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University of Cape Town



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**ACCESS TO HOUSING IN CAPE TOWN: DO YOUNG PEOPLE MOVE SMOOTHLY
FROM PARENTAL HOUSING TO INDEPENDENT LIVING ARRANGEMENTS?**

By

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**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the
Degree of Master of Philosophy in Development Studies**

Supervisor: Professor Jeremy Seekings

December 2010

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am infinitely indebted to a lot of people whose contribution indirectly and directly helped in the completion of this dissertation, but I bear full responsibility for the views and interpretations advanced in this work. Firstly, special thanks to Professor Jeremy Seekings, my research advisor. Jeremy provided an opportunity for me to develop as a researcher. His reviews to my work helped to mould my conceptual thinking. Jeremy's remarkable insights and analytical thinking were constantly a source of inspiration to me. I could not have asked for more in a research advisor. I also thank Jeremy for providing a scholarship to me through the Centre for Social Science Research with funds from the Mellon Foundation.

During the period of my research, I had the pleasure to work with an outstanding collection of colleagues at the Centre for Social Science Research: Rutendo Murambiwa was a close companion in this research and her critical engagement with my work was particularly beneficial and an eye opener. When I thought the analysis was done, she would then ask "so what?" In those many months and days and long hours of work that we would sit to share this work be it day or evening, she gave advice. At times all I needed was someone to listen to my lamentation of the work, and she did just that. I owe her a great debt of gratitude. Celeste Coetzee shared many great ideas that shaped my analysis using STATA in this research. She always availed herself for consultation to which I am eternally grateful. Brandon Maughan-Brown simplified the merging of datasets in STATA which I applied for my analysis. Garikayi Chemhaka was always willing to help in the conceptualisation of research issues besides providing analytical technical insights using STATA. Garikayi also commented on my drafts. Takwanisa Machedmedze assisted greatly with statistics, data management and analysis using Excel. I also thank two anonymous reviewers for their comments and insights which helped to restructure this dissertation.

I am also grateful to Celia for the editorials and formatting this dissertation and ensuring that it was presented in a better form than I would have done. Lynn Woolfrey also edited this work, and assisted with data management and provided space in Datafirst Research Resource Centre during the time I was working on this dissertation. Further, I am very

thankful to Prof. Owen Sichone, Prof. Nicoli Nattrass, Associate Prof. David Lincoln, Associate Prof. Sophie Oldfield, and Associate Prof. Lungisile Ntsebeza for their intellectually stimulating discussions in their various seminars I attended.

To my late mum who passed on during the crucial time of writing this dissertation left me devastated – I had to believe this work could still be finished. Her unwavering support and encouragement before her untimely passing on strengthened my self-belief during the long hours of work and the inevitable low points in my research. I am fortunate to have a wonderful family and thanks for their love and support: grandma, Ken Chisonga, Grace Chisonga, Jacqueline Chisonga, Mukosa Chisonga, Mwila Chisonga, Twaambo M. Chisonga, Kabaso N. Chisonga, Lubuto Chisonga, Muchindu Chisonga, and Gina Chisonga. Many thanks to my friends for helping me to maintain my sanity during those research dissertation related imbalances: Artwell Chimanga, Henrique Sungeti, Sobby Kangabala, Dedan J. Sichone, Ralph Ssebagala, Bronwyn Sian Nortje, Thando Vilakazi, Thulani Madinginye, Kai, Azwi Joseph Netshikulwe, Singumbe Muyeba, Madalitso Phiri, and Netsai Sarah Matshaka. Thank you to Tendai Chikamhi, for the emotional support, praise and encouragement, in addition to the valuable insights she gave to the drafts.

ABSTRACT

Most international and local (South African) research on housing examine housing tenure in terms of static categories, – i.e. does someone own or rent their accommodation – without capturing either the dynamics of how people occupy housing or the complexities that arise when, for example, someone might rent accommodation while owning a house elsewhere. Most censuses and surveys simply ask whether the household living in a sampled house (or apartment, etc) currently rents or owns that house. I find access to housing to be a better analytical category than tenure arguing that renting and owner occupier housing are not exclusive categories, and can co-exist, and that additional categories should be identified. This dissertation used the Cape Area Panel Study and found that young people's access to housing was explained through five categories; ownership, renting, renting and ownership, shared accommodation, and family houses.

This study finds that most young people in Cape Town had access to housing mainly through family houses way into their late twenties, a situation which did not fit neatly within the mainstream understanding of housing tenure defined either by ownership or rental accommodation. Their access to accommodation varied by income. Those with lower and higher earnings were highly associated with ownership than the middle income earning group while rental was directly related to earnings. Most young people were in houses with co-resident parents and other kin while their shift to independent housing occurred at a very slow rate with age and across gender and race.

Access to housing was also used to trace young people's housing 'paths', i.e. their changing access to accommodation as they grow older. Internationally, little attention has been paid to young people's housing paths and no such studies have been done in Africa. This study found that most young people in Cape Town followed inconsistent housing paths mainly due to unstable incomes and strongly kinship networks encouraged extended family systems. I defined a consistent housing path as a shift from a family house to rental and/or owner occupier housing. Inconsistent housing paths appeared in any alternative order, i.e. first-time owners who later moved into family housing. In addition, there was an insignificant marginal effect of HIV-AIDS affectedness on young people's access to housing.

Overall, this dissertation makes three main contributions to the existing body of literature. Firstly, this is the first systematic study to investigate a full range of housing occupancy through access to housing in view of the inadequate and legalistic binary understanding of tenure. Secondly, it is the first evidence of a systematic measure of young people's housing paths in Africa and highlights that kinship, structural conditions (i.e. employment, family background), human agency (individual choices) and social factors (i.e. HIV-AIDS) explained their shifts to independent housing. Lastly, this study also makes a methodological contribution for a more nuanced examination of access to housing through a dynamic approach - the use of panel data.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARV	Antiretroviral
ART	Antiretroviral Therapy/Treatment
BHSP	British Household Panel Survey
CAPS	Cape Area Panel Study
CDE	Centre for Development Enterprise
CSSR	Centre for Social Science Research
EA	Enumerating Area
GHS	General Household Survey
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRW	Human Rights Watch
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
ILO	International Labour Organisation
KIDS	KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study
NCDS	National Child Development Panel Study – in United Kingdom
NIDS	National Income Dynamic Study
PLWHA	People living with HIV and AIDS
PSID	Panel Study of Income Dynamics
PSU	Primary Sampling Units
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAPS	South African Police Service
UNAIDS	The United Nations Joint Programme on HIV/AIDS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background: shifting beyond tenure to access to housing

Housing is widely recognised to occupy a very strategic position in people's lives (Musyoki, 1998; Mahanga, 2002; Larsson, Mapetla and Schlyter, 1998; 2003; Aidala and Sumartojo, 2007). Yet it has proved frustratingly difficult to understand how young people access housing as they progress into adulthood. This is particularly the case in Africa and specifically so in South Africa where this study was conducted, a country that is home to high levels of poverty and the greatest numbers of HIV-AIDS in the world¹. Young people's access to housing and their housing paths remain remotely understood given that research on housing has for the most part applied 'housing tenure' to explain people's occupation of housing (Rowlands and Gurney, 2001). Housing tenure is a legal term with origins from the English law and applied to confer terms and conditions on which people own or rent housing (Blandy and Goodchild, 1999). This study finds housing tenure to be an insufficient premise on which to explain housing. Instead the study focuses on access to housing in general and pays particular attention on the role of kinship and HIV-AIDS in particular, to explain young people's movement from parental housing to independent living arrangements in order to add a different perspective on the housing body of knowledge.

This study emerged out of concern that mainstream literature on housing has for a long time been preoccupied with examining a legalistic and dichotomous concept of housing tenure (Henderson and Ioannides, 1983; Smith, Rosen and Fallis, 1988; Gilbert, et al, 1997; Watson and McCarthy, 1997) despite expressed reservations in the continued use of the concept (Barlow and Duncan, 1988; Somerville and Knowles, 1991; Ruonavaara, 1993). This mainstream literature suggests that people can either own or rent houses, prompting mainly research from a structural perspective centred on the importance of tenure type (Rex and Moore, 1967; Saunders, 1980), constraints for shifts from one type of tenure to

¹ See Whiteside (2008) for an overview of the HIV-AIDS epidemic in Africa.

another and preferences for homeowners and renters (Henderson and Ioannides, 1983; Di Salvo and Ermisch, 1997; Kan, 2000). While Rex and Moore (1967) held that housing tenure constitutes material interests advanced, sometimes in opposition to those of the other tenure groups, Saunders (1980) provides a Weberian analysis in which owner occupiers have shared class interests as housing consumers and as capital accumulators. For Henderson and Ioannides (1983), Di Salvo and Ermisch (1997), and Kan (2000), they highlight socio-economic factors that determine choices on whether to own or rent houses.

Critics have (justifiably) argued that housing tenure has limited explanatory power and obscured understanding of people's housing occupation and its use over time - i.e., housing decisions made on whether to rent a house while owning another. Barlow and Duncan (1988), Somerville and Knowles (1991), Ruonavaara (1993), Cousins (2007), and Hulse (2008) argue that housing tenure is historically specific and suffer from faulty conceptualisation. Barlow and Duncan (1988), and Cousins (2007) suggest that caution be exercised in the application of housing tenure since it has particular historical origins while Somerville and Knowles (1991) have considerable difficulties with reducing the concept to class. They hold that while the social relations of housing tenure have contributed to class formation especially in the UK, class and housing tenure are social relations which continually were reformed and remade through dynamic interactions. Ruonavaara (1993) further highlights that housing tenure is insensitive to variations over time and between places.

Hulse (2008) underlines the weaknesses within mainstream literature that constructing housing tenure as a series of unchanging and mutually exclusive categories is a hindrance to understanding how people and households occupy housing and their investment decisions regarding the purchase and sell of houses. She suggests 'moving beyond housing tenure' – from dichotomous and mutually exclusive categories to identifying multiple categories that co-exist and explain evolving social conditions in ways in which individuals and households access, occupy (use and control) and buy/sell houses. To date only Logan, Fang and Zhang's (2009) work has gone beyond housing tenure and argue that individuals in households make independent decisions about housing – that is, whether to own a house, to be in an institutional shelter, to live in family homes with kin, or in shared accommodation with

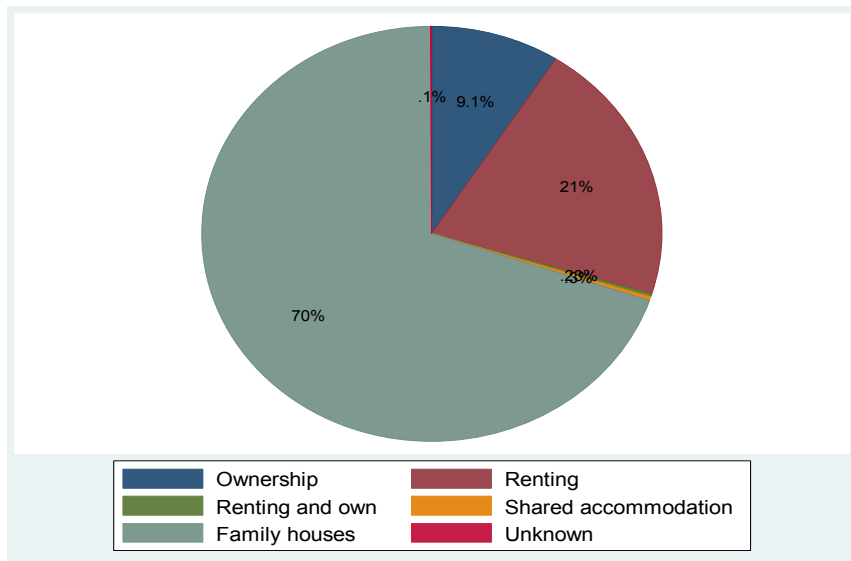
friends, and to rent (both private and public). Their study used Chinese census data for 2000 and analysed demographic and socio-economic factors to determine who has what form of access to housing. Hulse (2008) and Logan, Fang and Zhang's (2009) works are not without weaknesses. The former is conceptually strong although it could have significantly benefited from an empirical basis given it is a theoretical review of housing tenure. The latter's use of a census with its wider coverage formed the strength of the analysis, on one side, while the cross-sectional nature of their study, on the other side, missed a dynamic approach which adequately assesses access to housing.

Following Hulse (2008) and Logan, Fang and Zhang's (2009) studies, I use access to housing to demonstrate that it is a shift beyond tenure by examining young people's² occupation of housing and their housing paths over time in Cape Town, South Africa. I find that young people had access to housing through owning, renting, owning and renting, shared accommodation, and family houses (see fig 1.1 below and table 3.3 in chapter 3). Young people's ownership to housing was explained through direct purchases from housing markets or indirectly through purchases of land before self built houses. Ownership was also through inheritance within family structures and state allocation systems. Renting was in housing markets and different arrangements within households. Some young people were renting in housing markets and households while owning houses elsewhere for different reasons which survey questions should have fully probed. This suggested the co-existence of owning and renting. Other young people shared accommodation with friends i.e. occupying different bedrooms within a house. Yet still the majority of young people were in family houses. Family houses were owned by family members within or outside the households.

Access to housing is used to refer to a dynamic understanding of how and why people occupy housing (i.e. own, rent, own and rent, family house, etc) and the kin (social) relations associated with its use and control (Hulse, 2008; Okoth-Ogendo, 1989). I hold that access to housing is a better analytical category than housing tenure because renting and owner occupier housing are not exclusive categories, and can co-exist, and that additional categories should be identified.

² I interchangeably use young people and young adults in this study to refer to the respondents.

Figure 1. 1: Young people’s access to housing in Cape Town



Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009

Young people’s access to housing is also examined by exploring their housing paths³. Traditional studies on young people’s housing paths have mainly been concerned with structural factors. Employment, class, and family formation were key dimensions that characterised two major young people’s housing trajectories in the post-1945 period in the UK – either from parental homes to public rental housing or from parental homes to ownership of houses (Inchien, 1981; Green et al, 1997). Labour market changes, the demand for higher education and social security issues from mid 1980s meant housing for young people took a shift from the earlier trajectories (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). Given these changes, a higher percentage of young people were likely to be retained for longer in their parental homes (Coles et al 1999). It was also argued that these changes meant that where young people moved into independent housing arrangements they found housing costs prohibitive and ended up in poor living conditions (Rugg and Burrows, 1999). Critics, however, argue that human agency and lifestyle choices were the main explanatory variables rather than structural factors (Nettleton and Burrows, 1998; Ford et al, 2003). This

³ I have used the idea of housing path (adapted from pathway) which researchers have applied to focus on how particular groups of people find their way through different forms of housing over time (Ford, et al 2003). I restrict the concept to the analysis of young adults’ individual housing experiences that centre on one or two paths and indicate their changing access to accommodation as they grow older.

dissertation provides a systematic assessment of young people's housing paths in Cape Town. I argue that kinship attitudes and socio-economic factors were as much the main determinants of young people's housing paths in Cape Town as the structural and lifestyle choices.

In addition, this study also assesses the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS on access to housing by the first post-Apartheid generation of young people in Cape Town. The enormous challenge that the HIV-AIDS pandemic continue to inflict within sub-Saharan Africa cannot be underestimated (Whiteside, 2008). Not surprisingly substantial effort has been concentrated on the direct effects of HIV-AIDS such as the number of people living with HIV-AIDS (UNAIDS Fact Sheet, 2008), safer sex practices (Booyesen and Summerton, 2002), awareness levels (Shisana and Simbayi, 2002), multiple and concurrent relationships (Epstein, 2008), and traditional medicine use (Steinberg, 2008). Very few studies have investigated the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS associated with housing such as household dissolution and migration patterns (Young⁴ and Ansell, 2003), compromised family structure (Simpson and Raniga, 2004), and stigmatising behaviour (Mtetwa, 2003; Maughan-Brown, 2008). This dissertation provides a further systematic investigation of the HIV-AIDS affected compared to the unaffected young adults and shows that minor differences in access to housing between the two groups were due to wider socio-economic factors challenging all young people in Cape Town, and South Africa in general.

1.2 Defining the Research Question and Hypotheses of the study

The main research question of this dissertation is: how do young adults access housing in Cape Town and whether their housing paths from parental homes to independent living can be explained by social relations and HIV-AIDS? Specifically, the following hypotheses are tested. Firstly, young adults may become renters and owners of housing in Cape Town only if they earn an income. The study questions include: How do young adults access housing in Cape Town? Does access to housing change as young adults become older? What factors explain young adults' access to housing in Cape Town? Secondly, young adults may want to

⁴ She initially wrote under her maiden name 'Young' and later under her married name 'Blerk'.

maintain access to parental homes for prolonged periods rather than move into independent housing if brought up in an extended family system. The study questions include: Do young adults live longer than is necessary in their parental homes? What factors explain young adults' housing paths in Cape Town? Thirdly, are young people more likely to access housing through parental homes than rent or own if they were affected by HIV-AIDS. The study question includes: How does access to housing change when young adults are affected by HIV-AIDS?

To test these hypotheses, I apply basic descriptive statistics (univariate and bivariate analysis) and logistic regression models (multivariate analysis) with three dependent variables for access to housing: ownership; renting; and family houses. Two other variables (own and rent; and shared accommodation) were dropped out from the regression models because they were statistically insignificant. Unlike past studies that failed to go beyond housing tenure, this empirical analysis suggests that (young) people occupy housing in more categories than just rent and own. These categories are also not mutually exclusive – one can be renting while owning a house elsewhere. The regression models allowed for the analysis to jointly determine factors that explain access to housing among young adults in Cape Town.

Further shortcomings of previous studies were overcome by using a panel survey with individual young adults as units of analysis for observation periods between 2002 and 2009 from the Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS). The CAPS was unlike other panel studies. It initially used housing tenure but revised this in a more nuanced manner. Other panel studies have been conducted in South Africa, but do not pay attention to measuring access to housing and housing paths over time. For example, the Johannesburg based Birth-To-Ten (later Birth-To-Twenty) cohort study followed children born in public clinics between April and June in 1990 with a focus on medical and psychological developments (Barbarin and Richter, 2001).

The KwaZulu-Natal Income Dynamics Study (KIDS) was a three-wave panel (1993-1998-2004) with a household economic focus (May and Roberts, 2001). The individual respondents were at least 30 years old. The Transitions to Adulthood Panel was a two-wave

study (1999-2002) that interviewed young people between 14 and 22 in Durban and was focused on sex education, HIV-AIDS and reproductive and health histories. The National Income Dynamic Study (NIDS) launched its first wave in 2009 and was in the field for the second wave in December 2010. It is a national panel focused on the economic wellbeing of households. Smaller panel studies have also been conducted such as the Hlabisa in Northern KwaZulu-Natal and Agincourt in Mpumalanga focused on demographic surveillance. Further, an HIV-AIDS and household vulnerability panel was conducted between 2000 and 2004 in the Free State.

Several examples of panel studies outside South Africa can be found. The Cote d'Ivoire Living Standards survey was meant to measure income mobility, while the Semi Arid Tropics Village Level Studies in India examined access to rural assets. Well established panel studies such as the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) in the United States of America (USA) and the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) have been used to analyse a wide range of social issues but were still unable to move beyond housing tenure.

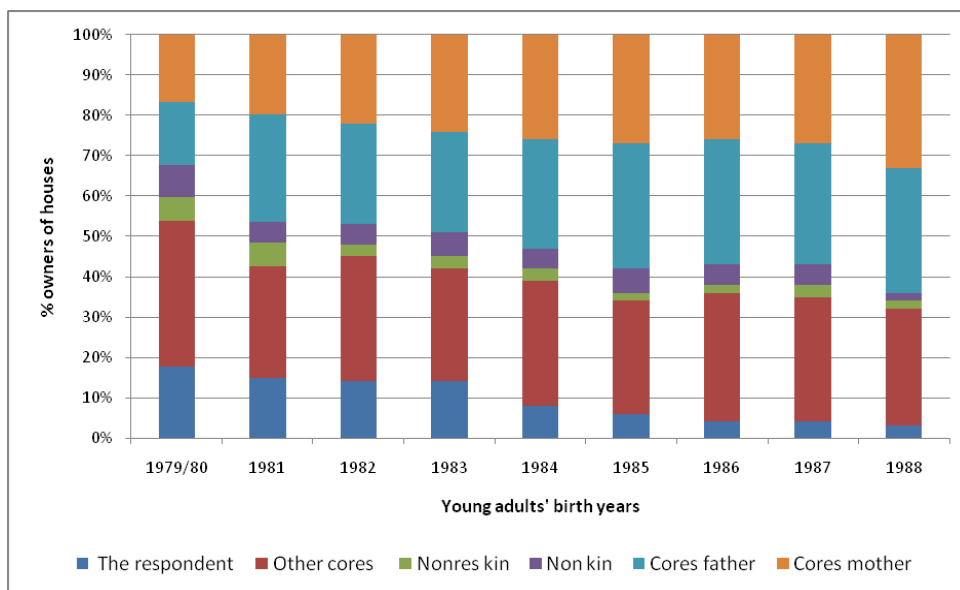
1.3 Significance of the Study

This dissertation contains three main findings. Firstly, the significant question of this study concerned how young people accessed housing in Cape Town. The Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS) wave 5⁵ in 2009 asked "who owns this residence?" is the question that I used to establish young people's access to housing and to form the dependent variable. I also identified the co-resident members of households using the same question since the analysis in this dissertation is at individual, not household level. Further, a cross-tabulation of the question with young people's birth-years clearly established their access to housing (see figure 1.2). Most young people were living in houses owned by their fathers or mothers and other kin way into their late twenties although they increasingly owned houses with age. This finding suggests that kinship was an important part of young people's access to housing in Cape Town. Their access to housing was directly related to age. Older young

⁵ I will identify the five different waves of CAPS according to their sequence and year of survey i.e. capsw5(2009), capsw4(2006), capsw3(2005), capsw2(2003/4), and capsw1(2002).

adults were less likely to live in houses with fathers and mothers and other kin and were more likely to own houses more than younger ones. Figure 1.2 also intuitively indicates that young people were renting and sharing accommodation from kin and non-kin. However, their access to housing varied with income. Young adults with lower and higher earnings were highly likely to own houses than the middle earning group. Renting was directly related to earnings - higher earnings increased the chance for young adults to rent houses.

Figure 1. 2: Dependent variable – who owns this house by birth-year



Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 1 and 5, 2002/9

Secondly, a further key question involved examining young people’s shifts from parental housing to independent living arrangements. The first four waves of CAPS surveys asked “does the family own or rent this residence?” which I used together with the caps5(2009) question above and including household and other individual information that extrapolate young people’s data beyond caps1(2002). I identified young people’s housing paths using their household line numbers and heads of households. A standard consistent housing path involved shifts from parental housing (family house) to rental and/or ownership of houses over time. Inconsistent housing paths comprised any other combination – i.e. from family houses to family houses, or from owning to renting and family houses, etc. This study found that most young people followed inconsistent housing paths and limited differences existed across gender and race to explain their housing paths within the broader socio-economic post-Apartheid environment. The finding highlights that young people’s preparedness (i.e.

intentional factors like marriage, unexpected factors like parenthood/pregnancy, and forced reasons like parental conflicts), structural factors (such as employment or income), and family support were constraints in their efforts to move smoothly from parental homes into independent adulthood housing arrangements.

Finally, questions that measured young people's experiences with HIV sickness and/or AIDS death were asked in all the five waves of CAPS between 2002 and 2009. I used these to analyse young people's 'affectedness' to examine the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS on access to housing. Given that affectedness is based on self-reported measures which might not reflect the actual situation, caps5(2009) undertook an HIV medical examination to establish HIV positive young people. This measure is used here to determine how HIV-AIDS illness shapes access to housing. Controlling for other variables, this study found that HIV-AIDS affectedness had insignificant marginal effects on young people's access to housing in Cape Town.

This empirical analysis contributes to the existing body of literature in three ways. Firstly, this is the first systematic study to investigate a full range of access to housing as a way beyond the categorical concept of housing tenure. It is only through dynamic observations which access to housing enables that a better understanding of people's housing and housing use can be determined both at household level (micro-level) and macro-scale (national). Secondly, I pay full attention to social relations (i.e. family background), social factors (i.e. HIV-AIDS), and structural conditions (i.e. employment) that presently influence post-Apartheid South Africa to understand young people's housing paths. I am also aware that constraints in housing supply such as the availability of housing stock at sale or rental prices, finance for purchase, allocation lists and their qualifying criteria are areas for further exploration. To this end, this dissertation further provides the first evidence of a systematic measure of young adults' housing paths in South Africa (and Africa in general) and highlights the major constraints in their efforts to move to independent housing. Lastly, this study also makes a methodological contribution for a more nuanced examination of access to housing; an emerging understanding of young people's housing paths and changes over time; and the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS on housing. Unlike past research (e.g. Logan, Fang and Zhang, 2009) that uses a cross-sectional approach, the dissertation uses panel data to examine a

dynamic interaction of young people's access to housing, their housing paths, and whether the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS affected their occupation of housing over time. The results suggest the significance of panel data in reporting changes in people's housing decisions and use.

1.4 Structure of the dissertation

The rest of this dissertation is organised into five more chapters. Chapter 1 has given an overview of the study. In chapter 2, the study methods briefly outline the study site, the data collection and analysis methods used in this dissertation. Thereafter, the next three chapters combine a literature review, a data analysis and discussion of findings. Each of these chapters also made use of specific variables. Chapter 3 investigates access to housing by young people in Cape Town and finds it to be a better analytical category to shift beyond tenure. Chapter 4 examines young people's housing paths in South Africa. Chapter 5 assesses the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS on access to housing. These chapters employ both cross-sectional and longitudinal quantitative analysis. In chapter 6, I derive conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

STUDY METHODS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the study methods used in this dissertation. It highlights the study site, data collection methods, and the characteristics of the young people as at caps5(2009). The survey questions that were used for this dissertation are provided in specific chapters.

2.2 Study Site

This dissertation uses data from the Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS). CAPS is an attitude and behavioural panel survey of young people in the metropolitan area of Cape Town. These young people were largely between the ages of 20 and 30 in 2009. Cape Town, as a study site, is the third largest city by population in South Africa. The 2001 census (City of Cape Town, 2003), recorded a population of Cape Town to be almost three million (2,893,251).⁶ The proportions of the main population groups were 48% 'Coloured',⁷ 32% 'African',⁸ 19% 'White' and less than 1.4% 'Indian'. The 2001 census also showed a higher percentage of women (52%) compared to men (48%).

⁶ It is noted that the figures presented here are based on the 2001 Census and would thus not accurately reflect the population of Cape Town today.

⁷ 'Coloureds' is a term commonly used in South Africa to describe people of mixed race.

⁸ I am aware of the political nature of using the racial category 'African', which has been the subject of much academic debate. Mostly, it is argued that any South African is African regardless of skin colour. The 'Black' category has also been presented to differentiate skin colour, but a legal interpretation in 2008 declared that all South Africans of Chinese origin be categorised as Black. Therefore, the Black category is understood to imply the previously disadvantaged groups in South Africa. However, I use African in this study to stand for young people of African descent, with dark skin colour.

2.3 Data Collection

The survey data I used in this study was collected through CAPS by researchers from the Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR) at the University of Cape Town. The Cape Area Panel study has followed young people in the Cape Town metropolitan area for the past eight years. CAPS focuses on a range of issues that affect young people and their households, like education, work, household living arrangements, and reproductive health (Lam, Seekings, et al, 2005:1; Maughan-Brown, Seekings, and Nattrass, 2009). The first wave of CAPS interviewed young people in 2002 aged between 14 and 22 years at the time. Five waves of CAPS have been conducted since 2002. The main demographic characteristics of these young people in wave five were as shown in table 2.1 below.

Originally, 4,752 young people were identified using a stratified two-stage sampling technique in caps1(2002). The first stage selected sample clusters using the enumeration areas (EAs)⁹ of metropolitan Cape Town as basic primary sampling units (PSUs). Households within each cluster or EA were then selected at the second stage. Four hundred and forty PSUs, about 10% of the EAs in Cape Town according to the 1996 census, were selected based on probabilities proportional to size. Simple random sampling, using aerial photographs of each EA, was then used to select 25 households within each PSU. Finally, a maximum of three respondents were selected from each household. It was uncommon for more than three respondents within this age range to reside in one household, but when it occurred, the three young people with the most recent birthdays were selected.

The selection of EAs and households took into account the racial distribution of the young adults. That meant this cohort of young people was divided according to their population groups based on the 1996 census. According to the 2001 census, the South African population was 77% African, 9% Coloured, 3% Indian, and 11% White. The population of Cape Town was as stated above. Since the Coloured population was almost twice the

⁹ An enumeration area is the geographical area enumerated by one census representative. An EA is the smallest geographical area for which census data are reported.

African and White populations, equal sample sizes for African and Coloured strata and a White sample nearly half as large was achieved by oversampling Africans and Whites than Coloureds. This sampling design consideration produced large enough samples of young people from Africans, Coloureds and Whites to make statistically meaningful statements about each separate stratum.¹⁰

The fieldwork mainly consisted of one interview administered questionnaire, which included modules about young people's housing and households. The questionnaire asked questions at individual level such as education, employment, health and young people's political views of South Africa. It also asked household level questions. For the first time in South Africa, the questionnaire survey also included an HIV test administered only to African young people. It was economically efficient to only target African young people since statistics show that this is the population heavily affected by HIV/AIDS. See the discussion in chapter five which analyses only data from African young people.

2.4 Characteristics of the Young People in 2009

The main demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents in 2009 are displayed in table 2.1 below. The young women slightly outnumbered (56%) the young men (44%). This gender distribution was mainly due to higher response rates by women compared to men in the previous CAPS waves 1-2-3-4 (see, Lam et al, 2008:26-27; Lam, Seekings and Sparks, 2006:21). It could also be for reasons that women generally outnumber men in Cape Town.

The racial character of the young people included four main population groups of Cape Town. These were Africans (46%), Coloureds (48%), Whites (6%), and Indians (0.4%). This racial character shows the difference Cape Town presents to other South African cities which are predominantly characterised by high African populations. The 2001 census found only 19% of Cape Town's population was White compared to 48% Coloured and 32%

¹⁰ A detailed and informative description of the CAPS sample design can be found in, Lam, D., and Seekings, J., et al. 2005. *The Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS): Technical Documentation for Wave 1 (2002)*. This document and others that provide additional detail on the Cape Area Panel Study survey design are available on the CAPS website: www.caps.uct.ac.za.

African, and a paltry 1.4% Indian. As stated above, almost equal distributions of Africans and Coloureds in the sample was due to over-sampling of Africans in wave 1 meant to produce roughly equal numbers of Africans and Coloureds, and about half as many Whites (Lam, Seekings and Sparks, 2006:13-14). The Indian sample was too small to be statistically significant and therefore was omitted from the analyses in the three substantive chapters to follow.

Table 2. 1: Characteristics of Young People in the Study in 2009

Variable	Per cent (%)
Age group (N=3,142)	
19-20	4
21-22	23
23-24	25
25-26	23
27-28	19
29-30	6
31-32	0
33-35	0.1
Gender (N=3,142)	
Females	55
Males	45
Race - Population groups (N=3,142)	
Africans	42
Coloureds	49
Whites	8
Indians	1
Education (N=3,142) (n=4,691 overall for panel)	
Pre-matriculate (panel)	60 (61)
Matriculate (panel)	34 (34)
Post-matriculate (panel)	6 (5)
Employment (N=3,142)	
Working	55
Not working	45
Earnings (N=2,106)	
R1-R1,500	20
R1,501-R3,500	49
R3,501-R5,000	17
R5,001-R8,000	10
R8,001-R35,000	4
Total	100

Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009.

2.5 Data Analysis

This is a panel study that analyses data from capsw1(2002), capsw2(2003 and 2004), capsw3(2005), capsw4(2006) and capsw5(2009). The analysis in this dissertation takes both

a cross-sectional and longitudinal approach that employs quantitative statistical techniques to data analysis. The data were analysed using STATA 11. Each substantive chapter (i.e. chapter 3; chapter 4; and chapter 5) will discuss its detailed analysis since specific variables (questions) were employed to achieve each chapter's objective.

2.6 Limitations of the Study

The study method used in this dissertation has four main limitations. Firstly, the use of panel data meant the analysis suffered from sample size decreases and low response rates over time due to attrition. Attrition occurs in panel studies due to a variety of reasons. Most respondents are not interviewed in subsequent waves of panel surveys if they cannot be located from their original addresses. They may have moved to other parts of the city or country, or may have died, or simply that they refuse to continue with the survey. The low sample sizes in later waves of the panel deprived the study of a wealth of data. However, chapter four will show that the samples were still large enough to make inferences despite the attrition (see a detailed attrition test in chapter four).

Secondly, the use of survey data to measure access to housing had an added limitation. An understanding of the nature and extent of access to housing is limited to those aspects probed by the particular survey questions. Thirdly, the interview questionnaire used for this study may have underestimated housing, kinship and the indirect effects of AIDS due to social desirability bias. Social desirability bias is where respondents give answers that they consider to be socially expected or acceptable to portray themselves in a better light than to disclose their true feelings. Finally, the use of qualitative questions and observational methods were necessary to triangulate the interpretation of survey answers. In the absence of qualitative questions, I assumed that the respondents interpreted questions as the survey intended.

2.7 Ethical Considerations

Measures had been taken to ensure that survey respondents did not suffer any harm through this study. Firstly, the confidentiality form was obtained from the University of Cape Town to ensure that the survey data was used only for the purpose of this dissertation. Secondly, every attempt was made to understand, respect and maintain the integrity of the data used. Care was taken in the selection and use of statistical tools for testing respondent information to ensure it was not misinterpreted.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER THREE

ACCESS TO HOUSING - MOVING BEYOND TENURE¹¹

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of the three that combine the literature review, the presentation and analysis of findings. The chapter uses a literature review to provide a framework on which an empirical analysis is based using a panel study of young people in Cape Town, South Africa. The objective in this chapter is to demonstrate that access to housing is a shift beyond a legalistic and dichotomous concept of tenure using young people's access to housing in Cape Town. This objective is achieved twofold. Firstly, the chapter is both a conceptual and empirical investigation which gets away from the dualism of much housing research (i.e. either own or rent; and market or state) to a dynamic application of access to housing (i.e. own; rent; rent and own, etc). Secondly, it is an examination of the relationship between people, households and their housing as a dynamic process which unfolds over time rather than something to be understood through a snapshot at one point in time. Therefore, this chapter provides a new and more inclusive understanding of access to housing to demonstrate a shift beyond tenure using a quantitative approach by examining young people's housing in Cape Town. The research question asks, how do young people access housing in Cape Town? Or more specifically, do ownership and rental categories explain young people's access to housing in Cape Town?

3.2 Literature Review

3.2.1 Housing

Housing has broadly been understood to cover not only the physical structure or shelter, but a whole concept of human settlements (Mahanga, 2002:3). The idea of human settlements as applied by HABITAT includes housing and the built environment of a town,

¹¹ The idea of this title comes from the work of Kathleen Hulse (2008) *Shake Foundations: Moving Beyond "Housing Tenure"*.

city or village, human processes of residence, work, education, health, culture, and leisure, among other such factors and those of the physical structure that support them. The United Nations has defined housing as the residential environment, neighbourhood, micro-district or the physical structure that mankind uses for shelter and the environs of that structure, including all necessary services, facilities, equipment and devices needed for the physical health and social well-being of the family and individual (cited in Mahanga, 2002:3). While these are broad definitions, the genuine concern is with healthy housing that is structurally sound, relatively free from accidental injury hazards, and one that provides a sufficient space for all normal household activities for members of the family. Using gendered lenses, housing should not only be thought of as a dwelling place but is a dynamic structure that involves the political, social, economic and cultural aspects of life in which contradictions arise in the form of gender relations – power and control (Larsson, Mapetla and Schlyter, 1998; 2003; Musyoki, 1998). This discussion suggests that housing does not only entail the built environment but also a series of social interaction based on peoples' different relationship status.

It is also noted that housing has been a basic human necessity ever since humans sought caves for protection against wild animals and other elements some 20,000 years ago (Mahanga, 200:1). With this long history has developed an interwoven set of contexts that exist around housing in which the everyday lives of people is structured by upstream economic, political, and social arrangements that apportion differential access to knowledge, money, prestige and power (Aidala and Sumartojo, 2007:1). Housing then becomes an intermediary through which the inequalities in broader economic, political and social structures link to the immediate everyday social and physical environment (Aidala and Sumartojo, 2007:1). To this end, the strategic position that housing occupies on people's quality of life is now widely recognised.

3.2.2 Access to Housing - Moving Beyond Tenure

The strategic position that housing provides has however largely been defined by tenure. Mainstream literature on housing research is centred on housing tenure and places

emphasis on the importance of tenure type (Rex and Moore, 1967; Saunders, 1980), the constraints in moving from one type of tenure to another and tenure choices (see, for example, Rex and Moore, 1967; Saunders, 1980; Henderson and Ioannides, 1983; Smith, Rosen and Fallis, 1988; Gilbert, et al, 1997; and Watson and McCarthy, 1997), although critics express reservations in the application of the concept (Barlow and Duncan, 1988; Somerville and Knowles, 1991; Ruonavaara, 1993). The mainstream literature argue that people either own or rent houses. Most of this literature is from a structural perspective with Rex and Moore (1967) and Saunders (1980) examining housing tenure as a class issue. While Rex and Moore (1967) held that housing tenure constitutes material interests advanced, sometimes in opposition to those of the other tenure groups, Saunders (1980) provides a Weberian analysis in which owner occupiers have shared class interests as housing consumers and as capital accumulation.

Evidence in the United Kingdom (UK) and North America investigate housing in terms of choices of housing tenure, i.e., people's preferences either to own or rent (Henderson and Ioannides, 1983). Henderson and Ioannides (1983:99) find that people cannot be both owners of housing and renting. Their study is an investigation of determinants of tenure choice in the United States of America (USA) housing market. They found that market prices, technological characteristics, and maintenance charge schedules were factors that explain tenure choice in the USA. An income tax advantage of ownership as a result of excessive tax allowances for depreciation was found to have encouraged ownership over renting. Henderson and Ioannides' (1983) approach takes a static perspective that measures individual and family characteristics including the cost of housing and the likelihood of being found in a particular tenure at given points in time.

However, it is widely known that housing tenure choices are not based on decisions made at given points in time, but are a reflection of individual choices made earlier in life (Di Salvo and Ermisch, 1997:1). Kan (2000) modelled a dynamic tenure choice using a Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) in the USA for the years 1970-1992. He examined the relationship between tenure choice and mobility. For Kan, tenure choice was dependent on the household's decision to move. He concluded that the higher transaction costs associated with movement were likely to prevent a mobile prone household to become a home owner.

For home owners, the household was unlikely to move due to high transaction costs relative to renters. He argued that tenure choice can only change if a move is made by the household. The use of panel data was beneficial to examine changes over time but the application of tenure appeared to limit clear interrogation of household dynamics. Further, the unit of analysis at household level meant individual choices in access to housing were not adequately investigated.

Di Salvo and Ermisch (1997) used panel data to explore tenure choices in the UK. Based on the National Child Development Panel Study (NCDS) for the 1958 Birth Cohort, they show that the first major tenure choice had significant impact on the distribution of life years in subsequent tenure. Their analysis was based on data collected from a cohort born in the week of March 3-9, 1958, and interviewed at 7, 11, 16, 23 and 33 years. Their primary information of interest explored the respondents' first tenure choice after moving out of their parents' houses between the age of 16 and 33 and their subsequent tenure choices. From their cohort sample of 10,503 individual respondents, 75% had moved into either ownership (55%) or social housing (20%) by the age of 33. The remaining quarter mainly contained missing information and could not be allocated to 'other tenure', mostly probably co-resident with parents. They also add that just over 90% of British households were homeowners (67%) or social tenants (24%). Just fewer than 10% of these households could be labelled as 'other tenure', too big a statistic to be ignored.

Di Salvo and Ermisch (1997) conclude that income and housing prices influenced housing tenure choice decisions. They argue that early choices will in many cases act as constraints to those taken later due to transaction costs and capital market imperfections, besides other barriers to tenure mobility. Di Salvo and Ermisch (1997) advance interesting measures of tenure choices. Firstly, they use life time wealth based on the sum of test scores for reading and mathematics comprehension at the age of 16 against their future pay – i.e. those with high test scores were assumed to be highly likely to obtain better paying jobs. Further, the age at which respondents left continuous full time learning also indicated future pay and life time wealth. Secondly, family background was applied as a measure since wealthier parents were more likely to purchase the first house for their children. This indicates the socio-economic conditions upon which tenure choice is based. Thirdly, the

parents' tenure was also assumed to condition the children's tenure choice and its dynamics i.e. parents in ownership or rental tenure. Fourthly, they included a house price measure and assumed that the higher the price, the less likely were the respondents to enter ownership categories of tenure. Fifthly, the labour market condition of employment was analytically used to explain the borrowing constraint - for cases of credit purchases or mortgage. The sixth measure was the impact of respondents assuming parental roles on tenure choices.

3.2.3 The Challenge of Applying Tenure

Critics find housing tenure inadequate in its conceptualisation and application. Barlow and Duncan (1988), Somerville and Knowles (1991), Ruonavaara (1993), Cousins (2007), and Hulse (2008) argue that housing tenure is historically specific and suffer from faulty conceptualisation. Barlow and Duncan (1988), and Cousins (2007) suggest that caution be exercised in the application of housing tenure since it has particular historical origins while Somerville and Knowles (1991) have considerable difficulties with reducing the concept to class. They hold that while the social relations of housing tenure have contributed to class formation especially in the UK, class and housing tenure are social relations which continually were reformed and remade through dynamic interactions. Ruonavaara (1993) further highlights that housing tenure is insensitive to variations over time and between places.

Evidence in South Africa finds manifestation of the underlying legal challenge of tenure in housing and land development projects (Adams et al, 2000; Kepe, 1999; 2001). Tenure assumes ownership or rental of housing, with ownership being secure while rental taken to be insecure tenure. This insecure tenure of rent was based on a Western categorisation that assumed anyone without land ownership to be renting and in insecure tenure. The question of insecure or secure tenure became a constitutional reform issue in South Africa (South African 1996 Constitution, Section 25(6) of the Bill of Rights). Cousins (2007:292) is of the view the legality of tenure should be used with caution since it is a Western concept which is historically specific.

Biekuyck (1963, cited in Adams *et al.*, 2000) noted almost half a century earlier that tenure was a Western legal concept and “often obscured understanding of the scope and nature of rights and claims related to (housing)” in an African context. To this end, Okoth-Ogendo (1989) avoids a Western legal concept of tenure in his analysis of the nature of property rights in Africa. Instead, Okoth-Ogendo uses the social organisation of units of production to explain rights to housing. Accordingly, he argues that housing rights were attached to membership of a unit of production and that this was for the purpose of specific resource management or production function. In his view, a right was power that society apportioned to its members to undertake certain functions. In the event that that power was exclusive control, then ‘ownership’ of private property took effect. His main argument was that ownership of private property was not fully developed in Africa because power and exclusive control did not necessarily coincide.

Okoth-Ogendo’s argument overlooked the dynamic nature of African society given that ownership of private property (i.e. formal titling of housing) defines poverty alleviation strategies in contemporary times (see, for example, Turner, 1968; de Soto, 2000; 2005; Ward, 2003). However, I am aware that formal titling as a poverty alleviation measure has been questioned (Varley, 1987; 2002; Tomlinson, 2001). The main strength of Okoth-Ogendo’s argument is found in his carefully crafted processes of access to or rights and control of land and housing which point to a move away from the binary preoccupation of tenure. It has been argued elsewhere (Chisonga, 2008:45; see also Schlyter, 2004; 2002; 1998) that access to housing in Lusaka (Zambia) had shifted from the dual misrepresentations of tenure to include the control of family houses, renting, and ownership. The relevance of the concept of family house meant rights of access to a house by siblings or a wider family network.

Hernando de Soto’s book, *The Mystery of Capital*, directed discussions on housing towards granting of formal title deeds to the poor in Latin America, Asia and Africa and remains influential in international housing policies. He argued that the poor needed formal title on land and housing to stimulate investment on their property as a means to stop illegal land occupation. Noteworthy is that de Soto (2000) was not the first to argue for giving the poor

access to housing as a poverty alleviation measure. Turner (1968) had earlier recommended that secure tenure would encourage people to improve their housing. However, de Soto's emphasis placed on title as an economic advantage used for collateral to secure loans to facilitate set-up or expansion of small businesses made his ideas successful in the debates of urban illegality or legality. In the spirit of this chapter, de Soto's (2000; see also, 2005¹²) work succeeds in furthering the binary categorisation of tenure with his application of 'illegal' or 'legal' tenure¹³. In any case, legal tenure might be vital for providing legal security and socio-economic empowerment but does not necessarily provide the poor with a financial asset (Lemanski, 2009). The poor mostly rely on a network of kin and friends than use legal title to secure credit through formal institutions (Varley, 2002:455). I am also aware that concession rights rather than legal titling has been a necessary factor in the upgrade programme of some Brazilian *favelas* (squatter settlements) to give people access to formal housing (Hendzic, 2010). Rights to housing in this formal way meant people were both renting and owning housing at the same time (Hendzic, 2010:15; see also Borges, 2006).

Barlow and Duncan (1988) argue that housing tenure reflects and reinforced social class and social status with its emphasis on labour market position, besides being an abstract concept. For example, there is security of tenure for owner occupiers arising from higher incomes and greater security of employment than otherwise suggesting differences in incomes and wealth due to employment. Agreeing with this view suggests holding on to static explanations. Tenure cannot only reflect position in the labour market, but that class and tenure are part of social relations which continue to be reformed and remade through dynamic interactions (Somerville and Knowles, 1991).

A growing literature on comparative housing research has asked questions on the historical and cultural nature of the rationalisation of housing tenure (Doling 1999, Kemp 1987). For

¹² This more recent work simply continued on the idea of his earlier book – even the title says so: *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails everywhere else*.

¹³ de Soto's argument of legalization through self-help housing assumes that the state cannot provide adequate housing. The reality is that the state can provide adequate housing but it is mostly unwilling to do so. I think de Soto undermines the role of the state in the provision of housing, the supply side, on which allocation lists and purchase forms the means to access housing.

this reason, Ruonavaara (1993:12) proposed that a comparative analysis should centre on types of housing tenure and forms of housing tenure. Types of housing tenure suggested a reference to necessary properties of tenure while forms of housing tenure referred to those dependent on historical and geographical location. Ruonavaara (1993:12–16) argued that although there are two types of housing tenure in modern societies, for instance, owner occupation and renting, there were also sub-types¹⁴ within each of these tenure types that differ over time and between societies.

Drawing on Ruonavaara's work, Doling (1999:163) analysed the rules of access and rules of exit as a way to show the level of commodification of housing across countries. He concluded that examinations of the forms of tenure like the structure and level of subsidies including institutional arrangements were more important than the type of tenure. In examining the rules of access, he asks, to what extent can housing be enjoyed independently of income – past or present and expected? He shows that in cases where access to housing uses a non-financial objective (i.e. right of citizenship, need, etc) as opposed to the income criteria, then de-commodification is said to be high. Doling (1999a:158) refers to this as the rules of access to housing. However, this analysis was focused exclusively on the consumption of housing without regard to the production side.

An argument for housing production is found in his study of Singapore and Hong Kong state led housing production. Doling (1999b) found that despite the greater role of the state through the amount, type, and location of production organisation and control of factors of production and the building sector, access to housing was not premised on non-financial criteria but the labour market position – the higher income groups had access to better housing and locations. Individual welfare could only be determined by such arrangements as subsidies and allocation rules. In Doling's analysis, rules of access to housing are determined as much by income and labour market condition as subsidies and allocation lists. However, Ruonavaara's forms of tenure take different meanings in different places and over time with

¹⁴ Some of the suggested sub-types were, for example, owner occupation may include sub-types such as individual owner occupation, shared equity occupation and collective owner occupation and, within renting, "permanent contract renting" typically associated with the social housing sector and "temporary contract renting" associated with the private rental sector.

ownership and renting being ideal types which were separate from other forms. Even his analysis takes ownership to be dependent on individual income.

Furthermore, Hulse (2008) underlines the weaknesses within mainstream literature that constructing housing tenure as a series of unchanging and mutually exclusive categories is a hindrance to understanding how people and households occupy housing and their investment decisions regarding the purchase and sell of houses. She has argued that housing tenure is often applied to a broad range of contexts without consideration of specific dynamic settings (Hulse, 2008; also see Logan et al, 2009). This orientation towards housing tenure makes the comprehension of access to housing increasingly confusing. Hulse (2008) and Blandy and Goodchild (1999) suggest that the continued use of housing tenure could be obscuring more than enlightening.

Blandy and Goodchild (1999) introduced a legal perspective to the analysis of housing tenure within social science research. Their seminal contribution viewed the concept of tenure as one of language and developed an analysis centred on three main discourses; property law, housing status, and housing policy (Blandy and Goodchild (1999:34). This analytical approach highlights the fact that housing tenure is socially constructed and is significantly different between countries. Blandy and Goodchild outlined the three discourses stating that property law had its origins from the English and expressed the terms and conditions on which a person holds land. Housing status, they postulate, was a result of the interaction among property, statutory regulation, and administrative law that defines an occupier's legal status. From their analytical approach, a housing policy discourse places much emphasis on the dichotomy between owning and renting, which forms the major part of housing research literature across the world. It is this preoccupation on the fixed dichotomy between owning and renting that is essentialist in nature.

Hulse (2008:206) finds a lack of clarity in most research on housing tenure because of presenting a largely European debate. The concept of tenure evolved from the European legal manifestation found in the conditions of occupation and land use of the feudal society to one of property ownership in the contemporary world. Citing Barlow and Duncan (1988:219–220), Hulse (2008:206) notes that the crowning stage of this genealogical

account “*was the application of tenure to housing occupancy more specifically*”. In South Africa, research in housing tenure is located mainly within the context of housing policy due to historical and cultural factors. Unlike Europe, Africa, like other settlement societies that included North and South America, Asia and Australia, is different and has a complex history and diverse culturally landscape due to the existence of indigenous communities.

When the British settled and began to expand its colonial administration from Cape Town to Durban and into other South African cities (and Southern Africa generally) between seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, their urban town planning projects were both racially and hygiene¹⁵ related (Du Plessis et al, 2008:18; Seekings, 2007:2; 2008b:3). By early 1840s, the colonial administration in South Africa had segregated areas for African occupation intended to serve three functions (Du Plessis et al, 2008:19): firstly, as a divide and control mechanism for African populations, secondly, to appropriate settlements as Crown private property land, and thirdly, it ensured a steady supply of migrant labour into the wage settler community. Urban land became both private property owned by white settlers and public property controlled by white settlers and as *settlement areas*¹⁶ mostly hostels for African labour (op cit p.19). The rural areas, the homestead for the migrant labour, while under customary traditional leadership was subjected to hut taxes by the colonial administration to force people out of rural areas and into urban wage labour (op cit p.22).

The establishment of the *Union of South Africa*¹⁷ in 1910 swiftly entrenched segregation through a series of *pass controls*¹⁸ in urban housing. This system of control remained firm in

¹⁵ Du Plessis et al (2008:18) finds that the British Public Health Act of 1848 (itself motivated by a fear among the elite that the poor majority slum dwellers in London were breeding a culture of revolt) was transferred to its colonies in Asia and Africa where this fear took a distinctively racial character.

¹⁶ For example, as early as 1879, the first shack settlements began to be constructed in Durban as a result of the accompanying loss of land and imposition of various taxes (op cit p.20).

¹⁷ The Union of South Africa replaced the British Colonial administration from direct imperial rule. These were local whites who managed the state, the Union Government, from 1910 to 1948. The Apartheid regime then took over the reigns of power until 1994 when a democratic and multiracial government led by Nelson Mandela ushered in a new dispensation of what is now generally referred to as a rainbow nation.

¹⁸ For example, the 1913 Land Act appropriated rural land for White commercial agriculture and excluded indigenous people (Blacks/Africans) from buying and owning land outside the 7 per cent reserved for their occupation. In addition, the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 was meant to racially stop different groups from mixing.

various versions of the statute books until early 1990s when a non-racial urban policy was developed (op cit p.23). Besides the racial segregation, migrant labour profoundly shaped the development of South African cities and its social life in very distinct ways but related to other Southern African countries. For example, the provision of public housing in most Southern African countries was closely tied to employment and the control of African labour in the post second world war period (see Schlyter, 1998; 2002; Rakodi and Withers, 1995; for cases on Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Lesotho and Botswana). Watson and McCarthy (1997:50) found that South Africa used similar objectives but that these were linked to the Apartheid project of racial exclusion. Excluded from white areas, African labour was accommodated through a mass construction of formal urban townships in which the occupancy of rented units could be monitored. It is either one had legal tenure to housing through renting or ownership based on race. Tenure here was categorical and mutually exclusive.

This history suggest changes through statutory and common law that South Africa's land tenure arrangement or conditions of property/housing ownership has undergone ever since European settlement¹⁹. Further, that the rights to housing were initially intimately linked to one's racial orientation. This historical account also indicate changes that have taken place in the rental and owner occupier housing and show that rights over housing were not mutually exclusive but coexisted in terms of access, occupancy, use and control (Hulse, 2008:207). Consistent with Blandy and Goodchild's (1999:36) argument, Hulse suggests that a way forward is to ask questions on the rights of access and rights of occupation rather than tenure. This allows for an analysis of housing research to move beyond the fixed views of housing tenure to a set of new questions that link households to housing. The analysis beyond the fixed views would not be enough if it retains housing tenure given that housing tenure represents a link of one household to one dwelling at the time of data collection (Hulse, 2008:212)²⁰. It limits the explanation of other dwellings that individuals have access

¹⁹ See Ben Cousins (2007) for his well rounded insights on the dynamic and evolving character of South Africa's land tenure regimes. He has outlined what he terms are the observed "commonalities and continuities" of pre-colonial land relations, adapted in the colonial period with further modification under Apartheid segregation policies, but which largely remain influential to date.

²⁰ Hulse (2008) makes a case using a re-analysis of survey data on the Australian situation for moving beyond housing tenure. She has identified several weaknesses of the concept of housing tenure. Some of these include: (1) that some

to, a situation that has been referred to as the 'fluidity of households' (see, for example, Ross, 1995). It also cannot explain the dual status of some individuals who may rent while owning a house elsewhere. Moving beyond housing tenure would then entail a conceptualisation that is broadly dynamic in nature to include not only occupation of housing (use and control of accommodation) and buy/sell houses. It would also reflect economic and social changes at community and household levels.

3.2.4 Shifting the focus to Access to Housing

It is unclear why many researchers provide no explicit understanding of access to housing even at the most basic level. Noteworthy is that new research studies have begun to go beyond tenure and have probed the question of access to housing (Logan, Fang and Zhang, 2009). Logan, Fang and Zhang (2009) used a quantitative cross-sectional analysis of factors that determined access to housing in China. Using the 2000 census data and odds ratio regression models, access to housing was premised on the assumption that every resident of a household made an independent decision about where to live: be it in an institutional shelter, in family homes with kin, shared accommodation with friends, rental (both private and public), and other variants found in China. Logan, Fang and Zhang (2009:918) found the standard housing tenure categories of rental or homeowner inadequate. Further, that the categories of rental or ownership could not cover, for example, those in: 1) low quality and cheap rental housing from locals and dormitories, and 2) shared rental rooms, beds, or units in order to lower costs. The census classified these groups as living in collective housing. This classification did not take into consideration the social and economic situation of individuals. Logan, Fang and Zhang (2009) also noted that collective housing was not treated as an alternative form of housing tenure.

Their study finds housing to have played a major role in China's stratification system. Further, that the source of this inequality was not the price of the houses but access to

categories of housing tenure prominent in housing policies are difficult to classify such as shared ownership arrangements and those in institutions; (2) that the concept is easier to apply in areas where housing occupancy has mostly secure title, i.e. urban, unlike in rural areas where there was community based occupancy; and, (3) that housing tenure forms have mainly been informed by the way data is collected due to policy preoccupations at given times.

public rental housing was contingent upon political position (i.e. Socialist Party membership), the authority of work units/departments, and education (op. cit. P.915). China has increased housing consumption by creating a homeownership society although Logan, Fang and Zhang (2009:916) have called it a 'quasi-market situation' (an internal market). Houses were sold to sitting tenants at highly subsidized prices. However, there was also another fledgling 'open' market where houses were determined at market prices. In effect, China has two housing markets, a situation similar to South Africa. Incidentally, the rental market also operated networks of informal exchange.

Despite income being a key predictor of access to housing through the market, it had little impact in past studies. To this end, Logan, Fang and Zhang used education and occupation to control for income. They also note that there was no consensus on education given that some studies found it to have no effect on tenure type while others concluded that the higher the level of education the more likely a person was to become a homeowner. Although they find occupation to show mixed effects, they conclude that managerial and professional people were most likely to have bigger and quality housing. Their reliance on cross-sectional survey data from the census removed a dynamic explanatory power of access to housing over time that could be gained from the use of panel data. At the same time, the quantitative survey of a census with its wider coverage formed the strength of the analysis.

Other studies show that the state is also important in people's access to housing through processes of allocation to public housing mainly channelled through the capital subsidy system commonly referred to as RDP housing (Tomlinson, 2001; Lemanski, 2009). "RDP"²¹

²¹ The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was a much broader economic empowerment programme in which housing was one component. RDP conceptualised housing as a human right at its inception in 1994, but the 1996 Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) programme saw housing as a capital accumulating financial asset for the poor. One outcome of this new emphasis was state withdrawal from housing market i.e. the state had privatised most of the state-owned housing into private ownership. This privatisation of state housing had been operationalised through the national housing subsidy scheme. A pool of subsidies was paid to construction companies that delivered small but fully serviced RDP houses. The beneficiaries were then allocated to these houses and title deeds given based on allocation lists. Sharp criticisms of the RDP houses had centred on the feasibility of continuing with the policy. It was also thought that RDP housing was situated in isolated and poverty laden areas on the margins of cities like Cape Town and Johannesburg.

A 2004 new strategy in the provision of housing was introduced in the name of Breaking New Ground (BNG) to minimise the criticisms levelled against GEAR or the popularly referred to 'RDP' housing subsidies. The underlying assumption of BNG, like GEAR, was to "promote property ownership as a poverty alleviation asset for wealth creation, empowerment and

housing” (unofficially named after the Reconstruction and Development Programme initiated to promote the delivery of affordable housing in 1994) provides housing with secure occupancy to beneficiaries with household monthly incomes of less than R3500 (Tomlinson, 2001; Lemanski, 2009). Public sector housing accounts for 23 per cent of the housing stock in South Africa (Landman and Napier, 2010). A maximum of R3,500²² household income per month was required for one to qualify for a housing subsidy in South Africa. Just under 2.5 million (2, 358 667) housing units were delivered from 1994 to 2008 out of the 3, 132 769 planned housing subsidies (South Africa - Towards a Fifteen Year Review, 2010:28).

Conversely, one could participate in an open housing market if their minimum household income was R8,000. To this end, those households earning between R3,500 and R8,000 had very little housing options, and were commonly referred to as social housing. Social housing has been the policy of delivery for this market which mainly relied on renting. Generally, South Africa has two housing markets: the ‘first’ housing market is for properties above R200,000 with a high rate of growth. The ‘second’ housing market mainly consists of RDP houses and properties in the former black townships (Department of Housing, Annotated bibliography, 2007:64). However, RDP housing sites even within the same city operate a local market system in the lowest end of housing markets (Lemanski, 2009; see also, Logan, et al, 2009:916 for the case of China). For example, established townships like Khayelitsha and Guguletu in Cape Town have their own housing markets higher in the hierarchy compared to the RDP housing market. The housing prices for RDP houses were lower than those in Khayelitsha and Guguletu.

economic growth” (p.7). This housing under BNG was an integrated human settlement with mixed housing and income types in non-peripheral areas, close to economic opportunities and social and infrastructural services. It also promotes tenure alternatives such as rental stock, gap housing and informal settlement upgrading. Generally, although 2,358 667 housing units had been delivered between 1994 and 2008, a backlog of almost a million housing units (774 102 units) still existed besides the ever expanding number of households.

²² This figure has not been reviewed for a long time since

3.2.5 Access to Housing Reflects a Dynamic Occupation of Housing

The methodologies used in most housing research are varied and often policy preoccupations at given times defined concepts for survey data collection (Hulse, 2008:213). In order to develop research methods that clearly understand and measure access to housing, new research questions need to move beyond housing tenure to reflect people's social and economic changes (Hulse, 2008:214; Fahey and Norris, 2009:13; Logan, et al, 2009). Following Hulse's suggested approach, this chapter examines and attempts to explain the nature of relationships between households and housing, and how these change over time due to economic and social changes. This model also reflects a dynamic dimension of access to housing over time.

Limited studies have analysed access to housing across the world and these include Logan, Fang and Zhang (2009), Hulse (2008), Doling (1999a), and Blandy and Goodchild (1999). Of these, Logan, Fang and Zhang (2009) and Hulse (2008) come closest to the approach taken in this dissertation, but both suffer from major weaknesses. Logan, Fang and Zhang (2009) explored how different kinds of people were positioned in a largely stratified society and how that stratification informs who was likely to have what form of access to housing. Their study brought out transitional insights involved in access to housing, but used a cross-sectional approach which collected data at one point in time. This approach weakened the analysis since housing decisions are well understood over time. Hulse (2008) applies a theoretical approach to critically analyse the weaknesses in the traditional conception of tenure in most housing research literature, but required an empirical study to explore a shift beyond tenure. Although other studies such as Di Salvo and Ermisch (1997) and Kan (2000) use tenure to examine housing decisions, their panel approaches were greatly insightful for the dynamic approach that has been taken in this chapter.

To that end, access to housing represents a shift beyond tenure given the economic and social changes. It is this linkage to the changing economic and social conditions that define variations in access to housing due to kinship in the era of HIV and AIDS. The next section

demonstrates a move beyond housing tenure to access to housing using data on young people in Cape Town, South Africa.

3.3 Access to Housing by Young People in Cape Town

A selection of relevant questions used to assess young adults' housing occupancy in Cape Town indicates both the panel (Table 3.1) and cross-sectional (Table 3.2) study approach of this dissertation. Table 3.1 presents the mainstream understanding of tenure to show young adults' housing status at the household level. Capsw1 (2002), capsw3 (2005) and capsw4 (2006) asked, "Does the family own or rent this residence?" Either the household owned or rented the house, while some were in "other" categories. It has been argued above that this kind of question does not interrogate those households in rented houses, but who also own houses elsewhere. The question takes a mainstream binary approach and also collects data at the household level, which made it difficult to examine individual young people's access to housing in waves 1-4. This dissertation treats each individual young people as a unit of analysis to clearly understand their access to housing from childhood to adulthood, i.e., each young adult was examined as an individual case although some households had up to three.

Table 3. 1: Mainstream Binary Survey questions probing tenure as used in CAPS

	capsw1	capsw2	capsw3	capsw4	capsw5
Does the family own or rent this residence?	q.C6	-	q.C5	q.C4	q.B6**
	N=5255	-	N=2549	N=3312	N=3142
1. Own	72%	-	74%	76%	85%
2. Rent	24%	-	24%	23%	23%
3. Other	4 %	-	2%	1%	-
99. Don't know	0.1%	-	0.2%	0.1%	-

** The question was revised as indicated in table 3.2

Capsw5(2009) collected individual level data with a revised question: “Who owns this residence?” The responses were; (1) the respondent, (2) another member of the household, (3) a family member not living in the household, (4) someone else, and (5) don’t know. This revised question provides a more nuanced measure of access to housing. Perhaps the major weakness²³ (which is also a strength) of using panel data is that questions can be modified over time. Modified questions collect data that consider social changes although they normally lose the required consistence.

This revised question together with other questions (and their responses) in capsw5(2009) were combined and produced five categories displayed in Table 3.2. These categories were own; rent; rent and own; shared accommodation; and family housing. The questions and responses allocated to each category are indicated by letters O (own), R (rent), R&O (rent and own), S (shared accommodation), and F (family houses). Family housing is divided into two sub-categories. These categories were used as dependent variables in multiple regression models examining how young adults had access to housing in Cape Town. Importantly, the different categories were taken not just to be a classification at one point in time but those that took people’s changing circumstances over time. The intention was to distinguish conditions that enable the different categories of access to housing. It is this kind of understanding that renders tenure and its binary categories severely limited.

The categories were formed based on what I expected the questions to be measuring; that is, based on the theoretical understanding of literature and practical considerations. I used question B6 “*Who owns this residence?*” (Table 3.2) to create “ownership” and coded the possible response “*Respondent*” with a score of 1. The next four responses (2, 3, 4 and 9) in

²³ Acknowledging that the question was not consistent across the different waves, additional questions were assessed in the household roster to give meaning to the social and economic understanding of young adults’ access to housing in Cape Town over time. The household roster in the panel survey collected information on young adults’ living arrangements prior to the beginning of CAPS survey in 2002 and across the five waves of CAPS which helped to model housing histories and other factors. For example, some questions examined in the household roster included: Where was (NAME) born? What year did (NAME) first move to Cape Town? What year did (NAME) move into this residence? Why? Does (NAME)’s biological mother live in this household? Does (NAME)’s biological father live in this household? What is (NAME)’s current marital status? What is the relationship of (NAME) to resident head of household? IF AGE 5 OR OLDER: Is (NAME) currently in school or studying at University or Technikon? Yes/No,. These questions were used to examine young adults’ access to housing over time in Cape Town. Also see chapter four for detailed discussions.

this question were coded 0. This created a dummy variable for ownership by young adults (1) compared to other young adults (0) who did not own houses. It is always difficult to interpret the “*I don’t know*” responses, but response “9” in question B6 still implied another person other than young adults owned the houses. For this reason, it was included in the “0”.

However, the “*I don’t know*” responses to questions B18, B19, B23 and B24 (“Do you yourself pay rent to the owner of this house?” or “Does someone else pay rent for you”) could indicate uncertainties expressed by respondents regarding the moral character of renting (i.e. maybe by taking care of household chores and keeping the house was regarded as paying rent – paying rent in kind). It could also be a completely non-judgemental response based on not knowing the intentions of household heads and therefore unable to provide a “Yes” or “No” response. Given that it was difficult to separate responses into these two categories and that in all four questions very few respondents answered “I don’t know”, I excluded the “I don’t know” responses from the analysis of these questions.

The four questions (B6, B18, B19, B23 and B24) probing household and market-based renting were combined to create another dependent variable (rent). The “Yes” responses were thus coded 1 and the “No” responses were coded 0 were there is an “R” in Table 3.1. The third dependent variable (family houses) was created by combining responses to questions B6, B18, B19, B23 and B24 as indicated by the “F1” and “F2” in Table 3.2. The second and third responses from question B6 together with the “No” responses from questions B18, B19, B23 and B24 were coded 1 and the “Yes” responses coded 0. The two dimensions of access to housing involving renting and owning, and shared accommodation were statistically too few in numbers to be analysed in a regression analysis as dependent variables. The young adults that gave “Yes” responses to question B21 and B27 had access to housing through renting houses but were also owners of houses. Those in shared accommodation were created by cross tabulating response “4” in B6 together with response “2” in B23 and B24.

Table 3. 2: Cross-sectional survey questions used to examine access to housing in 2009

Questions and the numbers	Response options	% (n)	%(N)
B2. In what type of dwelling or housing unit do you live?	1. Brick house on a separate stand or yard	62 (1,951)	
	2. Flat in block of flats	11 (334)	
	3. Simplex/duplex/triplex	10 (314)	
	4. Brick house/flat/room in backyard	2 (62)	100
	5. Backyard shack	5 (165)	(3,142)
	6. Shack in informal/squatter settlement	9 (294)	
	7. Room/flatlet in shared property	0.1 (3)	
	8. Room inside house rented from the owner	0.13 (4)	
	9. Other, specify	0.5 (15)	
B6. Who owns this residence? (O)	1. The respondent (O)	9.3 (292)	
	2. Another member of the household (F2)	82.2 (2,582)	
	3. A family member <u>not</u> living in the household (F1)	3 (95)	100
	4. Someone else (S)	5.4 (170)	(3,142)
	9. Don't know	0.1 (3)	
B7. Which of the following best describes your ownership? (only those who gave a response of (1) in B6 answered this question and B11)	1. Bought the house (housing market)	26 (75)	
	2. Bought plot before self built house	6 (16)	
	3. Govt allocated house	18 (53)	100
	4. Govt allocated plot before self built house	10 (28)	(292)
	5. Inherited from/given by family-member	31 (91)	
	6. Other, specify	10 (29)	
B11. What do you estimate is the approximate value of this residence, if it was sold?	R..... and -9. Don't know	R251,668.1* (116)	100 (292)
B13. Which of the following best describes their ownership? (only those who gave a response of (2) in B6 answered this question and B17, B18, B19, B20 and B21)	1. Bought the house (housing market)	20 (503)	
	2. Bought plot before self built house	6 (163)	
	3. Govt allocated house	54 (1,384)	100
	4. Govt allocated plot before self built house	9 (228)	(2,582)
	5. Inherited from/given by family-member	8 (199)	
	6. Other, specify	4 (104)	
B17. What do you estimate is the approximate value of this residence, if it was sold?	R..... and -9. Don't know	R272,930.1* (736)	100 (2,582)
B18. Do you yourself pay rent to the owner of this house? (R)	1. Yes (R)	21 (534)	100
	2. No (F2)	78 (2,036)	(2,582)
	9. Don't know	0.5 (12)	
B19. Does someone else pay your rent for you? (R)	1. Yes (R)	3 (56)	100
	2. No (F2)	96 (1,968)	(2,048)
	9. Don't know	1 (24)	
B20. How much is your rent?	R.....	R1,489.97* (536)	100 (541)
B21. Do you expect that you yourself will ever own a house in which to live?	1. Yes, I already own another house (R&O)	2 (47)	
	2. Yes, I expect to own property in future	89 (2,300)	100
	3. No, I do not expect to own a property	4 (105)	(2,582)
	9. Don't know	5 (130)	
B23. Do you yourself pay rent to the owner of this house? (R) (only those who gave responses of (3) and (4) in B6 answered this question and B24, B25, and B27)	1. Yes (R)	48 (127)	100
	2. No (S) (F1)	52 (157)	(265)
	9. Don't know	0.1 (1)	
	1. Yes (R)	24 (33)	100

B24. Does someone else pay your rent for you? (R)	2.No (S) (F1)	76 (105)	(138)
	9.Don't know	0	
B25. How much is your rent?	R.....	R1975.15* (153)	100 (156)
B27. Do you expect that you yourself will ever own a house in which to live?	1.Yes, I already own another house (R&O)	2 (5)	
	2.Yes, I expect to own property in future	88 (232)	100 (264)
	3.No, I do not expect to own a property	4 (10)	
	9.Don't know	6 (17)	

* The mean values of the houses if renting or if they were to be sold. These mean values were calculated based on the indicated (n) since the majority of young adults from the indicated (N) could not estimate the cost values. Questions and responses used to define: O = own; R = rent; R&O = own and rent; S = shared accommodation; F1 or F2 = family house.

3.4 Conditions explaining Access to Housing

The questions in Table 3.3 provide details on the types of houses, the estimated value of the houses, and the five categories in which young adults accessed housing in Cape Town. Questions B7 and B13 identified six ownership categories. Questions B18, B19, B23 and B24 produced two rental categories: renting within the household; or, renting in a private market. Renting through public housing was conspicuously absent. There is one category for young adults who were renting, but also owned houses elsewhere since ownership and renting are not mutually exclusive. Perhaps another omitted category is that of owning and at the same time renting out a (other) house(s). I suggested two further categories through univariate and bivariate analysis since some young adults did not fit into ownership, rent, and rent and own categories (Table 3.3). Firstly, some young adults shared accommodation with friends although they did not pay rent or reside with kin. Secondly, others were in family houses: houses owned by family members who were not part of the households; or, the houses owned by family members within households.

Table 3. 3: Access to housing by young adults (aged 20-29) in Cape Town, 2009

Mode of access	How they accessed housing	%	Own/rent estimate (R)	Predominant type of house	Total in category % (N)
Ownership	Houses bought from other people(housing market)	26	375,000	Brick houses	9%(292)
	Plots/land bought before self built houses	6	29,000	Backyard shacks	
	Government allocated houses	18	150,000	Brick houses	
	Govt allocated plots/land before self built houses	10	3,500	Shacks	
	Houses inherited from/given by a family member	30	150,000	Brick houses	
	Other	10	5,750	Shacks	
	Total		100		
Rent	Renting within households	21	750*	Flats in block	24%(750)
	Renting in a housing market	79	750*	Flats in block	
	Total	100			
Rent and own	Renting within households	10	-	-	24%(750)
	Renting in a housing market	90	-	-	
	Total	100			
Shared accommodation	Lodging with friends	100	375,000	Flats in block	2%(52)
Family houses	Kin owned member not in household ie absent kin	100	375,000	Brick houses	2%(53)
	Kin owned member in household i.e. coresident kin	100	150,000	Brick houses	63%(1968)
Total					100%(3115)

* This was rent paid per month to the landlord

Table 3.3 shows the different categories in which young adults had access to housing in Cape Town. It also provides the estimated cost values of ownership and rent, and types of houses to further analyse access to housing. The cost values of ownership and rent are in the South African currency (Rands)²⁴ calculated based on the values young adults indicated. The cost value estimates²⁵ for ownership and rent presented in Table 3.3 were assigned based on median points of each cross-tabulation against access to housing categories. The *types of houses*²⁶ were categorised either as formal or informal and cross-tabulated against each access to housing category.

²⁴ The average exchange rate for the second and third quarters of 2010 was 1US\$ to R7.10 (1 USA Dollar to 7.10 South African Rands).

²⁵ In estimating the cost values for ownership and rent, at times half the responses were disregarded because the young adults could not indicate estimated values for rent and ownership. This could have affected the degree of accuracy.

²⁶ The types of houses were also assigned based on the median point cases when cross-tabulated against each access to housing category. There were nine optional responses for types of housing units: 1, house or brick structure on a separate stand or yard (brick houses); 2, flat in a block of flats (flats in block); 3, town/cluster/semi-detached house (simplex, duplex,

Table 3.3 suggests different conditions in which young adults had access to housing in Cape Town. Houses purchased through the market were mainly free standing brick houses with the highest prices. These houses were of better quality given that prices averaged R375,000. The self built houses were cheaper with prices averaging R3500 on one end, and R29,000 on the other with important implications on the quality of houses especially that these were shacks either in the informal settlements or in backyards of formal residential areas. The government allocated houses, commonly known as RDP houses, were also mainly free standing brick houses, but their pricing valued at R150,000 was lower than those purchased through the market. The government allocated houses however showed similar estimated value prices and housing type with those owned through inheritance. Inherited houses point to the important role of the household or kinship domain in ownership of housing. Inherited houses accounted for 30% of houses owned by young adults, just slightly more than the government allocated houses/plots (28%) and a little less than purchased houses/plots (32%).

The rental categories yielded average rates of R750 per month. This finding indicates that the rental market was not fully developed to apportion differential rates for renting i.e. between a housing market and within the household. Furthermore, 52 of the 750 young adults in rental houses also owned houses. These young adults were owners of houses and at the same time renting, a factor that has not been captured in many housing surveys (Hulse, 2009:214).

The caps5(2009) cross-sectional survey is used to demonstrate a shift beyond the mainstream understanding of tenure although the revisions in questions in the panel weakened the analysis. The strength of a panel study is found in the ability to collect consistent information over time. The use of a panel approach strengthened the assessment of young people's transitions in their access to housing. However, this dissertation is based

or triplex); 4, brick house/flat/room in backyard (including converted garages, etc); 5, informal dwelling/shack in backyard (backyard shack); 6, informal dwelling/shack, not in backyard but in informal or squatter settlement (shack); 7, Room/flatlet not in backyard but on a shared property; 8, room inside house (rented from the owner of the house); and, 9, other specified housing units

on data collected through the Cape Area Panel Study in Cape Town. Therefore, the findings might be limited to Cape Town. National wide surveys such as the South African Census or the General Household Surveys would have been appropriate to investigate access to housing as a shift beyond tenure nationally, but both present the traditional conceptualisation of tenure. These surveys were also one-off cross-sectional studies that collected snapshots of information which could not be used to analyse specific individuals over time.

The 2001 South African census used a binary tenure categorisation. Households were asked: what is the tenure status of the household? The optional responses included: (1) owned and fully paid off; (2) owned but not yet paid off; (3) rented; (4) occupied rent free; and (5) other. This question assumes dual categories; either own or rent. The General Household Survey (GHS) followed this kind of categorisation between 2002 and 2010, but show a particular interest in the value of rent paid or amount of instalments that would have been paid toward ownership of houses (see appendix F). The percentage of households not in rental or ownership status was significant in both the census and GHS surveys. The 2001 census had 55% of the households in ownership status with 18% rental and 27% categorised “other” occupiers (see appendix G). The 2009 GHS survey²⁷ show that 71% of the households owned housing in South Africa against 16% of those that were renting while 13% were categorised in the “other” occupier status.

The category labelled “other” was significant. These surveys, including the initial questions to CAPS, failed to investigate the dynamism found in housing markets which made it possible for some households to be placed both in ownership and rental status. The ownership and rental categories were assumed to be mutually exclusive. This categorisation of either renter or owner meant households that were renters or owners but owned houses which they did not live in were not identified in housing analysis. This chapter has presented new kinds of questions (Table 3.1 above) found to motivate housing analysis to examine why households appeared to make separate decisions about residence and investment in housing property. Like Hulse (2008) has suggested, this kind of housing analysis assists in

²⁷ These percentages are my own univariate analysis of the General Household Survey raw data.

understanding households' ownership of houses, their debt and equity position, and broader issues about the definition of residence which identifies underlying social and economic changes.

Relatively very few young adults were reportedly in the first dimension of access to housing, ownership. Moderate numbers were reported in rental, while the majority reportedly accessed housing through family houses. A minute cohort of young adults reportedly rented and owned houses, while others shared housing. Given these dimensions of access to housing, the chapter found a more widespread expression for formal types of housing (82%) than informal housing (18%) among young adults in Cape Town. South Africa's 9 million households (2001 Census estimates)²⁸ occupied three main types of housing: the formal housing units (69 per cent); the traditional housing units (15 per cent); and the informal housing units (16 per cent). Although the 2001 census was almost a decade behind, very little has changed in housing occupancy given that 74 per cent of households in South Africa were occupying formal housing units in 2009 relative to 11 per cent of traditional housing units and 15 per cent of the informal housing units (General Household Survey (GHS), 2009). The GHS also show that 79 per cent of housing units in the Western Cape Province were formal relative to 21 per cent of the informal housing units, with a minute share of traditional housing units. These findings suggest that more people are increasingly occupying formal housing in Cape Town, and South Africa in general. Even when informal housing units are primarily, although not exclusively, an urban phenomenon to which Cape Town is evidently not an exception, it is noteworthy that 18% (Caps 2009) of the young people in Cape Town were living in informal housing units in 2009 relative to 12% in 2004 (July 2004 General Household Survey, cited in Stats South Africa, 2006:66).

²⁸ The statistics council of South Africa is reported to estimate a population of 52 million in just over 14 million households in the Third Census since 1994 expected to be undertaken in October of 2011 (*"It's time for SA to Stand up and be Counted"*, *Cape Times*, 11th October, 2010, p.5).

Box 1: Panel Stories – an example of owning through inheritance

Khanyisa and his sister Syavuya

Syavuya was 22 years when she was first interviewed in CAPS as a young adult respondent. She was not in school but had completed 12 years of education and was working. Her mother was the household head while the father was alive but did not live in the same house. Syavuya was born in Cape Town. The family lived in a four roomed rented house. In addition, Khanyisa (African) was also another young adult in the house aged 15. He had completed 9 years of education and expected to attain postgraduate qualifications. Khanyisa was born in Eastern Cape and moved to Cape Town in 2002.

Both Khanyisa and Syavuya continued living in the same house in 2003. In 2005, the family were in a house which they owned. The house was made of permanent wall materials. The following year Syavuya was the household head after her mother was now deceased. Syavuya and Khanyisa were in the same house in 2009, but their household size was three - Syavuya had a son. Syavuya owned the house through inheritance from the mother. Khanyisa did not have to pay rent to Syavuya. This shows a complex social case in which young people move to independent housing arrangements. It can be a family house, on one side, owner occupier, on the other side, or even rent in the case of Khanyisa.

Source: Cape Area Panel Study, 2002 - 2009

3.6 Factors determining access to housing

Logistic regression models were used to examine factors that influenced young people's access to housing in Cape Town. Table 3.4 displays the explanatory (independent) variables or factors. It should be understood that access to housing in Cape Town (and South Africa generally) is a complex social phenomenon, informed by cultural and contextual factors. For example, race is a marker of cultural differences and may have implications on how young adults' access to housing is manifest and determined in Cape Town.

Table 3. 4: Explanatory variables used to examine access to housing

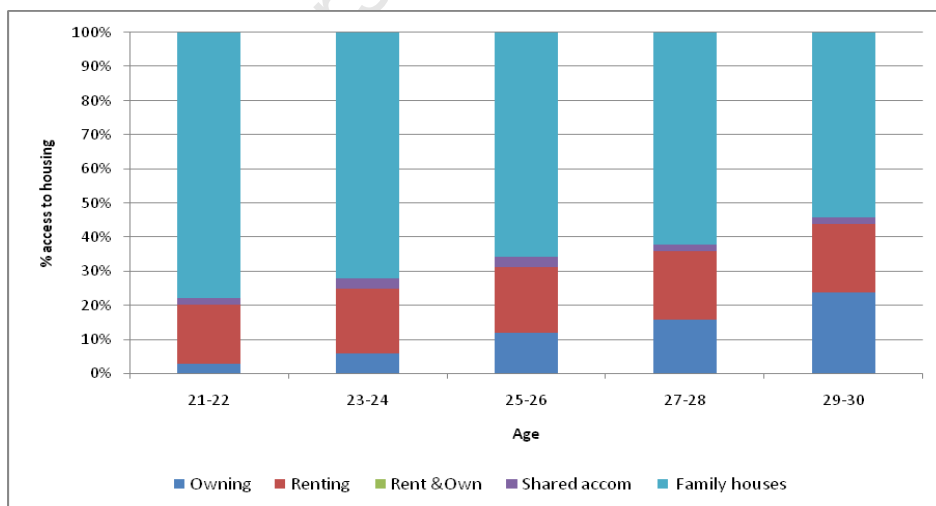
Ownership	Rent	Family houses
-----------	------	---------------

Age	Age	Age
Earnings	Earnings	Earnings
Race	Race	Race
Education	Education	Education
Gender	Gender	Gender
Class	Class	Class
Married	Married	Married
Employment	Employment	Employment
Govt grant (RDP)		
House price		
Inheritance		

Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009

Figure 3.1 shows the relationship between young adults' access to housing and age. Age is a potential determinant of access to housing. The study hypothesized that more young adults' access to housing would change from family houses to individual ownership as they grew older. Figure 3.1 shows increasing percentages of young adult owners and declining percentages for those in family houses as their age rose from 21 to 30 years. Renting remained constant with age. These findings are consistent with the hypothesis, but do not fully explain why more young adults owned houses as they grew older.

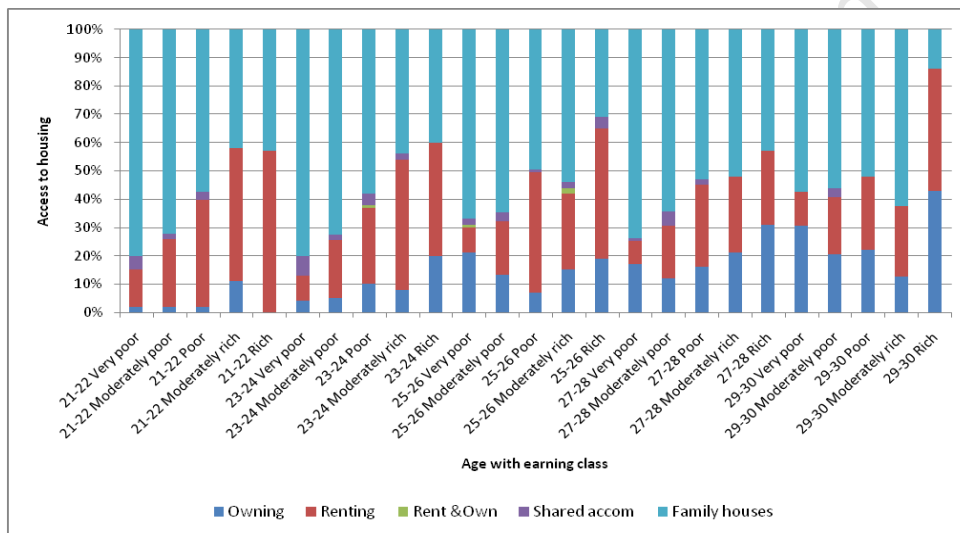
Figure 3. 1: Access to housing by age, Cape Town, 2009



Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009

It is suggested that earnings²⁹ were probably the link between age and changing access to housing. However, the addition of earnings alone provide an insufficient explanatory power although earnings remain a very important factor given that high earning young adults were more likely to be either owners or renting housing (see Fig. 3.2 below)³⁰. Interestingly, Figure 3.2 suggests that both high and low earning young adults in their upper twenties were significantly more owning of housing than the lower twenties. Conversely, both high and low earning young adults in their upper twenties were less likely to rent housing than the lower twenties.

Figure 3. 2: Access to housing by age with income class, Cape Town, 2009



Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009

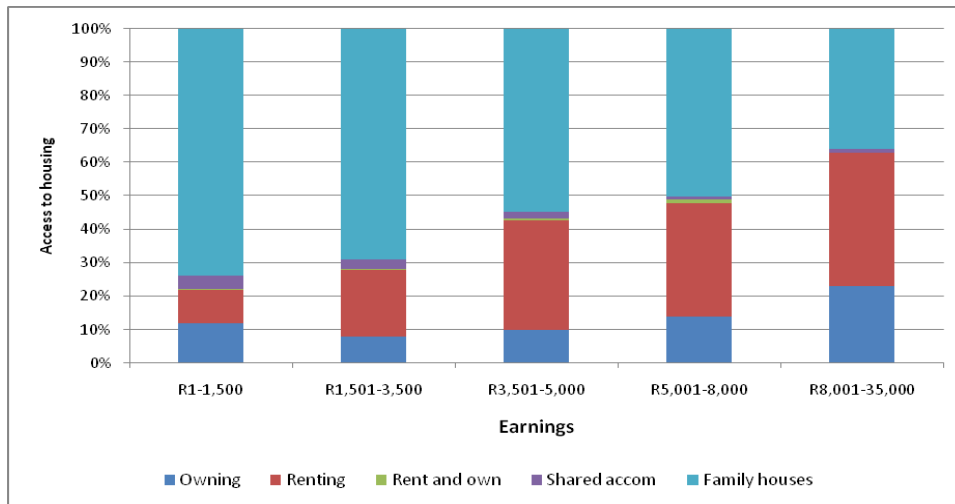
Further, Figure 3.3 shows that earnings are a potential determinant of young people’s access to housing. Higher and lower earning young adults were likely to own housing than the middle earning groups. Renting was directly related to earnings – i.e. higher earning young adults were more likely to rent houses than lower earning groups. Earnings are clearly important as shown in Figure 3.3, but require further exploration with other

²⁹ The earnings variable was created after combining two questions probing employment and business activities: (D9) How much money did/do you earn from this work in a typical month? Please tell us your take-home pay after tax and other deductions. If your work involves making or selling goods, how much money do you take away and spend or save after paying expenses? (D10) If the respondents refused to answer or said don’t know to previous question, show them the income category show card (SHOW CARD A) and ask: Which bracket describes your income in a typical month in this work?

³⁰ The earning classes in Figure 3.5 were generated from the income variables. The **Very Poor** included those with incomes between R1 and R1,500; **Moderately Poor** was R1,501 - R3,500; **Poor** included R3,501 – R5,000; the **Moderately Rich** included R5,001 – R8,000; and the **Rich** stood for incomes above R8,001

variables to fully explain why more young adults in their early twenties were renting or why many of them in their late twenties were owners of housing.

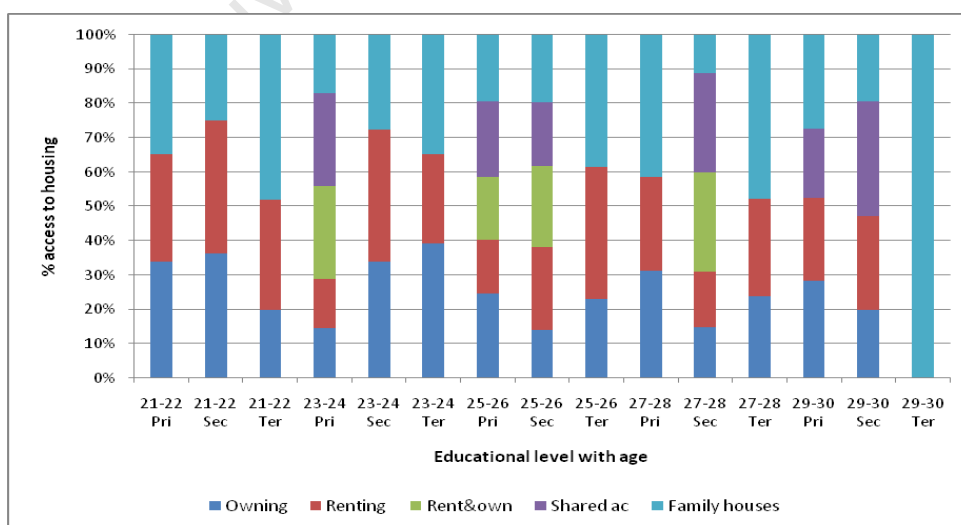
Figure 3. 3: Access to housing by individual earnings, Cape Town, 2009



Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009

Education is also another potential determinant of access to housing with age. Logan et al (2009:930) in their research in China found that education was indirectly reflected through employment position or financial status. A higher educational level was associated with higher status and most likely to own houses.

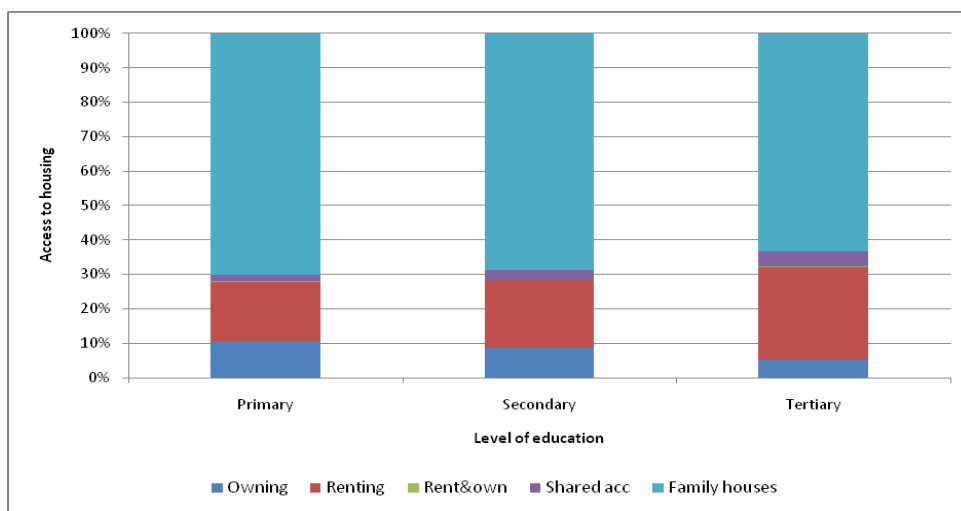
Figure 3. 4: Access to housing by education with age, Cape Town, 2009



Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009

Figure 3.4 above and figure 3.5 below presents the relationship between access to housing and education with age for young adults in Cape Town. Young adults with a tertiary education were likely to rent compared to those with and without a secondary education. However, it is unclear why a higher percentage of those without a secondary education owned houses compared to those with secondary and tertiary education. Put differently, education is an insufficient factor to adequately explain access to housing without other factors such as income.

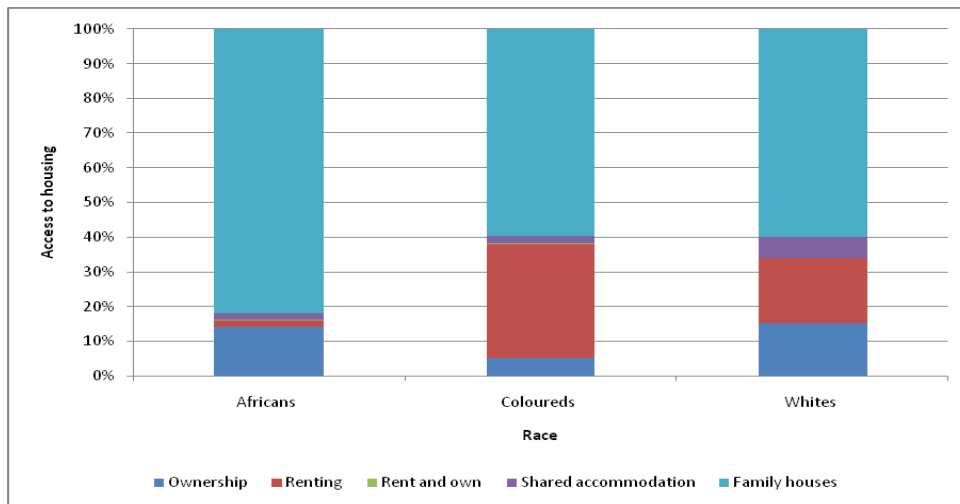
Figure 3. 5: Access to housing by education, Cape Town, 2009



Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009

The racial distribution included 42% (1,328) African, 49% (1,546) Coloured, 8% (255) White, and 0.4% (13) Indian respondents. The Indian respondents were too few to be statistically significant and to be included in the analysis. Race may also determine access to housing due to economic (i.e. housing prices) and socio-cultural (i.e. kinship) factors given that 14% of Africans owned housing compared to 5% Coloureds and 15% White young adults (see figure 3.6 below). The average housing prices for the Coloureds and Whites were R375,000 in relation to R50,000 for Africans, who were predominantly in family houses.

Figure 3. 6: Access to housing by race, Cape Town, 2009

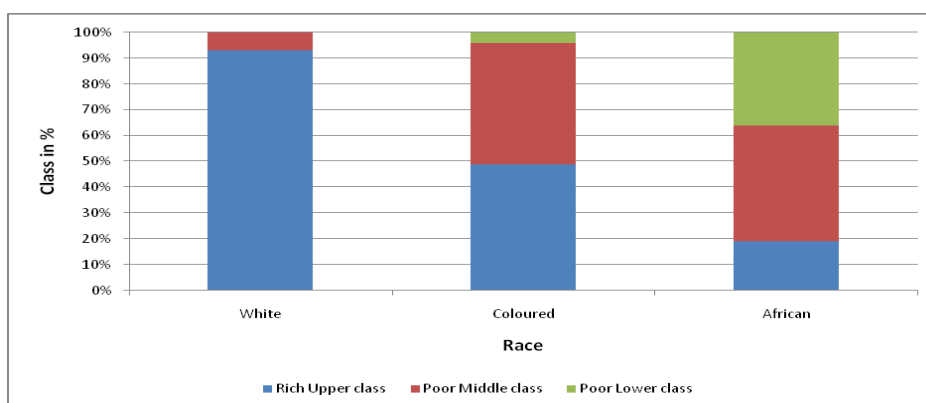


Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009

Class also determines access to housing. This dissertation defined class through young adults' self reported classification of their households. The survey asked how the young adults classified their households' financial situation. A five-level response scale measured whether the household was very comfortable, comfortable, just getting by, poor, or very poor (see Appendix C). I used these categories to classify their households into three groups: the lower class, the middle class, and the upper class. These class categories were cross-tabulated with young adults' racial groups (whites, Africans and coloureds) as indicated in figure 3.7. Generally, very few African young adults (19%) were rich compared to the Coloureds (49%) and Whites (93%). The African young adults were mainly in the category of poor (81%). Whites were mainly in the rich class. The coloureds included the rich and poor, although the rich take on characteristics similar to those of the whites.

The self reported classification best represents class differentiation in Cape Town although I was aware that young adults could have under-stated or over-stated their household financial positions. Noteworthy is that 84% of the rich African young adults were in family houses compared to 56% Coloureds and 61% Whites (appendix D). In addition, 86% upper poor African young adults were in family houses relative to 63% Coloureds and 59% Whites. These findings indicate that as a factor class provides an insufficient premise for young people's access to housing. However, when analytically assessed together with racial categories, the findings suggest cultural differences in young people's access to housing. These findings also show that race stands for class.

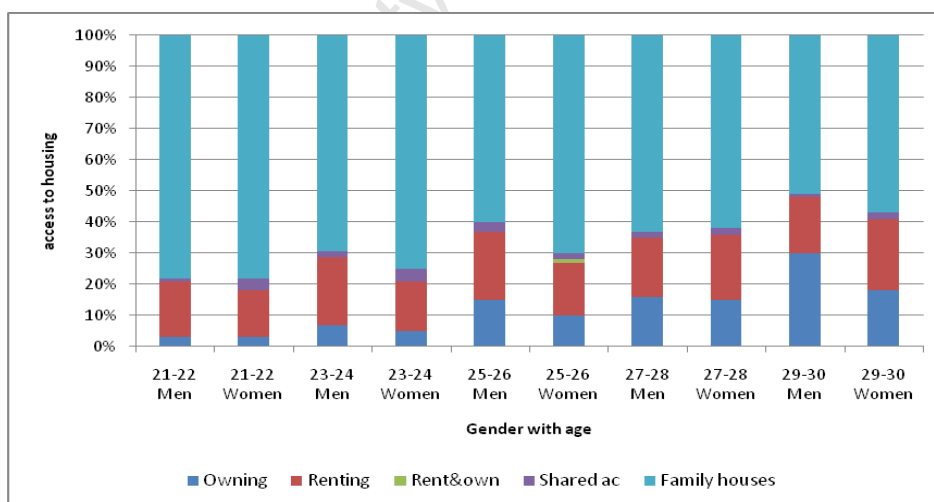
Figure 3. 7: Young adults' class by race



Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009

Gender is another determinant of access to housing. A cross-tabulation of gender and education variables revealed that while 55% (1,036) of the women relative to 45% (849) of the men had primary level education. There were 55% (584) and 60% (120) young women with secondary and tertiary education against 45% (474) and 40% (79) of the men. This indicates more women, than men, would own and rent housing given that a higher level of education also reflected higher incomes³¹.

Figure 3. 8: Access to housing by gender with age, Cape Town, 2009



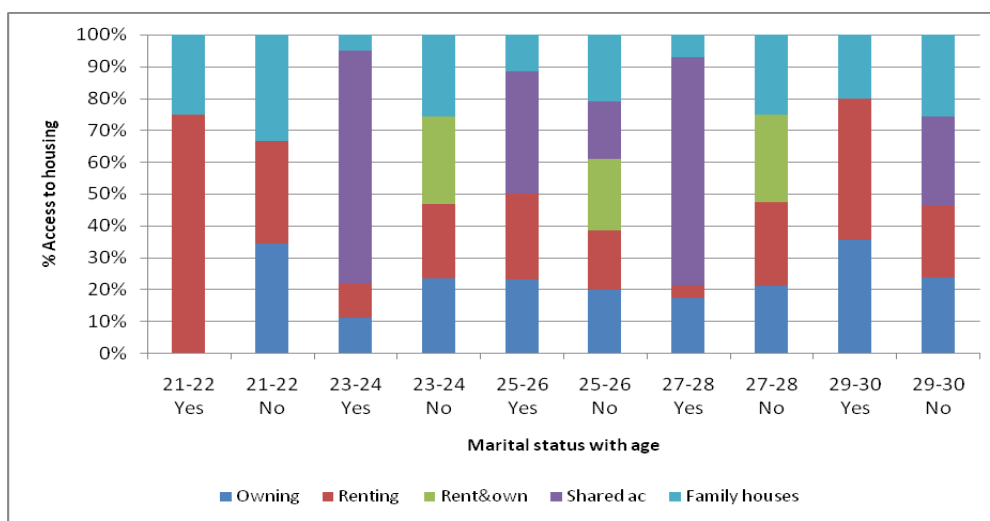
Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009

³¹ A cross tabulation of the education and income variables found that 15 per cent of the young adults with a secondary school and tertiary education had incomes of R5,000 and above. Only 10 per cent of those with less than secondary school level education had incomes of R5,000 and above.

However, figure 3.8 suggests that fewer young women, than men, owned and rented housing in their 20s. Put differently, gender is a factor in access to housing as men are more likely to own and rent housing than women.

Marriage is also a determinant of access to housing. Figure 3.9 suggests that married young people between 20 and 30 years, compared to the unmarried, were less likely to be in family houses. Conversely, more married young people owned housing as they grow older.

Figure 3. 9: Access to housing by marital status with age, Cape Town, 2009



Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009

I created indicator (dummy) variables to examine how access to housing varies in a multivariate regression analysis given that the above variables could not adequately explain access to housing in univariate and bivariate analysis. I discuss multivariate analysis in the next section.

3.7 Multivariate Regression Results

Table 3.5 presents the regression models³² used to examine determinants that influenced young people's access to housing in Cape Town. Firstly and intuitively, employed young

³² All the variables in the table are dummy variables. A dummy variable (also called indicator variable) is a binary variable. For example; gender takes the value of 1 if the young adults were female and 0 for the males. In the model, the females would then be compared to the males.

people were two times more likely to own a house and as much as six times likely to rent a house than the unemployed young people, controlling for the other factors included in these multivariate models. Conversely, the employed young people were less likely to be significantly associated with family houses than the unemployed young people. Unemployed young people live with kin as their dependents. The influence of employment on young people's ownership, rental and family housing status was consistent across the models. Secondly, young people in their late twenties were three times more likely to own a house and less likely to be associated with family houses than those in the early twenties. Most of these older young people were employed, married and with parental obligations. Married young adults were three times highly associated with ownership to housing and less likely associated with family houses than the unmarried.

Thirdly, inheritance was found to predict a higher manifestation of young people's ownership to housing (by seven times) compared to those without inheritance. Fourthly and interestingly, lower class young people were twice more likely to own housing than both the middle and upper classes. Ownership of RDP housing mostly allocated to low income households best explains this trend. Since class is highly associated with race, white young people were significantly associated with ownership to housing than either African or coloured young people in Cape Town. White young people mostly owned expensive housing than Africans and Coloureds. It is also noted that African young people were three times more likely to be in family houses than were white and coloured young people. These are all conditional correlations, i.e. they are conditional on the other variables included in the model.

Table 3. 5: Regression Models³³ of determinants of Young Adults' Access to Housing in Cape Town

Model	Ownership 3.5.1	Renting 3.5.2	Family house 3.5.3
Regression			
Logistic	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio
Demographic Variables			
>= 25yrs	3.312***	1.033	0.590***
<= 24yrs			
Coloured	3.236***	1.818**	0.957
White			
African	0.623	0.177***	3.340***
Female	0.749	0.921	1.255*
Socio-economic Variables			
< Grade 12	1.092	1.147	0.760
= Grade 12	0.918	1.293	0.754
> Grade 12			
Employment	2.432***	6.034***	0.214***
Lower class	2.050***	0.778	0.552***
Middle class	0.915	0.964	1.096
Upper class			
Socio-cultural Variables			
Married	2.567***	1.276	0.506***
Parent/children	1.355	1.141	0.818
Inheritance	6.567***		
N	2793	2953	2953
Prob > chi2	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
Pseudo R2	1935	2414	1565

Note: * Significant at the 10% level ** Significant at the 5% level *** Significant at the 1% level

3.8 Discussion

This chapter found four main findings. Firstly, a review of literature and analyses of young people's housing in Cape Town found the use and application of tenure in mainstream literature on housing inadequate. The dichotomous understanding of tenure, i.e. either to own or rent (e.g. see, Henderson and Ioannides, 1983; Di Salvo and Ermisch, 1997; Kan, 2000), finds limited explanatory power on (young) people's occupation of housing (i.e. why

³³ Logistics regressions are used in order to determine the odds ratios. The odds ratios are the probabilities of something happening against the probabilities of something not happening. In an 'ownership' regression model, we thus determine the odds ratios of young adults having 'ownership' to housing. For the odds ratio of over 1, the odds for young adults have 'ownership' to housing increases as the predictor moves from 1. Conversely, for the odds ratio of less than 1, the odds for young adults to have 'ownership' decreases as the predictor moves from 1.

people might rent a house while owning another) since it assumes that ownership or rental is exclusive of the other. The application of access to housing as a better analytical category to shift beyond housing tenure identified five categories – own, rent, rent and own, shared accommodation, and family houses (Table 3.3). This finding is consistent with Hulse's (2008) study that suggested a 'move beyond housing tenure' – from binary and mutually exclusive categories to identifying multiple categories that co-exist and explain dynamic social conditions in ways in which individuals and households occupy housing. These five categories highlight the importance of moving away from the dualism of much housing research (i.e. state – market; owning – renting, etc) to a more nuanced understanding in which family and kin form important social relations and the economic basis for the different terms and conditions under which people occupy housing.

Further, Logan, Fang and Zhang's (2009) study based on the 2001 Chinese census provides an indication that the dichotomous tenure categories erroneously classify individuals as either owner or renter based on political position and education without an adequate appreciation of their social and economic conditions. Their study suggests that political position and education were classification of housing status, i.e. own or rent, at one point in time. Access to housing gives understanding of the relationship between people, households and their housing as a dynamic one which unfolds over time rather something which can be understood through a snapshot at one point in time. The use of panel studies to capture dynamic conditions in access to housing becomes increasingly necessary.

Secondly, it was hypothesized that more young people would progress from family houses to owner occupier with age. The analyses indicate that most young people remained in family houses with co-resident fathers and mothers and other kin way into their late twenties due to among other factors limited employment opportunities to provide the financial ability to move into independent living arrangements. However, older young people in Cape Town were significantly associated more with ownership and renting than family houses. This contrasts with findings from the UK where researchers observe that most young people leave family parental housing for independent housing arrangements between 16 and 23 years which occur due to employment and after completion of

continuous school (Di Salvo and Ermisch, 1997). This finds expression in factors that lead to independent housing arrangements as young people progress into adulthood. For example, parenthood and marriage among young people in Cape Town was highly associated with ownership and rental housing (figure 3.8, also see appendices M and N). It is evident that young people did not move smoothly from parental houses to independent living in Cape Town, which highlights the importance of researching factors that challenge their access to housing in order to develop well synthesised national housing plans for future housing. Chapter 4 will further examine young people's housing paths in detail. Overall, there were strong connections between the three main dimensions of access to housing (i.e. own, rent, and family houses) and age. In other words, young people in their lower twenties were more likely to occupy family housing than those in upper twenties who were more likely to be owners and renting housing. This provides initial indications that interventions in housing plans need to be cognisant of the different factors that determine access to housing.

Thirdly and more related to the above, the analysis of the determinants of young people's access to housing found a few consistent factors. Most young people were highly associated with ownership through inheritance, which is consistent with Roux and Barry's (2010) qualitative research among owners in RDP houses in Cape Town and Grahamstown. This suggests the importance of kinship in allocating ownership of housing to people. It also indicates that housing research and policies should pay attention to inheritance on the future availability of housing and its access. However, Roux and Barry (2010) have cautioned that inheritance is one of the main reasons for transmuted³⁴ ownership to housing.

Employment also determined access to housing. Employed young people were largely owners and renters of houses than occupying family houses. This highlights the importance of employment as an intervention to ensure ownership and rental of housing. Since employment was a proxy for income (figure 3.2), not only high income employment but low

³⁴ Housing and land records are not current in formalised urban areas for reasons such as initial mistakes in titling and off-register transfers e.g. sales and inheritance (Payne *et al.* 2008; Barnes & Griffith-Charles 2007; Deininger 2003). In off-register transfers, "when a transfer occurs but the name on the title as well as in the land records remains that of the previous owner because the transaction was not registered, a transmuted title results" Roux and Barry (2010).

income employment found expression for ownership (figure 3.3). Interestingly, a u-curve is found for ownership suggesting that many low and high income young people owned housing than those in medium income. This is explained mainly by state subsidised RDP housing provided at low costs. Conversely, renting is directly related to income. This analysis suggests that employment is necessary for people's ownership and rental of housing but it is by no means sufficient to express ownership. Ownership to housing also reflects individual choices based on judgements of taste.

Fourthly, the analyses also found race and gender to be expressions of difference in young people's access to housing in Cape Town. African young people were widely associated with family houses rather than Coloureds and Whites which demonstrated that race is a marker of cultural difference. However, race alone is by no means sufficient to explain access to housing. I am aware that racial segregation under Apartheid apportioned differential access to housing based on race. Race remains a significant category in understanding South African society. In spite of that, class provides a better analytical category given that race is also a proxy for class (figure 3.8). This is consistent with Head's (1997) research in Cape Town that concluded class was a more useful analytical category more than race in explaining health statistics in South Africa. This analysis is predicated on the shifting basis of inequality in South Africa from that of race to class (Seekings and Nattrass, 2005). Seekings and Nattrass (2005) argue that South Africa's dismantled racial structures did not end inequality but that the post-apartheid administration had increasingly created new multiracial inequalities based on class. Race and class are still very much related although as Whites were joining the lower class, so were Africans moving into the upper class (figure 3.8). The chapter does not find race to be a strong factor determining young people's access to housing, but suggests differences in their housing.

The analysis also indicates that there were gender differences in access to housing among young people in Cape Town. Slightly more women were in family houses although both young men and women were significantly predicted to own cheaper houses. This highlights the shifting emphasis on and commitment to addressing gender imbalance in South Africa. A long history of migrant labour in Southern Africa established a gendered system of

housing allocated to male urban workers (Schlyter, 2002). Studies in South Africa finds ownership to housing to vary between men and women in favour of men due to apartheid policies which “made it difficult for women to register houses in their own names, access waiting lists for new housing that was built in the 1980s, and to inherit housing if subsequently widowed or divorced” (Lee, 2005:616). This chapter finds narrowing gender differences in ownership and rental to housing as a direct manifestation of the importance of education on both the young men and women (figure 3.7).

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER FOUR

ACCESS TO HOUSING – CAN KINSHIP EXPLAIN YOUNG PEOPLE’S HOUSING PATHS IN CAPE TOWN?

4.1 Introduction

Chapter three identified five different categories through which young people accessed housing in Cape Town. The chapter argued that access to housing was a better analytical category as a shift beyond the traditional binary understanding of housing tenure. This chapter explores young people’s housing paths using the five categories identified in chapter three in order to explain whether they moved smoothly from parental homes to independent housing. The chapter also uses both a review of literature and key empirical questions from CAPS. Nuclear and extended family models are used to express young people’s kinship relations in investigating their housing paths. This chapter finds kinship to account for the major part of young people’s housing paths in Cape Town. The literature review follows this introduction which provides a framework for the examination and discussion of young people’s housing paths in later parts of the chapter.

4.2 Literature Review

4.2.1 Young People and Housing Paths

Most research on young people’s housing paths is found in the UK (Inchien, 1981; Green et al, 1997; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Coles et al 1999; Rugg and Burrows, 1999; Ford et al, 2003). This literature has mostly been underpinned by an investigation of structural factors such as employment and family formation. Employment, class, and family formation were clear factors that typically informed two major young people’s housing paths in the post-1945 period – either from parental homes to public rental housing or from parental homes to owner occupier houses (Inchien, 1981; Green et al, 1997). It was widely understood that young people normally entered the housing markets through the bottom end to social housing and finally through to owner occupation. This is what Ford et al (2003) have termed

a housing mobility. However, changes in the youth labour market, changes in financial demands due to higher educational implications and social security uncertainties from the mid 1980s meant independent housing arrangements for young people began to shift from earlier housing paths (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). These changes meant larger proportions of young people were to be retained for longer in their parental homes (Coles et al 1999). This suggest that young people's moves into independent housing arrangements found housing costs prohibitive and ended up in poor living conditions (Rugg and Burrows, 1999).

Critics to this traditional concern with structural factors in the understanding of young people's housing paths argue that human agency and lifestyle choices need to be priority factors (Nettleton and Burrows, 1998). Nettleton and Burrows (1998) uses the theories of reflexive modernity – the prioritisation of individual actions to make choices that determine social outcomes over structural factors. In other words, the nature of young people's housing paths is determined by their ability to make individual choices and to choose whether to shift from owning to renting or opt to be in family houses.

However, Ford et al (2003) find young people's housing paths to be more complex than just a function of human agency or structural factors. It is a combination of both these factors. Their focus on the role of housing in their survey and qualitative panel study among young people between the ages of 16 and 25 in England show that typical situations and experiences varied in different places. They find that young people continue to follow traditional housing paths but often due to wider reasons than just employment, for example. They identify three main factors to explain complex housing paths among young people. The first was young people's preparedness (or lack of) to make their way in to independent housing. The associated influencing factors in this category included intentional (i.e. family formation like marriage), unexpected (i.e. pregnancy), and forced reasons (i.e. parental conflict). Secondly, the structural constraints such as income and the housing markets that characterise young people's access to housing. The third was the level of family support that young people could draw upon.

I turn to African family dynamics and kinship as an entry point for examining young people's housing paths in Cape Town following the arguments advanced by Ford et al (2003) and

given that no study has been done in Africa investigating their housing paths. The following section shows that African households are fluid based on kinship which I use to explain young people's housing paths in Cape Town.

4.2.2 Family and Household Dynamics

In South (and most of Southern) Africa, families are divided between urban and rural areas (Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2002; Potts and Mutambirwa, 1990; Rakodi, 1997; 2006), and often dispersed across several residences (Bray, 2008; Neves, 2008). Anthropologists have called this combination of factors domestic fluidity (see for example, Spiegel, 1996; Spiegel, Watson and Wilkinson, 1996; Ross, 1995; and for a critique see, Seekings³⁵, 2010; 2009; 2008). The household composition becomes *fluid*, in that adults and children move frequently and readily from one to another, while the boundaries of households become *porous*, in that diverse resources (including meals, shelter, care, and money) were shared across households (Seekings, 2010; 2009; 2008). Social and economic pressures and opportunities (Ross, 1995; 2003; 2005), including cultural preferences (Russell, 2003a) have been attributed as forces behind these family and household dynamics.

Domestic fluidity confers cultural practices of extended family systems with a wider radius of responsibility to kin. However, like Seekings (2008:10) has noted, the incentive to change and the choices that arise within urban setups would imply that households and family situations have been changing. The radius of responsibility among kin has become thin and that these responsibilities were mostly exercised through co-residence/cohabitation rather than through remittances (Seekings, 2010:12). Seekings does tend to see the mechanism for private redistribution to the poor/needy to be no longer through remittances but through movements of people between households. His argument was based on observations of declining household sizes and structure among Africans in South Africa. The declining household size phenomenon was consistent with Amoateng's (1997) conclusion in his study of an African township of Mfuleni in Cape Town where he found that African households were not markedly larger than white and that out of all African households in the study two-

³⁵ Seekings criticises the concept of fluidity for being too vague

thirds were nuclear families in structure. Amoateng and Richter (2003) investigated the 1996 South Africa Population Census and found that just under half of the urban Africans were nuclear family households, one third were extended family households, and one fifth were non-family households. This line of argument was followed further in their recent work (Amoateng and Richter, 2007; Amoateng, Heaton, and Kalule-Sabiti, 2007). Amoateng's (1997) and Amoateng and Richter's (2003; 2007) findings gave credence to Steyn's (1993) argument that household structures among Africans were shifting from extended to nuclear households. Although Amoateng follows a shifting orientation in the analysis of households in his more recent work, he also provides a balanced conceptual understanding of families and households (Amoateng, 2007:38).

4.2.3 Kinship Responsibilities and Households in South Africa

Western ethnographic researchers in the early twentieth century were amazed when confronted with non-Western kinship systems. These non-Western kinship systems functioned differently from the Western predominantly nuclear family based kinship system. In Africa, fertility³⁶ was at the centre as men maximised descendants owing to several partners who at times were not necessarily their wives (Russell, 2003a:16). An increased number of descendants from several women was a measure of the man's prosperity and prestige and also meant an ability to lead a wealthy life (Chisonga, 2008:41). Kinship and households began to change and were reshaped by the interaction with European settlers in South (Southern) Africa (op.cit). Ethnographic work in the 1930s show that married men among the Pondo people of East London (South Africa) were setting up their own *umzi* (homestead) instead of remaining in those of their fathers (Hunter, 1936:59). This was accompanied by reduced responsibility to their parents and siblings. Education, employment, and Christian values were key drivers that had slowly undermined the traditional ancestral authority of the elders especially in an urban milieu.

³⁶ See, for example, Karla O. Poewe's (1981) work on Matrilineal Ideology and the male – female dynamics in Luapula, Zambia; Kate Crehan's (1997) study of the division of labour among the Kaonde people of North-western Zambia; Margo Russell's (1993) narrative of women, children and marriage in Swaziland; and Solivetti's (1994) analysis of the patrilineal Hausa community of Northern Nigeria.

4.2.3 Kinship in South Africa

Although in her later work Hunter (1961) acknowledged the persistence of traditions in the Pondo people's kinship and household arrangements in East London. It was Mayer and Mayer's (1961:150) work that emphasised the 'survival' of rural traditional kinship aspects in the behaviour of the urban East London Xhosa people. The Xhosa were patrilineal with strong attachments to rural homesteads under grandfathers as heads. The children left by their migratory fathers and mothers were reared by grandparents, which made many of the homesteads three generational setups (op.cit). Two distinct and culturally separate groups were identified by Mayer and Mayer (1961): the traditional red homesteads and the modernising school homesteads. These two sets of homesteads were differentiated by the urbanisation of their women. The school homesteads women aspired to urban employment while those in red homesteads always remained in rural areas. It is this narrative of the red homesteads that help to explain much of the present day kinship relations among Africans in urban towns of Eastern and Western Cape provinces of South Africa.

Only under extreme moments of need such as health and financial pressure did the red homesteads women visit their husbands in urban cities. The red homestead husbands considered parents as closer kin than their wives, although these wives were well recognised members of their husbands' kinship arrangement. Mayer and Mayer (1961) also point out that whether married or single, the red homestead migrants were at liberty to arrange liaisons with women (for instance, the divorced, widowed or single) in either urban or rural areas. The women in such liaisons remained outside marriage and although under the care of their fathers and elder brothers, they were allowed to enjoy complete sexual relations and to bear children. In many respects, these liaisons became established and resembled polygynous marriages for the cases of red homestead husbands with rural wives.

However, the women in arranged liaison relations remained outside the red homestead kinship, but effectively formed a 'temporary private second household' in an urban area. Conversely, the school homestead migrants were able to establish complementary permanent marriage relationships in the cities and often these were against family wishes.

In a study of Cape Town's townsmen in the 1950s, Hunter (this time writing under her married name of Wilson) celebrated the urbanisation of Africans for withdrawing from wider kinship associations and staying single or with 'town wives' (Wilson and Mafeje, 1961:82). Wilson and Mafeje attributed this growing preference for a narrower kinship association to education and Christianity. However, remittances to their wives and children in rural areas structured their lives in Cape Town.

These patterns of relations have established two types of kinship options in South Africa: the traditional African type and the alternative traditional Western type (Russell, 2003a:23). The traditional African type of kinship was in this case centred around a wider network of relationships based on descent and not necessarily marriage (Fortes, 1969:308). The alternative traditional Western type finds legitimate claims in the couple centred relationship based on marriage. The couple's radius of responsibility is then limited only to their own children and not to a wider network of kin. In the next section, I relate this literature review to young people's housing paths in Cape Town arguing that kinship is a major explanatory factor besides structural and human agency factors.

4.3 Young People's Housing Paths in Cape Town

I examine young people's housing paths using a proposed theoretical framework presented in figure 4.1 below. Two family models can be established: the conventional model and the alternative model.³⁷ The conventional model follows a largely Western nuclear family set up with parents and biological children. The alternative model is largely an extended family system profoundly common in Southern Africa (Mayer and Mayer, 1961; Russell, 1993; 1994; 1998; 2002; 2003a; 2003b). Figure 4.1 presents the theoretical assumptions used to demonstrate its relationship to young people's housing paths. Firstly, I assume that young people would shift from kin towards market oriented housing in a conventional model (Inchien, 1981; Green et al, 1997). Factors such as cultural practices (race is used here as a proxy for culture), employment, marriage and parenting assume an important role in

³⁷ I use the concepts of "conventional" and "alternative" to simply draw a distinction between the two family models I am analyzing and not necessarily to gain from the literal meaning of the words themselves.

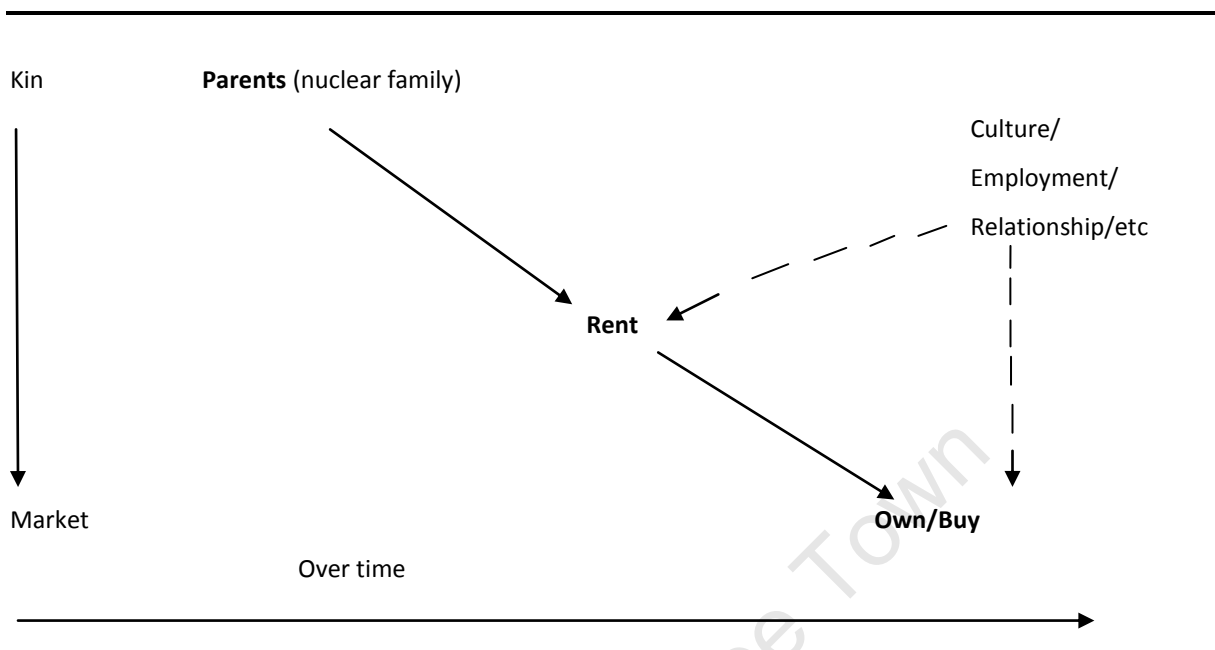
characterising young people's shifts from parental houses (kin) to renting and ownership (market) of houses. This model assumes that there is very limited option to move back to parental housing once a shift to rental or owner occupier accommodation has been attained.

Secondly, the alternative model is premised on housing paths that were interlinked among kin, state and market. This model is very flexible and has unlimited options. A housing path from parental housing (mothers) to rental or owner accommodation is not an end in itself. A housing path from owner occupation to rental and parental housing is also highly encouraged by kin. For example, an employed young man in rental accommodation might shift back to his mother's house because he feels obligated to her and other kin. Although he might buy or inherit houses, a shift back to renting or to other family members and mother remains a norm.

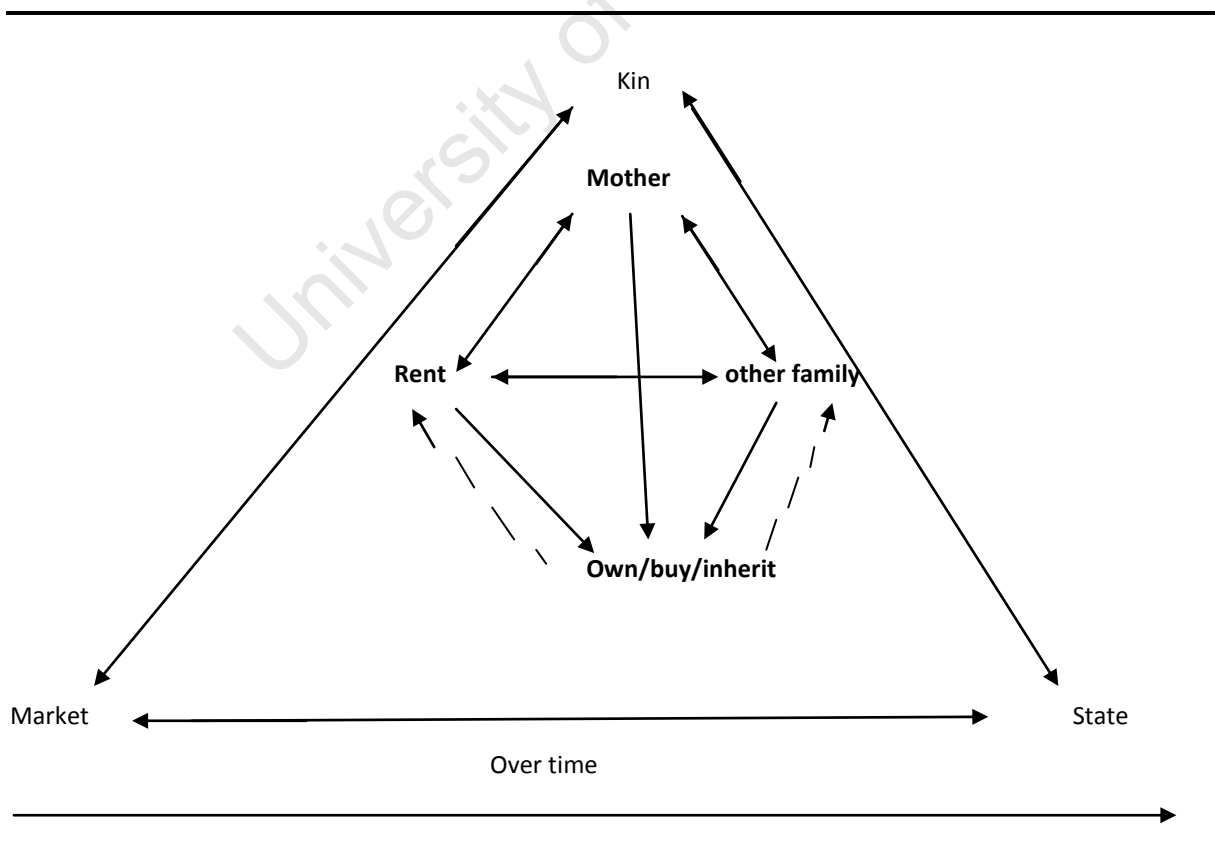
University of Cape Town

Figure 4. 1: Housing Path Models: Theoretical Assumptions

a) The Conventional Model



b) The Alternative Model



As discussed in the literature review and also used for the theoretical framework in figure 4.1 above, previous research has found African South Africans to increasingly converge on a nuclear family system in their preference for housing arrangements (see, for example, Steyn, 1993; Amoateng, 1997; 2007; Amoateng and Richter, 2003; 2007). In the first part of analysis, I accordingly hypothesised that young people would shift from family houses to rent and/or owner occupier housing when brought up in a nuclear family system (both parents). The second part of the analysis assessed a variation in their housing paths based on the 'non-convergence' family model postulated by Russell (1994; 2002; 2003a; 2003b) although earlier developed by Mayer and Mayer (1961) to explain single mother parentage in South Africa. It was accordingly hypothesised that young people would not permanently move out of family houses when brought up by mothers (network of kin) than those by both parents.

Further, I examine questions assessing reported claims and obligations young people made towards kin which were asked in caps4(2006) and repeated verbatim in caps5(2009) as displayed in table 4.1 below. These two questions were selected to cover the claims on, and obligations towards, kin that young people would make or expected. The questions were analysed using the conventional and alternative models and formed the third part of the analysis (see sections 4.4.4 and 4.4.5 below).

Table 4. 1 Questions asked in wave 4 and 5 to measure young people's claims and obligations

	Yes	No	Refused	Don't know
If you had a permanent full-time job, would other people (excluding your spouse and children) expect you to support them financially?	X	X	X	X
If you were unemployed for a long period of time, could you turn to anyone other than your spouse to help with your monthly living expenses?	X	X	X	X
What is this person/these people's relationship to you? This person is your _____. ³⁸				

³⁸ This question was asked immediately after each of the two questions above. The optional relationship response categories were (multiple responses were allowed) wife/husband/partner, ex wife/husband/partner, biological father/mother, step father/mother, adoptive or foster parent, father/mother-in-law, step son/daughter, adoptive/foster child, brother/sister, half/step brother/sister, brother/sister-in-law, father's brother/sister, mother's brother/sister,

4.4 Examining Young People's Housing Paths in Cape Town

4.4.1 Young People's Housing Paths between 2002 and 2009

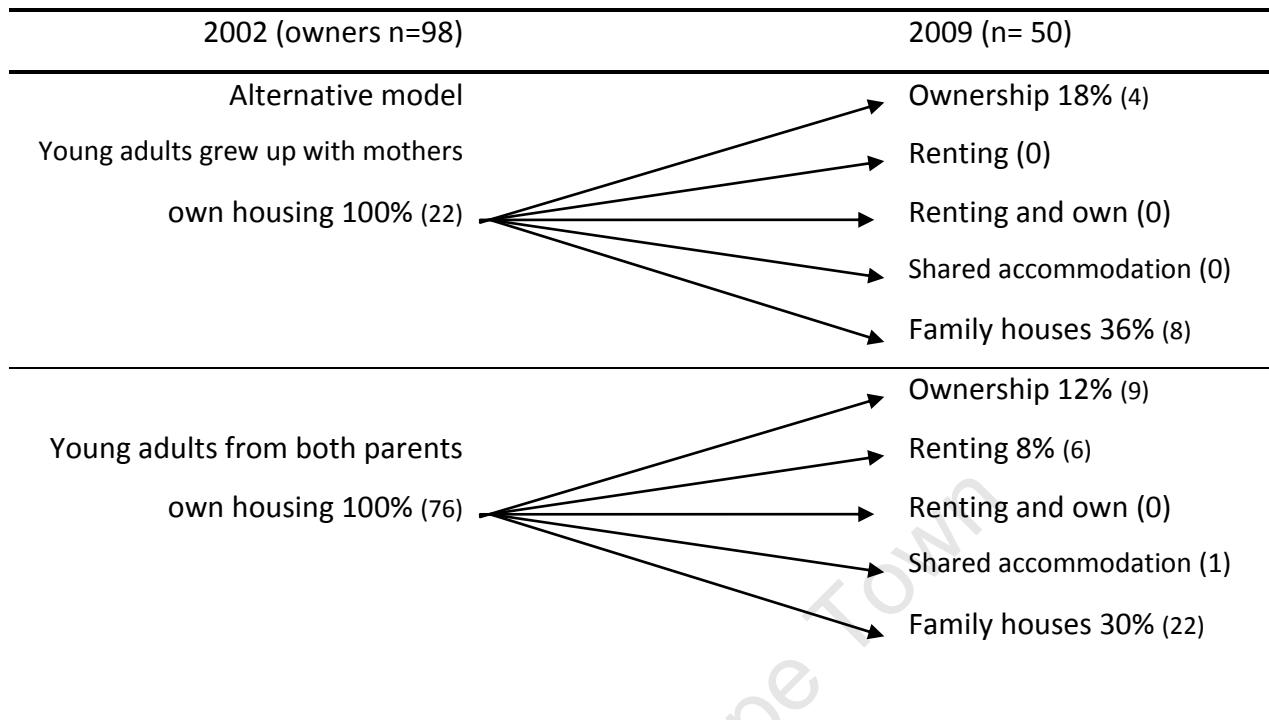
Figure 4.2 displays young people's housing paths between 2002 and 2009. Only 100 young people owned houses in 2002. Of the 100 young people, 22 grew up with mothers (alternative family model) relative to 76 raised by both parents (conventional family model) (figure 4.2a). From the 22 young people raised by mothers, 4 maintained their ownership housing paths while 8 moved back to family houses in 2009. This is consistent with the theoretical assumptions that most of the young people in alternative family models (AFM) were not permanently expected to move out of family houses. Housing paths of ownership in 2002 to ownership in 2009 indicated a normal standard path for those in conventional family models (CFM). However, a high proportion (30% or 23 out of 76) of young people in CFM moved back to family houses, which was not consistent with the theoretical assumptions.

Figure 4.2(b) displays the distribution of young people in family houses in 2002 and their housing status in 2009. Almost half (48% AFM and 46% CFM) of the young people maintained their family housing status between 2002 and 2009. Very few moved on to owner occupier or renting housing (standard path) in 2009. Family houses were significant in the manner young people accessed housing in Cape Town.

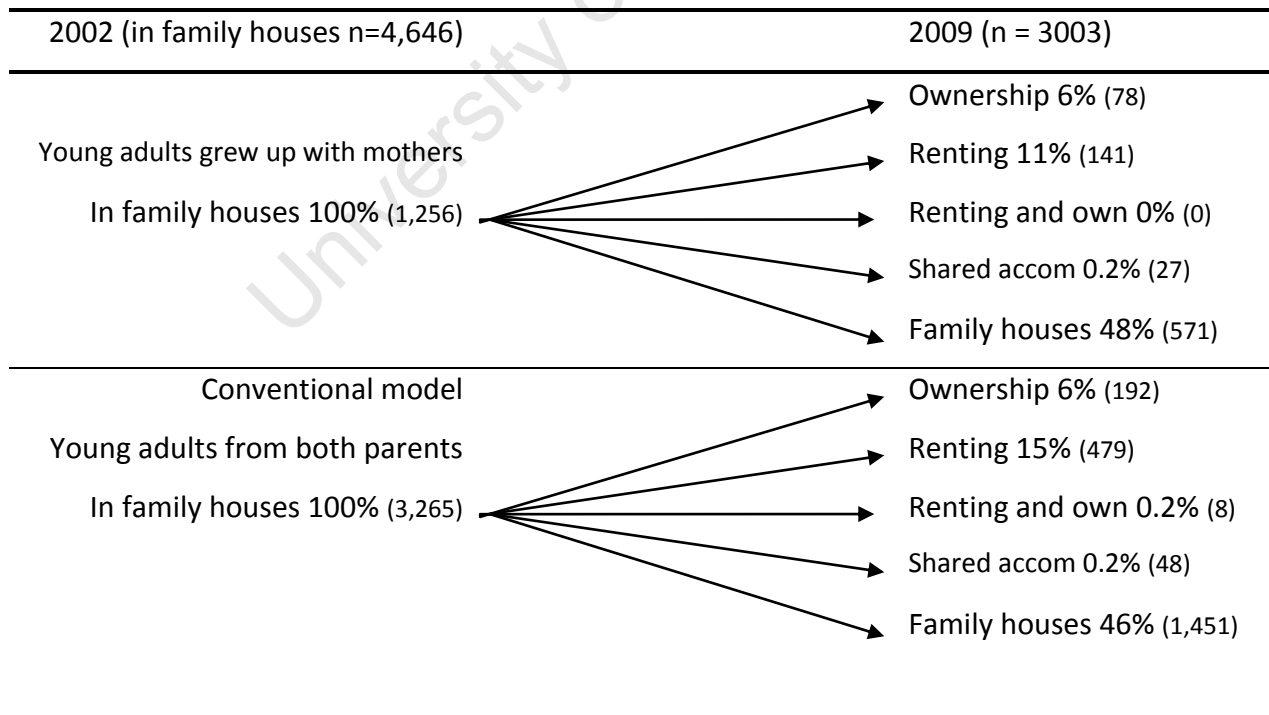
father's father/mother, mother's father/mother, cousin, other kin on father's side, other kin on mother's side, nephew/niece, related through marriage, other relative, friend, neighbour, and other unrelated

Figure 4. 2: Young People’s Housing Paths between 2002 and 2009

a) Young adult owners of houses in 2002 and their housing in 2009



b) Young adults in family houses in 2002 and their housing in 2009



Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate number of respondents. The percentages in 2009 do not equal to 100% of 2002 mainly due to attrition and non applicable responses for the young adults who grew up with only fathers. Overall 4,752 young adults were interviewed in 2002 while only 3,142 were re-interviewed in 2009.

Figure 4.2 is consistent with the theoretical assumptions of AFM, but not CFM indicating that young people’s housing paths were strongly influenced by kinship considerations. This finding suggests that not only unemployment among other factors, but kinship obligation make young people in Cape Town not to move smoothly from parental housing to independent living arrangements.

4.4.2 Race and Young People’s Housing Paths between 2002 and 2009

Table 4.2 displays the housing status by race in 2002 for young people in AFM and those in CFM. Overall, very few young people across the racial divide (18% of Africans, 13% for Coloureds, and not a single White) owned houses in 2002 when raised in AFM compared to those raised in CFM (72% of Africans, 87% for Coloureds, and 100% of the Whites).

Table 4. 2: Race and Young People’s Housing in 2002

	Owners			Family houses		
	AFM	CFM	Total	AFM	CFM	Total
Africans	28% (18)	72% (47)	100% (65)	37% (756)	63% (1,291)	100% (2,047)
Coloureds	13% (4)	87% (26)	100% (30)	24% (463)	76% (1,453)	100% (1,916)
Whites	0% (0)	100% (3)	100% (3)	6% (37)	94% (552)	100% (589)

Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate number of respondents. AFM/CFM stands for alternative/conventional family model

Figure 4.3(a) (b) displays young people’s housing patterns/paths by race in 2009 based on their 2002 housing status. Figure 4.3(a) presents young people’s housing paths for those that were owners of houses in 2002. Very few young people (8 Africans out of 47; and 1 Coloured out 26) in CFM followed consistent housing paths between 2002 and 2009. Note that ownership to housing in 2002 and 2009 was consistent since there is no alternative higher category. All possible combinations of housing paths would agree with the AFM. However, most young people did not maintain consistent housing paths.

Figure 4. 3: Race and Young People’s Housing Paths in 2009

(a) Race and Young People’s Housing in 2009 for those who were owners in 2002

	Conventional		Alternative	
	2002	2009	2002	2009
Africans	O(47) → O(8) v		O(18) → O(3) v	
	O(47) → R(0) x		O(18) → R(0) v	
	O(47) → F(12) x		O(18) → F(5) v	
Coloureds	O(26) → O(1) v		O(4) → O(1) v	
	O(26) → R(6) x		O(4) → R(0) v	
	O(26) → F(9) x		O(4) → F(3) v	
Whites	O(3) → O(0) x		O(0) → O(0) v	
	O(3) → R(0) x		O(0) → R(0) v	
	O(3) → F(1) x		O(0) → F(0) v	

(b) Race and Young People’s Housing in 2009 for those from family houses in 2002

	Conventional		Alternative	
	2002	2009	2002	2009
Africans	F(1261) → O(108) v		F(756) → O(54) v	
	F(1261) → R(32) v		F(756) → R(21) v	
	F(1261) → F(653) x		F(756) → F(376) v	
Coloureds	F(1453) → O(53) v		F(463) → O(23) v	
	F(1453) → R(386) v		F(463) → R(122) v	
	F(1453) → F(656) x		F(463) → F(197) v	
Whites	F(552) → O(34) v		F(37) → O(1) v	
	F(552) → R(61) v		F(37) → R(1) v	
	F(552) → F(133) x		F(37) → F(7) v	

Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate number of respondents. O = own; R = rent; and F = family house. The symbols v = consistent housing patterns; and x = inconsistent housing patterns.

Figure 4.3(b) indicates young people’s housing paths for those that were in family houses in 2002. Generally, very few young people followed consistent paths across race in CFM. One in fourteen Africans moved from family houses to owner occupier while one in forty went on to rental housing from family houses. One in twenty-seven Coloureds moved on to

owner occupier while one in four moved on to rental. For Whites, one in sixteen went on to owner occupier and one in nine moved on to rental housing. Note that the path of family house to family house between 2002 and 2009 is inconsistent in a CFM. There is the expectation to move on to another category such as rental or ownership of housing. However, maintaining the housing path of family houses was the most common in the AFM.

Figure 4.3 (a)(b) is inconsistent with the assumptions of the CFM since very few young people followed a standard housing path across race. However, the figure is consistent with the assumptions of the AFM which shows limited differences across race. This finding suggest limitations in using a cultural variable to explain young people’s housing paths in Cape Town since race can also stand for cultural differences. Instead, it is evident that kinship is a foundational explanation for young people’s housing paths in Cape Town.

4.4.3 Gender and Young People’s Housing Paths between 2002 and 2009

Table 4.3 displays young people’s housing according to gender in 2002 when in AFM or CFM. Overall, the sample had a higher proportion of women (2,539) relative to men (2,111) due to methodological reasons stated in chapter 2.

Table 4. 3: Gender and Young People’s Housing in 2002

	Owners			Family houses		
	AFM	CFM	Total	AFM	CFM	Total
Women	24% (16)	76% (50)	100% (66)	29% (711)	71% (1,762)	100% (2,473)
Men	19% (6)	81% (26)	100% (32)	26% (545)	74% (1,534)	100% (2,079)

Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate number of respondents. AFM/CFM stands for alternative/conventional family model

However, figure 4.4(a) (b) suggests limited differences in young people’s housing paths by gender whether when in AFM or CFM between 2002 and 2009. Figure 4.4(a) indicates the housing paths of young men and women owners of housing in 2002. Very few young men (2 out of 26) and women (7 out of 50) in CFM followed consistent housing paths. Maintaining ownership to housing between 2002 and 2009 was a common consistent housing path in AFM together with inconsistent shifts from owning to family houses.

Figure 4. 4: Gender and Young People’s Housing in 2009

(a) Gender and Young People Housing in 2009 for those who were owners in 2002

	Conventional		Alternative	
	2002	2009	2002	2009
Women	O(50) → O(7) ✓		O(16) → O(3) ✓	
	O(50) → R(6) x		O(16) → R(0) ✓	
	O(50) → F(15) x		O(16) → F(5) ✓	
Men	O(26) → O(2) ✓		O(6) → O(1) ✓	
	O(26) → R(0) x		O(6) → R(0) ✓	
	O(26) → F(7) x		O(6) → F(3) ✓	

(b) Gender and young adults’ housing in 2009 for those from family houses in 2002

	Conventional		Alternative	
	2002	2009	2002	2009
Women	F(1762) → O(89) ✓		F(756) → O(41) ✓	
	F(1762) → R(251) ✓		F(756) → R(74) ✓	
	F(1762) → F(791) x		F(756) → F(351) ✓	
Men	F(1534) → O(106) ✓		F(463) → O(37) ✓	
	F(1534) → R(233) ✓		F(463) → R(67) ✓	
	F(1534) → F(674) x		F(463) → F(220) ✓	

Note: Numbers in parentheses indicate number of respondents. O = own; R = rent; and F = family house. The symbols ✓ = consistent housing patterns; and x = inconsistent housing patterns.

Figure 4.4(b) displays the housing paths of young men and women in family houses in 2002. The results indicate that few young men and women followed consistent housing paths between 2002 and 2009 from CFM. One in fourteen young men compared to one in twenty young women moved from family houses to ownership. One in seven young men and women moved to rental housing from family houses. Maintaining family houses were the most common housing paths for young men and women in AFM.

These results (figure 4.4(a) (b)) indicate that most young men compared to the women were unable to maintain ownership to housing between 2002 and 2009 whether in AFM or CFM. This finding is consistent with the results in chapter 3 that associated a high degree of ownership to housing to parenting and marriage especially among young women compared to the men. More women than men were either parents or married between 2002 and

2009. However, more young men than women followed the consistent standard housing paths across the two family models. This is intuitively explained by differences in structural factors such as employment, income and education among women and men, but chapter 3 finds that the gap has become increasingly narrow. While there are gender differences in explaining young people's housing paths, the influence of kinship remains consistent with the assumptions of the theoretical framework expressed under an AFM. Overall, young people's housing paths were as much driven by kinship as employment, education, and family formation.

Box 2: Panel Stories – An example of an inconsistent housing path

Christa

When she was first interviewed in 2002, Christa (white) was an 18 year old grade eleven young woman born in an urban area of the Free State Province before moving to Cape Town with her parents and brother in 1999. The family owned their house in Constantia which was financed by a bank mortgage. Her access to housing was through the family house. She completed her secondary school education in 2003.

Christa moved out of the family house in 2005 at the age of 21 to find work. She moved into a rented house in Rondebosch and managed her own independent housing due to income for at least two years. She later enrolled for an undergraduate degree study programme from a university. Further education may have meant a loss of employment as she reports accessing housing through the family house in Constantia in 2009 at the age of 25. During the survey period (2002-2009), Christa was never married or reported to be living with a partner.

Source: Cape Area Panel Study, 2002 - 2009

4.4.4 Explaining Housing Paths by Changes in Practices of Kinship

Table 4.4 and Table 4.5 presents two panel questions asked and transitions in overall responses by access to housing for young people in CFM and AFM between 2006 and 2009. Table 4.7 provides initial suggestions of growing expectations to support kin financially and claims to turn to kin for monthly living expenses between 2006 and 2009 (i.e. the

percentage of 'yes' increases in 2009 from the 2006 responses, or that of the 'no' reduces in the same period).

Table 4. 4: Kinship questions asked in 2006 and 2009 of CAPS by overall response

Survey questions used	Capsw4 of 2006	Capsw5 of 2009
Expect to support kin (a)	N=3,439	N=3,142
Yes	64% (2,184)	68% (2,129)
No	36% (1,227)	31% (976)
Refused	0.03% (1)	0.3% (10)
Don't know	0.8% (27)	0.9% (27)
Turn to kin (b)		
Yes	74% (2,545)	76% (2,388)
No	25% (874)	23% (715)
Refused	0.03% (1)	0.2% (6)
Don't know	0.6% (19)	1% (33)

Note: The percentages are over 100% because of rounding off effects. a = If you had a permanent fulltime job, would other people (excluding your spouse and children) expect you to support them financially? b = If you were unemployed for a long period of time, could you turn to anyone other than your spouse to help with your monthly living expenses?

Table 4.5 indicate differences in young people's expectations to support kin financially and claims to turn to kin for monthly living expenses. These differences were also investigated by controlling for access to housing (i.e. own, rent, etc). Be they owners, renting or in family houses, the results suggest increasing expectations to support kin financially when employed or to turn to kin for monthly living expenses when unemployed in 2009 relative to 2006 for young adults in AFM compared to CFM. However, an increased level of uncertainty was noteworthy as more young adults answered "don't know" and "refused" in 2009 compared to 2006.

Table 4. 5: Kinship Practices and Housing

(a) Responses in 2006

Survey questions used	Capsw4 of 2006 (AFM)			Capsw4 of 2006 (CFM)		
Expect to support kin (a)	Ownership n=73	Renting n=127	Family House n=520	Ownership n=165	Renting n=424	Family House n=1,343
Yes	59% (43)	48% (61)	78% (403)	68% (113)	47% (198)	65% (876)
No	41%(30)	52%(66)	22%(116)	31%(51)	53%(223)	34%(450)
Refused	0	0	0	0	0	0.1%(1)
Don't know	0	0	0.2%(1)	0.6%(1)	0.7%(3)	1%(16)
Turn to kin (b)						
Yes	51%(37)	65% (83)	77% (401)	65% (107)	68% (289)	78% (1,045)
No	49%(36)	33%(42)	22%(116)	34%(56)	32%(134)	22%(291)
Refused	0	0	0	0	0	0.1%(1)
Don't know	0	2%(2)	1%(3)	1%(2)	0.2%(1)	0.4%(6)

(b) Responses in 2009

Survey questions used	Capsw5 of 2009 (AFM)			Capsw5 of 2009 (CFM)		
Expect to support kin (a)	Ownership n=82	Renting n=141	Family House n=579	Ownership n=201	Renting n=488	Family Hse n=1,475
Yes	62% (51)	60% (85)	77% (446)	53% (107)	60% (293)	70% (1,036)
No	37%(30)	39%(55)	22%(125)	44%(89)	39%(190)	29%(425)
Refused	0	0	0	2%(3)	0.4%(2)	0.2%(3)
Don't know	1%(1)	1%(1)	1%(8)	1%(2)	0.6%(3)	1%(11)
Turn to kin (b)						
Yes	59% (48)	71% (100)	78% (450)	62% (124)	78% (382)	78% (1,153)
No	35%(29)	28%(40)	22%(123)	35%(71)	21%(103)	21%(307)
Refused	2%(2)	0	0	1%(2)	0.2%(1)	0.1%(1)
Don't know	4%(3)	1%(1)	1%(6)	2%(4)	0.4%(2)	1%(14)

Note: The percentages are over 100% because of rounding off effects. a = If you had a permanent fulltime job, would other people (excluding your spouse and children) expect you to support them financially? b = If you were unemployed for a long period of time, could you turn to anyone other than your spouse to help with your monthly living expenses?

The response options were then recoded to permit changes in averages to be investigated. I initially coded the response options “Yes” and “No” 1 and 2, respectively: 1 for expectation to support or claim to turn to kin; and 2 for lack of expectation to support or claim to turn to kin. The increased responses of uncertainty (don't know and refused) raised methodological difficulties on how to utilise this data. It would have been an easier solution to simply exclude these responses. This option seemed unsatisfactory. If the young people felt obliged to expect to support kin when employed or claim to turn to kin when unemployed in 2006, but is uncertain in 2009 (don't know or refused). It could reasonably mean the development of weaker practices of kinship. In short, the “don't know” and “refused” responses had content that needed to be captured in this empirical work. For this reason, I combined and coded the “don't know” and “refused” responses with the value of 1.5 or mid-point of the 1

(Yes) and 2 (No). To avoid the 1.5 mid-point, I recoded the optional responses as 1 (Yes), 2 (Mid-point), and 3 (No) as shown in Table 4.6 below.

T-tests were used to examine whether the average score of each question was significantly different in 2006 compared to 2009 at 95 per cent confidence levels (see, Table 4.6.1). A positive sign in the t-tests indicates an increased expectation to support or turn to kin.³⁹ Table 4.9.1 displays reported reduced expectations to support or turn to kin between 2006 and 2009 by the young adults in AFM and controlling for type of access to housing. Only young people in CFM and owners of housing were reporting increasing expectations to support (+0.29) or turn to kin (+0.05) in 2009 than in 2006.

The potential effects of survey attrition (non-response) in 2009 from the 2006 sample were taken into consideration given that 297 young people interviewed in 2006 were not re-interviewed in 2009. Attrition in most panel studies is mainly affected by movements to unknown addresses within and outside of survey areas. This reason remains true for the CAPS young people based on field researchers records of reasons for non-responses. Following Maughan-Brown's (2008:151) approach, I argue that the 2006 sample of young people was a better representation of the young people population of Cape Town although it too suffered attrition from the original sample of 2002. If the 297 young people not re-interviewed in 2009 experienced a change in attitude with a significant difference from the rest, then the findings reported above are unrepresentative. In short, if the 297 young people had reported an increased expectation to support or turn to kin when in AFM, or reduced expectation to support or turn to kin when in CFM, then the above findings would be biased.

³⁹ The t-tests for the three groups of young adults subtracted the 2006 average from the 2009 average. To this end, provided the 2009 average was higher than the 2006 average then the t-test score was positive to indicate an expectation to support or turn to kin. Conversely, a negative t-test score was due to a higher average in 2006 compared to 2009 indicating declining expectations to support or turn to kin.

Table 4. 6: Changes in Practices of Kinship between 2006 and 2009

(a) AFM	2006			2009			T-test 4.6.1	T-test (attrition test) 4.6.2
	Yes	Mid-point	No	Yes	Mid-point	No		
Expect to support kin (a)								
Ownership	59% (43)	0	41% (30)	62% (51)	1% (1)	37% (30)	-0.08	-0.10
Renting	48% (61)	0	52% (66)	60% (85)	0.7% (1)	39% (55)	-0.25	-0.23
Family Houses	78% (403)	0.2% (1)	22% (116)	77% (446)	1% (8)	22% (125)	-0.01	-0.01
Turn to kin (b)								
Ownership	51% (37)	0	49% (36)	59% (48)	6% (5)	35% (29)	-0.22	-0.21
Renting	65% (83)	2% (2)	33% (42)	71% (100)	0.7% (1)	28% (40)	-0.10	-0.10
Family Houses	77% (401)	1% (3)	22% (116)	78% (450)	1% (6)	21% (123)	-0.02	-0.02

(b) CFM	2006			2009			T-test 4.6.1	T-test (attrition test) 4.6.2
	Yes	Mid-point	No	Yes	Mid-point	No		
Expect to support kin (a)								
Ownership	68% (113)	0.6% (1)	31% (51)	53% (107)	3% (5)	44% (89)	+0.29	+0.23
Renting	47% (198)	0.7% (3)	53% (223)	60% (293)	1% (5)	39% (190)	-0.27	-0.26
Family Houses	65% (876)	1% (17)	34% (450)	70% (1,036)	1% (14)	29% (425)	-0.10	-0.10
Turn to kin (b)								
Ownership	65% (107)	1% (2)	34% (56)	62% (124)	3% (6)	35% (71)	+0.05	+0.01
Renting	68% (286)	0.2% (1)	32% (134)	78% (382)	0.6% (3)	22% (103)	-0.21	-0.19
Family Houses	78% (1,045)	1% (7)	22% (291)	78% (1,153)	1% (15)	21% (307)	-0.01	-0.01

a = If you had a permanent fulltime job, would other people (excluding your spouse and children) expect you to support them financially?
b = If you were unemployed for a long period of time, could you turn to anyone other than your spouse to help with your monthly living expenses?

An attrition test was used to examine whether the above findings (that were subjected to a t-test in Table 4.6.1) changed under hypothetical scenarios in which the number of young people with ownership and rental to housing was assumed to increase among the 297 missing young people of 2009. This attrition test assessed whether the 297 young people would have made a difference to the results if the numbers of young people with ownership and renting were increased. The 2009 hypothetical sample was created by including the 297 missing young people as respondents to the 2009 sample. It was assumed that three quarters of these young people owned housing while a quarter were renting given that they

were old and richer. T-tests were then conducted to examine changes in reported expectations to support or turn to kin by the 2006 sample and the hypothetical 2009 sample. Table 4.6.2 displays the average change in the t-test (attrition) scenario. The t-test (attrition) results in 4.6.2 were consistent with those of 4.6.1. It can be concluded that there was no significant attrition bias between 2006 and 2009.

4.4.5 The Reported Kinship Ties

Table 4.7(a) (b) displays an examination of young people's reported kinship ties in Cape Town between 2006 and 2009 when in AFM or CFM⁴⁰. This question was asked in the survey as a follow up on whether young people felt obligated to support kin when employed or could turn to kin when unemployed. Seven relationship categories were identified as displayed in table 4.7(a) (b): brother/sister, parents, maternal, paternal, other kin, and non-kin. I excluded the partners and spouses from the relationship categories in this examination. It was expected that young people would make claims on, and were expected to support, their spouses and partners. Further, Like Harper and Seekings (2010:12) have noted in their study, responses to these relationship categories were either acknowledging one person or many people in each of the categories i.e. the brother/sister category might be a brother or sister, or brothers and sisters.

The results indicate that kinship ties among young people in Cape Town were strongly attached towards parents and siblings. Higher percentages of young people felt obligated to support or turn to parents in 2009 compared to 2006 whether in AFM or CFM. Further, a high proportion of young people felt obligated to support or make claims on kin. Generally, more young people felt obligated and wanted to turn to any kin category in 2009 compared to 2006 whether in AFM or CFM (see rows for 'no one' in table 4.7 below).

⁴⁰ Each of the relationship categories had been analysed as a dummy variable. The percentages in the table indicate the values of 1, while the values of 0 are not indicated but subtract the values of 1 from 100 per cent.

Table 4. 7: Reported Kinship Ties between 2006 and 2009⁴¹

(a) Alternative Family Models

Kinship		2006			2009		
Obligation to	Ownership (n=73)	Renting (n=127)	Family Hse (n=520)	Ownership (n=82)	Renting (n=141)	Family Hse (579)	
No one	41%	52%	22%	37%	39%	22%	
Bro/sister	29%	5%	25%	33%	13%	30%	
Parents	31%	33%	53%	37%	48%	58%	
Maternal	1%	6%	14%	1%	8%	11%	
Paternal	4%	0%	1%	1%	1%	3%	
Other kin	2%	4%	5%	7%	2%	12%	
Non-kin	0%	0%	0.4%	0%	1%	1%	
Turn to							
No one	49%	33%	22%	35%	28%	21%	
Bro/sister	10%	3%	13%	17%	9%	18%	
Parents	27%	48%	51%	40%	53%	58%	
Maternal	4%	11%	14%	1%	11%	11%	
Paternal	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	
Other kin	2%	1%	1%	4%	2%	8%	
Non-kin	0%	1%	2%	4%	1%	2%	

(c) Conventional Family Models

Kinship		2006			2009		
Obligation to	Ownership (n=141)	Renting (488)	Family Hse (1,343)	Ownership (201)	Renting (488)	Family Hse (1,475)	
No one	31%	53%	34%	44%	38%	29%	
Bro/sister	26%	6%	20%	19%	10%	24%	
Parents	43%	37%	52%	37%	55%	59%	
Maternal	3%	1%	3%	3%	2%	4%	
Paternal	1%	0.4%	1%	2%	1%	2%	
Other kin	3%	0%	2%	8%	2%	7%	
Non-kin	0%	1%	0.4%	2%	1%	1%	
Turn to							
No one	34%	32%	22%	35%	21%	21%	
Bro/sister	15%	7%	12%	15%	9%	17%	
Parents	35%	53%	61%	39%	70%	65%	
Maternal	3%	3%	4%	3%	3%	4%	
Paternal	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	
Other kin	1%	1%	1%	5%	1%	4%	
Non-kin	1%	3%	1%	3%	2%	1%	

Note: These categories are dummy variables. The percentages in the table indicate the values of 1, while the values of 0 are not indicated but subtract the values of 1 from 100 per cent. The (%) calculates the average of each category in 2006 and 2009.

⁴¹ These percentages do not add up to 100% in either columns or rows because each kinship category was analysed as a dummy variable i.e. 41% of the young adults raised by mothers with ownership of housing reported no obligation to any kinship category against 59% of those who reported an obligation to at least one kinship category in 2006. This also allowed for multiple response analysis i.e. a young adult could indicate more than one category.

4.5 Discussion

This chapter found the growing influence of kinship on young people's housing paths in Cape Town. Limited differences across race which stood for cultural difference were found to explain young people's housing paths. Chapter 3 used race as an analytical category for social and economic inequality and more generally stood for class and cultural differences (Seekings and Natrass, 2005; Harper and Seekings, 2010). Race properly manifests the results of years of racial segregation that apportioned differential geographical residential locations, employment opportunities, education and poverty (Maugham-Brown, 2008). While these factors may be among the reasons for differences across racial groups in South Africa, housing paths in Cape Town showed limited differences across race between 2002 and 2009 (see Table 4.2 and Figure 4.3(a) (b)) among the first post-apartheid young adult generation (also see, Bray *et al.*, 2010). Instead, kinship influenced their housing paths more than just the racial and cultural categorisation. This strengthens the argument that although racial categories define cultural differences, for example, Harper and Seekings (2010) found that African young people in Cape Town came from larger families (average 2.7 siblings) compared to Coloureds (average 2) and Whites (average 1.3). It is the quality of 'community' - i.e. level of neighbourliness - (Seekings, 2008) and residential racial integration (Oldfield, 2004) in both low income areas (Muyeba and Seekings, 2010) and middle class to elite suburbs (Borel-Saladin and Crankshaw, 2009) enabled by kinship interaction even across race could be among the reasons for their housing paths⁴².

The analysis of housing paths according to gender showed differences between women and men. Chapter 3 found housing to be gendered with men overwhelmingly characterising its occupation. This pattern of gendered occupation to housing was informed by Apartheid policies⁴³ in South Africa and generally by a long history of migratory labour in Southern

⁴² I have come to this conclusion with a lot of caution given that the South African society remains deeply rooted in racial categorisations. However, I believe my path is from scepticism to hope instead of Muyeba and Seekings' (2010) introductory heading "From hope to scepticism".

⁴³ For example, women were classified as dependents under Section 10 of the 1952 Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act. The Act provided that only Africans with Section 10 rights could reside legally in a designated Urban Area. Three categories were specified: Section 10 (1)(a) rights were granted if a person had continuously resided in the urban area in question since birth; Section 10 (1)(b) rights were acquired if the person had lived continuously in the urban area for fifteen years or had worked for the same employer for ten years; Section 10 (1)(c) rights were acquired by the dependant of someone with

Africa. This trend had evidently changed in Cape Town, and specifically among the first post-apartheid generation of young adults. The differences in men and women's housing paths between 2002 and 2009 (see Table 4.5 and Figure 4.6(a) (b)) were explained by differences in structural factors such as employment and education, and also due to parenting and marital obligations. However, kinship remained a foundational explanatory variable for young people's housing paths even when examined according to gender. Noteworthy, these findings highlight the importance of taking gender consideration in housing allocation and its occupation.

The chapter also found kinship to be a strong explanatory power of young people's housing paths through an examination of their obligations and expectations to kin in Cape Town. The increased preferences among young people in Cape Town to be obligated to kin was consistent with Aboderin's (2004) study, which found that adult children in Ghana supported their parents and not their elderly maternal or paternal relations. In India, an attitude survey among adult children found that 91% felt it their duty to care of older parents in 1984 relative to 77% in 1994 (Jamuna, 2003 cited in Lloyd-Sherlock and Redondo, 2009). This indicates reduced kinship obligations which is in line with Steyn (1993); Amoateng (1997; 2007); and Amoateng and Richter's (2003; 2007) studies that found South African households to increasingly assume nuclear family characteristics in recent times.

This study would have concluded that young people in Cape Town had indeed preferred nuclear families if the two family models had not systematically been examined. The assessment of housing paths through the two family models established that young people were more obligated to kin. The findings highlight the importance of quantitative approaches to measuring housing paths using kinship with consistent questions over time as a way beyond the rich but localised ethnographic studies.

Section 10 (1)(a) or (b) rights. If a person did not have any of these rights, then s/he had to obtain a permit to search for work.

The significance of family models and housing paths cannot be over emphasised. This has policy implications in terms of planning the future demand for housing based on young people's housing paths. It is also to be noted that previous studies have paid less attention to young people's housing paths. Research conducted in the United Kingdom (UK) concluded that adolescents' housing socialisation was the inevitable process in which their knowledge and capability to express preference for a particular form of access to housing was formed (Rowlands and Gurny, 2001). Also Rugg (1999) and Rugg and Jones (1999) documents housing experiences of British young adults' transition to adulthood, but do not investigate their housing paths. The idea of housing paths is not a new one, but was previously employed in the UK to analyse how the upper middle class, the professionals, and homeless people, for example, moved through different forms of housing over time (Ford et al, 2003). Young people's housing paths have not taken centre stage in much housing research and no studies have been undertaken in Africa. However, the research by Ford et al (2003) brought young people's housing paths into focus and their findings are consistent with the results in this chapter.

Using both qualitative and survey methods in their research of British young people between 16 and 25 years, Ford et al (2003) explain young people's housing paths by identifying three factors. The first was young people's preparedness (or lack of) to make their way in to independent housing. The associated influencing factors in this category included intentional (i.e. family formation like marriage), unexpected (i.e. pregnancy), and forced reasons (i.e. parental conflict). Secondly, the structural constraints such as income and the housing markets that characterise young people's access to housing. The third was the level of family support that young people could draw upon. These findings from Ford's et al (2003) study together with the findings presented in chapter 3 and this chapter suggest that young people's housing paths were highly linked to their initial conditions such as family formation, parental disputes and higher education. This chapter finds kinship to be a unique characteristic variable expressing housing paths in Cape Town (which may generally apply to most of Africa). This chapter in the dissertation provides the first evidence of a systematic measure of young people's housing paths over time in South Africa (and generally to Africa) and highlights young people's constraints in their efforts to manage access to housing over time.

CHAPTER FIVE

ACCESS TO HOUSING - EXPLORING THE EFFECTS OF HIV-AIDS ON ACCESS TO HOUSING

5.1 Introduction

The objective in this penultimate chapter is to re-assess the model used in chapter three, but with the addition of the affected and unemployment variables, in order to establish whether these variables have significant marginal effects on access to housing whilst controlling for other variables. Young people's experiences either with HIV sickness and/or AIDS death is used to measure the HIV-AIDS affected. This chapter finds differences in access to housing between HIV-AIDS affected and the unaffected young people.

5.2 Literature Review

5.2.1 Direct Effects of HIV-AIDS

The direct effects of AIDS in South Africa, and sub Sahara Africa at large, are very clear. An estimated 5.7 million out of a population of forty-nine million people in South Africa were living with HIV in 2007 (UNAIDS Fact Sheet, 2008). The figure shows that South Africa has the highest number of people living with HIV/AIDS in the world (Whiteside, 2008). However, twenty-seven years after the discovery of HIV, there is still little optimism about reversing this trend. The little optimism is also hampered by what appear to be *high levels of awareness* (Shisana and Simbayi, 2002) but which do not translate into *safer sex practices* (Booyesen and Summerton, 2002). Furthermore, multiple and concurrent relationships (Epstein, 2008), economic factors (Gillespie et al, 2006; Hunter, 2007; Swindler and Watkins, 2007; Nattrass, 2008), and traditional medicine use (Steinberg, 2008), act as powerful confounding factors in the relationship between AIDS knowledge and behaviour change. It is

also estimated that one in five productive South Africans aged between 25 and 49 are HIV positive and *life expectancy has reduced*⁴⁴, and severely threatens a reversal to the development gains the country achieved in the past decades (Seekings, 2010:2).

A growing body of literature on the direct effects of HIV-AIDS has also associated access (or the lack of access) to housing as a powerful link to HIV-AIDS prevention efforts (Aidala and Sumartojo, 2007; Kidder et al, 2007; Furlotte, 2009; Tucker, 2009). A lack of access to proper housing was highly associated with an increased risk and poor health for HIV affected persons and communities (Aidala and Sumartojo, 2007; Kidder et al, 2007). Particularly among the homeless⁴⁵ although also applicable to those not referred to as homeless, the tendency to engage in risky behaviour through multiple sexual partners, casual liaisons, sex exchanges, and low rates of marriage or stable partner relationships (Aidala and Sumartojo, 2007:4) were found to be the prime factors exacerbating the risk to HIV.

In their longitudinal studies that examined the relationship between HIV-AIDS and housing in Canada, Furlotte (2009) and Tucker (2009) make the argument that access to housing is a factor in HIV-AIDS prevention. Significantly, they identify the above factors such as multiple sexual partners, casual liaisons, sex exchanges including transactional sex as those that place people and communities affected with HIV at increased risk. These factors were also associated with the state of homelessness and unstable housing. In this respect, people were more likely to engage in risky behaviour and thereby exposing themselves to HIV-AIDS when their access to housing was not assured. In Malawi and South Africa, *transactional sex*⁴⁶ was an increasingly important mechanism for accessing housing by women in HIV highly affected areas such as informal settlements (Hunter, 2007:697; Swindler and Watkins, 2007:148) and served as a means to support rural kinship relations (Hunter, 2007:692).

⁴⁴ Life expectancy at birth for South Africa was estimated to be 51 years in 2006 by the World Health Organisation world health statistics.

⁴⁵ North American studies have defined homeless as living in a shelter, in a public place like a car or street, single-room occupancy in a residential hotel, or frequency of attendance at a free meal program. In South Africa (and Southern Africa in general), the concept is disguised in many shades but is commonly manifested through living in public places like streets or in a makeshift shelter.

⁴⁶ For a more in-depth discussion on transactional sex, see Swindler and Watkins (2007) - it is a useful reading.

Evidence suggest that proper housing, which may be accessed through owning or renting, was highly associated with, and found to have encouraged better health through good and sustained care especially for those affected with HIV (Leaver, et al, 2007:97). It also suggest that access to proper housing provides the necessary social and physical space to develop and maintain social ties and relations associated with health behaviour (Aidala and Sumartojo, 2007:5; Kidder et al, 2007). Conversely, the lack of stable and adequate housing limits the opportunity for regular social interaction both at household level and community association.

5.2.2 Indirect Effects of HIV-AIDS

However, very few studies have investigated the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS. The indirect effects of AIDS associated with housing are manifested in several ways. Dissolution of (and formation/recomposition of new) households (Seekings, 2010:1) is one such effect. For example, sick breadwinners or care givers and their dependents become dependent on others for economic and health care reasons. The situation becomes dire when the breadwinner or care giver dies. Without alternative means for economic survival, these households are dissolved and go on to form or recompose those they move to. Similarly, there is also the question of compromised family structure. Using a qualitative study from key informants affected and infected with HIV/AIDS and who were in position to influence planning and development of projects in an informal settlement in Durban (South Africa), Simpson and Raniga (2004:367) examined how HIV/AIDS impacts on family structure and the ability of families to care for children given that the AIDS scourge had increased the number of deaths in the middle generation of 15-49 years. They found a profound structural change at household level of either grandparent-headed or child-headed households for those directly affected by AIDS. Their study suggests an increased non-biological parent family make-up with household headship age skewed towards the younger (children) and older (grandparents) generations for those affected with AIDS.

Other studies have also investigated the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS and access to housing (see Mtetwa, 2003; Young and Ansell, 2003; Simpson and Raniga, 2004; Hunter, 2007) with

important implications on family structure, migration patterns, stigmatising behaviour and discrimination. For example, Simpson and Raniga's (2004:366-370) study in Durban, South Africa, found that parents were unable to take care of their children due to sickness, and in cases of death, the grandparents assumed the role of *primary care givers*⁴⁷. In such cases, either the grandparents moved into the household or the children moved in with their grandparents. The alternative case to this grandparent headed household family arrangement is what Simpson and Raninga (2004) described as a growing number of child headed households.

For Hunter (2007:692-696), the change in family structure in post Apartheid South Africa can not only be explained by the impact of AIDS in accessing housing but that AIDS compounds other social and economic inequalities such as unemployment, family structures and households. Such situations have been found to greatly reduce the marital rates and subsequently increased one person households (Amoateng and Richter, 2007:47; Amoateng et al, 2007:73; Hunter, 2007:695). The declining importance of marriage is especially acute among those affected by HIV-AIDS as evidenced by a mixed research methods approach involving qualitative and quantitative work that investigated access to housing in Windhoek, Namibia. The study revealed that among groups of people living with HIV-AIDS, only 17% were married while 53% were reportedly never married and a further 17% and 13% were divorced and in cohabitation arrangements respectively (Peled, 2008:16).

Without support and resources in the child headed household family structures and other variants of family arrangements, the consequence is migration to urban centres where an increased and perpetuated scourge of children living on the streets had reached pandemic proportions (Simpson and Raniga, 2004:374). The majority of cases involve migrations within urban or rural areas. However, not all migration patterns associated with AIDS end up on the streets in urban centres. Qualitative studies have examined the impact of AIDS on orphans affected by AIDS aged 10 - 17 in Malawi and Lesotho and showed some migration trends to their kin and non-kin relations (Young and Ansell, 2003; Ansell and Young 2004). These studies demonstrate that children engaged in migration in response to both

⁴⁷ A primary care giver in this study is broadly understood as including parents or guardians looking after children.

household dissolution and as a coping strategy. Despite migration(s) being directly prompted by AIDS, these studies revealed that sickness or death were frequently the indirect causes of migration (Ansell and Young, 2004:5-6). For example, two cases from their ethnographic study serve to illustrate this point.

Thabang, in Lesotho, for instance, went to live with his father for the first time, to care for him during his terminal illness. Peter, in Malawi, had been living with his grandmother, but when his father died, his grandmother lost her son's financial support and could no longer care for Peter, so he moved to live with his mother (Ansell and Young, 2004, also cited in Seekings, 2009).

These in-depth stories of two AIDS affected children show that the causal effects of migration were not simply directly due to AIDS but were indirectly encompassed through a range of factors such as increased poverty due to unemployment, remarriage of widowed parents, and to care for sick relatives (Young and Ansell, 2003:468). In most cases, the AIDS affected children's migrations also meant a complicated undertaking of multiple movements of access to housing from one extended family kin member to the other (Young and Ansell, 2003:469). This suggests that access to housing by AIDS affected children was also highly affected by kinship. In the process, the consequences of migration on AIDS affected children included disruption to old friendship groups, disorientation in the new neighbourhoods, reduced quality of care relationships, schooling was often disrupted, and children were often burdened with additional domestic chores (Young and Ansell, 2003; Ansell and Young 2004).

Stigmatising attitudes have also weighed heavily on the relationship between kinship and AIDS on access to housing. In her study in Zimbabwe, Mtetwa (2003:) used an ethnographic study to investigate how the relationship between being HIV positive and AIDS sick affected one's chances of accessing housing. She argued that access to housing in Zimbabwe had changed from a government provider model to a government enabling environment strategy. Since access to housing had become market oriented, high income classes easily accessed finance and owned houses while the poor were left to find cheaper alternative forms of housing such as renting rooms. Access to rented rooms was not only based on the ability to pay, but landlords also demanded for proof of health as a condition for offering or

terminating lease agreements. The main source of the stigma exhibited by the landlords is what Maughan-Brown (2008:32)⁴⁸ has termed resource based stigma. This is also demonstrated in a well narrated ethnography conducted in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa in which Jon Steinberg reflected on feelings that an AIDS sick man under treatment was already a corpse;

“..I am pleased you noticed that.... It is one of the two main causes of stigma. The family sees the patient is getting thinner and thinner and soils his bed and can't eat. They think, he's dead anyway. Why waste our time? [Steinberg: And the other main cause of stigma?...]...Money. The patient is a financial burden on the family. We don't have sugar because of you. You are killing us” (cited in Steinberg, 2008, p. 265).

Thus, Mtetwa's analysis was largely an examination of stigmatising behaviour and the choices that people directly affected by HIV-AIDS have had to make to access housing and ways in which class becomes a significant factor. Her evidence shows this resource stigma and discrimination that people living with HIV-AIDS face in accessing housing and the attendant insecurity of tenure. Similar qualitative research in Namibia and Zambia show that access to housing has often been denied when family members rejected those living with HIV-AIDS since they could not make any economic contribution to the household income and were considered a burden (Bond, 2006:185-186; Peled, 2008:16). Further, people living with HIV-AIDS were found to be unemployed due to stigmatisation and discrimination at places of work which meant that without an alternative income access to housing was particularly a challenge (Kohi *et al.*, 2006; Simbayi *et al.*, 2007; Peled, 2008:16).

5.2.3 Better Methods should Examine Indirect Effects of HIV-AIDS

In spite of these direct and indirect effects, as Seekings (2009) suggests, very little is known about the indirect consequences of AIDS on other members of the households, families, kinship groups or community. The problem is found in conceptual and methodological difficulties that examine the indirect consequences of AIDS predominantly based on the

⁴⁸ See Maughan-Brown (2008) for an in-depth analysis on AIDS stigma and its multidimensional quantitative measurements.

households' economic ability to cope with illness (Seekings, 2001; Adams *et al.*, 1996; Booyesen, 2002). Given these conceptual and methodological difficulties that predominantly analyse economic hardships by household heads, the following sections examine the marginal effects that HIV-AIDS affectedness has on access to housing among young people in Cape Town. The importance in understanding the effects of HIV-AIDS on young people's transition to adulthood has already been underlined (Rutenberg *et al.*, 2001).

5.3 The Effects of HIV-AIDS on Access to Housing

Questions designed to measure the effect of HIV-AIDS on young people were asked in all the five waves of CAPS. The questions indicate young people's experiences either with HIV sickness and/or AIDS death between 2002 and 2009. Table 5.1 (a)(b) below presents the questions asked and descriptive statistics based on young people's responses. The descriptive statistics show that an increased percentage of young people had experienced either event during the survey period (Table 5.1a). These descriptive statistics also show the experiences among African young people (Table 5.1b).

Each of the two questions in Table 5.1 was followed by a further question probing the person(s) relationship to young people: "What is your relationship with this person/these persons?" The response options included: (1) "Spouse, partner, boyfriend, and girlfriend"; (2) "Close family (parent, brother/sister, and child)"; (3) "Distant family"; (4) "Friend"; (5) "Acquaintance/someone I know"; (6) "Neighbour"; (7) "A co-worker/someone at work"; (8) "Other, specify"; (9) "Refused"; and (10) "Don't know". I identified the spouse/partner, close and distant family relationships to examine young people 'affected' by HIV-AIDS in more concrete ways. I was also aware that using an HIV-AIDS 'affected' variable has its own weaknesses. Firstly, the HIV-AIDS 'affected' were self-reported measures which might be lower or higher than the actual to reflect the true situation. Secondly, it does not indicate HIV infected young people who might have chosen not to report on their HIV-AIDS status. Given these weaknesses, an *HIV medical examination*⁴⁹ of young people conducted in

⁴⁹ For the first time in 2009, the Cape Area Panel Study collected a blood and saliva test for the purpose of medically examining HIV-AIDS among young adults in the survey.

capsw5 (2009) should have established the actual HIV positive young people in the survey. However, I have only used the HIV-AIDS ‘affected’ variable since the objective in this chapter is to establish whether HIV-AIDS had indirect effects on young people’s access to housing.

Table 5. 1: (a) Experiences of HIV Sickness and Death among Young People

Questions asked	capsw1	capsw2	capsw3	capsw4	capsw5
Do you personally know anyone who has HIV/AIDS?	q.E.65 N=4,748	q.J33 N=1,366#	q.E.80 N=3,522	q.H1 N=3,439	q.G1 N=3142
1. Yes	15% (710)	42% (578)	28% (976)	25% (843)	31% (965)
2. No	85%(4,022)	56%(769)	72%(2,522)	75%(2,584)	68%(2,149)
98. Refused	0.04% (2)	-	0.45%(16)	0.09%(3)	0.5%(14)
99. Don’t know	0.29%(14)	2%(19)	0.23%(8)	0.26%(9)	0.5%(14)
Do you personally know anyone who has died or you think has died of HIV/AIDS?	q.E.67 N=4,750	-	q.E.83 N=3,522	q.H4 N=3439	q.G5 N=3,142
1. Yes	22% (1,023)	-	32% (1,117)	29% (988)	31% (976)
2. No	78%(3,712)	-	68%(2,382)	71%(2,436)	68%(2,126)
98. Refused	0.06%(3)	-	0.40%(14)	0.09%(3)	0.51%(16)
99. Don’t know	0.25%(12)	-	0.26%(9)	0.35%(12)	0.76%(24)

Source: Cape Area Panel Study (2002 - 2009)

Note: # only few young adults were interviewed in capsw2 given this survey only updated data for capsw1.

(b) Experiences of HIV Sickness and Death among African Young People

Questions asked	capsw1	capsw2	capsw3	capsw4	capsw5
Do you personally know anyone who has HIV/AIDS?	q.E.65 N=2,148	q.J33 N=748#	q.E.80 N=1,505	q.H1 N=1,596	q.G1 N=1,328
1. Yes	21% (450)	43% (324)	28% (700)	43% (690)	52% (691)
2. No	78%(1,690)	57%(424)	72%(789)	56%(898)	46%(614)
98. Refused	0.0% (0)	-	0.73%(11)	0.23%(2)	0.90%(12)
99. Don’t know	0.37%(8)	0%(0)	0.33%(8)	0.38%(6)	0.83%(11)
Do you personally know anyone who has died or you think has died of HIV/AIDS?	q.E.67 N=2,149	-	q.E.83 N=1,505	q.H4 N=1,596	q.G5 N=1,328
1. Yes	33% (709)	-	55% (827)	51% (816)	57% (754)
2. No	67%(1,430)	-	44%(664)	48%(770)	40%(540)
98. Refused	0.0%(0)	-	0.60%(9)	0.19%(3)	1%(13)
99. Don’t know	0.47%(10)	-	0.33%(5)	0.44%(7)	2%(21)

The impact of HIV-AIDS has been felt more by the African population in South Africa (see Table 5.2). Therefore, an assessment with only African young people was statistically significant to analyse since many new experiences with HIV-AIDS occurred largely amongst Africans (96%) relative to Whites (0.8%) and Coloureds (3%) in South Africa. More African young people (30%) had experiences with HIV compared to Coloureds (5%) and Whites (1%) when the data is disaggregated by race. Further, African young people had greater (35%) experiences with AIDS death relative to Coloureds (3%) and Whites (1%). To this end, the analysis in this chapter is based on experiences of African young people.

Table 5. 2: New AIDS Cases and AIDS deaths in South Africa between 2002 and 2006

	Black	Coloured	White	Total
New AIDS cases	178,170	5,789	1,526	186,517
Percentage of total	95.5%	3.1%	0.8%	100%
AIDS deaths	111,873	3,736	692	116,944
Percentage of total	95.6%	3.2%	0.6%	100%

Source: Estimates from the 2003 ASSA HIV/AIDS projection models (ASSA, 2005) as cited in Maugham-Brown (2008:157)

5.4 Measuring the effects of HIV-AIDS on Access to Housing

5.4.1 Factors Determining Access to Housing with HIV-AIDS

Like in chapter 3, logistic regression models were used to assess factors that determined access to housing with HIV-AIDS among African young people in Cape Town. The explanatory variables investigated in chapter 3 (see Table 3.4) have been re-examined here apart from race. However, the HIV-AIDS affected variable has been included to these explanatory variables as indicated in Table 5.3 below.

The HIV-AIDS affected variable is an indirect measure of the effect of HIV-AIDS on young people's access to housing. The Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) and GHS have used this approach given that medical examinations have never been conducted in these surveys. The HIV-AIDS affected is used to determine the difference in young people's access to housing.

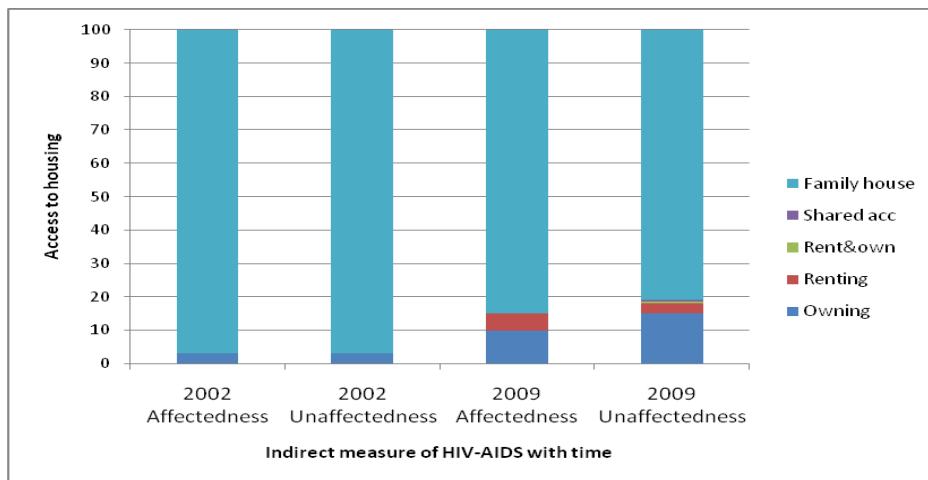
Table 5. 3: Explanatory variables used to examine access to housing with HIV-AIDS

Ownership	Rent	Family houses
HIV-AIDS Affected	HIV-AIDS Affected	HIV-AIDS Affected
Earnings	Earnings	Earnings
Age	Age	Age
Education	Education	Education
Gender	Gender	Gender
Class	Class	Class
Married	Married	Married
Unemployment	Unemployment	Unemployment
Parents	Parents	Parents
Inherit		

Source: Cape Area Panel Study, Wave 5 survey, 2009

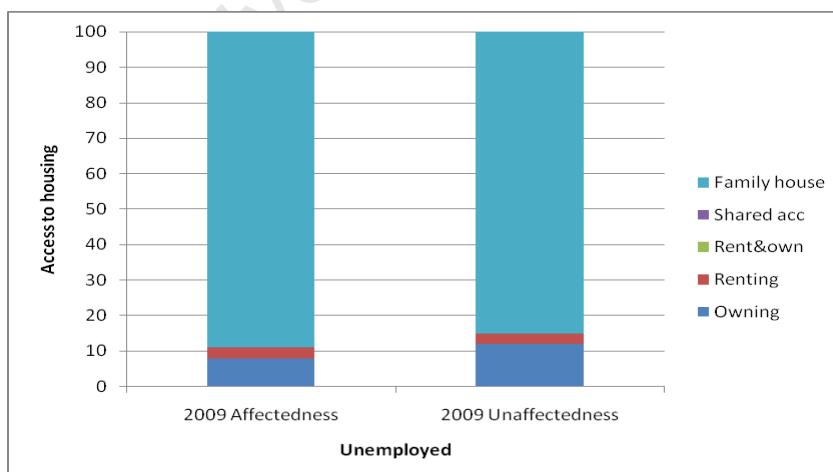
Figure 5.1 displays the distribution in access to housing for HIV-AIDS affected and unaffected African young people. Only 3% (8) owned houses while 97% (302) were in family houses of the total affected African young people (310) in 2002. However, only 3% (58) of the unaffected African young people owned houses relative to 97% (1,773) of those in family houses. The 2009 descriptive statistics show that 10% (60) owned houses while 5% (30) were renting and 85% (504) occupied family houses from the total affected African young people. Conversely, 15% (107) owned houses while 3% (24) were in rental accommodation and 81% (577) occupied family houses from the 712 unaffected African young people. These results indicate similar trends between 2002 and 2009 in access to housing among HIV-AIDS affected and unaffected African young people in Cape Town. It is difficult to interpret these results, but it is possible that unemployment among African young people might suggest a plausible explanation.

Figure 5. 1: Access to housing by HIV-AIDS affected and unaffected African Young People



Since employment was found to highly determine young people’s owner occupier accommodation and rental housing in chapter 3. It is expected that HIV-AIDS affected the unemployed much more than the employed in their access to housing. Figure 5.2 compares the HIV-AIDS affected and the unaffected unemployed African young people in Cape Town. The HIV-AIDS affected unemployed African young people were less likely to own housing than the unaffected cohort. However, the figure suggests minimal differences between the two groups. It should be noted that indirect effects of HIV-AIDS on young people’s access to housing do have content that require a full explanatory power.

Figure 5. 2: Access to housing among unemployed affected and unaffected African Young People



5.4.2 Multivariate Regression Results among HIV-AIDS affected African Young People

Table 5.3 displays regression models⁵⁰ used to establish whether the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS can explain African young people's access to housing in Cape Town. HIV-AIDS affectedness had no significant marginal effects on the model. Controlling for other factors included in these conditional regression models, HIV-AIDS affected African young people were less likely to own houses compared to the unaffected young people. However, HIV-AIDS had significant marginal indirect effects through unemployment among the young people. Unemployed affected African young people were less likely to own and rent houses, but were highly associated with family houses. This suggests that the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS are significant factors in explaining you access to housing.

Like the model in chapter three, age, inheritance, marriage and lower class variables also significantly explained young people's owner occupier housing after the addition of affectedness and unemployment variables. There was very little or no changes in the odds ratios of these variables in the two models. Similarly, this model further shows that more women were more likely to be in family houses. However, the married and parent young people were less likely to occupy family houses. These variables did not show any significant changes from those presented in chapter three.

⁵⁰ All the variables in the table are dummy variables. A dummy variable (also called indicator variable) is a binary variable that. For example; gender takes the value of 1 if the young adults were female and 0 for the males. In the model, the females would then be compared to the males.

Table 5. 4: Regression Models of determinants of Young People’s Access to Housing in Cape Town

	Owning	Renting	Family house
Model	5.3.1	5.3.2	5.3.3
Regression			
Logistic	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio	Odds Ratio
HIV-AIDS Affected Variables			
Affected	0.703	1.332	1.072
unemployed	0.432***	0.150***	5.022***
Demographic Variables			
Female	0.717	0.866	1.354**
<= 24yrs			
>= 25yrs	3.281***	1.009	0.599***
Socio-economic Variables			
< Grade 12	0.935	1.299	0.782
= Grade 12	0.827	1.405	0.734
> Grade 12			
Lower class	1.671**	0.951	0.533***
Middle class	0.732	1.081	1.070
Upper class			
Socio-cultural Variables			
Married	2.490***	1.199	0.534***
Parent/children	1.202	1.217	0.795*
Inheritance	6.147***		
N	2430	2574	2574
Prob > chi2	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
Pseudo R2	1848	2352	1565

Note: * Significant at the 10% level ** Significant at the 5% level *** Significant at the 1% level

5.6 Discussion

This chapter suggests that there were apparent effects of HIV-AIDS on access to housing among young people in Cape Town. That is, there were differences in access to housing between HIV-AIDS affected and unaffected young people. Further, the application of unemployment in this assessment clearly established the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS on African young people's access to housing in Cape Town in line with earlier studies based on qualitative research. These studies found that poverty due to unemployment, remarriage, and caring for sick kin affected access to housing among HIV-AIDS affected and infected people (Young and Ansell, 2003).

These qualitative studies are consistent with findings from this chapter that unemployment is a significant indirect factor of HIV-AIDS and its access to housing among young people. Unlike these qualitative studies, this study uses a systematic quantitative assessment to show the indirect effects of unemployment among HIV-AIDS affected young people through their access to housing. This strengthens the argument that measures of the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS need to be conceptually and methodologically sound. The use of well conceptualised longitudinal quantitative research that examines changes over time is necessary to move beyond many good but context specific qualitative research. This dissertation provides the first panel quantitative analysis that systematically investigates the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS on access to housing and finds differences between the HIV-AIDS affected and unaffected young people in Cape Town.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This dissertation analyses young people's access to housing and their housing paths from parental homes to independent living arrangements in Cape Town, paying attention also to kinship and the effects of HIV-AIDS. I distinguish between owning, renting, renting and owning, shared accommodation, and family housing, which are explained through young people's access to housing in Cape Town. Young people owned housing through either direct purchase from housing markets or indirectly through purchases of land before self built houses. The state allocation systems largely applied in these two processes of house ownership. Inheritance within family structures also accounted for a larger share of young people's ownership to housing (as further discussed below). Young people were also renting in housing markets or made different arrangements within households. Interestingly, some young people were renting in housing markets or within households while owning houses elsewhere for different reasons which survey questions should fully probe in different settings. This suggested the co-existence of owning and renting. Further, other young people shared accommodation with friends i.e. occupied different bedrooms within a house. The majority of young people remained in family houses. Family houses were those owned by family members either within or outside the households. The identification of these five categories highlights the weaknesses in the dualistic application of tenure in mainstream literature on housing. It instead emphasizes the importance of locating multiple categories that are sensitive to people's unique and dynamic social settings in their occupation of housing.

I used CAPS data for the period 2002 and 2009 to examine young people's housing. Individual young people were the units of analysis which I employed to clearly demonstrate their housing situation from adolescence to adulthood. Specific survey questions were used to guide a literature review, the analysis and discussions in this dissertation under a common thread. That is, understanding access to housing as young people grow older and move from parental accommodation to independent housing arrangements in Cape Town.

Three main findings and several key implications provide important insights into issues of access to housing among young people in Cape Town.

Firstly, this dissertation asked how young people accessed housing in Cape Town. Five categories were identified as discussed above and found that most young people occupied family houses owned by their fathers or mothers and other kin even in their late twenties although they increasingly owned houses with age. Older young people were less likely to occupy family houses owned by parents and other kin. Older young people were more likely to own houses. This highlights that owning housing was directly related to age in Cape Town, but occurred progressively later in their lives compared to young people of a similar age range in the UK (Di Salvo and Ermisch, 1997). The analysis using age alone is however not conclusive, but must be understood in combination with other multiple factors such as education, employment, income and marriage. As age increases, so does individual earnings (Figure 3.4). It can then be concluded that older young people had completed their education and joined the labour force which assured them of earnings to either own or rent housing. However, rental accommodation was explained by individual earnings – higher individual earnings increased the chance for young people to rent houses.

This study revealed that young people accessed housing through a wider set of categories rather than just owning and renting, but also through renting and owning, sharing houses, and family houses. Inheritance (30%), government allocations (28%) and the housing market (26%) were reported to explain most of young people's ownership to housing (Table 3.3). The importance of inheritance meant kin relations and households were key channels in (young) people's ownership to housing. The significance of this conclusion here emphasize the need for housing research and policies to pay attention to inheritance on the future availability of housing and its access, but bearing in mind that inheritance is one of the main reasons for transmuted ownership to housing (Roux and Barry, 2010). The government allocated housing (i.e. RDP) was also significant since this housing was accessed at low cost. It should be noted that the RDP housing policy was working and should be encouraged given that many of the young people's earnings from their employment were low. The housing market provided highly priced houses, which young people could access only if they had well-paid employment.

Renting was highly associated with young people's earnings. The higher the earnings, the larger the proportion of young people renting houses. Since renting meant higher earnings, it was found that one in fourteen young people in rented houses also owned houses. This suggests that young adults were renting housing while owning elsewhere. This highlights that owning and renting were not mutually exclusive.

Secondly, the dissertation examined young people's shifts from parental accommodation to independent housing arrangements. The analyses used housing paths to identify young people's housing shifts over time. As stated in chapter 1, a standard consistent housing path involved shifts from family housing to renting and/or owning of houses over time. Inconsistent housing paths comprised any other combination – i.e. from family houses to family houses, or from owning to renting and to family houses, etc. It was found that most young people followed inconsistent housing paths with limited differences across gender and race to explain their housing paths.

The largely inconsistent housing paths were explained by few marital unions and parental obligation status among young people. The number of married young people increased with age although the rate of marriage was still very low. A new marriage and relationship was the consistent reason young people reportedly moved into a new house between 2002 and 2009. For this very reason, a break up in the marriage led to a return movement to the family house. These are intuitive factors that lead to independent housing arrangements in young people's transition to adulthood. Further, a high school dropout rate accompanied by structural constraints such as income and employment also weighed in to young people following inconsistent housing paths. The levels of family support that young people drew upon also explained their inconsistent housing paths since most of their parents were alive and lived in Cape Town. These findings suggest that young people's housing paths were highly linked to their initial conditions such as family formation, level of parental support, higher education and structural factors.

A distinction was made between race, on one side, and gender, on the other, in order to explore young people's housing paths. However, the conclusion on these factors require caution due to ways in which access to housing on a spatial basis reflects the broader social, economic and political changes occurring in Cape Town, and South Africa in general. This raises some questions about the extent to which patterns of access to housing still constrain the movement of progressive cohorts of young people in Cape Town/South Africa. The results indicate limited differences across racial groups between 2002 and 2009 to explain young people's housing paths, although race manifests the results of years of racial segregation and inequalities among racial groups (see Table 4.3 and Table 4.4(a) (b)). This finding suggests that young people's housing paths were influenced by similar social and economic conditions that define post-apartheid South Africa. This strengthens the need to develop more and better quality of 'community' - i.e. level of neighbourliness – (Seekings, 2008) with residential racial integration in both low income areas (Muyeba and Seekings, 2010) and middle class to elite suburbs (Borel-Saladin and Crankshaw, 2009).

Minor differences were found among young men and women's housing paths between 2002 and 2009 (see Table 4.5 and Table 4.6(a) (b)). While most young men compared to the women were unable to maintain ownership of housing over time. More young women maintained ownership of housing over time given that many young women were parents compared to men. Overall, more young men than women followed the standard housing paths. The gendered access to housing informed by Apartheid policies and a long history of migratory labour in Southern Africa had evidently changed in Cape Town, and specifically among the first post-apartheid generation of young adults. This conclusion highlights the importance of taking gender into housing policy and allocation considerations. In addition, this study concludes that young people's access to housing and their housing paths show strongly kin (extended family) systems. This indicates the importance of quantitative approaches in measuring changing practices of kinship with consistent questions over time as a way beyond the rich but localised ethnographic studies.

Thirdly, questions that measure young people's experiences with HIV-AIDS illness and death were examined to analyse those affected by HIV-AIDS. When introduced in multivariate regression models and controlling for other variables, this study found that HIV-AIDS

affectedness had insignificant marginal effects on young people's access to housing in Cape Town. The indirect effects of HIV-AIDS such as unemployment were strongly negatively associated with access to housing among young people in Cape Town. For example, whether HIV-AIDS affected or not, employed young people were twice as likely to own a house and as much as eight times more likely to rent a house than the unemployed young adults. The young people followed similar patterns in access to housing and their housing paths whether affected by HIV-AIDS or not. The similarities in access to housing between the two groups reflect wider socio-economic factors that challenge young adults in Cape Town, and South Africa in general.

Methodologically, an apparent disconnect is evident between findings of many qualitative research that only examine HIV-AIDS affected/infected people and the findings in this dissertation that compares the affected/infected and the unaffected young people and their access to housing. This might be explained by the way the variable for 'HIV-AIDS affected' young people was constructed from the surveys. It could also be that self-reported questions used in the panel surveys under-valued or over-valued the number of HIV-AIDS affected respondents. Even with these possible reasons, it is clear that the surveys adequately investigated the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS on access to housing in Cape Town.

However, the policy implications remain unclear. It may be that the negative effects of HIV-AIDS on access to housing are more common and higher among HIV-AIDS affected young adults in Cape Town than their unaffected counterparts. If so, relevant parties such as housing department, housing financial institutions, insurance organisations, banks, the media, HIV activists, and researchers, needs to be cognisant of the dangers of generalisations based on few specific cases. It may also be that the questions employed in this study to assess the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS on access to housing among young adults in Cape Town did not adequately capture the full extent of the problem. If so, different questions require to be developed to measure the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS on access to housing.

In summary, this dissertation is an empirical analysis that contributes to the existing body of literature in three ways. Firstly, this is the first systematic study to investigate a full range of

housing occupancy through access to housing as a way beyond the legalistic and categorical concept of tenure. It is only through dynamic observations which access to housing enables that a better understanding of people's housing decisions and housing use can be determined both at household level (micro-level) and macro-scale (national). Secondly, I pay full attention to social relations (i.e. family background), social factors (i.e. HIV-AIDS), and structural conditions (i.e. employment) that presently influence post-Apartheid South Africa to understand young people's housing paths. To this end, this dissertation further provides the first evidence of a systematic measure of young people's housing paths over time in South Africa (and Africa in general) and highlights the major constraints in their shifts to independent housing.

It was also shown that family and kin are important not just in terms of the social relations of housing, but also in considering the economic basis for the different terms and conditions under which people occupy housing despite the limits in practices of kinship. Therefore, whilst housing is fixed in location, it is people and households who are mobile besides the intra household mobility; the changing relations that people have with each other. These were important in understanding access to housing. Lastly, this study also makes a methodological contribution for a more nuanced examination of access to housing in critic of traditional approaches of tenure; an emerging understanding of young people's housing paths and changes over time; and the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS on housing. Unlike past research (e.g. Logan, Fang and Zhang, 2009) that uses a cross-sectional approach, the dissertation uses panel data to examine a dynamic interaction of young people's access to housing, their housing paths, and whether the indirect effects of HIV-AIDS affected their occupation of housing over time. The results suggest the significance of panel data in reporting changes in people's occupation of housing and its use.

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APPENDICES 1: Tables

Appendix C: Self reported classification of household class

How does the household classify its financial situation? w5y_d35	Frequency (n)	Percent (%)
1. Very comfortable	111	4
2. Comfortable	1,153	37
3. Just getting by	1,324	42
4. Poor	355	11
5. Very poor	183	6
8. Refused	1	0.03
9. Don t know	15	0.5
Total	3,142 (N)	100 %

Appendix D: Access to housing, race and class

		Rich	Poor		Total (%) (N)
		Upper class	Middle class	Lower class	
Own	African	16% (28)	30% (52)	54% (92)	100% (172)
	Coloureds	51% (38)	45% (34)	4% (3)	100% (75)
	Whites	94% (32)	6% (2)	0% (0)	100% (34)
Rent	African	23% (13)	52% (29)	25% (14)	100% (56)
	Coloureds	55% (293)	43% (228)	2% (9)	100% (530)
	Whites	92% (58)	8% (5)	0% (0)	100% (63)
Family House	African	20% (213)	46% (502)	34% (369)	100% (1,080)
	Coloureds	46% (421)	49% (451)	5% (48)	100% (920)
	Whites	94% (145)	6% (10)	0% (0)	100% (155)

Appendix D: Young adults who grew up with both parents by race

Both parents	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Total
No	33% (420)	26% (389)	8% (1)	22% (53)	28% (863)
Yes	67% (861)	74% (1,124)	92% (12)	78% (192)	72% (2,189)
Total	100%(1,281)	100% (1,513)	100% (13)	100% (245)	100% (3,052)

Appendix E: Young adults who grew up with mothers by race

Mothers	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Total
No	70% (895)	77% (1,168)	92% (12)	82% (200)	75% (2,275)
Yes	30% (386)	23% (345)	8% (1)	18% (45)	25% (777)
Total	100%(1,281)	100% (1,513)	100% (13)	100% (245)	100% (3,052)

Appendix F: The South African General Household Surveys⁵¹ – the question of tenure; own or rent.

Is the dwelling (house)...	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Owned and fully paid off	60%	63%	62%	68%	70%	69%	72%	64%
Owned but not yet fully paid off	10%	9%	8%	6%	5%	5%	7%	7%
Rented	16%	17%	17%	15%	14%	16%	14%	16%
Occupied rent free as part of employment	9%	8%	10%	7%	7%	6%	3%	-
Occupied rent free	4%	2%	3%	3%	3%	4%	3%	12%
Other	-	-	-	0.3%	0.3%	0.5%	0.5%	0.4%
Unspecified	0.8%	2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.3%
Don't know	0.1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.11%
Total %	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total households sample (N)	26,243	26,396	26,214	28,129	28,002	29,280	24,222	25,303

Appendix G: The South African 2001 Census – the question of tenure; own or rent.

What is the tenure status of the household?	Frequency	Percent
Owned and fully paid off	384,576	41%
Owned but not yet paid off	138,137	14%
Rented	165,642	17%
Occupied rent-free	217,393	23%
Not applicable (collective living quart)	42,844	5%
Total number of households (N) and %	948,592	100

Appendix H: Housing units (type of dwelling) by province in South Africa

	Eastern Cape	Free State	Gauteng	Kwazulu-Natal	Mpumalanga	Northern Cape	Northern Province	North West	Western Cape	South Africa
House or brick structure on a separate stand or yard	483,959	328,734	949,973	579,598	338,373	126,425	551,876	435,685	536,963	4,331,586
Traditional dwelling/ hut/ structure made of traditional materials	547,624	63,964	13,999	532,046	108,204	7,224	312,278	50,422	8,627	1,644,388
Flat in a block of flats	45,106	13,606	158,845	114,688	12,003	3,173	7,302	10,357	93,088	458,167
Town/ cluter/ semi-detached house (simplex, duplex or triplex)	29,191	12,616	93,141	105,354	6,774	10,256	5,607	6,704	111,898	381,541
Unit-in retirement village	2,857	1,907	16,532	6,342	2,290	171	2,003	2,044	6,287	40,433
House/ flat/ room, in backyard	46,793	25,754	199,830	81,375	22,255	7,248	31,238	36,693	32,273	483,460
Informal dwelling/ shack, in backyard	31,284	50,649	153,504	44,410	24,571	4,970	15,644	45,145	33,153	403,329
Informal dwelling/ shack, NOT in backyard, e.g. in an informal/sqatter settlement	114,220	112,122	314,860	141,176	69,841	21,283	32,218	114,244	129,720	,049,686
Room/ flatlet not in backyard but on a shared property	16,443	7,723	32,261	31,436	10,221	2,561	10,984	9,227	18,775	139,632
Caravan/ tent	3,642	754	2,544	2,715	1,112	1,850	1,540	1,012	1,958	17,126
None/ homeless	211	137	474	532	104	51	480	216	265	2,470
Unspecified	11,019	7,045	28,205	21,261	8,262	1,770	11,288	8,895	10,008	107,753
Total	1,332,348	625,011	1,964,168	1,660,934	604,010	186,984	982,457	720,643	983,015	9,059,571

Source: Census 1996 and 2001 in Brief, Households of South Africa, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/census01/census96/HTML/CIB/Households.htm> [accessed: 4th August, 2010]

⁵¹ The General Household Survey is not a panel survey but a once off survey meant to collect the living conditions of South African households.

Appendix Ia: The GHS 2009 Housing units in South Africa.

Indicate the type of dwelling...	Frequency	Percent
Dwelling/house or brick/concrete block (fu)	17,397	69%
Traditional dwelling/hut/structure made (tu)	2,722	11%
Flat or apartment in a block of flats (fu)	826	3%
Cluster house in complex (fu)	60	0.3%
Town house (semi-detached house in comp) (fu)	161	1%
Semi-Detached house (fu)	218	1%
Dwelling/house/flat/room in backyard (iu)	622	2%
Informal dwelling/shack in backyard (iu)	1,004	4%
Informal dwelling/shack not in backyard (iu)	1,875	7%
Room/flatlet on a property or a larger (iu)	262	1%
Caravan/tent (iu)	14	0.1%
Other (specify) (iu)	142	0.6%
Total number of households (N) and %	25,303	100

Note: fu = formal unit, tu = traditional unit, and iu = informal unit. These were used to create appendix Ib below.

Appendix Ib: The GHS 2009 Housing units in South Africa.

Indicate the type of dwelling...	Frequency	Percent
Formal units	18,662	74%
Traditional units	2,722	11%
Informal units	3,919	15%
Total number of households (N) and %	25,303	100

Appendix J: The 2001 Census distribution of housing units in South Africa

Indicate the type of dwelling...	Frequency	Percent
Formal units	623,999	69%
Traditional units	136,178	15%
Informal units	145,272	16%
Institutional units ⁵²	1,540	0.2%
Total number of households (N) and %	25,303	100

Appendix K: Access to Housing by Age group of Household heads (HHd) in South Africa

Hhd head Agegrp	Access to Housing			Total
	Rent	Own	Other	
5-17	6% (7)	80% (88)	14% (15)	100% (110)
18-24	31% (350)	52% (577)	17% (192)	100% (1,119)
25-34	34% (1,386)	48% (1,980)	18% (743)	100% (4,109)
35-44	20% (1,126)	66% (3,773)	14% (807)	100% (5,706)
45-54	11% (646)	76% (4,397)	12% (713)	100% (5,756)
55-64	7% (285)	82% (3,378)	11% (438)	100% (4,101)
65-74	5% (134)	87% (2,355)	8% (221)	100% (2,710)
75-84	3% (46)	88% (1,190)	9% (120)	100% (1,356)
85-119	4% (13)	88% (294)	9% (29)	100% (336)
Total	16% (3,993)	71% (18,032)	13% (3,278)	100% (25,303)

Source: 2009 General Household Survey

⁵² The institutional units comprised the following: Private ship/boat; Tourist hotel/motel; Hospital/medical facility/clinic/frail; Childcare institution/orphanage; Home for the disabled; Boarding school hostel; Initiation school; Convent/monastery/religious retreat; Defence force barracks/camp/ship in harbour; Prison/correctional institution/police; Community or church hall; Refugee camp/shelter for the homeless.

Appendix L: % of households in which hhd roster respondents lived either with fathers or mothers

		w1(2002)	w2(2004)	w3(2005)	w4(2006)	w5(2009)
Mothers	Live in household	12%	-	18%	15%	15%
	Deceased	40%	-	42%	48%	42%
	Alive but not in household	48%	-	40%	37%	43%
% and total number of households (N)		100% (5,095)	-	100% (2,438)	100% (3,025)	100% (2,282)
Fathers	Live in household	6%	-	8%	7%	7%
	Deceased	60%	-	61%	65%	58%
	Alive but not in household	34%	-	31%	28%	35%
% and total number of households (N)		100% (5,074)	-	100% (2,434)	100% (3,021)	100% (2,273)

Appendix M: Young people's age group and their marital status

Age group	Married	
	No	Yes
21 – 22	25% (659)	8% (18)
23 – 24	26% (696)	28% (67)
25 – 26	24% (629)	25% (58)
27 – 28	19% (500)	28% (66)
29 – 30	6% (167)	11% (25)
Total	100% (2,651)	100% (234)

Appendix N: Young people's age group and their parental status

Age group	Parents	
	No	Yes
21 – 22	27% (533)	16% (144)
23 – 24	27% (530)	25% (233)
25 – 26	23% (452)	25% (235)
27 – 28	17% (341)	24% (225)
29 – 30	6% (106)	10% (86)
Total	100% (1,962)	100% (923)

Appendix O: Young people's age group and their employment status

Age group	Employed	
	No	Yes
21 – 22	30% (386)	18% (291)
23 – 24	27% (353)	26% (410)
25 – 26	21% (279)	26% (408)
27 – 28	17% (211)	22% (355)
29 – 30	5% (76)	8% (116)
Total	100% (1,305)	100% (1,580)

APPENDICES 2: Do Files for STATA analysis

**CHAPTER 1

```
set mem 500m
set maxvar 20000
**Individual level analysis on who owns the residence
clear
use "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw12345.y.v1009.dta", clear
preserve
use "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw5.h.roster.v1009.dta", clear
sort personid hhid
save "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw5.h.roster.v1009.dta", replace
restore
sort personid hhid
merge personid using "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw5.h.roster.v1009.dta", keep (w5h_biomom w5h_biodad w5h_reltohead)
tab _merge
tab w5h_reltohead
recode w5h_reltohead (1=1 "self") (2=2 "spouses") (3 11=3 "biological parents") (4 20 33 34=4 "step parents") (7 10=5 "siblings") (6 17=6
"grandparents") (8 12 15 16 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 43 44=7 "kin") (19 21 22=8 "Nonkin"), gen(nw5h_reltohead)
label values nw5h_reltohead nw5h_reltohead
tab nw5h_reltohead
tab w5y_b12a
tab w5y_b6
replace w5y_b6=21 if w5y_b6==2 & nw5y_b12a==w5h_biodad
replace w5y_b6=22 if w5y_b6==2 & nw5y_b12a==w5h_biomom
replace w5y_b6=23 if w5y_b6==2 & nw5y_b12a==[nw5h_reltohead==2] /*cores spouses*/
replace w5y_b6=24 if w5y_b6==2 & nw5y_b12a==[nw5h_reltohead==4] /*cores step parents*/
replace w5y_b6=25 if w5y_b6==2 & nw5y_b12a==[nw5h_reltohead==5] /*cores siblings*/
replace w5y_b6=26 if w5y_b6==2 & nw5y_b12a==[nw5h_reltohead==6] /*cores grandparents*/
replace w5y_b6=27 if w5y_b6==2 & nw5y_b12a==[nw5h_reltohead==7] /*cores kin*/
replace w5y_b6=28 if w5y_b6==2 & nw5y_b12a==[nw5h_reltohead==8] /*cores nonkin*/
tab w5y_b6
*****
**Household level analysis can be an option but I did not use this
*****
*use "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw12345.y.v1009.dta", clear
*use "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw5.h.roster.v1009.dta", clear
*clear
*use "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw12345.y.v1009.dta", clear
*keep hhid personid w5y_b6 w5y_b12*
*keep if w5y_b6!=.
*sort hhid personid
*save "G:\CAPS v1009\Nixon cores members1.dta"
*browse if hhid==hhid[_n-1] & ((w5y_b6!= w5y_b6[_n-1]) | (w5y_b12a!= w5y_b12a[_n-1]))
*drop if hhid==hhid[_n-1]
*keep hhid personid w5y_b6 w5y_b12*
```

```

*save "G:\CAPS v1009\Nixon who own res.dta"
*clear
*use "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw5.h.roster.v1009.dta", clear
*sort hhid personid
*merge hhid using "G:\CAPS v1009\Nixon who own res.dta"
*tab w5h_reltoya1 if [w5h_pcode==w5y_b12a]
*tab w5h_reltoya2 if [w5h_pcode==w5y_b12a]
*tab w5h_reltoya3 if [w5h_pcode==w5y_b12a]
*replace w5y_b6=21 if w5y_b6==2 & w5y_b12a==w5h_biodad
*replace w5y_b6=22 if w5y_b6==2 & w5y_b12a==w5h_biomom
*replace w5y_b6=23 if w5y_b6==2 & w5y_b12a==[w5h_reltohead==2] /*cores spouses*/
*replace w5y_b6=24 if w5y_b6==2 & w5y_b12a==[w5h_reltohead==4] /*cores step parents*/
*replace w5y_b6=25 if w5y_b6==2 & w5y_b12a==[w5h_reltohead==5] /*cores siblings*/
*replace w5y_b6=26 if w5y_b6==2 & w5y_b12a==[w5h_reltohead==6] /*cores grandparents*/
*replace w5y_b6=27 if w5y_b6==2 & w5y_b12a==[w5h_reltohead==7] /*cores kin*/
*replace w5y_b6=28 if w5y_b6==2 & w5y_b12a==[w5h_reltohead==8] /*cores nonkin*/
*tab w5y_b6
*****
**CHAPTER 3
set mem 500m
set maxvar 20000
clear
use "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw12345.y.v1009.dta", clear
preserve
use "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw12345.y.derived.v1009.dta", clear
sort personid
save "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw12345.y.derived.v1009.dta", replace
restore
sort personid
merge personid using "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw12345.y.derived.v1009.dta", keep (edyrscomp_09)
** GENERATING INDICATOR VARIABLES FOR ACCESS TO HOUSING BY YOUNG ADULTS IN CAPE TOWN - DEPENDENT VARIABLE
gen access = .
replace access = 1 if w5y_b6==1
replace access = 2 if w5y_b18==1 | w5y_b19==1 | w5y_b23==1 | w5y_b24==1
replace access = 3 if w5y_b21==1 & w5y_b18==1 | w5y_b21==1 & w5y_b19==1 | w5y_b27==1 & w5y_b23==1 | w5y_b27==1 &
w5y_b24==1
replace access = 4 if w5y_b23==2 | w5y_b18==2 | w5y_b24==2 | w5y_b9==2
replace access = 5 if w5y_b18==2 | w5y_b19==2 | w5y_b23==2 | w5y_b24==2
replace access = 6 if w5y_b6==9
tab access
label define access 1 "Ownership" 2 "Renting" 3 "Renting and own" 4 "Shared accommodation" 5 "Family houses" 6 "Unknown"
label values access access
tab access
tab access, m
graph pie, over(access) plabel(_all percent, format(%9.1g))
tab access, gen(naccess)
rename naccess1 Ownership

```

```

rename naccess2 Renting
rename naccess3 RentingNown
rename naccess4 Sharedacco
rename naccess5 FamilyHouse
*** (B) BIVARIATE ANALYSIS/PREPARATION FOR REGRESSION ANALYSIS - INDEPENDENT VARIABLES
*** (1) Demographic Variables
** (i) AGE - SIGNIFICANT
* To Assess change with age
tab w5y_age
tab w5y_age, nolabel
recode w5y_age (19/20 =1) (21/22 =2) (23/24 =3) (25/26 =4) (27/28 =5) (29/30 =6) (31/32 =7) (33/35 =8), gen(agegroup)
label define codeagegroup 1 "19-20" 2 "21-22" 3 "23-24" 4 "25-26" 5 "27-28" 6 "29-30" 7 "31-32" 8 "33-35"
label values agegroup codeagegroup
tab agegroup
** GENERATING AN INDICATOR VARIABLE FOR AGE
tab w5y_age
recode w5y_age (19/24=1) (25/35=2), gen(nw5yage)
label define codenw5yage 1 "Below 24" 2 "Above 25"
label values nw5yage codenw5yage
tab nw5yage, gen(age9)
rename age91 Belo24
rename age92 Abov25
** (ii) GENDER - NOT SIGNIFICANT
tab w5y_sex
** GENERATING AN INDICATOR VARIABLE FOR GENDER
gen female=.
replace female=1 if w5y_sex==2
replace female=0 if w5y_sex==1
tab female
** (iii) RACE (Population Group)
tab w5y_popgrp, nolabel
** GENERATING INDICATOR VARIABLES FOR RACE
tab w5y_popgrp, gen(race)
rename race1 African
rename race2 Coloured
rename race3 Indian
rename race4 White
tab African
tab Coloured
tab Indian
tab White
*** (2) Socio-economic Variables
** (i) EMPLOYMENT - SIGNIFICANT
tab w5y_d1a
tab w5y_d1a, nolabel
** GENERATING AN INDICATOR VARIABLE FOR EMPLOYMENT
gen employment=.

```

```

replace employment=1 if w5y_d1a==1
replace employment=0 if w5y_d1a==2
tab employment
*access to housing by employment with age
tab agegroup employment, col
tab access
bysort access: tab agegroup employment, row
** (ii) INCOME - SIGNIFICANT
* (a) Individual Income per month based on work
* (i) Net amounts indicated based on employment or business activities
tab w5y_d9a
tab w5y_d9a, nolabel
tab w5y_d9b
recode w5y_d9a (1/1500=1 "R1-R1500") (1501/3500=2 "R1501-R3500") (3501/5000=3 "R3501-R5000") (5001/8000=4 "R5001-R8000")
(8001/35000=5 "R8001-R35000") (-5 -8 -9=.), gen(new5y_d9a)
label values new5y_d9a new5y_d9a
tab new5y_d9a
tab new5y_d9a, nolabel
* (ii) Income categories indicated if respondents did not answer d9a
tab w5y_d10a
tab w5y_d10a, nolabel
recode w5y_d10a (5/10=1 "R301-R1500") (12/15=2 "R1501-R3500") (16 17=3 "R3501-R5000") (18 19=4 "R5001-R8000") (20/26=5 "R8001-
R22500") (98 99=.), gen(new5y_d10a)
label values new5y_d10a new5y_d10a
tab new5y_d10a
* (iii) Creating a new variable for individual incomes:
* It adds those that had either refused or didn't know their incomes in d9a but indicated income categories in d10a and those that
indicated incomes in d9a
gen inc=.
replace inc= new5y_d9a +0
replace inc=1 if new5y_d10a==1
replace inc=2 if new5y_d10a==2
replace inc=3 if new5y_d10a==3
replace inc=4 if new5y_d10a==4
replace inc=5 if new5y_d10a==5
tab inc
recode inc (1=1) (2=2) (3=3) (4=4) (5=5) (6=6) (7=7)
label define codeinc 1 "R1-R1500" 2 "R1501-R3500" 3 "R3501-R5000" 4 "R5001-R8000" 5 "R8001-R35000"
label values inc codeinc
tab inc
** Class by incomes
recode inc (1=1) (2=2) (3=3) (4=4) (5=5), gen(incclass)
label define codeincclass 1 "Very poor" 2 "Moderately poor" 3 "Poor" 4 "Moderately rich" 5 "Rich"
label values incclass codeincclass
tab incclass
sort incclass
** (iii) EDUCATION

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```

tab w5y_c7
tab w5y_c7, nolabel
tab w5y_c8
tab w5y_c8, nolabel
tab w5y_c9
tab w5y_c10
* these variables do not give the level of education for all the young adults
* thus a derived variable for waves 1-2-3-4-5 gives the level of education for all young adults
tab edyrscomp_09
gen education=.
replace education=1 if edyrscomp_09<12
replace education=2 if edyrscomp_09==12
replace education=3 if edyrscomp_09>12 & edyrscomp_09!=.
tab education
recode education (1=1) (2=2) (3=3)
label define codeeducation 1 "Pre-matric" 2 "Matric" 3 "Post-matric"
label values education codeeducation
tab education
* education by age
tab education agegroup, col row
* access to housing by education with age
sort access
bysort access: tab education agegroup, col
** GENERATING INDICATOR VARIABLES FOR EDUCATION
tab education, gen(neducation)
rename neducation1 prior_gradetwelve
rename neducation2 gradetwelve
rename neducation3 post_gradetwelve
tab prior_gradetwelve
tab gradetwelve
tab post_gradetwelve
** (iv) CLASS (Self classification)
lookfor class
tab w5y_finnow
tab w5y_finnow , m nolabel
tab access w5y_finnow , col chi2 nofreq
*Combined very comfortable and comfortable; poor and very poor. Excluded refused/don't know
recode w5y_finnow (1 2=1) (3=2) (4 5=3) (8 9 .=-), gen(neww5y_finnow)
label define codeneww5y_finnow 1 "Upperclass" 2 "Middleclass" 3 "Lowerclass"
label values neww5y_finnow codeneww5y_finnow
tab neww5y_finnow w5y_popgrp, col
** GENERATING INDICATOR VARIABLES FOR CLASS
tab neww5y_finnow , generate(class)
rename class1 upperclass
*upperclass includes very comfortable and comfortable
rename class2 middleclass
*middleclass includes just getting by

```

```

rename class3 lowerclass
*lowerclass includes very poor and poor
tab upperclass
tab middleclass
tab lowerclass
*** (3) Socio-cultural Variables
** Married Young Adults
lookfor f44
tab w5y_f44
tab w5y_f45_1
tab w5y_f45_2
tab w5y_f45_3
tab w5y_f45_4
tab w5y_b6 w5y_f45_1
** GENERATING AN INDICATOR VARIABLE FOR MARRIED YOUNG ADULTS
gen married =.
replace married =1 if w5y_f44==1 | w5y_f45_1==1
replace married =0 if w5y_f44==2 | w5y_f45_1==2
tab married
*access to housing by marital status and age
tab agegroup married, col
tab access
bysort access: tab agegroup married, row

** GENERATING AN INDICATOR VARIABLE FOR PARENTS (WITH CHILDREN)
tab w5y_f34
tab w5y_f34 married
gen parent =.
replace parent =0 if w5y_f34==2 | w5y_f34!=8 | w5y_f34!=9
replace parent =1 if w5y_f34==1
tab parent
*access to housing by parents with age
tab agegroup parent, col
tab access
bysort access: tab agegroup parent, row

** Those that were given/inherited houses
tab w5y_b7
tab w5y_b13

** GENERATING AN INDICATOR VARIABLE FOR INHERITANCE
gen inherit=.
replace inherit=1 if w5y_b7==5 | w5y_b13==5
replace inherit=0 if w5y_b7==1 | w5y_b7==2 | w5y_b7==3 | w5y_b7==4 | w5y_b7==6 | w5y_b13==1 | w5y_b13==2 | w5y_b13==3 |
w5y_b13==4 | w5y_b13==6 | w5y_b6==3 | w5y_b7==4 | w5y_b7==9
tab inherit

```

** MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS*****

** Ownership of housing

*xi:logit Ownership i.Belo24 i.female i.employment i.prior_gradetwelve i.gradetwelve i.lowerclass i.middleclass i.married i.parent i.African i.Coloured i.inherit, or

xi:logit Ownership i.Abov25 i.female i.employment i.prior_gradetwelve i.gradetwelve i.lowerclass i.middleclass i.married i.parent i.African i.Coloured i.inherit, or

** Renting of housing

*xi:logit Renting i.Belo24 i.female i.employment i.prior_gradetwelve i.gradetwelve i.lowerclass i.middleclass i.married i.parent i.Coloured i.African, or

xi:logit Renting i.Abov25 i.female i.employment i.prior_gradetwelve i.gradetwelve i.lowerclass i.middleclass i.married i.parent i.Coloured i.African, or

** Family houses

*xi:logit FamilyHouse i.Belo24 i.female i.employment i.prior_gradetwelve i.gradetwelve i.lowerclass i.middleclass i.married i.parent i.Coloured i.African, or

xi:logit FamilyHouse i.Abov25 i.female i.employment i.prior_gradetwelve i.gradetwelve i.lowerclass i.middleclass i.married i.parent i.Coloured i.African, or

CHAPTER 4

use "C:\Users\Nixon\Documents\Nixon\Final lap extension 1.dta", clear

**are the young adults (ya) living with parents?

**did they grow up living with parents or mothers only?

**PARENTAL RESIDENCE

** are young adults without ownership or rental status to housing living with parents?

*those who were living with fathers in wave 1

tab w1y_f3father

tab w1h_reltohead if w1y_f3father==1

tab w1h_reltohead if w1y_f3father==2 /*who was living with ya without fathers in hhds*/

**(1)Mothers

*those who were living with mothers in wave 1

tab w1y_f3mother

tab w1h_reltohead if w1y_f3mother==1

tab w1h_reltohead if w1y_f3mother==2 /*who was living with ya without mothers in hhds*/

**(2)Parents

*those who lived without parents

tab w1h_reltohead if w1y_f3father==2 & w1y_f3mother==2

gen livngwthparents=.

replace livngwthparents=1 if w1y_f3mother==1 | w1y_f3father==1

replace livngwthparents=0 if w1y_f3mother==2 | w1y_f3father==2

tab livngwthparents

tab w1h_reltohead if livngwthparents==1

tab w1h_reltohead if livngwthparents==0

**ACCESS TO HOUSING FROM 2002 TO 2009

*wave1 asked whether the family owned or rented a residence (question C6)

tab w1h_ownres

*who specifically owned the residence (question C7)

tab w1h_c7_1

tab w1h_c7_2

```

tab w1h_c7_3
*a maximum of three young adults were in each hhd.
tab w1h_pcodeya1
tab w1h_pcodeya2
tab w1h_pcodeya3
**OWNERSHIP OF HOUSING IN 2002
**generating young adults who owned houses
tab w1h_c7_1 w1h_pcodeya1
tab w1h_c7_1 w1h_pcodeya2
tab w1h_c7_1 w1h_pcodeya3
tab w1h_c7_2 w1h_pcodeya1
tab w1h_c7_2 w1h_pcodeya2
tab w1h_c7_2 w1h_pcodeya3
tab w1h_c7_3 w1h_pcodeya1
tab w1h_c7_3 w1h_pcodeya2
tab w1h_c7_3 w1h_pcodeya3
gen own1=.
replace own1=0 if w1h_ownres==2 | w1h_ownres==3 | w1h_ownres!=99
replace own1=1 if w1h_pcodeya1==1 & w1h_c7_1==1 | w1h_pcodeya1==2 & w1h_c7_1==2 | w1h_pcodeya1==3 & w1h_c7_1==3 |
w1h_pcodeya2==3 & w1h_c7_1==3 | w1h_pcodeya2==2 & w1h_c7_1==2 | w1h_pcodeya1==2 & w1h_c7_2==2
tab own1 if _merge==3
tab own1 w1y_sex if _merge==3
**ownership of housing in 2002 for those that grew up with mothers or both parents
tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3, col row
**by gender
sort w1y_sex
bysort w1y_sex: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3, col row
bysort w1y_sex: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3, col row
**by race
sort w1y_popgrp
bysort w1y_popgrp: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3, col row
bysort w1y_popgrp: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3, col row
tab w1h_reltohead own1 if w1y_f3mother==1
**MOVED FROM PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF WAVE 1
tab w2b_b1
*for those who owned houses in 2002
tab own1 mothers if _merge==3 & w2b_b1==1
tab w2b_b1 bothparents if _merge==3 & w2b_b1==1
*for those in family houses in 2002
tab w2b_b1 mothers if _merge==3 & w2b_b1==1
tab w2b_b1 bothparents if _merge==3 & w2b_b1==1
**MOVED FROM PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF WAVE 2
tab w3y_mov
**MOVED FROM PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF WAVE 3
tab w4y_mov
**MOVED FROM PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF WAVE 4
tab w5y_mov

```

****ACCESS TO HOUSING IN 2009**

****for those that grew up with mothers or both parents**

gen access = .

replace access = 1 if w5y_b6==1

replace access = 2 if w5y_b18==1 | w5y_b19==1 | w5y_b23==1 | w5y_b24==1

replace access = 3 if w5y_b21==1 & w5y_b18==1 | w5y_b21==1 & w5y_b19==1 | w5y_b27==1 & w5y_b23==1 | w5y_b27==1 & w5y_b24==1

replace access = 4 if w5y_b18==2 | w5y_b19==2 | w5y_b23==2 | w5y_b24==2

replace access = 5 if w5y_b23==2 & w5y_b6==4 | w5y_b24==2 & w5y_b6==4

replace access = 6 if w5y_b6==9

tab access

label define access 1 "Ownership" 2 "Renting" 3 "Renting and own" 4 "Family houses" 5 "Shared accommodation" 6 "Unknown"

label values access access

tab access

****the status of access to housing in 2009 of the conventional and alternative model yas**

tab own1 access

tab access Parents if _merge==3, row

tab access Mothers if _merge==3, row

****HOUSING PATHS FROM 2002 TO 2009**

***own/family houses in 2002 and own 2009**

tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==1, col row

tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==1, col row

sort w5y_sex /*distribution by gender*/

bysort w5y_sex: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==1, col row

bysort w5y_sex: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==1, col row

sort w5y_popgrp /*distribution by race*/

bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==1, col row

bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==1, col row

***own/family houses in 2002 and rent in 2009**

tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==2

tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==2

sort w5y_sex /*distribution by gender*/

bysort w5y_sex:tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==2, col row

bysort w5y_sex:tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==2, col row

sort w5y_popgrp /*distribution by race*/

bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==2, col row

bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==2, col row

***own/family houses in 2002 and renting and own in 2009**

tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==3

tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==3

sort w5y_sex /*distribution by gender*/

bysort w5y_sex:tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==3

bysort w5y_sex:tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==3

```

sort w5y_popgrp /*distribution by race*/
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==3, col row
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==3, col row
*own/family houses in 2002 and family houses in 2009
tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==4
tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==4
sort w5y_sex /*distribution by gender*/
bysort w5y_sex:tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==4, col row
bysort w5y_sex:tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==4, col row
sort w5y_popgrp /*distribution by race*/
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==4, col row
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==4, col row
*own/family houses in 2002 and shared accommodation in 2009
tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==5
tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==5
sort w5y_sex /*distribution by gender*/
bysort w5y_sex:tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==5
bysort w5y_sex:tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==5
sort w5y_popgrp /*distribution by race*/
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==5, col row
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==5, col row
**HOUSING AND LIMITS IN PRACTICES OF KINSHIP
* wave 4 responses
* (1) if employed
tab w4y_g4_1
tab w4y_g4_1 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab w4y_g4_1 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab w4y_g4_1 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab w4y_g4_1 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab w4y_g4_1 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab w4y_g4_1 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
recode w4y_g4_1 (1=1) (2=2) (8 9=1.5), gen(neww4y_g4_1)
tab neww4y_g4_1
recode neww4y_g4_1 (1=1) (1.5=2) (2=3)
label define neww4y_g4_1 1 "Yes" 2 "Mid-point" 3 "No"
label values neww4y_g4_1 neww4y_g4_1
tab neww4y_g4_1
tab neww4y_g4_1 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab neww4y_g4_1 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab neww4y_g4_1 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab neww4y_g4_1 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab neww4y_g4_1 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab neww4y_g4_1 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
* (2) if unemployed
tab w4y_g5_1
tab w4y_g5_1 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab w4y_g5_1 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col

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```

tab w4y_g5_1 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab w4y_g5_1 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab w4y_g5_1 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab w4y_g5_1 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
recode w4y_g5_1 (1=1) (2=3) (8 9=1.5), gen(neww4y_g5_1)
tab neww4y_g5_1
recode neww4y_g5_1 (1=1) (1.5=2) (2=3)
tab neww4y_g5_1
recode neww4y_g5_1 (1=1) (2=2) (3=3)
label define neww4y_g5_1 1 "Yes" 2 "Mid-point" 3 "No"
label values neww4y_g5_1 neww4y_g5_1
tab neww4y_g5_1
tab neww4y_g5_1 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab neww4y_g5_1 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab neww4y_g5_1 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab neww4y_g5_1 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab neww4y_g5_1 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab neww4y_g5_1 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
* wave 5 responses
* (1) if employed
tab w5y_e4
tab w5y_e4 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
recode w5y_e4 (1=1) (2=2) (8 9=1.5)
tab w5y_e4
recode w5y_e4 (1=1) (1.5=2) (2=3)
tab w5y_e4
recode w5y_e4 (1=1) (2=2) (3=3)
label define w5y_e4 1 "Yes" 2 "Mid-point" 3 "No"
label values w5y_e4 w5y_e4
tab w5y_e4
tab w5y_e4 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
* (2) if unemployed
tab w5y_e7
tab w5y_e7 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col

```

```

tab w5y_e7 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
recode w5y_e7 (1=1) (2=2) (8 9=1.5)
tab w5y_e7
recode w5y_e7 (1=1) (1.5=2) (2=3)
tab w5y_e7
recode w5y_e7 (1=1) (2=2) (3=3)
label define w5y_e7 1 "Yes" 2 "Mid-point" 3 "No"
label values w5y_e7 w5y_e7
tab w5y_e7
tab w5y_e7 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
* one-sample t-test to examine average scores for each assuming the mean is 2
ttest neww4y_g4_1 == 2 if access==1 & Mothers==1
ttest w5y_e4 == 2 if access==1 & Mothers==1
ttest neww4y_g4_1 == 2 if access==1 & Parents==1
ttest w5y_e4 == 2 if access==1 & Parents==1
ttest neww4y_g4_1 == 2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
ttest w5y_e4 == 2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
ttest neww4y_g4_1 == 2 if access==2 & Parents==1
ttest w5y_e4 == 2 if access==2 & Parents==1
ttest neww4y_g4_1 == 2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
ttest w5y_e4 == 2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
ttest neww4y_g4_1 == 2 if access==4 & Parents==1
ttest w5y_e4 == 2 if access==4 & Parents==1
* one-sample t-test to examine average scores for each assuming the mean is 2
ttest neww4y_g5_1 == 2 if access==1 & Mothers==1
ttest w5y_e7 == 2 if access==1 & Mothers==1
ttest neww4y_g5_1 == 2 if access==1 & Parents==1
ttest w5y_e7 == 2 if access==1 & Parents==1
ttest neww4y_g5_1 == 2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
ttest w5y_e7 == 2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
ttest neww4y_g5_1 == 2 if access==2 & Parents==1
ttest w5y_e7 == 2 if access==2 & Parents==1
ttest neww4y_g5_1 == 2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
ttest w5y_e7 == 2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
ttest neww4y_g5_1 == 2 if access==4 & Parents==1
ttest w5y_e7 == 2 if access==4 & Parents==1
**Attrition test
* the hypothetical situation to conduct an attrition test to show that the t-test above is valid
* I assumed that the 2006 and 2009 responses should be equal in numbers i.e. 3,439. So added 297 (3,439 - 3,142)
* I also assumed that the 297 had a change in attitude and moved into ownership and renting
* see the do-file named hypothetical situation for attrition test

```

```

* run the do file to this dataset
* then run the above t-tests again
** REPORTED KINSHIP TIES
** (a) Kin Expectations when the respondent is employed in 2009
** Those acknowledging zero (0) categories of kin and acquaintances
tab w5y_e4
* with ownership to housing
tab w5y_e4 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab w5y_e4 if access==1 & Parents==1
* renting housing
tab w5y_e4 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab w5y_e4 if access==2 & Parents==1
* in family houses
tab w5y_e4 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab w5y_e4 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging brother/sister/half brother/sister category of kin
gen kinexpect1 =.
replace kinexpect1 =0
replace kinexpect1 =1 if w5y_e5_9==1 | w5y_e5_10==1
tab kinexpect1
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinexpect1 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect1 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinexpect1 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect1 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinexpect1 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect1 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging parents category of kin
gen kinexpect2 =.
replace kinexpect2 =0
replace kinexpect2 =1 if w5y_e5_3==1 | w5y_e5_4==1
tab kinexpect2
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinexpect2 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect2 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinexpect2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect2 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinexpect2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect2 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging maternal category of kin i.e. mother's brother/sister/parents
gen kinexpect4 =.
replace kinexpect4 =0

```

replace kinexpect4 =1 if w5y_e5_13==1 | w5y_e5_15==1 | w5y_e5_18==1

tab kinexpect3

* those with ownership to housing

tab kinexpect4 if access==1 & Mothers==1

tab kinexpect4 if access==1 & Parents==1

* those renting houses

tab kinexpect4 if access==2 & Mothers==1

tab kinexpect4 if access==2 & Parents==1

* those in family houses

tab kinexpect4 if access==4 & Mothers==1

tab kinexpect4 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging paternal category of kin i.e. father's brother/sister/parents

gen kinexpect5 =.

replace kinexpect5 =0

replace kinexpect5 =1 if w5y_e5_12==1 | w5y_e5_14==1 | w5y_e5_17==1

tab kinexpect5

* those with ownership to housing

tab kinexpect5 if access==1 & Mothers==1

tab kinexpect5 if access==1 & Parents==1

* those renting houses

tab kinexpect5 if access==2 & Mothers==1

tab kinexpect5 if access==2 & Parents==1

* those in family houses

tab kinexpect5 if access==4 & Mothers==1

tab kinexpect5 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging other category of kin

gen kinexpect6 =.

replace kinexpect6 =0

replace kinexpect6 =1 if w5y_e5_5==1 | w5y_e5_7==1 | w5y_e5_8==1 | w5y_e5_16==1 | w5y_e5_19==1 | w5y_e5_21==1

tab kinexpect6

* those with ownership to housing

tab kinexpect6 if access==1 & Mothers==1

tab kinexpect6 if access==1 & Parents==1

* those renting houses

tab kinexpect6 if access==2 & Mothers==1

tab kinexpect6 if access==2 & Parents==1

* those in family houses

tab kinexpect6 if access==4 & Mothers==1

tab kinexpect6 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging non-kin category

gen kinexpect7 =.

replace kinexpect7 =0

replace kinexpect7 =1 if w5y_e5_22==1 | w5y_e5_23==1 | w5y_e5_24==1

tab kinexpect7

* those with ownership to housing
tab kinexpect7 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect7 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinexpect7 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect7 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinexpect7 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect7 if access==4 & Parents==1
* In 2006
** Those acknowledging zero (0) categories of kin and acquaintances i.e. those that indicated "NO"
tab w4y_g4_1
* with ownership to housing
tab w4y_g4_1 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab w4y_g4_1 if access==1 & Parents==1
* renting housing
tab w4y_g4_1 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab w4y_g4_1 if access==2 & Parents==1
* in family houses
tab w4y_g4_1 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab w4y_g4_1 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging brother/sister/half brother/sister category of kin
gen kinobligation1 =.
replace kinobligation1 =0
replace kinobligation1 =1 if w4y_g4_2_7==1 | w4y_g4_2_41==1
tab kinobligation1
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinobligation1 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation1 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinobligation1 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation1 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinobligation1 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation1 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging parents category of kin
gen kinobligation2 =.
replace kinobligation2 =0
replace kinobligation2 =1 if w4y_g4_2_11==1 | w4y_g4_2_20==1
tab kinobligation2
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinobligation2 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation2 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinobligation2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation2 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses

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tab kinobligation2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation2 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging maternal category of kin i.e. mother's brother/sister/parents
gen kinobligation4 =.
replace kinobligation4 =0
replace kinobligation4 =1 if w4y_g4_2_30==1 | w4y_g4_2_32==1 | w4y_g4_2_39==1
tab kinobligation4
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinobligation4 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation4 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinobligation4 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation4 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinobligation4 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation4 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging paternal category of kin i.e. father's brother/sister/parents
gen kinobligation5 =.
replace kinobligation5 =0
replace kinobligation5 =1 if w4y_g4_2_29==1 | w4y_g4_2_31==1 | w4y_g4_2_38==1
tab kinobligation5
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinobligation5 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation5 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinobligation5 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation5 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinobligation5 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation5 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging other category of kin
gen kinobligation6 =.
replace kinobligation6 =0
replace kinobligation6 =1 if w4y_g4_2_15==1 | w4y_g4_2_16==1 | w4y_g4_2_42==1 | w4y_g4_2_44==1
tab kinobligation6
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinobligation6 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation6 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinobligation6 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation6 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinobligation6 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation6 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging non-kin category
gen kinobligation7 =.
replace kinobligation7 =0

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replace kinobligation7 =1 if w4y_g4_2_21==1 | w4y_g4_2_22==1 | w4y_g4_2_35==1
tab kinobligation7
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinobligation7 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation7 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinobligation7 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation7 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinobligation7 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation7 if access==4 & Parents==1
** (b)Whom to turn to when the respondent is unemployed in 2009
** Those acknowledging zero (0) categories of kin and acquaintances i.e. those that indicated "NO"
tab w5y_e7
* with ownership to housing
tab w5y_e7 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab w5y_e7 if access==1 & Parents==1
* renting housing
tab w5y_e7 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab w5y_e7 if access==2 & Parents==1
* in family houses
tab w5y_e7 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab w5y_e7 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging brother/sister/half brother/sister category of kin
gen kinturn091 =.
replace kinturn091 =0
replace kinturn091 =1 if w5y_e8_9==1 | w5y_e8_10==1
tab kinturn091
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn091 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn091 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn091 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn091 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn091 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn091 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging parents as a category of kin
gen kinturn0912 =.
replace kinturn0912 =0
replace kinturn0912 =1 if w5y_e8_3==1 | w5y_e8_4==1 | w5y_e8_5==1
tab kinturn0912
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn0912 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0912 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn0912 if access==2 & Mothers==1

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tab kinturn0912 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn0912 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0912 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging maternal category of kin i.e. mother's brother/sister/parents
gen kinturn0914 =.
replace kinturn0914 =0
replace kinturn0914 =1 if w5y_e8_13==1 | w5y_e8_15==1 | w5y_e8_18==1
tab kinturn0914
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn0914 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0914 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn0914 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0914 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn0914 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0914 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging paternal category of kin i.e. father's brother/sister/parents
gen kinturn0915 =.
replace kinturn0915 =0
replace kinturn0915 =1 if w5y_e8_12==1 | w5y_e8_14==1 | w5y_e8_17==1
tab kinturn0915
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn0915 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0915 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn0915 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0915 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn0915 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0915 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging other category of kin
gen kinturn0916 =.
replace kinturn0916 =0
replace kinturn0916 =1 if w5y_e8_16==1 | w5y_e8_19==1 | w5y_e8_21==1
tab kinturn0916
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn0916 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0916 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn0916 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0916 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn0916 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0916 if access==4 & Parents==1

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** Those acknowledging non-kin category
gen kinturn0917 =.
replace kinturn0917 =0
replace kinturn0917 =1 if w5y_e8_22==1 | w5y_e8_23==1 | w5y_e8_24==1
tab kinturn0917
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn0917 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0917 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn0917 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0917 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn0917 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0917 if access==4 & Parents==1
* In 2006
** Those acknowledging zero (0) categories of kin and acquaintances i.e. those that indicated "NO"
tab w4y_g5_1
* with ownership to housing
tab w4y_g5_1 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab w4y_g5_1 if access==1 & Parents==1
* renting housing
tab w4y_g5_1 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab w4y_g5_1 if access==2 & Parents==1
* in family houses
tab w4y_g5_1 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab w4y_g5_1 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging brother/sister/half brother/sister category of kin
gen kinturn1 =.
replace kinturn1 =0
replace kinturn1 =1 if w4y_g5_2_7==1 | w4y_g5_2_41==1
tab kinturn1
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn1 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn1 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn1 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn1 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn1 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn1 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging parents as a category of kin
gen kinturn2 =.
replace kinturn2 =0
replace kinturn2 =1 if w4y_g5_2_11==1 | w4y_g5_2_20==1
tab kinturn2
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn2 if access==1 & Mothers==1

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tab kinturn2 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn2 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn2 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging maternal category of kin i.e. mother's brother/sister/parents
gen kinturn4 =.
replace kinturn4 =0
replace kinturn4 =1 if w4y_g5_2_30==1 | w4y_g5_2_32==1 | w4y_g5_2_39==1
tab kinturn4
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn4 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn4 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn4 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn4 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn4 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn4 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging paternal category of kin i.e. father's brother/sister/parents
gen kinturn5 =.
replace kinturn5 =0
replace kinturn5 =1 if w4y_g5_2_29==1 | w4y_g5_2_31==1 | w4y_g5_2_38==1
tab kinturn5
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn5 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn5 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn5 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn5 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn5 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn5 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging other category of kin
gen kinturn6 =.
replace kinturn6 =0
replace kinturn6 =1 if w4y_g5_2_15==1 | w4y_g5_2_16==1 | w4y_g5_2_44==1
tab kinturn6
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn6 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn6 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn6 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn6 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses

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tab kinturn6 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn6 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging non-kin category
gen kinturn7 =.
replace kinturn7 =0
replace kinturn7 =1 if w4y_g5_2_21==1 | w4y_g5_2_22==1 | w4y_g5_2_35==1
tab kinturn7
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn7 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn7 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn7 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn7 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn7 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn7 if access==4 & Parents==1

use "C:\Users\Nixon\Documents\Nixon\Final lap extension 1.dta", clear
**are the young adults (ya) living with parents?
**did they grow up living with parents or mothers only?
**PARENTAL RESIDENCE
** are young adults without ownership or rental status to housing living with parents?
*those who were living with fathers in wave 1
tab w1y_f3father
tab w1h_reltohead if w1y_f3father==1
tab w1h_reltohead if w1y_f3father==2 /*who was living with ya without fathers in hhds*/
**(1)Mothers
*those who were living with mothers in wave 1
tab w1y_f3mother
tab w1h_reltohead if w1y_f3mother==1
tab w1h_reltohead if w1y_f3mother==2 /*who was living with ya without mothers in hhds*/
**(2)Parents
*those who lived without parents
tab w1h_reltohead if w1y_f3father==2 & w1y_f3mother==2
gen livngwthparents=.
replace livngwthparents=1 if w1y_f3mother==1 | w1y_f3father==1
replace livngwthparents=0 if w1y_f3mother==2 | w1y_f3father==2
tab livngwthparents
tab w1h_reltohead if livngwthparents==1
tab w1h_reltohead if livngwthparents==0
**ACCESS TO HOUSING FROM 2002 TO 2009
*wave1 asked whether the family owned or rented a residence (question C6)
tab w1h_ownres
*who specifically owned the residence (question C7)
tab w1h_c7_1
tab w1h_c7_2
tab w1h_c7_3

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*a maximum of three young adults were in each hhd.
tab w1h_pcodeya1
tab w1h_pcodeya2
tab w1h_pcodeya3
**OWNERSHIP OF HOUSING IN 2002
**generating young adults who owned houses
tab w1h_c7_1 w1h_pcodeya1
tab w1h_c7_1 w1h_pcodeya2
tab w1h_c7_1 w1h_pcodeya3
tab w1h_c7_2 w1h_pcodeya1
tab w1h_c7_2 w1h_pcodeya2
tab w1h_c7_2 w1h_pcodeya3
tab w1h_c7_3 w1h_pcodeya1
tab w1h_c7_3 w1h_pcodeya2
tab w1h_c7_3 w1h_pcodeya3
gen own1=.
replace own1=0 if w1h_ownres==2 | w1h_ownres==3 | w1h_ownres!=99
replace own1=1 if w1h_pcodeya1==1 & w1h_c7_1==1 | w1h_pcodeya1==2 & w1h_c7_1==2 | w1h_pcodeya1==3 & w1h_c7_1==3 |
w1h_pcodeya2==3 & w1h_c7_1==3 | w1h_pcodeya2==2 & w1h_c7_1==2 | w1h_pcodeya1==2 & w1h_c7_2==2
tab own1 if _merge==3
tab own1 w1y_sex if _merge==3
**ownership of housing in 2002 for those that grew up with mothers or both parents
tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3, col row
**by gender
sort w1y_sex
bysort w1y_sex: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3, col row
bysort w1y_sex: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3, col row
**by race
sort w1y_popgrp
bysort w1y_popgrp: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3, col row
bysort w1y_popgrp: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3, col row
tab w1h_reltohead own1 if w1y_f3mother==1
**MOVED FROM PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF WAVE 1
tab w2b_b1
*for those who owned houses in 2002
tab own1 mothers if _merge==3 & w2b_b1==1
tab w2b_b1 bothparents if _merge==3 & w2b_b1==1
*for those in family houses in 2002
tab w2b_b1 mothers if _merge==3 & w2b_b1==1
tab w2b_b1 bothparents if _merge==3 & w2b_b1==1
**MOVED FROM PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF WAVE 2
tab w3y_mov
**MOVED FROM PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF WAVE 3
tab w4y_mov
**MOVED FROM PREVIOUS RESIDENCE OF WAVE 4
tab w5y_mov

```

```

**ACCESS TO HOUSING IN 2009
**for those that grew up with mothers or both parents
gen access = .
replace access = 1 if w5y_b6==1
replace access = 2 if w5y_b18==1 | w5y_b19==1 | w5y_b23==1 | w5y_b24==1
replace access = 3 if w5y_b21==1 & w5y_b18==1 | w5y_b21==1 & w5y_b19==1 | w5y_b27==1 & w5y_b23==1 | w5y_b27==1 &
w5y_b24==1
replace access = 4 if w5y_b18==2 | w5y_b19==2 | w5y_b23==2 | w5y_b24==2
replace access = 5 if w5y_b23==2 & w5y_b6==4 | w5y_b24==2 & w5y_b6==4
replace access = 6 if w5y_b6==9
tab access
label define access 1 "Ownership" 2 "Renting" 3 "Renting and own" 4 "Family houses" 5 "Shared accommodation" 6 "Unknown"
label values access access
tab access
**the status of access to housing in 2009 of the conventional and alternative model yas
tab own1 access
tab access Parents if _merge==3, row
tab access Mothers if _merge==3, row
**HOUSING PATHS FROM 2002 TO 2009
*own/family houses in 2002 and own in 2009
tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==1, col row
tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==1, col row
sort w5y_sex /*distribution by gender*/
bysort w5y_sex: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==1, col row
bysort w5y_sex: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==1, col row
sort w5y_popgrp /*distribution by race*/
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==1, col row
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==1, col row
*own/family houses in 2002 and rent in 2009
tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==2
tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==2
sort w5y_sex /*distribution by gender*/
bysort w5y_sex: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==2, col row
bysort w5y_sex: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==2, col row
sort w5y_popgrp /*distribution by race*/
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==2, col row
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==2, col row
*own/family houses in 2002 and renting and own in 2009
tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==3
tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==3
sort w5y_sex /*distribution by gender*/
bysort w5y_sex: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==3
bysort w5y_sex: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==3
sort w5y_popgrp /*distribution by race*/
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==3, col row
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==3, col row

```

```

*own/family houses in 2002 and family houses in 2009
tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==4
tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==4
sort w5y_sex /*distribution by gender*/
bysort w5y_sex:tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==4, col row
bysort w5y_sex:tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==4, col row
sort w5y_popgrp /*distribution by race*/
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==4, col row
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==4, col row
*own/family houses in 2002 and shared accommodation in 2009
tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==5
tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==5
sort w5y_sex /*distribution by gender*/
bysort w5y_sex:tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==5
bysort w5y_sex:tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==5
sort w5y_popgrp /*distribution by race*/
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Mothers if _merge==3 & access==5, col row
bysort w5y_popgrp: tab own1 Parents if _merge==3 & access==5, col row
**HOUSING AND LIMITS IN PRACTICES OF KINSHIP
* wave 4 responses
* (1) if employed
tab w4y_g4_1
tab w4y_g4_1 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab w4y_g4_1 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab w4y_g4_1 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab w4y_g4_1 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab w4y_g4_1 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab w4y_g4_1 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
recode w4y_g4_1 (1=1) (2=2) (8 9=1.5), gen(neww4y_g4_1)
tab neww4y_g4_1
recode neww4y_g4_1 (1=1) (1.5=2) (2=3)
label define neww4y_g4_1 1 "Yes" 2 "Mid-point" 3 "No"
label values neww4y_g4_1 neww4y_g4_1
tab neww4y_g4_1
tab neww4y_g4_1 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab neww4y_g4_1 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab neww4y_g4_1 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab neww4y_g4_1 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab neww4y_g4_1 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab neww4y_g4_1 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
* (2) if unemployed
tab w4y_g5_1
tab w4y_g5_1 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab w4y_g5_1 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab w4y_g5_1 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab w4y_g5_1 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab w4y_g5_1 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col

```

```

tab w4y_g5_1 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
recode w4y_g5_1 (1=1) (2=3) (8 9=1.5), gen(neww4y_g5_1)
tab neww4y_g5_1
recode neww4y_g5_1 (1=1) (1.5=2) (2=3)
tab neww4y_g5_1
recode neww4y_g5_1 (1=1) (2=2) (3=3)
label define neww4y_g5_1 1 "Yes" 2 "Mid-point" 3 "No"
label values neww4y_g5_1 neww4y_g5_1
tab neww4y_g5_1
tab neww4y_g5_1 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab neww4y_g5_1 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab neww4y_g5_1 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab neww4y_g5_1 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab neww4y_g5_1 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab neww4y_g5_1 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
* wave 5 responses
* (1) if employed
tab w5y_e4
tab w5y_e4 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
recode w5y_e4 (1=1) (2=2) (8 9=1.5)
tab w5y_e4
recode w5y_e4 (1=1) (1.5=2) (2=3)
tab w5y_e4
recode w5y_e4 (1=1) (2=2) (3=3)
label define w5y_e4 1 "Yes" 2 "Mid-point" 3 "No"
label values w5y_e4 w5y_e4
tab w5y_e4
tab w5y_e4 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e4 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
* (2) if unemployed
tab w5y_e7
tab w5y_e7 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
recode w5y_e7 (1=1) (2=2) (8 9=1.5)

```

```

tab w5y_e7
recode w5y_e7 (1=1) (1.5=2) (2=3)
tab w5y_e7
recode w5y_e7 (1=1) (2=2) (3=3)
label define w5y_e7 1 "Yes" 2 "Mid-point" 3 "No"
label values w5y_e7 w5y_e7
tab w5y_e7
tab w5y_e7 access if access==1 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==1 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==2 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==2 & Parents==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==4 & Mothers==1, col
tab w5y_e7 access if access==4 & Parents==1, col
* one-sample t-test to examine average scores for each assuming the mean is 2
ttest neww4y_g4_1 == 2 if access==1 & Mothers==1
ttest w5y_e4 == 2 if access==1 & Mothers==1
ttest neww4y_g4_1 == 2 if access==1 & Parents==1
ttest w5y_e4 == 2 if access==1 & Parents==1
ttest neww4y_g4_1 == 2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
ttest w5y_e4 == 2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
ttest neww4y_g4_1 == 2 if access==2 & Parents==1
ttest w5y_e4 == 2 if access==2 & Parents==1
ttest neww4y_g4_1 == 2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
ttest w5y_e4 == 2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
ttest neww4y_g4_1 == 2 if access==4 & Parents==1
ttest w5y_e4 == 2 if access==4 & Parents==1
* one-sample t-test to examine average scores for each assuming the mean is 2
ttest neww4y_g5_1 == 2 if access==1 & Mothers==1
ttest w5y_e7 == 2 if access==1 & Mothers==1
ttest neww4y_g5_1 == 2 if access==1 & Parents==1
ttest w5y_e7 == 2 if access==1 & Parents==1
ttest neww4y_g5_1 == 2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
ttest w5y_e7 == 2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
ttest neww4y_g5_1 == 2 if access==2 & Parents==1
ttest w5y_e7 == 2 if access==2 & Parents==1
ttest neww4y_g5_1 == 2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
ttest w5y_e7 == 2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
ttest neww4y_g5_1 == 2 if access==4 & Parents==1
ttest w5y_e7 == 2 if access==4 & Parents==1
**Attrition test
* the hypothetical situation to conduct an attrition test to show that the t-test above is valid
* I assumed that the 2006 and 2009 responses should be equal in numbers i.e. 3,439. So added 297 (3,439 - 3,142)
* I also assumed that the 297 had a change in attitude and moved into ownership and renting
* see the do-file named hypothetical situation for attrition test
* run the do file to this dataset
* then run the above t-tests again
** REPORTED KINSHIP TIES

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** (a) Kin Expectations when the respondent is employed in 2009
** Those acknowledging zero (0) categories of kin and acquaintances
tab w5y_e4
* with ownership to housing
tab w5y_e4 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab w5y_e4 if access==1 & Parents==1
* renting housing
tab w5y_e4 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab w5y_e4 if access==2 & Parents==1
* in family houses
tab w5y_e4 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab w5y_e4 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging brother/sister/half brother/sister category of kin
gen kinexpect1 =.
replace kinexpect1 =0
replace kinexpect1 =1 if w5y_e5_9==1 | w5y_e5_10==1
tab kinexpect1
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinexpect1 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect1 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinexpect1 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect1 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinexpect1 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect1 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging parents category of kin
gen kinexpect2 =.
replace kinexpect2 =0
replace kinexpect2 =1 if w5y_e5_3==1 | w5y_e5_4==1
tab kinexpect2
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinexpect2 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect2 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinexpect2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect2 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinexpect2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect2 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging maternal category of kin i.e. mother's brother/sister/parents
gen kinexpect4 =.
replace kinexpect4 =0
replace kinexpect4 =1 if w5y_e5_13==1 | w5y_e5_15==1 | w5y_e5_18==1
tab kinexpect3
* those with ownership to housing

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tab kinexpect4 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect4 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinexpect4 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect4 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinexpect4 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect4 if access==4 & Parents==1
** Those acknowledging paternal category of kin i.e. father's brother/sister/parents
gen kinexpect5 =.
replace kinexpect5 =0
replace kinexpect5 =1 if w5y_e5_12==1 | w5y_e5_14==1 | w5y_e5_17==1
tab kinexpect5
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinexpect5 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect5 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinexpect5 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect5 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinexpect5 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect5 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging other category of kin
gen kinexpect6 =.
replace kinexpect6 =0
replace kinexpect6 =1 if w5y_e5_5==1 | w5y_e5_7==1 | w5y_e5_8==1 | w5y_e5_16==1 | w5y_e5_19==1 | w5y_e5_21==1
tab kinexpect6
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinexpect6 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect6 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinexpect6 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect6 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinexpect6 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect6 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging non-kin category
gen kinexpect7 =.
replace kinexpect7 =0
replace kinexpect7 =1 if w5y_e5_22==1 | w5y_e5_23==1 | w5y_e5_24==1
tab kinexpect7
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinexpect7 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect7 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses

```

tab kinexpect7 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect7 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinexpect7 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinexpect7 if access==4 & Parents==1

* In 2006

** Those acknowledging zero (0) categories of kin and acquaintances i.e. those that indicated "NO"

tab w4y_g4_1
* with ownership to housing
tab w4y_g4_1 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab w4y_g4_1 if access==1 & Parents==1
* renting housing
tab w4y_g4_1 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab w4y_g4_1 if access==2 & Parents==1
* in family houses
tab w4y_g4_1 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab w4y_g4_1 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging brother/sister/half brother/sister category of kin

gen kinobligation1 =.
replace kinobligation1 =0
replace kinobligation1 =1 if w4y_g4_2_7==1 | w4y_g4_2_41==1
tab kinobligation1
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinobligation1 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation1 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinobligation1 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation1 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinobligation1 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation1 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging parents category of kin

gen kinobligation2 =.
replace kinobligation2 =0
replace kinobligation2 =1 if w4y_g4_2_11==1 | w4y_g4_2_20==1
tab kinobligation2
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinobligation2 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation2 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinobligation2 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation2 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses

tab kinobligation2 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation2 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging maternal category of kin i.e. mother's brother/sister/parents

gen kinobligation4 =.
replace kinobligation4 =0
replace kinobligation4 =1 if w4y_g4_2_30==1 | w4y_g4_2_32==1 | w4y_g4_2_39==1
tab kinobligation4
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinobligation4 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation4 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinobligation4 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation4 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinobligation4 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation4 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging paternal category of kin i.e. father's brother/sister/parents

gen kinobligation5 =.
replace kinobligation5 =0
replace kinobligation5 =1 if w4y_g4_2_29==1 | w4y_g4_2_31==1 | w4y_g4_2_38==1
tab kinobligation5
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinobligation5 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation5 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinobligation5 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation5 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinobligation5 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation5 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging other category of kin

gen kinobligation6 =.
replace kinobligation6 =0
replace kinobligation6 =1 if w4y_g4_2_15==1 | w4y_g4_2_16==1 | w4y_g4_2_42==1 | w4y_g4_2_44==1
tab kinobligation6
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinobligation6 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation6 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinobligation6 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation6 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinobligation6 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation6 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging non-kin category
gen kinobligation7 =.
replace kinobligation7 =0
replace kinobligation7 =1 if w4y_g4_2_21==1 | w4y_g4_2_22==1 | w4y_g4_2_35==1
tab kinobligation7
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinobligation7 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation7 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinobligation7 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation7 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinobligation7 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinobligation7 if access==4 & Parents==1

** (b)Whom to turn to when the respondent is unemployed in 2009

** Those acknowledging zero (0) categories of kin and acquaintances i.e. those that indicated "NO"
tab w5y_e7
* with ownership to housing
tab w5y_e7 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab w5y_e7 if access==1 & Parents==1
* renting housing
tab w5y_e7 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab w5y_e7 if access==2 & Parents==1
* in family houses
tab w5y_e7 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab w5y_e7 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging brother/sister/half brother/sister category of kin
gen kinturn091 =.
replace kinturn091 =0
replace kinturn091 =1 if w5y_e8_9==1 | w5y_e8_10==1
tab kinturn091
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn091 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn091 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn091 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn091 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn091 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn091 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging parents as a category of kin
gen kinturn0912 =.

```

replace kinturn0912 =0
replace kinturn0912 =1 if w5y_e8_3==1 | w5y_e8_4==1 | w5y_e8_5==1
tab kinturn0912
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn0912 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0912 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn0912 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0912 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn0912 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0912 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging maternal category of kin i.e. mother's brother/sister/parents
gen kinturn0914 =.
replace kinturn0914 =0
replace kinturn0914 =1 if w5y_e8_13==1 | w5y_e8_15==1 | w5y_e8_18==1
tab kinturn0914
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn0914 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0914 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn0914 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0914 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn0914 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0914 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging paternal category of kin i.e. father's brother/sister/parents
gen kinturn0915 =.
replace kinturn0915 =0
replace kinturn0915 =1 if w5y_e8_12==1 | w5y_e8_14==1 | w5y_e8_17==1
tab kinturn0915
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn0915 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0915 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn0915 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0915 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn0915 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0915 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging other category of kin
gen kinturn0916 =.
replace kinturn0916 =0
replace kinturn0916 =1 if w5y_e8_16==1 | w5y_e8_19==1 | w5y_e8_21==1

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```

tab kinturn0916
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn0916 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0916 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn0916 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0916 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn0916 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0916 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging non-kin category
gen kinturn0917 =.
replace kinturn0917 =0
replace kinturn0917 =1 if w5y_e8_22==1 | w5y_e8_23==1 | w5y_e8_24==1
tab kinturn0917
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn0917 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0917 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn0917 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0917 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn0917 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn0917 if access==4 & Parents==1

* In 2006

** Those acknowledging zero (0) categories of kin and acquaintances i.e. those that indicated "NO"
tab w4y_g5_1
* with ownership to housing
tab w4y_g5_1 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab w4y_g5_1 if access==1 & Parents==1
* renting housing
tab w4y_g5_1 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab w4y_g5_1 if access==2 & Parents==1
* in family houses
tab w4y_g5_1 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab w4y_g5_1 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging brother/sister/half brother/sister category of kin
gen kinturn1 =.
replace kinturn1 =0
replace kinturn1 =1 if w4y_g5_2_7==1 | w4y_g5_2_41==1
tab kinturn1
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn1 if access==1 & Mothers==1

```

tab kinturn1 if access==1 & Parents==1

* those renting houses

tab kinturn1 if access==2 & Mothers==1

tab kinturn1 if access==2 & Parents==1

* those in family houses

tab kinturn1 if access==4 & Mothers==1

tab kinturn1 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging parents as a category of kin

gen kinturn2 =.

replace kinturn2 =0

replace kinturn2 =1 if w4y_g5_2_11==1 | w4y_g5_2_20==1

tab kinturn2

* those with ownership to housing

tab kinturn2 if access==1 & Mothers==1

tab kinturn2 if access==1 & Parents==1

* those renting houses

tab kinturn2 if access==2 & Mothers==1

tab kinturn2 if access==2 & Parents==1

* those in family houses

tab kinturn2 if access==4 & Mothers==1

tab kinturn2 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging maternal category of kin i.e. mother's brother/sister/parents

gen kinturn4 =.

replace kinturn4 =0

replace kinturn4 =1 if w4y_g5_2_30==1 | w4y_g5_2_32==1 | w4y_g5_2_39==1

tab kinturn4

* those with ownership to housing

tab kinturn4 if access==1 & Mothers==1

tab kinturn4 if access==1 & Parents==1

* those renting houses

tab kinturn4 if access==2 & Mothers==1

tab kinturn4 if access==2 & Parents==1

* those in family houses

tab kinturn4 if access==4 & Mothers==1

tab kinturn4 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging paternal category of kin i.e. father's brother/sister/parents

gen kinturn5 =.

replace kinturn5 =0

replace kinturn5 =1 if w4y_g5_2_29==1 | w4y_g5_2_31==1 | w4y_g5_2_38==1

tab kinturn5

* those with ownership to housing

tab kinturn5 if access==1 & Mothers==1

tab kinturn5 if access==1 & Parents==1

* those renting houses

```

tab kinturn5 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn5 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn5 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn5 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging other category of kin
gen kinturn6 =.
replace kinturn6 =0
replace kinturn6 =1 if w4y_g5_2_15==1 | w4y_g5_2_16==1 | w4y_g5_2_44==1
tab kinturn6
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn6 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn6 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn6 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn6 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn6 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn6 if access==4 & Parents==1

** Those acknowledging non-kin category
gen kinturn7 =.
replace kinturn7 =0
replace kinturn7 =1 if w4y_g5_2_21==1 | w4y_g5_2_22==1 | w4y_g5_2_35==1
tab kinturn7
* those with ownership to housing
tab kinturn7 if access==1 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn7 if access==1 & Parents==1
* those renting houses
tab kinturn7 if access==2 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn7 if access==2 & Parents==1
* those in family houses
tab kinturn7 if access==4 & Mothers==1
tab kinturn7 if access==4 & Parents==1
*****

*** CHAPTER 5
**ACCESS TO HOUSING: EXPLORING INDIRECT EFFECTS OF HIV-AIDS

set mem 500m
set maxvar 20000
* PREPARING DATASETS
clear
use "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw12345.y.v1009.dta", clear
preserve
use "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw12345.y.derived.v1009.dta", clear
sort personid

```

```

save "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw12345.y.derived.v1009.dta", replace
restore
sort personid
merge personid using "G:\CAPS v1009\capsw12345.y.derived.v1009.dta", keep (edyrscomp_09)

*** (A) GENERATING INDICATOR VARIABLES FOR ACCESS TO HOUSING BY YOUNG ADULTS IN CAPE TOWN - DEPENDENT VARIABLE
gen access = .
replace access = 1 if w5y_b6==1
replace access = 2 if w5y_b18==1 | w5y_b19==1 | w5y_b23==1 | w5y_b24==1
replace access = 3 if w5y_b21==1 & w5y_b18==1 | w5y_b21==1 & w5y_b19==1 | w5y_b27==1 & w5y_b23==1 | w5y_b27==1 &
w5y_b24==1
replace access = 4 if w5y_b23==2 | w5y_b18==2 | w5y_b24==2 | w5y_b9==2
replace access = 5 if w5y_b18==2 | w5y_b19==2 | w5y_b23==2 | w5y_b24==2
replace access = 6 if w5y_b6==9
tab access
label define access 1 "Ownership" 2 "Renting" 3 "Renting and own" 4 "Shared accommodation" 5 "Family houses" 6 "Unknown"
label values access access
tab access
tab access, m
graph pie, over(access) plabel(_all percent, format(%9.1g))
tab access, gen(naccess)
rename naccess1 Ownership
rename naccess2 Renting
rename naccess3 RentingNown
rename naccess4 Sharedacco
rename naccess5 FamilyHouse

*** (B) BIVARIATE ANALYSIS/PREPARATION FOR REGRESSION ANALYSIS - INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

*** (1) Demographic Variables

** (i) AGE - SIGNIFICANT
* TO Assess change with age
tab w5y_age
tab w5y_age, nolabel
recode w5y_age (19/20 =1) (21/22 =2) (23/24 =3) (25/26 =4) (27/28 =5) (29/30 =6) (31/32 =7) (33/35 =8), gen(agegroup)
label define codeagegroup 1 "19-20" 2 "21-22" 3 "23-24" 4 "25-26" 5 "27-28" 6 "29-30" 7 "31-32" 8 "33-35"
label values agegroup codeagegroup
tab agegroup

** GENERATING AN INDICATOR VARIABLE FOR AGE
tab w5y_age
recode w5y_age (19/24=1) (25/35=2), gen(nw5yage)
label define codenw5yage 1 "Below 24" 2 "Above 25"
label values nw5yage codenw5yage
tab nw5yage, gen(age9)
rename age91 Belo24

```

rename age92 Abov25

** (ii) GENDER - NOT SIGNIFICANT

tab w5y_sex

** GENERATING AN INDICATOR VARIABLE FOR GENDER

gen female=.

replace female=1 if w5y_sex==2

replace female=0 if w5y_sex==1

tab female

** (iii) RACE (Population Group)

tab w5y_popgrp, nolabel

** GENERATING INDICATOR VARIABLES FOR RACE

tab w5y_popgrp, gen(race)

rename race1 African

rename race2 Coloured

rename race3 Indian

rename race4 White

tab African

tab Coloured

tab Indian

tab White

*** (2) Socio-economic Variables

** (i) EMPLOYMENT - SIGNIFICANT

tab w5y_d1a

tab w5y_d1a, nolabel

** GENERATING AN INDICATOR VARIABLE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

gen unemployment=.

replace unemployment=0 if w5y_d1a==1

replace unemployment=1 if w5y_d1a==2

tab unemployment

** (ii) INCOME - SIGNIFICANT

* (a) Individual Income per month based on work

* (i) Net amounts indicated based on employment or business activities

tab w5y_d9a

tab w5y_d9a, nolabel

tab w5y_d9b

recode w5y_d9a (1/1500=1 "R1-R1500") (1501/3500=2 "R1501-R3500") (3501/5000=3 "R3501-R5000") (5001/8000=4 "R5001-R8000")

(8001/35000=5 "R8001-R35000") (-5 -8 -9=.), gen(new5y_d9a)

label values new5y_d9a new5y_d9a

tab new5y_d9a

tab new5y_d9a, nolabel

* (ii) Income categories indicated if respondents did not answer d9a

```

tab w5y_d10a
tab w5y_d10a, nolabel
recode w5y_d10a (5/10=1 "R301-R1500") (12/15=2 "R1501-R3500") (16 17=3 "R3501-R5000") (18 19=4 "R5001-R8000") (20/26=5 "R8001-
R22500") (98 99=.), gen(new5y_d10a)
label values new5y_d10a new5y_d10a
tab new5y_d10a
* (iii) Creating a new variable for individual incomes:
* It adds those that had either refused or didn't know their incomes in d9a but indicated income categories in d10a and those that
indicated incomes in d9a
gen inc=.
replace inc= new5y_d9a +0
replace inc=1 if new5y_d10a==1
replace inc=2 if new5y_d10a==2
replace inc=3 if new5y_d10a==3
replace inc=4 if new5y_d10a==4
replace inc=5 if new5y_d10a==5
tab inc
recode inc (1=1) (2=2) (3=3) (4=4) (5=5) (6=6) (7=7)
label define codeinc 1 "R1-R1500" 2 "R1501-R3500" 3 "R3501-R5000" 4 "R5001-R8000" 5 "R8001-R35000"
label values inc codeinc
tab inc

** (iii) EDUCATION
tab w5y_c7
tab w5y_c7, nolabel
tab w5y_c8
tab w5y_c8, nolabel
tab w5y_c9
tab w5y_c10
* these variables do not give the level of education for all the young adults
* thus a derived variable for waves 1-2-3-4-5 gives the level of education for all young adults
tab edyrscmp_09
gen education=.
replace education=1 if edyrscmp_09<12
replace education=2 if edyrscmp_09==12
replace education=3 if edyrscmp_09>12 & edyrscmp_09!=.
tab education
recode education (1=1) (2=2) (3=3)
label define codeeducation 1 "Pre-matric" 2 "Matric" 3 "Post-matric"
label values education codeeducation
tab education

** GENERATING INDICATOR VARIABLES FOR EDUCATION
tab education, gen(neducation)
rename neducation1 prior_gradetwelve
rename neducation2 gradetwelve
rename neducation3 post_gradetwelve

```

```
tab prior_gradetwelve
tab gradetwelve
tab post_gradetwelve
```

```
** (iv) CLASS (Self classification)
```

```
lookfor class
```

```
tab w5y_finnow
```

```
tab w5y_finnow , m nolabel
```

```
tab access w5y_finnow , col chi2 nofreq
```

```
*Combined very comfortable and comfortable; poor and very poor. Excluded refused/don't know
```

```
recode w5y_finnow (1 2=1) (3=2) (4 5=3) (8 9 .=), gen(neww5y_finnow)
```

```
label define codeneww5y_finnow 1 "Upperclass" 2 "Middleclass" 3 "Lowerclass"
```

```
label values neww5y_finnow codeneww5y_finnow
```

```
tab neww5y_finnow w5y_popgrp, col
```

```
** GENERATING INDICATOR VARIABLES FOR CLASS
```

```
tab neww5y_finnow , generate(class)
```

```
rename class1 upperclass
```

```
*upperclass includes very comfortable and comfortable
```

```
rename class2 middleclass
```

```
*middleclass includes just getting by
```

```
rename class3 lowerclass
```

```
*lowerclass includes very poor and poor
```

```
tab upperclass
```

```
tab middleclass
```

```
tab lowerclass
```

```
*** (3) Socio-cultural Variables
```

```
** (i) Married Young Adults
```

```
lookfor f44
```

```
tab w5y_f44
```

```
tab w5y_f45_1
```

```
tab w5y_f45_2
```

```
tab w5y_f45_3
```

```
tab w5y_f45_4
```

```
tab w5y_b6 w5y_f45_1
```

```
** GENERATING AN INDICATOR VARIABLE FOR MARRIED YOUNG PEOPLE
```

```
gen married =.
```

```
replace married =1 if w5y_f44==1 | w5y_f45_1==1
```

```
replace married =0 if w5y_f44==2 | w5y_f45_1==2
```

```
tab married
```

```
** GENERATING AN INDICATOR VARIABLE FOR PARENTS OR WITH CHILDREN
```

```
tab w5y_f34
```

```
tab w5y_f34 married
```

```

gen parent =.
replace parent =0 if w5y_f34==2 | w5y_f34!=8 | w5y_f34!=9
replace parent =1 if w5y_f34==1
tab parent

** (iii) Those that were given/inherited houses
tab w5y_b7
tab w5y_b13

** GENERATING AN INDICATOR VARIABLE FOR INHERITANCE
gen inherit=.
replace inherit=1 if w5y_b7==5 | w5y_b13==5
replace inherit=0 if w5y_b7==1 | w5y_b7==2 | w5y_b7==3 | w5y_b7==4 | w5y_b7==6 | w5y_b13==1 | w5y_b13==2 | w5y_b13==3 |
w5y_b13==4 | w5y_b13==6 | w5y_b6==3 | w5y_b7==4 | w5y_b7==9
tab inherit

** CREATING VARIABLE FOR HIV-AIDS AFFECTEDNESS

*(a) Knowledge of someone with HIV/AIDS
tab w5y_HIVknwsome
tab w5y_HIVknwsome, nolabel
recode w5y_HIVknwsome (1=1) (2=2) (8 9=.), gen(knowledgeofHIVandAIDS)
label define codeknowledgeofHIVandAIDS 1 "Yes" 2 "No"
label values knowledgeofHIVandAIDS codeknowledgeofHIVandAIDS
tab knowledgeofHIVandAIDS

* Number of HIV/AIDS People living with HIV/AIDS respondents knew
tab w5y_g2
tab w5y_g2, nolabel
recode w5y_g2 (1=1) (2=2) (3=3) (4=4) (9=.), gen(new5y_g2)
tab new5y_g2

* And the relationship to the respondent
tab w5y_relHIVper_1
tab w5y_relHIVper_2
tab w5y_g3_2
tab w5y_g3_3
tab w5y_relHIVper_3
tab w5y_relHIVper_4
tab w5y_relHIVper_5
tab w5y_relHIVper_6
tab w5y_relHIVper_7
tab w5y_relHIVper_8
tab w5y_g3_98
tab w5y_g3_99
tab w5y_relHIVpe~10

* creating variable for those affected by HIV-AIDS sick people they knew
gen affected=.

```

```

replace affected=1 if w5y_relHIVper_1==1
replace affected=2 if w5y_g3_2==1
replace affected=3 if w5y_g3_3==1
replace affected=4 if w5y_relHIVper_6==1
replace affected=5 if knowledgeofHIVandAIDS==2
tab affected
recode affected (1=1) (2=2) (3=3) (4=4) (5=5)
label define codeaffected 1 "Spouse" 2 "Close family" 3 "Distant family" 4 "Respondent" 5 "Not affected"
label values affected codeaffected
tab affected w5y_popgrp, col

```

* (b) Knowledge of someone who died of HIV/AIDS

```

tab w5y_knwdiedHIV
tab w5y_knwdiedHIV, nolabel
recode w5y_knwdiedHIV (1=1) (2=2) (8 9=.), gen(new5y_knwdiedHIV)
label define codenew5y_knwdiedHIV 1 "Yes" 2 "No"
label values new5y_knwdiedHIV codenew5y_knwdiedHIV
tab new5y_knwdiedHIV

```

* Number of people who have died of HIV/AIDS

```

tab w5y_g6
tab w5y_g6, nolabel
gen AIDSdeath=w5y_g6 if w5y_g6<=9
replace AIDSdeath=10 if AIDSdeath==10 & w5y_knwdiedHIV==1
tab AIDSdeath
tab AIDSdeath if AIDSdeath!=9

```

* And the relationship to respondent

```

tab w5y_relHIVdth_1
tab w5y_relHIVdth_2
tab w5y_relHIVdth_3
tab w5y_relHIVdth_4
tab w5y_relHIVdth_5
tab w5y_relHIVdth_6
tab w5y_relHIVdth_7
tab w5y_relHIVdth_8
tab w5y_relHIVdth_9
tab w5y_g7_98
tab w5y_g7_99

```

* Creating variable for those affected by knowledge of HIV-AIDS deaths

```

gen affectedb=.
replace affectedb=1 if w5y_relHIVdth_1==1
replace affectedb=2 if w5y_relHIVdth_2==1
replace affectedb=3 if w5y_relHIVdth_3==1
replace affectedb=4 if new5y_knwdiedHIV==2
tab affectedb

```

```

recode affectedb (1=1) (2=2) (3=3) (4=4)
label define codeaffectedb 1 "Spouse" 2 "Close family" 3 "Distant family" 4 "Not affected"
label values affectedb codeaffectedb
tab affectedb w5y_popgrp, col

* generate overall variable for HIV-AIDS affectedness
gen affctdbyHivAids=.
replace affctdbyHivAids=1 if affected==1 | affected==2 | affected==3 | affected==4 | affectedb==1 | affectedb==2 | affectedb==3
replace affctdbyHivAids=0 if affected==5 | affectedb==4
tab affctdbyHivAids

*** MULTIVARIATE ANALYSIS *****

**OWNING
xi:logit Ownership i.affctdbyHivAids i.Belo24 i.female i.unemployment i.prior_gradetwelve i.gradetwelve i.lowerclass i.middleclass
i.married i.parent i.African i.inherit, or
xi:logit Ownership i.affctdbyHivAids i.Abov25 i.female i.unemployment i.prior_gradetwelve i.gradetwelve i.lowerclass i.middleclass
i.married i.parent i.African i.inherit, or

**RENTING
xi:logit Renting i.affctdbyHivAids i.Belo24 i.female i.unemployment i.prior_gradetwelve i.gradetwelve i.lowerclass i.middleclass i.married
i.parent i.African, or
xi:logit Renting i.affctdbyHivAids i.Abov25 i.female i.unemployment i.prior_gradetwelve i.gradetwelve i.lowerclass i.middleclass i.married
i.parent i.African, or

**FAMILY HOUSES
xi:logit FamilyHouse i.affctdbyHivAids i.Belo24 i.female i.unemployment i.prior_gradetwelve i.gradetwelve i.lowerclass i.middleclass
i.married i.parent i.African, or
xi:logit FamilyHouse i.affctdbyHivAids i.Abov25 i.female i.unemployment i.prior_gradetwelve i.gradetwelve i.lowerclass i.middleclass
i.married i.parent i.African, or

```