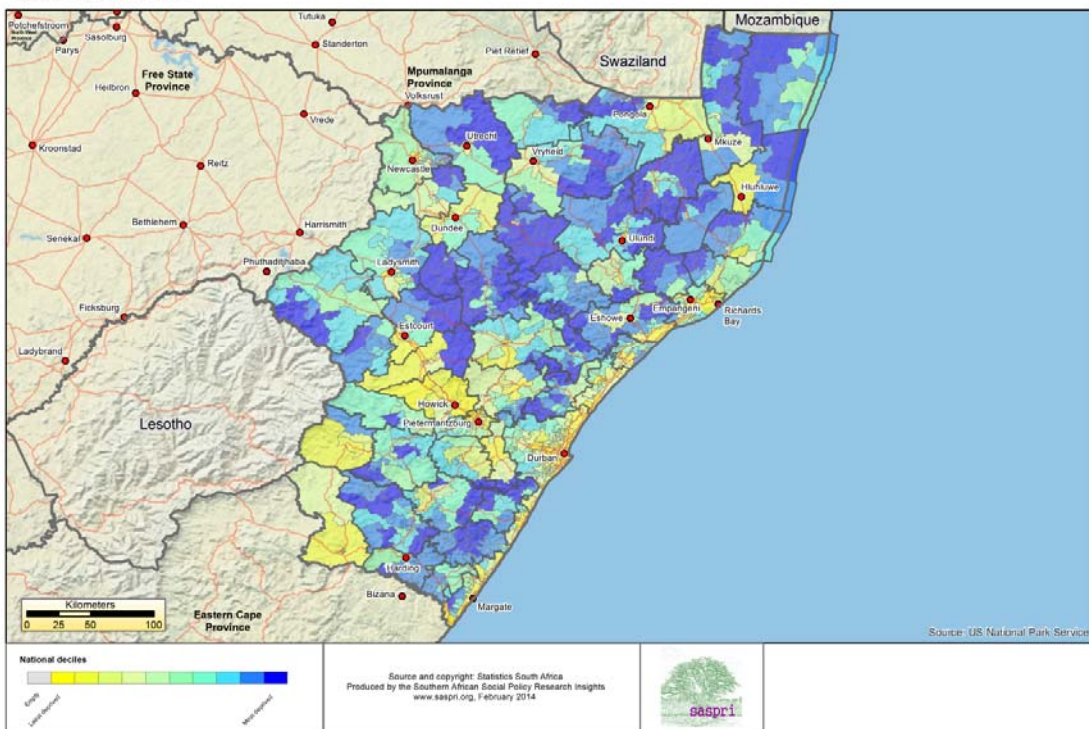
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R1113 per capita pcm)
Northern Cape Province



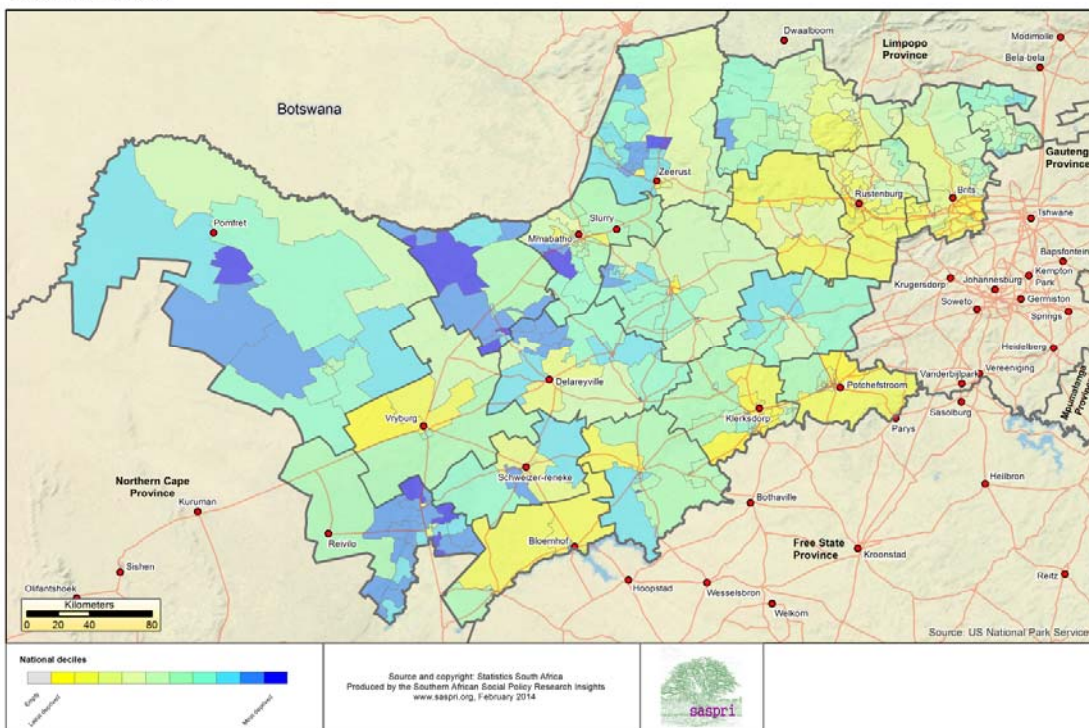
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R1113 per capita pcm)
Free State Province



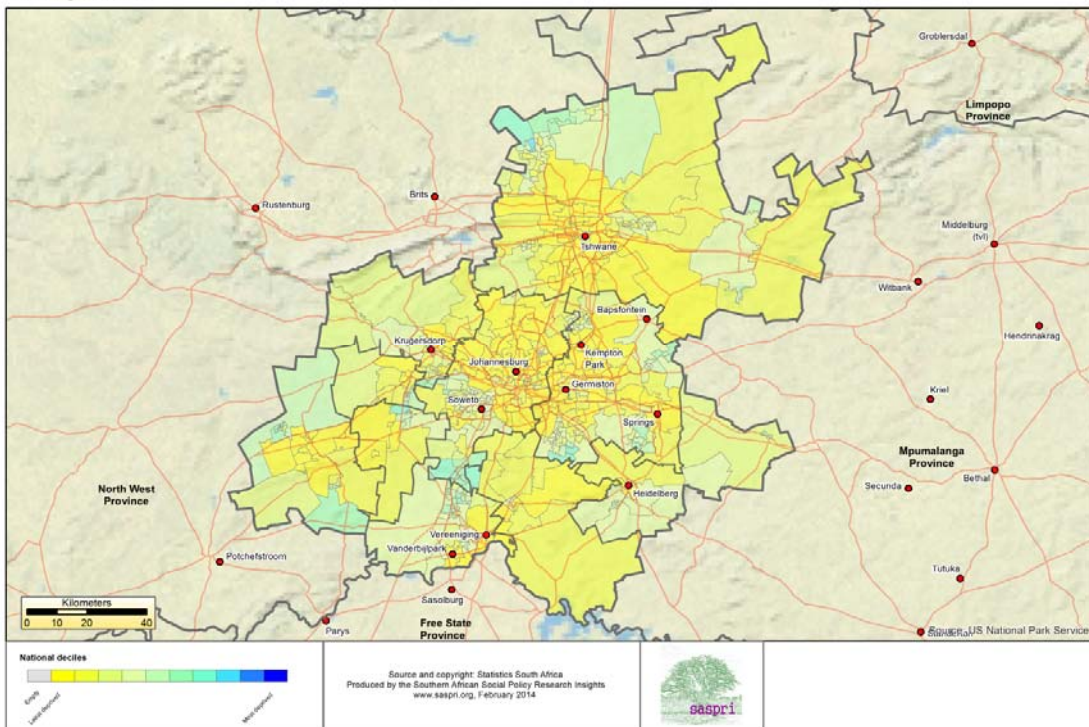
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R1113 per capita pcm)
KwaZulu-Natal Province



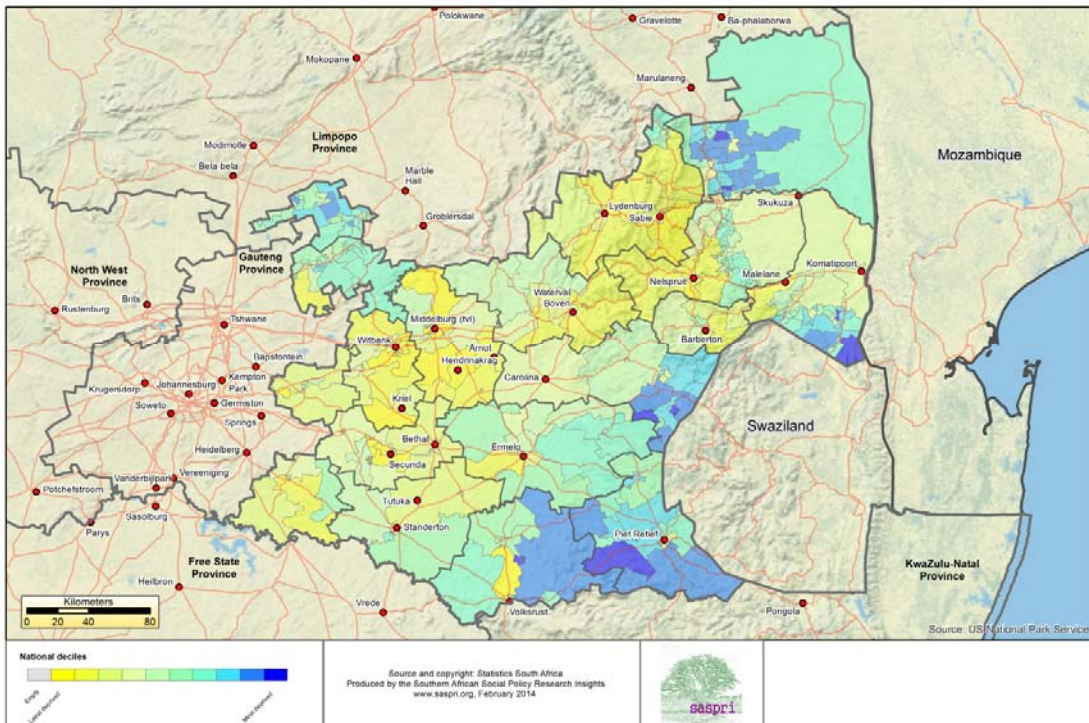
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R1113 per capita pcm)
North West Province



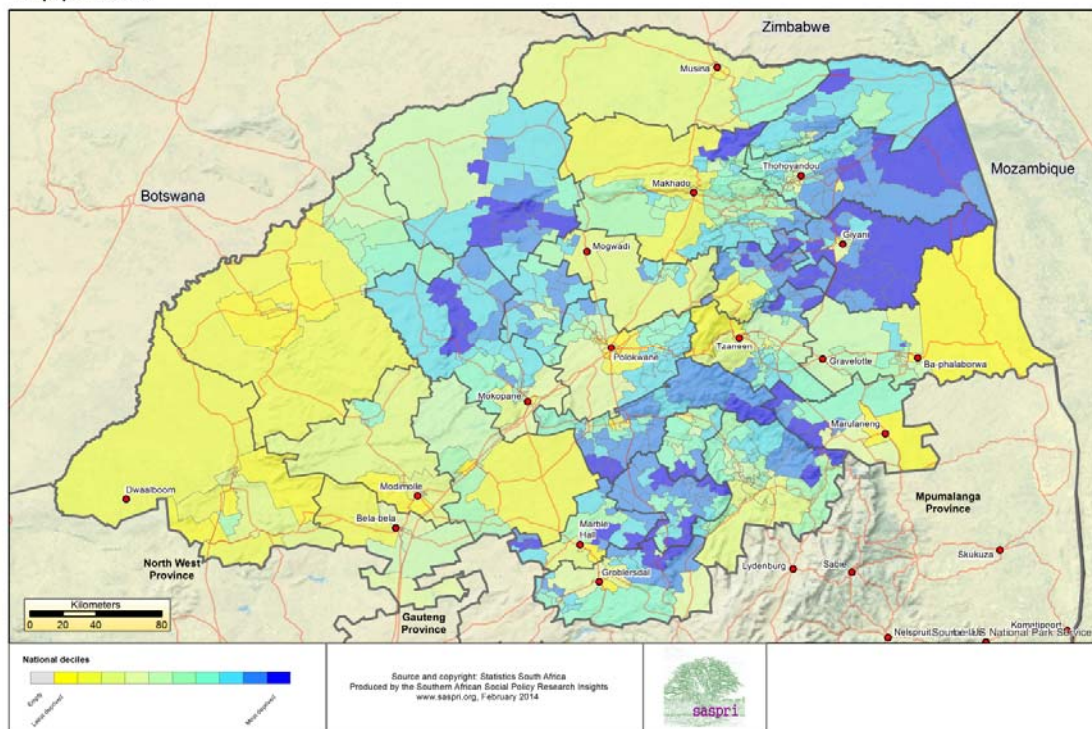
Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R1113 per capita pcm)
Gauteng Province



Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R1113 per capita pcm)
Mpumalanga Province



Ward level income poverty rates 2011 (poverty line R1113 per capita pcm)
Limpopo Province



Appendix 2

The 10 wards in South Africa with the highest rates of poverty (upper bound)

Province	District Municipality	Local Municipality	Ward Code	Ward Number	Lower Bound Poverty Rate (%)	Rank (Where 1=ward with highest upper bound poverty rates and 4276 = ward with lowest lower bound poverty rates)
KwaZulu-Natal	Uthukela	Indaka	52303008	8	96.7	1
KwaZulu-Natal	Uthukela	Indaka	52303007	7	96.2	2
Eastern Cape	O.R.Tambo	Mhlontlo	21506024	24	96.2	3
Eastern Cape	O.R.Tambo	Nyandeni	21505028	28	95.8	4
Eastern Cape	Alfred Nzo	Mbizana	24403012	12	95.7	5
Eastern Cape	O.R.Tambo	Nyandeni	21505017	17	95.7	6
KwaZulu-Natal	Zululand	Nongoma	52605001	1	95.7	7
Eastern Cape	O.R.Tambo	Nyandeni	21505026	26	95.6	8
Eastern Cape	O.R.Tambo	Ngquza Hill	21503002	2	95.6	9
Eastern Cape	O.R.Tambo	King Sabata Dalindyebo	21507025	25	95.5	10

The 10 wards in South Africa with the lowest rates of poverty (upper bound)

Province	District Municipality	Local Municipality	Ward Code	Ward Number	Lower Bound Poverty Rate (%)	Rank (Where 1=ward with highest upper bound poverty rates and 4276 = ward with lowest lower bound poverty rates)
Western Cape	City of Cape Town	City of Cape Town	19100021	21	7.0	4267
Gauteng	City of Johannesburg	City of Johannesburg	79800112	112	6.9	4268
Gauteng	City of Tshwane	City of Tshwane	79900083	83	6.9	4269
Gauteng	City of Tshwane	City of Tshwane	79900044	44	6.7	4270
Gauteng	City of Tshwane	City of Tshwane	79900078	78	6.7	4271
Free State	Mangaung	Mangaung	49400025	25	6.5	4272
Gauteng	City of Johannesburg	City of Johannesburg	79800115	115	6.3	4273
Gauteng	City of Johannesburg	City of Johannesburg	79800094	94	6.3	4274
Gauteng	City of Johannesburg	City of Johannesburg	79800093	93	5.3	4275
Limpopo	Capricorn	Polokwane	93504021	21	5.2	4276

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