

**Characteristics of Out-of-School Children of
Compulsory School Age in South Africa:
What the Community Survey 2007 shows**

Jennifer Shindler

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List of Acronyms

CALS	Centre for Applied Legal Studies
CREATE	Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity
CS 2007	Community Survey 2007
DoE	Department of Education
HDI	Human Development Index
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
RSA	Republic of South Africa

Summary

This paper uses the Community Survey 2007 data set to identify the characteristics of children of compulsory school age (seven to fifteen years of age) who are out of school, either because they have failed to enrol in school at all or because they have dropped out of school. This corresponds to children who fall into CREATE zones of exclusion 1 and 2. The paper looks at the situation nationally in South Africa, as well as at the provincial level in Gauteng and the Eastern Cape, and at the level of municipality in Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality in Gauteng and Mbhashe Local Municipality in Eastern Cape. These two districts were chosen because the CREATE South Africa case study schools were located in these municipalities. The two provinces illustrate very different characteristics, Gauteng is highly urbanised with higher rates of employment to the more rural Eastern Cape. (Motala and Dieltiens, 2008)

The analysis indicates that in the case study areas between 3.5% (Mbhashe) and 4.6% (Ekurhuleni) of children were not attending any educational institution. The Community Survey data indicates that about 386,000 children do not attend school in South Africa overall. The Community Survey 2007 illustrates much about children of compulsory school age who were out of school and corroborates findings of Fleisch et al (2009) and Hunt (2008) and suggest these factors are correlated with exclusion. Firstly, being disabled appears to be a substantial barrier to accessing education. Moreover, geographic location may exacerbate the problem as disabled children in the rural areas (Eastern Cape and Mbhashe) are far more likely to be out of school than disabled children in a more urban environment. The second major factor is household structure, with children living with biological parent more likely to be in school than those living in other family set-ups. Thirdly, poverty does appear to impact negatively on access to schooling with a higher proportion of children in poorer households more likely to be out of school than children in higher income households. Finally children who qualify for a social grant but whose families were unable to access these grants, appear more vulnerable when it comes to being enrolled in school.

Though only a small proportion of children are out of school, these children are most likely to be from very marginal groups who may need special targeting, Key options include firstly the provision of, and access to, education for children with special educational needs particularly for children in rural areas. Secondly, orphans, children living in child-headed households, children who head up households as well as children living in households that are headed by adults other than their parents or grandparents require specialised support from Social Development and Education Departments to help them cope with their circumstances. Thirdly, children who qualify for a social grant but are unable to access these grants need special assistance. Finally, more research is needed to understand in more detail why some children (e.g. coloured children) are disproportionately out of school.

Characteristics of Out-of-School Children of Compulsory School Age in South Africa: What the Community Survey 2007 shows

Introduction

The South Africa Schools Act S 3(1) requires that all children:

... attend school from the first school day of the year in which such learner reaches the age of seven years until the last day of the year in which such learners reaches the age of fifteen years or the ninth grade whichever comes first.

This period of compulsory schooling from Grade 1 – 9 corresponds to the right to basic education that is guaranteed by Section 29(1)(a) of the Constitution. Despite this Constitutional guarantee and the existence of enabling legislation and regulations (Department of Education, 1998a and 1998b; RSA, 2002), the Community Survey 2007 shows that there were about 386,000 (or 4.3%) children of all races aged between seven and fifteen years of age who were out of school in 2007. In addition to this, research has found that a significant number of learners in school were over age for their grade (Social Surveys & CALS, 2009) as a result of starting school late, missing school for a year or more, and/or repetition and in many international and national assessments, South African learners are also achieving well below the norm for their grade (DoE, 2009). As a result many children are at risk of becoming vulnerable to dropping out of school.

If South Africa is to achieve its constitutional commitment that every one has the right to basic education, as well as its commitment to the Millennium Development Goal on education, that by 2015 all children will be able to complete primary schooling, a first step is to identify the characteristics of those children who are out of school and examine the extent to which individual, household and economic factors play a role in children being out of school.

The Community Survey 2007 (CS, 2007) contains detailed information on enrolment in educational institutions and education attainment for all household members, along with data on variables such as gender, origins, migration, earnings, employment, access to social grants and disability. Because of the sample size (almost 950,000 individuals enumerated in almost 246,000 households), the CS 2007 provides context-specific information for individuals not only in South Africa as a whole, but also in each province and in particular municipalities. This paper identifies the characteristics of children who are out of school, either because they have failed to enrol in school at all or because they have dropped out of school. Unfortunately, the CS 2007 data does not provide information on the age at which learners enrolled in school or dropped out of school or information on grade repetition.

Drawing on the conceptual framework of the Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE) and in particular the CREATE zones of exclusion (see Lewin, 2007) the paper uses the Community Survey 2007 data to look at the situation nationally, as well as in two provinces, namely Gauteng and the Eastern Cape, and in the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality which is situated in Gauteng and Mbhashe Local Municipality which is in the Eastern Cape. Ekurhuleni and Mbhashe, were chosen for this paper because the CREATE South Africa case study schools were located in school districts in these municipalities (see Motala and Dieltiens, 2008:10)¹. The two provinces under investigation are very different. Gauteng is a highly urbanised province with ‘comparatively high levels of employment, greater household expenditure on education, and an influx of learners from outside the province putting greater pressure on public schooling’ (Motala et al, 2009:253). The Eastern Cape, on the other hand is a largely rural, with a high unemployment rate (24.6% in the province), the second lowest household index (Human Development Index (HDI) =0.51) in South Africa and has a pattern of outward migration (Motala et al, 2009:254). Levels of functional literacy are lower than the rest of the country. The province also has the highest prevalence of HIV and AIDS. CREATE research in South Africa has focused on these two provinces and thus far much of the analysis has been at the district and school level (Motala, Dieltiens and Sayed, 2009). This paper will add new knowledge to the existing CREATE research in South Africa by locating the analysis at a national, provincial and district level.

CREATE has undertaken detailed research in case study areas in Ghana, India, Bangladesh and South Africa to investigate meaningful access in each of these locations. CREATE uses the term “zones of vulnerability” and “zones of exclusion” to describe the various ways in which children are included, excluded or at risk. The CREATE model identifies six zones of exclusion in order to locate ‘those who are losing or have lost access to conventional education systems’ (Lewin, 2007:21). The Zones map children who have never been to school (Zone1), children who are at risk of dropping out from primary (Zone 3) and secondary school (Zone 6), children who drop out from primary (Zone 2) and secondary schooling (Zone 5) and those who fail to make the transition from primary to secondary school (Zone 4). This study focuses on zones 1, 2, 4 and 5 which take account of never enrolling and dropping out from both primary and secondary schooling. Drop-out by definition depends on children being previously enrolled, so in countries where there is low initial enrolment actual numbers who drop out may be lower than where initial enrolment is high (Lewin, 2007). Drop-out continues to be an under-researched area even though the problem exists. While the MDG has focussed on initial access to education, better knowledge on drop-outs will further support the policy goal of meaningful access (Hunt, 2008).

¹ According to Motala and Dieltiens (2008:10), the school district in Gauteng was chosen because it allowed for a comparison of access patterns between formal township, informal settlement and hostels. The school district in the Eastern Cape was chosen as a site for the fieldwork because it is located in the ex-Transkei region where the history of educational backlogs is severe. It is a district in the middling range of statistics for drop-out and repetition.

1. Literature

There is a growing body of both South African and international literature that looks at how individual and household characteristics impact on school enrolment. While the Department of Education (2003:13) has argued that most out-of-school children and youth in South Africa are out of school as a result of a disability, the literature highlights the fact that there are a multiplicity of factors which may lead to children dropping out of school. As Hunt (2008) points out, dropping out of school is often a result of a process rather than a single event and usually has more than one cause.

In a comprehensive review of the academic and development agency literature on why children drop out of school, Hunt (2008) identified a range of factors. These include household income and limitations placed by household finances, both for direct and indirect costs of schooling; the impact of specific financial shocks; the effect of the need for child labour; and the influence of the household context including the size of the household, orphanhood and fostering as well as the education level of household members and the value placed on education by household members. Other factors identified by Hunt (2008) in the literature that might explain why children were not in school included health and health related problems for children and families (ranging from children's disabilities, to pregnancy and chronic illness of adults and other family members), gender, rural and urban locations, stigmatized groups and social and political conflict.

In South Africa, the Vuk'uyithathe study (Porteus et al., 2000), although based on a limited, opportunistic sample of out-of-school children (children who had dropped out of, or never attended schools) and out-of-age, primary-school learners in the Kathorus township cluster east of Johannesburg, identified six primary causes affecting participation in basic education:

1. Poverty;
2. Family issues, such as household structure and disruption to family support and stability;
3. High residential mobility;
4. School related issues such as school fee and uniform policies, lack of space in local schools, language policies, corporal punishment and humiliation;
5. Individual factors such as a disability, health, pregnancy or 'lack of interest';
6. Community violence.

(Porteus, 2003:1)

The Human Rights Watch research project which collected data from farm schools in Mpumalanga, Free State and Limpopo in 2003 and documented cases where accessibility and availability of the right to education were being seriously hampered identified a separate list of reasons namely, poverty, lack of scholar transport and long distances to school, insecure labour and land tenure of parents, school fees, inadequate infrastructure and service provision, and. limited secondary school options as factors affecting school children's access

to and participation in education (Human Rights Watch, 2004:4). The CREATE Country Analytic Report on Access to Education in South Africa (Motala et al, 2007) summarised the factors which put stress on vulnerable learners affecting their learning and which possibly eventually lead to their departure from school' into four themes. These were

1. economic factors, related to the direct and indirect costs of education;
2. social factors, in the context of communities and households, including family structure, gender and HIV/AIDS;
3. school factors, such as discrimination, poor facilities and educator unpreparedness; and
4. personal factors, such as the health of, support for and motivation of learners
5. economic factors, related to the direct and indirect costs of education.

(Motala et al, 2007:75)

In an analysis of the 1996 South African census data, Sibanda (2004) found that both individual and household-level characteristics, such as race, gender, disability, household size, standard of living, children's living arrangements, their relationship to the head of the household and the level of education of the head of the household were strong predictors of drop-out. He found that the effects of background factors on drop-out varied for different race groups. Household size, female headship and standard of living were overwhelmingly strong predictors among Africans and Coloureds. Similarly a child being male was a strong predictor of dropping out among Africans and Coloureds only. On the other hand, the effects of household standard of living or province of residence are not overwhelmingly strong predictors of dropping out among Whites and Asians. The General Household Survey, an annual survey carried out by Statistics South Africa, found that four out of every ten of those children of school-going age who were not at school cited an economic reason for their not being at school (either insufficient funds for school fees or having to work) (Department of Education, 2009). The five most commonly cited reasons for not attending an educational institution were no money for fees, that education was useless or uninteresting; illness; family commitments and pregnancy. Pregnancy was the second most common reasons for females not attending schools.

There is a growing literature on the impact of family structure on school enrolment. One aspect of the literature explores the impact of fostering on school enrolment. Fostering in this context is not generally a legal status, but rather involves an informal arrangement of children living with grandparents, other relatives or even non-relatives. This is very common in developing countries and Zimmerman (2003:558) estimates that at any given time 25% of children in southern Africa are fostered away from their 'biological homes'. Zimmerman (2003) found that foster children were not disadvantaged in terms of enrolment in school, especially if they were fostered to close relatives. In fact he found that children tended to move from homes that had difficulty enrolling them in schools to homes that are more likely to do so and that the impact of fostering was to reduce the risk of not attending school by up to 22 percent.

Research by Anderson (2005), however, based on the 1995 October Household Survey and the Income and Expenditure Survey came to a different conclusion. Anderson (2005) found that South African children living with biological parents had more money invested in them and had better schooling outcomes. Anderson found that children living in households in which the adults were closely related to them received greater levels of investment and experienced more positive outcomes.

Another aspect is the impact that different configurations of adults residing in the household have on the education of children. In another study, Anderson (2000) found that male partners and non-residential biological fathers spent less on their children's education than resident biological fathers. Sibanda (2004) found that primary-school aged children living with non-relatives were significantly more likely to drop out of school compared to children that live with relatives or biological parents. Townsend et al (2002), using data collected by the Agincourt Health and Population Programme in a rural district of Limpopo, found that children in households with both biological parents generally had higher levels of schooling than those that had one or no biological parent in the household. Living in a household headed by a woman was not found to disadvantage children, and for some age and sex groups it may be an advantage.

Finally, the negative impact of orphanhood on schooling has also been pointed in the literature by Case and Ardington (2006) and Operario et al (2008). Case and Ardington (2008) found, however, that there were significant differences in the impact of mother's and father's deaths. The loss of a child's mother was a strong predictor of poor schooling outcomes. Maternal orphans were significantly less likely to be enrolled in school and had completed fewer years of schooling than children whose mothers were alive. The loss of a child's father, on the other hand, was found to be a significant predictor of socioeconomic status, and while the loss of a father was correlated with poorer educational outcomes this was associated with poverty rather than orphanhood (Case and Anderson, 2008:402).

2. Research Methods

The Community Survey 2007 (CS, 2007) was conducted by Statistics South Africa in February and March 2007. The sample was a two-stage stratified cluster sample design involving the drawing of the enumeration areas within municipalities in the first stage and drawing on dwelling units within selected enumeration areas in the second stage. Of a total 79,466 enumeration areas, 17,098 were sampled. The sample size comprised 949,105 individuals from 246,618 households (Statistics SA, undated; Statistics SA, 2008). The CS 2007 collected data on socio-economic information for individuals and households.

A full CS 2007 dataset was provided by Statistics South Africa. The national data in this paper was originally calculated for, and appears in, Fleisch et al (2009) and is reproduced here. The data for Eastern Cape, Gauteng, Ekurhuleni and Mbashe were calculated

specifically for this paper from CS2007. One concern with the CS 2007 data was the reliability of the information provided for whites and Indians. The data showed a high proportion of white and Indian children of compulsory school age who were not enrolled, especially when compared with the proportion of out of school African and coloured children. These findings were not consistent with other research (Meltzer, 2008). In order to deal with this problem, the data for Indian and white children aged seven to fifteen was 'cleaned' in order to make available information on which to provide comment on the situation for these race groups. (For information on how this data was cleaned see Fleisch et al, 2009). The result was that despite the acknowledged questionable status of the white and Indian data, after cleaning it was felt that the quality of the data was good enough on which to base comment. Throughout this paper even if it is not specified, the data refers to children of all race groups who are aged between seven and fifteen years, the period of compulsory school.² Any reference to "children" refers to all children aged seven to fifteen.

3. Findings of the Data

3.1 Out-of-School Children

Participation in the compulsory education phase in South Africa is extensive. In 2007, according to the CS 2007, almost 96% of children of compulsory school age attended an educational institution. Despite the high participation rate, there were still 386,069 or 4.3% of children in the compulsory school aged band (seven to fifteen years of age), who were not attending school (see Table 1). In line with the situation in the country as a whole, the participation rate in the individual provinces was also high. However, the rate of out-of school-children varied considerably between the provinces; while the Free State, Limpopo and Mpumalanga recorded low proportions of children out of school (3%, 3.1% and 3.2% respectively), the Western Cape and Northern Cape had much higher proportions of children out of school (5.2% and 5.6% respectively). The Eastern Cape and Gauteng, the two provinces that this paper is concerned with, each had 4.6% of children out of school. In the case of the Eastern Cape this amounted to 67,634 children and in Gauteng to 64,658 children.

² In terms of the South African Schools Act (RSA, 1996b), schooling is compulsory for all children from the first school day in the year that they turn 7, until the last school day of the year that they turn 15, or until Grade 9, whichever comes first. This makes schooling compulsory for nine years. Nine years of compulsory schooling includes seven years of primary schooling and two of the five years of secondary schooling.

Table 1: School Attendance by Province (age 7 to 15), 2007

<i>Province</i>	<i>Attending</i>	<i>Not attending</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>% not attending in the Province</i>	<i>% of total children who are not attending school</i>
Eastern Cape	1,418,245	67,634	1,485,879	4.6%	17.5%
Free State	465,424	14,487	479,911	3.0%	3.8%
Gauteng	1,338,352	64,658	1,403,010	4.6%	16.7%
KwaZulu-Natal	2,018,478	98,016	2,116,494	4.6%	25.4%
Limpopo	1,163,019	37,755	1,200,773	3.1%	9.8%
Mpumalanga	713,006	23,635	736,641	3.2%	6.1%
North West	547,890	28,410	576,300	4.9%	7.4%
Northern Cape	176,912	10,456	187,367	5.6%	2.7%
Western Cape	746,259	41,019	787,278	5.2%	10.6%
Total	8,587,585	386,069	8,973,654	4.3%	100%

Source: Fleisch et al. 2009

Similarly, in the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality and the Mbhashe Local Municipality the participation rates were high. There were 370,980 children aged between seven and fifteen residing in Ekurhuleni in 2007, of whom only 12,953 (or 3.5%) were not attending an educational institution (Table 4). This was better than the situation in the Gauteng province as a whole, where 4.6% of the compulsory school-aged population were not attending any education institution. In Mbhashe only 3,174 (or 4.1%) of the 76,903 children aged seven to fifteen were not attending an educational institution (see Table 4), compared to 4.6% of those in the Eastern Cape.

According to the CS 2007, less than 1% of all children aged seven to fifteen had never attended school at all. This applied to both municipalities as well as to both provinces and nationally (see

Table 3). Of those children who were out of school in Ekurhuleni, 915 or 7.1% had never attended an educational institution. This amounted to only 0.2% of all seven to fifteen year olds in Ekurhuleni. However, almost half of those who had never attended an educational institution were seven years old and a fifth was eight years old, dropping to around 5% of 11 and 12 year olds. Therefore, it is very likely that a very large number of the seven and eight year olds would enrol at school at some point, albeit later than the compulsory school age policy required. In Mbhashe 615 (or just over 19%) of the 3,174 seven to fifteen year olds

who were out of school, had never been to school at all. This amounted to 0.8% of all seven to fifteen year olds in Mphashe. Unlike in Ekurhuleni where most of the children who have never been to school were seven or eight years of age, decreasing as children get older, in Mphashe the proportion was spread more or less evenly between each single age cohort. While some of those seven or eight year olds in Mphashe who had never been to school at all may still enrol in school in the future, it seems that around 0.5% of children in Mphashe may never enrol in school at all.

In Gauteng, of those children aged seven to fifteen who were out of school, 6,435 or 10% had never been to school at all, while in the Eastern Cape this applied to 9,238 or almost 14% of those seven to fifteen year olds who were out of school. The number of seven to fifteen year olds in Gauteng and the Eastern Cape who had never attended school, amounted to 0.5% and 0.6% of out-of-school seven to fifteen year olds in each province respectively. In Gauteng just over 38% of the children who had never attended school were seven years of age, while in the Eastern Cape this applied to 23% of those children who had never been to school. It is likely that in both provinces many of these children, as well as those who were 8 years old, would subsequently enrol in school, although a higher proportion of Eastern Cape children are more likely never to attend school than those in Gauteng.

Of those children who were out of school nationally, 57,952 or 15% had never attended an educational institution. This amounted to 0.6% of all seven to fifteen year olds. Just over a quarter of those who had never attended an educational institution were seven years old and a further 13% were eight years old, dropping to between 8% and 10% for the older age cohorts (see

Table 3).

Table 2: Number of children aged 7-15 who have never attended school nationally, in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng provinces, and in the Mphashe local municipality and the Ekurhuleni metropolitan municipality, 2007

Age	National	Provincial		Municipalities	
		Eastern Cape	Gauteng	Mphashe	Ekurhuleni
7	14,897	2,086	2,432	104	445
8	7,385	1,425	921	80	184
9	5,592	1,008	569	72	0
10	4,573	781	374	48	0

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11	5,165	728	425	0	47
12	5,730	626	392	90	42
13	5,130	846	184	90	0
14	4,794	735	713	64	198
15	4,686	1,003	425	67	0
Total	57,952	9,238	6,435	615	915

Source: National data from Fleisch et al. (2009). Provincial and municipal data calculated from Community Survey 2007 database

Table 3: Percentage of children aged 7-15 who have never attended school nationally, in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng provinces, and in the Mbashe local municipality and the Ekurhuleni metropolitan municipality, 2007

Age	National	Provincial		District	
		Eastern Cape	Gauteng	Mbashe	Ekurhuleni
7	25.7	22.6	37.8	17.0	48.6
8	12.7	15.4	14.3	13.1	20.1
9	9.6	10.9	8.8	11.7	0.0
10	7.9	8.5	5.8	7.8	0.0
11	8.9	7.9	6.6	0.0	5.1
12	9.9	6.8	6.1	14.7	4.6
13	8.9	9.2	2.9	14.6	0.0
14	8.3	8.0	11.1	10.4	21.6
15	8.1	10.9	6.6	10.9	0.0
Total never been to school as % of total out of school	15.0	13.7	10.0	19.4	7.1
Total never been to school as % of total 7-15 year olds	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.2

Source: National data from Fleisch et al. (2009). Provincial and municipal data calculated from Community Survey 2007 database

3.2 Characteristics of those children aged seven to fifteen not in school

Table 4 presents composite data on the percentage of children with different characteristics not attending school. The sections that follow highlight key issues emerging from this table.

Table 4: Percentage of children according to specified personal, family and economic characteristics not attending an educational institution, 2007.

	National	Provincial		District	
		Eastern Cape	Gauteng	Mbhashe	Ekurhuleni
Number of aged 7-15	8,973,654	1,485,879	1,403,000	76,903	370,980
Number of children aged 7-15 out of school	386,069	67,634	64,658	3,174	12,953
Out of school	4.3%	4.6%	4.6%	4.1%	3.5%
Male	4.4%	4.7%	4.8%	4.9%	3.6%
Female	4.2%	4.4%	4.5%	3.3%	3.4%
African	4.4%	4.4%	5.3%	4.1%	4.1%
Coloured	6.2%	9.2%	6.8%	100.0%	6.6%
Indian/Asian	1.4%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%
White	1.2%	0.2%	1.2%	0.0%	0.5%
Disability	22.1%	23.4%	17.5%	20.9%	13.2
No disability	4.0%	4.1%	4.4%	3.8%	3.3%
Born in the province (or in SA in the case of National)	4.2%	4.5%	4.1%	4.2%	3.2%
Born in another province	0.0%	3.8%	5.4%	0.4%	4.0%
Born outside RSA	10.9%	0.0%	13.2%	0.0%	11.1%
Both parents alive	3.9%	4.3%	4.0%	4.0%	3.0%
Mother alive, father dead or survival not known	5.1%	4.8%	6.5%	4.2%	4.6%
Father alive, mother dead or survival not known	5.4%	4.8%	7.6%	8.2%	6.5%
Both parents dead or survival not known	6.9%	6.5%	10.0%	2.9%	6.0%
Relationship to head of the household:					
Son/daughter	3.7%	4.3%	3.8%	2.9%	3.1%
Grandchild/great grandchild	4.1%	4.1%	5.1%	5.8%	3.9%
Adopted son/daughter	6.3%	7.2%	6.1%	0.0%	4.4%
Head/acting	15.6%	14.3%	40.8%	0.0%	34.5%
Brother/sister	6.2%	6.0%	12.8%	1.0%	6.0%
Brother/sister-in-law	8.1%	4.4%	10.2%	12.4%	6.2%
Other relative	8.8%	6.3%	9.9%	4.0%	7.2%
Stepchild	7.3%	5.1%	3.3%	11.9%	0.0%
Non-related person	4.8%	10.1%	12.0%	23.0%	10.6%
Education level of head of the household					
No education	5.5%	5.9%	7.4%	6.2%	5.0%
Primary incomplete	4.8%	4.4%	5.7%	3.0%	4.7%
Primary complete	4.2%	4.5%	5.4%	0.8%	3.1%
Secondary not complete	3.6%	3.8%	4.2%	3.2%	3.2%
Secondary complete	3.0%	3.1%	3.4%	0.0%	2.4%
Tertiary degree/diploma	1.9%	2.7%	1.5%	0.0%	0.8%
Unspecified	4.4%	9.3%	11.3%	9.2%	14.8%
Not one person in the household is	4.5%	4.6%	6.5%	3.7%	4.9%

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employed					
At least one person in the household is employed	4.1%	4.5%	4.0%	6.9%	3.1%
Receiving social grant	3.5%	3.5%	4.5%	3.4%	3.5%*
Not receiving social grant	4.8%	5.4%	4.5%	5.1%	3.3%*
Household income*					
Nil	4.6%	4.5%	6.8%	4.2%	5.2%
R1-R24 000	4.7%	4.8%	5.2%	4.6%	4.2%
R24 001-100 000	4.4%	4.8%	4.7%	2.8%	3.4%
R100 001+	2.4%	2.7%	2.1%	0.6%	1.7%

Source: National data from Fleisch et al. (2009). Provincial and municipal data calculated from Community Survey 2007 database

*Note: at the time of writing R1.00 was equal to GB£0.091 or US\$0.144

3.3 Personal characteristics of those children aged 7-15 not in school

3.3.1 Sex and race

It would appear from the information in Table 4 that at every level of South Africa, whether it be national, provincial or municipal, the rate of school attendance of females was higher than that of males. In South Africa as a whole, 4.4% of males aged seven to fifteen did not attend an educational institution compared to 4.2% of females. At the provincial level the situation was the same. In Gauteng, 4.8% of males did not attend an educational institution compared to 4.5% of females while in the Eastern Cape this applied to 4.7% of males compared to 4.4% of females. In both the Eastern Cape and Gauteng, the proportion of both male and female children of compulsory school age who were out of school was higher than the national average for both genders.

In Ekurhuleni 3.6% of male children aged seven to fifteen did not attend an educational institution compared to 3.4% of females. Of all the geographical areas under review in this paper, the biggest difference between the proportion of male and female children out-of-school was recorded in Mbhashe, where 4.9% of males were out of school compared to 3.3% of females, a difference of 1.6 percentage points. It is not clear why there is this difference; however, it is possible that some male youths may not return to school after participating in coming-of-age initiation ceremonies.

With regard to race, the CS 2007 data indicates that coloured children of compulsory school age were far more likely to be out of school than children of other race groups. Nationally 6.2% of coloured children were out of school compared to 4.4% of African children, 1.4% of Indian children and 1.2% of white children. While only 8% of all seven to fifteen year olds in the country were coloured, they comprised 12% of all out-of-school children in that age group. In the Eastern Cape 9.2% of coloured children were out of school - more than double that for African children (4.4%). The proportion of out-of-school African children aged seven to fifteen in Gauteng (5.3%) was much higher than the national average for African children (4.4%). However, it was still lower than the proportion of out-of-school coloured children in Gauteng (with 6.8% of seven to fifteen year old coloured children being out of school). A similar situation applied in Ekurhuleni where 6.6% of coloured children were out of school

compared to 4.1% of African children. In Mbhashe there were only nine coloured children recorded in the CS 2007 and all of these were out of school³.

The Access to Education study by Social Surveys and the Centre for Applied Legal Studies (2009:59) posits several possible reasons why coloured children are more likely to be out of school than any other race group. One possible reason is that, historically under apartheid, as a result of job reservation coloured youths had better access to labour market opportunities than for black youths. While these jobs may no longer be available to the same extent, historical patterns of leaving before Grade 12 and the Matriculation examination may persist. Other possible influencing factors include the negative impact of gang involvement in areas such as Cape Town; youth taking up work on farms in the Western Cape to supplement low household income; and to the possible impact of foetal alcohol syndrome in rural (mainly farming communities) in the Western Cape. Coloured youths on farms appear far more likely to be out of school than those in urban areas according to the Social Surveys data.

If one looks at race and sex together (see Table 5), these appear to be particularly significant factors for coloured males who are more likely than any other group to be out of school. While coloured females are less likely to be out of school than their male counterparts, coloured females are more likely than African females to not attend an educational institution. The only exception in the geographical areas under review here is Ekurhuleni, where there is very little difference between the proportion of African and coloured females out of school (5.1% and 5% respectively). While nationally African, coloured and white males are more likely than their female counterparts to be out of school, the reverse applies to Indians, with Indian females more likely than Indian males to be out of school (1.6% and 1.2% respectively).

Table 5: Percentage of 7-15 year old children out of school according to race and gender, 2007

<i>Sex</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>National</i>	<i>Provincial</i>		<i>Municipality</i>	
			<i>Eastern Cape</i>	<i>Gauteng</i>	<i>Mbhashe</i>	<i>Ekurhuleni</i>
Male	African	4.5%	4.6%	5.4%	4.9%	4.1%
	Coloured	6.8%	8.7%	8.6%	0.0%	8.5%
	Indian/Asian	1.2%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%
	White	1.2%	0.4%	1.1%	0.0%	0.4%
Female	African	4.3%	4.2%	5.1%	3.3%	4.0%
	Coloured	5.7%	9.6%	5.0%	100.0%	4.4%
	Indian/Asian	1.6%	0.0%	1.6%	0.0%	0.0%
	White	1.1%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.7%

Source: National data from Fleisch et al.(2009). Provincial and municipal data calculated from Community Survey 2007 database

³ It must be borne in mind that this figure is too small to draw any conclusions.

3.3.2 Disability

Of the 8,973,654 children of compulsory school age in South Africa, almost 2% or 167,077 were described as having some type of disability⁴. Of these, 22% were not attending an educational institution in 2007. Looked at another way, of the 386,069 children who were out of school, 9.6% had a disability, disproving the Department of Education's argument, quoted earlier, that most out-of-school children and youth in South Africa are out of school as a result of a disability.

In Gauteng, 1.6% (or 23,038) of children aged between seven and fifteen were described as having a disability. Of these, 17.5 % were not attending an educational institution. Six percent of all out-of-school children in Gauteng had a disability. In Ekurhuleni, 1.6% (or 5,909) of the 370,980 children aged between seven and fifteen, were disabled. Of these 14.8% were not attending an educational institution in 2007. Almost 6% of the 12,607 children in Ekurhuleni who were out of school were described as having a disability.

The situation in the Eastern Cape was more serious. While 2.2% (or 32,341) of the total seven to fifteen year old population was disabled, as much as 23.4% of these disabled children did not attend an educational institution. Eleven percent of the 67,634 children who were out of school were disabled. In Mbhashe 1.8% (or 1,360) of the total seven to fifteen year old population was disabled, with 21% of these were not attending an educational institution. Nine percent of the 3,174 children who were out of school were disabled.

3.3.3 Place of birth

While the proportion of children who were reported to have been born outside South Africa or where the place of birth is either unknown or unspecified was small at less than 1% of children of compulsory school going age (69,139 children). This seems likely to be an underestimate given the difficulties of accurate enumeration. These children were by far the most likely not to be attending school. Just over one in ten foreign-born children was not attending an educational institution (perhaps a surprisingly low proportion), and more than a quarter of children whose place of birth was not known were not attending school.

As the industrial hub of South Africa, Gauteng experiences considerable migration into the province every year. This is reflected in the number of children of compulsory school age in Gauteng who were not born in the province. Almost a quarter (24.3%) were born outside of Gauteng - either in another province or outside of the country. As a large metropolitan area in Gauteng, the situation in Ekurhuleni is not that different: one out of every five children aged seven to fifteen in Ekurhuleni was born outside of Gauteng. In both Gauteng as a whole as

⁴ According to the Community Survey 2007 unit records meta data (StatsSA, 2008), a disability could include those related to sight (blind/severe visual limitation, hearing (deaf/profoundly hard of hearing), communication (speech impairment), physical (needs a wheelchair or crutches etc), intellectual (serious difficulty in learning) and emotional (behavioural or psychological).

well as in Ekurhuleni, children not born in the province, particularly those born outside South Africa, were more likely to be out of school than those born in Gauteng. While 4.1% of children in Gauteng were out of school, this applied to 5.4% of those born in other provinces. While there were only 25,076 foreign born children in Gauteng, these children were clearly at risk, as 13.2% of them were out of school. In Ekurhuleni, 11% of foreign born children were out of school, compared to 4% who were born in other provinces and 3.2% who were foreign-born (see *Note: at the time of writing R1.00 was equal to GB£0.091 or US\$0.144

Table 10).

In the Eastern Cape only 4.2% of children aged seven to fifteen were not born in the province (i.e. they were born in another province or outside the country). As in the case of Gauteng, foreign-born children were more vulnerable to being out of school than those born in the in South Africa with 10.1% of these children being out of school compared to 4.5% who were born in the Eastern Cape. Unlike Gauteng, however, being born in a province other than the Eastern Cape appeared to make children less vulnerable to being out of school, with only 3.8% of children born in provinces other than the Eastern Cape being out of school. In Mbhashe the population appears to be very stable as not a single child aged seven to fifteen was born outside the country and only 2.3% were born outside of the Eastern Cape. Being born outside the province did not make children in Mbhashe more vulnerable to being out of school. In fact fewer than half a percent of those born outside the province were out of school, compared to 4.2% of those born in the Eastern Cape.

3.4 Family characteristics of those children aged 7-15 not in school

3.4.1 Parental survival

In South Africa as a whole, the loss one or both parents has a significant impact on whether or not a child attends school. For children aged seven to fifteen who had both parents alive, 3.9% were out of school. But this rose to 5.1% for paternal orphans and 5.4% and 6.9% for maternal and double orphans respectively.

Orphanhood has had a significant impact on children being out of school in Gauteng. While 4% of compulsory school aged children with both parents alive were out of school in Gauteng, this proportion rose to 6.5% for paternal orphans and 7.6% for maternal orphans. The situation for children who have lost both parents is particularly concerning; one in ten

double orphans was out of school in Gauteng. In Ekurhuleni, for those children who had both parents alive, only 3% were out of school. This rose to 4.6% for paternal orphans and to 6.0% and 6.5% for double and maternal orphans respectively.

In the Eastern Cape, 4.3% of children with both parents alive were out of school, compared to 4.8% of paternal orphans and 4.8% of maternal orphans and 6.5% of double orphans. In Mbhashe the pattern was not so clear cut. While only 4% of children who had both parents alive were out of school, the proportion of double orphans out of school was only 2.9% and paternal orphans 4.2%. For maternal orphans, however, the proportion out of school was very high at 8.2%.

3.4.2 Relationship of child to head of household

In South Africa, 57.5% of seven to fifteen year old children lived with their parents while almost 29% lived with grandparents or great grandparents. Among these groups of children only 3.7% and 4.1% respectively were out of school. The most at-risk children were those who were heads of households. This applied to 23,261 children and almost 16% of these were not attending school. Another vulnerable group of children were those who lived in households where the head of the household was a non-relative (8.8% of these were out of school) as well as those who lived with in households where the head of the household was a brother-in-law or sister-in-law (just over 8% of these were out of school).

A comparison between the relationships of children to the head of household in both Gauteng and the Eastern Cape reveals striking differences between the two provinces. In Gauteng 70% of seven to fifteen year olds lived with their parents, while this applied to only 51% in the Eastern Cape. Twenty percent of compulsory school aged children in Gauteng lived with their grandparents or great grandparents as head of the household compared to 35% in the Eastern Cape. Among these groups of children in Gauteng only 3.8% of those who lived with their parents and 5.1% of those who lived with grandparents or great grand parents were out of school. In the Eastern Cape this applied to 4.3% and 4.1% respectively. As was the case nationally, the most at-risk children in both provinces were those who were heads of households. This applied to 4,175 children in Eastern Cape, of whom 14% were not attending school. In Gauteng 1,908 children aged seven to fifteen were the head of the household and 41% of these were out of school.

In Ekurhuleni 70% of seven to fifteen year old children lived with their parents while almost 20% lived with grandparents or great grandparents. Among these groups of children only 3.1% and 3.9% respectively were out of school. The most at-risk children were those who were heads of households. This applied to 416 children in Ekurhuleni, and 34.5% of these were not attending school. Other vulnerable groups of children were those who lived in households where the head of the household was a non-relative (about 10.6% of these were

out of school) as well as those who lived with relatives other than parents, grandparents or brother or sisters (just over 7.2% of these were out of school).

In Mbashe, only 50% of all children aged seven to fifteen lived with their parents, while 36.5% lived with grandparents or great grandparents. While 2.9% of children who lived with their parents were out of school as many as 5.8% of those living with grandparents were out of school. Unlike Ekurhuleni, where children who were the head of a household were most at risk for being out of school, this was not the case in Mbashe. While seven children in Mbashe reported being the head of the household, all seven were enrolled in school⁵. Just over 290 children in Mbashe lived in households where the head of the household was not a relative of the child, and as was the case with Ekurhuleni, a high proportion of these children (23% in Mbashe) were out of school.

3.4.3 Education levels of the head of the household

The education level of the head of the household appears to influence school enrolment among children aged seven to fifteen. Leaving aside the high proportion of out-of-school children in households where the education level of the head was unspecified, at every level the highest out-of-school rate occurred in households where the head of the household had received no education at all. In those households in South Africa as a whole, 5.5% were out of school. In Eastern Cape the rate was 5.9% and in Gauteng it 7.4%. At the municipal level the rate was 6.2% in Mbashe and 5% in Ekurhuleni.

Nationally as the education level of the head of the household increased so did the proportion of children in school. A similar situation pertained to both provinces and in Ekurhuleni. In Mbashe, the situation was slightly different. While children were more likely to be in school if the head of the household had some education than if the head of the household had no education, children in households where the head had completed primary education were more likely to be in school (99.2%) than those whose parents had some secondary education (96.8%).

3.5 Economic factors

3.5.1 Employment status in the household

Employment status appears to have a mixed impact on school attendance depending on the area or region. According to the CS 2007, the majority of children in South Africa lived in homes where not a single person living in the household was employed or their employment status was unspecified. This applied to 54% of children aged seven to fifteen while the remaining 46% lived in homes where at least one resident was employed. While this figure for households with not a single employed person is high, it is important to note that it does

⁵ It must be borne in mind that this figure is too small to draw any conclusions.

not include migrant labour, which is not covered by the Community Survey 2007 and, therefore, the effect of this group on the total proportion is not known. There appears to be a small difference in attendance patterns between these households; 4.5% of children in household with not one person employed were out of school compared to 4.1% of children in households at least one person employed.

In Gauteng and Ekurhuleni more than three-quarters of children lived in households where at least one person was employed (this applied to 77% of children in both Gauteng and Ekurhuleni). In both areas employment status appeared to impact positively on enrolment in school. Of the 77% of children in Gauteng who lived in a home with at least one resident in employment, only 4% were out of school, compared to 6.5% of those who lived in a home where no-one was employed or their employment status was unspecified. In Ekurhuleni only 3.1% of children who lived in a home with at least one employed person were out of school, compared to almost 4.9% who lived in a home where no-one was employed or their employment status was unspecified.

In the Eastern Cape only 43.5% of children aged seven to fifteen lived in homes with at least one resident employed, while in Mbashe the situation was even worse with only 13% of children aged seven to fifteen living in a home with at least one resident in employment⁶. In the Eastern Cape province, employment status in the home seemed to make very little impact on school enrolment; 4.5% of children who lived in a home with at least one employed person were out of school, compared to 4.6% of those children who lived in a home where no-one was employed or their employment status was unspecified. In Mbashe, on the other hand, not having a single employed person residing in the home seemed to make children LESS likely to be out of school. While 6.9% of children were out of school in homes that had at least one person employed, this applied to only 3.7% of those children who lived in a home where not a single resident was employed or their employment status was unknown. While this finding may be counter-intuitive, it is important to note that while an extremely high number of households in Mbashe did have not a single employed person residing in the house, 75% of households did have an income, most likely from migrant remittances. This may indicate that the employment status of household members could not be a suitable indicator for school enrolment in rural areas. It is also possible that the existence of school feeding schemes for younger children could also be a major motivator for poorer children remaining in school.

3.5.2 Household Income

The extent to which household income impacts on the rate at which children are out of school would seem to depend on whether households earn below or above R100,000 per annum (approximately US\$14,700 or GB£9,200). Nationally, there was not much difference in the

⁶ While this figure is extremely low, it is important to note that this data did not take into account migrant labour, which was not covered by the Community Survey 2007 and, therefore, the extent of this is not known.

proportion of children out of school according to household income bands below R100,000. For those households that recorded no income at all, the proportion of children aged seven to fifteen out of school was 4.6%, while for those who had an annual income of between R1 and R24,000, 4.6% of children were out of school. In households where the income was between R24,001 and R100,000, 4.4% were out of school. It was only among the almost 13% of households in the country that earned above R100,000 that the proportion of out-of-school children (2.4%) dropped significantly.

In the Eastern Cape and Mbhashe, households that had no income at all had a lower proportion of out-of-school children than those who had incomes of between R1 and R24,000. Eastern Cape households that earned below R100,000 had between 4.5% and 4.8% of seven to fifteen year olds out of school, depending on the income band. For those which reported an income above R100,000, only 2.7% were out of school. In Mbhashe, the households with the highest proportion of out-of-school children were those that earned between R1 and R24,000 a year (5.6% were not enrolled in school) followed by those who had no income at all (4.2%). This was much higher than those that earned between R24,000 and R100,000, with 2.8% of children out of school. Less than 1% of children living in household with an annual income of more than R100,000 were out of school.

In both Gauteng and Ekurhuleni, the proportion of children out of school declined steadily as household income increased. In Gauteng, 6.8% of children aged seven to fifteen in households with no income whatsoever, were out of school, compared to 5.2% in those households where income ranged between R1 and R24,000 per annum, and 4.7% in those that earned between R24,001 and R100,000. By contrast, in those households that earned above R100,000, the proportion of out-of-school children was 2.1%. Households in Gauteng with no income had a disproportionate share of out-of-school children; while 20% households with seven to fifteen year olds in Gauteng had no income at all, almost 30% of out-of-school children came from these households.

For those households in Ekurhuleni that recorded no income at all, the proportion of children aged seven to fifteen out of school was 5.2%. The proportion of out-of-school children dropped to 4.2% in those households that had an annual income of between R1 and R24,000 and then to 3.4% in household with an annual income of between R24,001 and R100,000. For those households that earned above R100,000 only 1.7% of compulsory school-aged children were out of school.

3.5.3 Social Grant

Whether or not a child is a recipient of a social grant⁷ generally appears to have an impact on school enrolment, with children receiving a social grant being more likely to be in school

⁷ Children aged seven to 15 may be in receipt of the following social grants paid by the South African Government: a child support grant which is paid to the care-giver of children in need under the age of 15; a care

than those who do not. The CS 2007 data for South Africa indicated that 39% of children aged seven to fifteen were reported to be receiving a social grant and of these, 3.5% were out of school. Among those children not receiving a social grant (across all income ranges), 4.8% were out of school. It is not clear why this should be though it may be some indication that social grants are having an impact on participation. Those not receiving the grant may include those who qualify but are unable to claim it for reasons unknown in the available data.

In the Eastern Cape, almost the same proportion of children received a social grant as do not receive one (around 49% of children received a social grant and 48% did not while information for almost 3% of children was known). However, 5.4% of children who did not receive a social grant were out of school compared to only 3.5% who were the recipients of a social grant. In Mbhashe almost 59% of children received a social grant. Among this group of children only 3.4% were not in school compared to 5.1% of those who did not receive a social grant.

In Gauteng and Ekurhuleni, receiving a social grant does not appear to have had too much impact on whether a child is out of school or not. 27% of children aged seven to fifteen in Gauteng received a social grant, while 70% did not (information on the remainder was not known). For both cohorts of children, however, the proportion of out-of-school children was the same; 4.5% of children receiving a social grant were out of school and 4.5% of children who were not receiving a social grant were out of school. In Ekurhuleni, 3.5% of children who received a social grant (25% of children aged seven to fifteen) were out of school, while this applied to 3.3% of those who did not receive a social grant.

4. Discussion

The CS 2007 has provided us with an opportunity to understand the characteristics or profile of children of compulsory school age who are out-of-school. What factors were found to make a difference? In the case of the two municipal areas looked at in this paper, geographic location appeared to make a difference with regard to the rate at which children were out of school. In Ekurhuleni, a predominantly urban area, the proportion of out-of-school children was much lower than it was in Mbhashe which is a rural area. This finding is consistent with Sibanda's (2004:105) finding in his analysis of the 1996 South African census data that children living in rural areas had a more significant likelihood of dropping out of primary school than those living in urban areas. However, if one looks at the provinces, a more uneven pattern emerges. Some more rural provinces, such as the Free State, Limpopo and Mpumalanga had a much lower out of school rate than provinces such as Gauteng and the Western Cape, which are more urbanised. The two provinces which this paper is concerned with, namely the Eastern Cape and Gauteng, both had exactly the same proportion of children

dependency grant which is paid to the care-giver of children with a severe physical or mental disability or a foster child grant which is paid to the care-giver of children in foster care.

out of school, even though Gauteng is a highly urbanised province and the Eastern Cape, largely rural. It is therefore possible that several factors that create pressures in different directions are interacting in different ways in each Province.

An analysis of the personal and household characteristics of children who were not participating in education nationally and in the two provincial and municipal areas found that in all instances males were more likely to be out of school than females. This substantiates Hunt's (2008:30) finding that in South Africa, unlike many other developing countries, it is boys who are more likely to withdraw early from school. Race is also an important indicator of school enrolment, with coloured children, particularly, coloured male children being significantly more likely not to be enrolled than children of other race groups. The analysis also found that disability was a major contributing factor to being out of school. While there has not been much analytical research on disability and its relationship to dropping out (Hunt 2008:30), Filmer (2005:15), in an analysis of eleven household surveys from developing countries, found that children with disabilities were significantly less likely to participate in schooling; they were less likely to start school and in some countries had lower transitions rates, resulting in lower schooling attainment. This is corroborated by the CS 2007 data.

While migration can be linked to increased educational opportunities, particularly where children move to urban areas to access education, this is not necessarily always the case. In a large, urban and industrialised province such as Gauteng, where there is considerable in-migration into the province, children who were born outside Gauteng or were foreign-born, appeared to be more vulnerable as they were more likely to be out of school than those born in Gauteng. In the Eastern Cape (and Mbhashe) where there is a lot of migration out of the province rather than migration into the province, very few children were born outside the Eastern Cape and this did not appear to affect school enrolment.

Family structure also impacted on whether or not a child would be enrolled in school. Studies by Case & Ardington (2006) and Operario (2006) found that parental death had a negative impact on school enrolment. This can be seen in the CS 2007 data, which showed that nationally and in the Eastern Cape and Gauteng, as well as in Ekurhuleni, single and double orphans were far more likely to be out of school than children who had both parents alive. In Mbhashe, however, the situation was less clear cut. Here double orphans were far less likely to be out of school than single orphans and those whose parents are both alive. While data error in the CS 2007 could partly account for this anomaly, it is possible that in an area where jobs are not plentiful, orphans remain in school because of the absence of any alternative. The existence of school feeding schemes for younger children could also be a major motivator for orphans to remain in school.

Children who live with their parents were far less likely to be out of school than the average out-of-school rate recorded in the respective areas. The situation of children living in households headed by people other than their parents differed. In South Africa as a whole,

children who lived with their grandparents were less likely to be out of school than the average out-of-school rate. A similar situation pertained to the Eastern Cape. In Gauteng, Ekurhuleni and Mbhashe, on the other hand, children who lived with their grandparents were more likely than the average to be out of school. The most vulnerable group of children across all areas (except Mbhashe) were those who headed their household. In contrast, in Mbhashe all the children who were reported to be the head of the household were enrolled in school. Once again it is possible that the lack of employment in the area and the existence school feeding schemes could provide incentives for these highly vulnerable children to continue in school. A group who also appeared to be at very high risk of not attending school in both were those children living in a household headed by a non-relative, confirming Sibanda's (2004:105) findings in 1996.

The education level of the head of the household also appears to influence school enrolment. In general the lower the education levels the higher the proportion of children out of school.

The CS 2007 data also indicates that economic factors do to some extent influence patterns of enrolment. Having an employed person actually residing in the household is not, in itself, a suitable indicator for assessing school enrolment. Rather it would seem that it is money coming into the home that affects whether or not a child will attend school. This is evident in the Eastern Cape which had more than half of households with not a single employed person residing in the household. Despite this, the majority of households did have income (76% of households reported having an income and 63% had income above R12,000 per year) most likely as a result of migrant labour remittances. (The Eastern Cape has one of the highest outflows of labour in the country (Statistics SA, 2006:5). Without controlling for other indicators these children in the Eastern Cape were almost as likely to be out of school as their counterparts who lived in households where at least one resident was employed. Similarly in Mbhashe which had an extremely high number of households – almost nine out of ten households - with not a single employed person residing in the household, but 75% of households did have income. In Mbhashe, households with not a single employed person were far less likely to be out of school than their counterparts who lived in households where at least one resident was employed. In Gauteng and Ekurhuleni, on the other hand, less than a quarter of children lived in households with not a single person employed person, these children were far more likely to be out of school than those who had at least one employed person living in their household. This may indicate that while the employment status of household may be a suitable indicator for school enrolment in an urban, more industrialised area, it is not a reliable indicator for rural areas.

While employment is not a definitive indicator of school enrolment, poverty does seem to influence patterns of enrolment. Nationally and in both provinces and the two municipalities that this paper is concerned with, poorer households, had a higher rate of out-of-school children than those who earn more than R24,000 a year. However, social grants may mitigate the impact of poverty to some extent, especially in more rural areas. In the Eastern Cape and

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Mbhashe, where a large proportion of children received a social grant, these children were less likely to be out of school than those who did not.

5. Conclusion

While the vast majority children aged between seven and fifteen were in school in South Africa, between 3.5% and 4.6% of children in the areas analysed in this paper were not attending any educational institution. This amounted to 386,069 children in South Africa.

Using the Community Survey 2007 much has been learnt about children of compulsory school age who were out of school. The findings suggest that there are several factors that may cause children to not be in school and as Fleisch et al (2009) and Hunt (2008) suggest, these factors are most likely interrelated. Firstly, being disabled appears to be a substantial barrier to accessing education. Moreover, geographic location may exacerbate the problem as disabled children in the rural areas (Eastern Cape and Mbhashe) are far more likely to be out of school than disabled children in a more urban environment. The second factor is household structure, with children living with biological parent more likely to be in school than those living in other family set-ups. Thirdly, poverty does appear to impact negatively on access to schooling with a higher proportion of children in poorer households more likely to be out of school than children in higher income households. Finally children who qualify for a social grant but whose families were unable to access these grants, also may be more vulnerable when it comes to being enrolled in school.

While only a small proportion of children are out of school, these children are most likely to be from very marginal groups, making it very difficult and costly to provide education for them (Williams, 1983). But as the South African government is committed to having 100% education coverage in the compulsory ages (DoE, 2003:15), targeted policy interventions focusing particularly on vulnerable groups, must be considered and would likely have to involve inter-departmental interventions. Firstly, the provision of, and access to, education for children with special educational needs must be reviewed, particularly for children in rural areas. Secondly, orphans, children living in child-headed households, children who head up households as well as children living in households that are headed by adults other than their parents or grandparents are highly vulnerable and require specialised support from Social Development and Education Departments to help them cope with their circumstances and ensure that they are able to remain in school. Thirdly, children who qualify for a social grant but are unable to access these grants would need particular assistance. This would probably require an interdepartmental programme involving the Departments of Education, Social Development and Home Affairs. Finally, more research is needed to understand why some children (such as coloured children) are disproportionately out of school.

One of the drawbacks of the CS 2007 is that it does not address issues such as the demand for education, the provision of education, parental attitudes towards education, silent exclusion of children within school, the quality of education provision and school-specific issues, all of which may also have an impact on whether or not a child remains in school (see Social Surveys and CALS, 2009 and Motala et al, 2007). However, the CS 2007 has enabled us to

identify the personal, household and economic characteristics of out-of-school children, and has, therefore, taken us much further along the road to understanding some of the issues involved in children dropping out of school. It is important to note that the analysis in this paper has provided a broad overview of the personal, social and economic characteristics of those children who are out of school. This is a first step in understanding why children may be out of school. However, one cannot draw conclusions about either the direction of these relationships or their strength from this level of analysis. Establishing links between a child's background and out-of-school status would require further statistical analysis, which goes beyond the scope of this report.

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Appendix

Table 6: Personal, household and economic characteristics of children aged 7-15 in South Africa not attending an educational institution, 2007

	<i>In an education institution</i>	<i>Out of an education institution</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>	<i>% out of education</i>	<i>Those out of education as a % of the 386 069 out of education</i>
Total children 7-15 years of age	8 58 7585	386 069	8 973 654	4.3	
7	993155	51632	1044786	4.9	13.4
8	958688	42150	1000838	4.2	10.9
9	991580	39263	1030844	3.8	10.2
10	950617	34666	985283	3.5	9.0
11	933446	34002	967448	3.5	8.8
12	949613	36809	986422	3.7	9.5
13	933173	38843	972016	4.0	10.1
14	939136	46580	985715	4.7	12.1
15	938178	62125	1000302	6.2	16.1
Male	4270544	198845	4469388	4.4	51.5
Female	4317041	187225	4504266	4.2	48.5
Black	7213236	330578	7543814	4.4	85.6
Coloured	709997	47316	757313	6.2	12.3
Indian/Asian	173227	2426	175654	1.4	0.6
White	491125	5749	496874	1.2	1.5
Disability	130118	36960	167077	22.1	9.6
No disability	8457467	349110	8806577	4.0	90.4
Both parents alive	6411883	259005	6670888	3.9	67.1
Mother alive, father dead or survival not known	1400984	75263	1476247	5.1	19.5
Father alive, mother dead or survival not known	323645	18405	342050	5.4	4.8
Both parents dead or survival not known	451073	33397	484470	6.9	8.7
Born in South Africa	8528784	375731	8904515	4.2	97.3
Born outside South Africa	47682	5842	53524	10.9	1.5
Place of birth unknown or unspecified	11119	4496	15615	28.8	1.2
Have not moved in last six years	7398792	334278	7733070	4.3	86.6
Have moved in last six years	1188793	51791	1240584	4.2	13.4
Relationship to head of household					
Son/daughter of the head of the household	4967415	191969	5159384	3.7	49.7
Grandchild/great grandchild of head of household	2524034	109253	2633287	4.1	28.3
Adopted son/daughter of head of household	120199	8070	128269	6.3	2.1
Head/acting head of the household	19633	3628	23261	15.6	0.9
Brother/sister of head of household	219263	14448	233711	6.2	3.7
Brother/sister-in-law of head of household	24427	2145	26573	8.1	0.6
Non-related person to the head of the household	29984	2898	32882	8.8	0.8
Other relative to the head of the household	540768	42654	583422	7.3	11.0
Stepchild of the head of the household	94662	4762	99424	4.8	1.2
Education level of head of household					
No education	1830207	106763	1936971	5.5	27.7
Primary incomplete	2079138	105080	2184218	4.8	27.2
Primary complete	613938	26604	640542	4.2	6.9
Secondary not complete	2554625	96098	2650723	3.6	24.9

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Secondary complete	1065103	32746	1097849	3.0	8.5
Tertiary degree/diploma	309193	5907	315100	1.9	1.5
Unspecified	135381	12872	148253	8.7	3.3
Not one person in the household is employed	4607850	216458	4824308	4.5	56.1
At least one person in the household is employed	3979734.8	169611	4149346	4.1	43.9
Receiving social grant	3411367	124055	3535422	3.5	32.1
Not receiving social grant	5176218	262014	5438232	4.8	67.9
Household income*					
0	1968007	95804	2063810	4.6	24.8
R1-R24 000	3301443	161527	3462970	4.7	41.8
R24 001-100 000	2201381	101616	2302998	4.4	26.3
R100 001+	1116754	27123	1143877	2.4	7.0

Source: Fleisch et al, 2009

*Note: at the time of writing R1.00 was equal to GB£0.091 or US\$0.144

Table 7: Personal, household and economic characteristics of children aged 7-15 in the Eastern Cape not attending an educational institution, 2007

	<i>In an education institution</i>	<i>Out of an education institution</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>	<i>% out of education</i>	<i>Those out of school as a % of the 67 634 out of education</i>
Total children 7-15 years of age	1418245	67634	1485879	4.6	
7	153579	7853	161432	4.9	11.6
8	150308	7150	157458	4.5	10.6
9	161317	6435	167752	3.8	9.5
10	161025	6753	167778	4.0	10.0
11	157288	4765	162052	2.9	7.0
12	163955	6597	170552	3.9	9.8
13	160269	6980	167249	4.2	10.3
14	159425	9049	168474	5.4	13.4
15	151080	12052	163132	7.4	17.8
Male	712679	35299	747977	4.7	52.2
Female	705566	32336	737902	4.4	47.8
African	1305955	59671	1365626	4.4	88.2
Coloured	78371	7907	86279	9.2	11.7
Indian	2327	0	2327	0.0	0.0
White	31592	56	31648	0.2	0.1
Disability	24,787	7,554	32,341	23.4	11.2
No disability	1,393,457	60,080	1,453,538	4.1	88.8
Born in the Eastern Cape	1356025	64376	1420401	4.5	95.2
Born in another province	58829	2304	61133	3.8	3.4
Born outside RSA	1687	189	1876	10.1	0.3
Place of birth unknown or unspecified	1703	766	2469	31.0	1.1
Both parents alive	984167	44147	1028314	4.3	65.3
Mother alive, father dead or survival not known	289788	14522	304310	4.8	21.5
Father alive, mother dead or survival not known	59383	3025	62408	4.8	4.5
Both parents dead or survival not known	84906	5940	90846	6.5	8.8
Relationship to head of the household:					
Son/daughter	723908	32676	756585	4.3	48.3
Grandchild/great grandchild	496590	21232	517821	4.1	31.4

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Adopted son/daughter	18214	1421	19635	7.2	2.1
Head/acting	3578	597	4175	14.3	0.9
Brother/sister	36121	2288	38409	6.0	3.4
Brother/sister-in-law	5645	261	5906	4.4	0.4
Other relative	119339	8067	127406	6.3	11.9
Stepchild	9860	535	10395	5.1	0.8
Non-related person	4990	558	5548	10.1	0.8
Education level of head of the household:					
No education	317706	20053	337759	5.9	29.6
Primary incomplete	421809	19523	441333	4.4	28.9
Primary complete	118661	5564	124224	4.5	8.2
Secondary not complete	398076	15737	413813	3.8	23.3
Secondary complete	100528	3182	103709	3.1	4.7
Tertiary degree/diploma	36220	993	37213	2.7	1.5
Unspecified	25246	2583	27828	9.3	3.8
Not one person in the household is employed	800725	38341	839067	4.6	56.7
At least one person in the household is employed	617519	29293	646813	4.5	43.3
Receiving social grant	700312	25666	725978	3.5	37.9
Not receiving social grant	680132	38840	718972	5.4	57.4
Household income*					
Nil	414177	19316	433493	4.5	28.6
R1-R24 000	620407	31016	651423	4.8	45.9
R24 001-100 000	279580	14166	293745	4.8	20.9
R100 001+	182658	5083	187741	2.7	7.5

*Note: at the time of writing R1.00 was equal to GB£0.091 or US\$0.144

Table 8: Personal, household and economic characteristics of children aged 7-15 in Gauteng not attending an educational institution, 2007

	<i>In an education institution</i>	<i>Out of an education institution</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>	<i>% out of education</i>	<i>Those out of school as a % of 64 658 out of school</i>
Total children 7-15 years of age	1338342	64658	1403000	4.6	
7	176848	10096	186944	5.4	15.6
8	167157	9364	176521	5.3	14.5
9	173267	8208	181475	4.5	12.7
10	150114	6201	156315	4.0	9.6
11	135027	5403	140430	3.8	8.4
12	134650	5803	140454	4.1	9.0
13	133126	4884	138010	3.5	7.6
14	127695	6559	134254	4.9	10.1
15	140457	8140	148597	5.5	12.6
Male	664619	33204	697822	4.8	51.4
Female	673723	31455	705178	4.5	48.6
African	1017159	56637	1073796	5.3	87.6
Coloured	64613	4734	69346	6.8	7.3
Indian	37982	532	38514	1.4	0.8
White	218587	2756	221343	1.2	4.3
Disability	18996	4042	23038	17.5	6.3
No disability	1319345	60616	1379962	4.4	93.7
Born in Gauteng	1015555	43313	1058868	4.1	67.0

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Born in another province	298815	17094	315909	5.4	26.4
Born outside RSA	21756	3320	25076	13.2	5.1
Place of birth unknown or unspecified	2216	931	3147	29.6	1.4
Both parents alive	1085302	44779	1130082	4.0	69.3
Mother alive, father dead or survival not known	170485	11777	182262	6.5	18.2
Father alive, mother dead or survival not known	36368	2970	39338	7.6	4.6
Both parents dead or survival not known	46187	5132	51318	10.0	7.9
Relationship to head of the household:					
Son/daughter	943629	37321	980951	3.8	57.7
Grandchild/great grandchild	263857	14097	277954	5.1	21.8
Adopted son/daughter	24458	1587	26045	6.1	2.5
Head/acting	1130	778	1908	40.8	1.2
Brother/sister	17258	2544	19802	12.8	3.9
Brother/sister-in-law	3030	345	3375	10.2	0.5
Other relative	61505	6742	68247	9.9	10.4
Stepchild	19171	657	19828	3.3	1.0
Non-related person	4302	587	4889	12.0	0.9
Education level of head of the household					
No education	107738	8646	116384	7.4	13.4
Primary incomplete	216239	13142	229380	5.7	20.3
Primary complete	80065	4584	84649	5.4	7.1
Secondary not complete	498548	22099	520647	4.2	34.2
Secondary complete	297851	10326	308177	3.4	16.0
Tertiary degree/diploma	104764	1631	106396	1.5	2.5
Unspecified	33136	4230	37366	11.3	6.5
Not one person in the household is employed	304182	21170	325351	6.5	32.7
At least one person in the household is employed	1034160	43488	1077649	4.0	67.3
Receiving social grant	361410	17008	378418	4.5	26.3
Not receiving social grant	940966	44350	985316	4.5	68.6
Household income*					
Nil	259225	18956	278181	6.8	29.3
R1-R24 000	365199	19982	385180	5.2	30.9
R24 001-100 000	374869	18300	393169	4.7	28.3
R100 001+	339049	7420	346469	2.1	11.5

*Note: at the time of writing R1.00 was equal to GB£0.091 or US\$0.144

Table 9: Personal, household and economic characteristics of children aged 7-15 in the Mbashe Local Municipality not attending an educational institution, 2007

	<i>In an education institution</i>	<i>Out of an education institution</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>	<i>% out of education</i>	<i>Those out of school as a % of the 3 174 out of school</i>
Total children 7-15 years of age	73729	3174	76903	4.1	
7	7461	299	7759	3.8	9.4
8	8692	253	8945	2.8	8.0
9	7116	356	7473	4.8	11.2
10	8476	427	8903	4.8	13.4
11	10429	63	10493	0.6	2.0
12	8182	331	8513	3.9	10.4
13	8781	677	9458	7.2	21.3
14	7396	295	7692	3.8	9.3
15	7195	473	7668	6.2	14.9

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Male	37515	1919	39435	4.9	60.5
Female	36214	1254	37468	3.3	39.5
African	73685	3165	76850	4.1	99.7
Coloured	0	9	9	100.0	0.3
Indian	44	0	44	0.0	0.0
White	0	0	0	0.0	0.0
Disability	1,076	284	1,360	20.9	9.0
No disability	72,653	2,889	75,543	3.8	91.0
Born in the Eastern Cape	71944	3167	75111	4.2	99.8
Born in another province	1785	7	1792	0.4	0.2
Born outside RSA	0	0	0	0.0	0.0
Place of birth unknown or unspecified	92	0	92	0.0	0.0
Both parents alive	51640	2128	53769	4.0	67.1
Mother alive father dead or survival not known	16843	735	17578	4.2	23.1
Father alive mother dead or survival not known	2600	232	2832	8.2	7.3
Both parents dead	2645	78	2724	2.9	2.5
Relationship to head of the household:					
Son/daughter	37225	1130	38354	2.9	35.6
Grandchild/great grandchild	26439	1616	28056	5.8	50.9
Adopted son/daughter	979	0	979	0.0	0.0
Head/acting	7	0	7	0.0	0.0
Brother/sister	1930	20	1950	1.0	0.6
Brother/sister-in-law	381	54	435	12.4	1.7
Other relative	6380	264	6644	4.0	8.3
Stepchild	162	22	184	11.9	0.7
Non-related person	227	68	294	23.0	2.1
Education level of head of the household:					
No education	26667	1763	28430	6.2	55.5
Primary incomplete	21899	678	22577	3.0	21.4
Primary complete	5072	43	5115	0.8	1.4
Secondary not complete	16996	568	17564	3.2	17.9
Secondary complete	1207	0	1207	0.0	0
Tertiary degree/diploma	633	0	633	0.0	0
Unspecified	1210	122	1332	9.2	3.9
Not one person in the household is employed	64242	2467	66709	3.7	77.7
At least one person in the household is employed	9487	707	10194	6.9	22.3
Receiving social grant	43,432	1,520	44,952	3.4	47.9
Not receiving social grant	29,510	1,581	31,091	5.1	49.8
Household income*					
Nil	18,688	814	19,502	4.2	25.7
R1-R24 000	42593	2041	44634	4.6	64.3
R24 001-100 000	10,477	306	10,782	2.8	9.6
R100 001+	1971	13	1984	0.6	0.4

*Note: at the time of writing R1.00 was equal to GB£0.091 or US\$0.144

Table 10: Personal, household and economic characteristics of children aged 7-15 in the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality not attending an educational institution, 2007

	<i>In an education institution</i>	<i>Out of an education institution</i>	<i>Grand Total</i>	<i>% out of educatio n</i>	<i>Those out of education as a % of the 12 953 out of education</i>
Total children 7-15 years of age	358027	12953	370980	3.5	
7	47573	1974	49547	4.0	15.2
8	46963	2313	49276	4.7	17.9
9	45706	1757	47463	3.7	13.6
10	41144	905	42049	2.2	7.0
11	35464	972	36436	2.7	7.5
12	35716	1437	37152	3.9	11.1
13	35206	913	36120	2.5	7.1
14	34324	1066	35390	3.0	8.2
15	35931	1617	37548	4.3	12.5
Male	176770	6652	183422	3.6	51.4
Female	181257	6301	187558	3.4	48.6
African	271555	11486	283041	4.1	88.7
Coloured	15964	1121	17084	6.6	8.7
Indian	7556	0	7556	0.0	0.0
White	62953	346	63299	0.5	2.7
Disability	5128	781	5909	13.2	6.0
No disability	352899	12172	365071	3.3	94.0
Born in Gauteng	286935	9581	296516	3.2	74.0
Born in another province	65977	2767	68745	4.0	21.4
Born outside RSA	4855	605	5459	11.1	4.7
Place of birth unknown or unspecified	260	0	260	0.0	0.0
Both parents alive	284919	8956	293875	3.0	69.1
Father alive, mother dead or survival not known	11076	776	11852	6.5	6.0
Mother alive, father dead or survival not known	48265	2348	50613	4.6	18.1
Both parents dead or survival not known	13767	872	14639	6.0	6.7
Relationship to head of the household:					
Son/daughter	253474	8003	261477	3.1	61.8
Grandchild/great grandchild	71546	2884	74430	3.9	22.3
Adopted son/daughter	7129	326	7456	4.4	2.5
Head/acting	273	144	416	34.5	1.1
Brother/sister	4369	279	4648	6.0	2.2
Brother/sister-in-law	638	42	680	6.2	0.3
Other relative	14804	1145	15949	7.2	8.8
Stepchild	4703	0	4703	0.0	0.0
Non-related person	1091	130	1220	10.6	1.0
Education level of head of the household					
No education	33060	1725	34785	5.0	13.3
Primary incomplete	58058	2886	60945	4.7	22.3
Primary complete	20796	671	21467	3.1	5.2
Secondary not complete	137740	4594	142334	3.2	35.5
Secondary complete	82170	1978	84147	2.4	15.3
Tertiary degree/diploma	20801	161	20962	0.8	1.2
Unspecified	5401	939	6340	14.8	7.2
Not one person in the household is employed	80654	4194	84849	4.9	32.4
At least one person in the household is employed	277373	8759	286131	3.1	67.6

*Characteristics of Out-of-School Children of Compulsory School Age in South Africa:
What the Community Survey 2007 shows*

Receiving social grant	90567	3285	93852	3.5	25.4
Not receiving social grant	260603	8970	269573	3.3	69.3
Household income					
Nil	59608	3257	62866	5.2	25.1
R1-R24 000	100650	4402	105052	4.2	34.0
R24 001-100 000	103110	3663	106773	3.4	28.3
R100 001+	94659	1631	96289	1.7	12.6

*Note: at the time of writing R1.00 was equal to GB£0.091 or US\$0.144