



The characteristics of volunteers in South Africa

Ferdinand Niyimbanira and Waldo Krugell

ERSA working paper 480

November 2014

Economic Research Southern Africa (ERSA) is a research programme funded by the National Treasury of South Africa.

The views expressed are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent those of the funder, ERSA or the author's affiliated institution(s). ERSA shall not be liable to any person for inaccurate information or opinions contained herein.

The characteristics of volunteers in South Africa

Ferdinand Niyimbanira* & Waldo Krugell†

November 14, 2014

Abstract

Volunteers are people who supply labour for the production of goods and services, for the benefit of others. Volunteer work is of significance in a time when social safety nets are weak and there are ever increasing demands on welfare organisations. The question is, who are these good Samaritans? This paper uses data from the South African Volunteer Activities Survey and examines the links between individuals' resources and volunteerism, tests the consumption model and looks for confirmation of the investment model of volunteerism. The results show that Blacks volunteer on average almost double the number of hours that the other population groups do, but this cannot be explained by individual assets such as gender, education, work status and income. Other factors play a role and more research is needed.

Keywords: Volunteers, volunteerism, labour, South Africa

1 Introduction

The characteristics of South Africa's labour market are well documented. Fourie's (2011) review of the literature describes a segmented market, entry and mobility barriers, and marginalisation. Wittenberg's (2014) analysis of employment and wage trends since 1994 finds increases in employment and real wages, but with larger gains in the top tail of the earnings distribution and compression at the bottom end. However, much less is known about volunteer labour. It is estimated that approximately 1.2 million South Africans participate in volunteer activities. This amounts to millions of hours and billions of Rands of value had the activities been compensated (StatsSA 2011). What are the characteristics of these volunteers and how are these related to the number of hours that they spend as volunteers? Are they looking for psychological recompense, or business contacts and skills? The available survey data shows that Blacks volunteer on average almost double the number of hours that the other population groups do. Can this be explained by the consumption or investment model of volunteerism?

*Vaal University of Technology

†North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus. The authors would like to thank an anonymous ERSA referee whose comments greatly improved the paper. Errors and omissions remain our own.

This paper sets out to answer these questions and uses data from Statistics South Africa's 2010 Volunteer Activities Survey. The survey data include individual-level information on the hours spent on volunteer activities, the nature of the volunteer work, the socio-demographic characteristics of the volunteers and their earnings. The paper is structured as follows: section 2 describes the notion of volunteer work and gives an overview of the literature that explains the causes of volunteerism. Section 3 presents the data from the Volunteer Activities Survey and describes the characteristics of this sub-sample of the Labour Force Survey. Section 4 explores the differences between the volunteer rates of the different population groups in terms of their resources, the consumption model, and investment model of volunteerism. The analysis includes cross-tabulations, one-way ANOVA tests of differences in mean hours volunteered as well as simple regression models. Only a single cross section of data is available and as such the results cannot speak to causality, but it is possible to examine differences between groups and the direction of relationships. Section 5 presents some conclusions and recommendations.

2 Why people volunteer

Volunteering is defined as productive work that requires human capital, collective behaviour that requires social capital and ethically oriented action that requires cultural capital (Wilson & Musick, 1997). This is not leisure, though there is a stream of literature that considers volunteerism as "serious leisure" (see Pi *et al.*, 2014). Volunteerism is influenced by what other people think and do, and is value-driven. Freeman (1997) described volunteer work as a "conscience good" to which people contribute time because they support the moral case for it. But what are the causes of volunteerism?

Wilson (2012) explained that there are a wide range of disciplinary approaches to the causes of volunteerism. Psychological theories examine personality traits, self-concepts and motivation. Sociological approaches relate volunteering to race, gender, social class, social networks and community characteristics. Economists see volunteerism as a form of unpaid labour and take the view that it is motivated by the promise of some reward. Wilson (2012) went on to review the recent literature and describes the causes, or antecedents of volunteerism in terms of subjective dispositions, human resources, life course and social context. In this paper the scope of the analysis of causes of volunteerism is limited by the available VAS data and as a consequence this literature review focuses on the "resource" causes of volunteerism.

The resources are individual "assets" that enable people to volunteer. Wilson (2012) referred to "master statuses" such as gender, race, education, work status and income that influence people's interest to volunteer.

First, the literature describes a gendered division of labour – studies by Hayghe (1991), Carlin (2001), Boraas (2003) and Pho (2008) showed that women have higher volunteer rates than men. There are also differences in hours volunteered and the type of volunteer work. Wilson (2012) however emphasised that

survey-based research on gender differences are not clear on why this occurs and that more ethnographic studies are required.

Race has been examined as an influence of volunteering, but this literature is limited to the United States. Work by Rotolo *et al.* (2010) found that Whites are more likely to volunteer than African Americans or members of other racial or ethnic groups. It is not clear why this is the case and Wilson (2012) noted that studies in the U.K. and Europe do not find racial differences in the propensity to volunteer.

A number of studies find that education is an important asset that enables people to volunteer. Vaillancourt (1994) found that Canadian volunteers are better educated than those who do not do voluntary work. Freeman (1997) and Boraas (2003) found positive relationships between higher levels of educational attainment and volunteering in U.S. data. Wilson (2012) explained that educated people belong to more organisations, have broader horizons and higher job status and this positively influences their volunteer rates. He noted that it seems that the selection effect of education is getting stronger in the U.S.

Work or employment status is also seen as an asset that enables people to volunteer. Wilson (2012) explained that jobs develop skills and attitudes that spill over into other activities. Hayghe (1991) found that seven out of ten U.S. volunteers also have a paid job. Pho (2008: 233) found that white-collar workers are more likely to volunteer compared to work blue collar workers and people who work in the service industry are more likely to volunteer than those in the manufacturing industry. More workers who work full time also work as volunteers.

Wilson (2012) also explained that there are links between labour force participation and volunteerism. People who have lost their jobs during a recession may use volunteering to prepare to re-enter the labour market. Volunteering can be a way to gain new skills and contacts, or to obtain work satisfaction even when one is not in paid employment.

This links to the investment model view that volunteerism can be a way to develop human capital. Hackl *et al.* (2007) identified a few investment motives of volunteers: (i) Volunteer work provides job training, (ii) Volunteer work provides access to networks, (iii) Volunteer work can be a way by which prospective employees can signal their skills and performance, (iv) Volunteer work can be a way to develop markets that later can be profitable, and then the above argument that (v) Volunteer work can be a way to counter decreases in the value of human capital (e.g. people who are temporarily unemployed).

Finally, income can also have an influence on volunteerism and this is where the consumption model of volunteerism is often mentioned. According to the consumption model the individual selects to spend time on paid work, leisure and volunteer work. An individual decides how much volunteer work she would do for her tastes and income restrictions. If the wage rate changes, there is an income effect and substitution effect on the number of hours the individual volunteer works. The substitution effect occurs if an increase in the wage rate leads to a decline in volunteer work. In other words, the opportunity cost of an hour's volunteering becomes more when wages for paid work increases and this

leads to a decrease in hours volunteered. The income effect occurs when the higher wage rate means that the individual can work fewer hours and earn the same income as before and then decide to supply more volunteer labour (Hackl *et al.* 2007). It is an empirical question which effect is the strongest. Vaillancourt (1994), Freeman (1997) and Hackl *et al.* (2007) found positive relationships between income and volunteer work. Carlin (2001) found that the net wage has a small negative impact on participation in volunteer work and Pho (2008) found that low- and medium-wage earners are less likely to volunteer. Wilson (2012) argued that one should consider the way in workers are compensated – when they are paid by the hour, the economic value of time may be clearer and workers will give less of it away.

In the South African context earlier work by Krugell (2010) examined the characteristics of volunteers using data from the 2007 Labour Force Survey. The results showed that volunteers in South Africa were mostly female and white. Most volunteers are well educated. Of those that are working, most are in permanent positions. The results showed that a greater proportion of people from high-income groups work as volunteers.

This paper aims to extend this literature and asks whether South African data fits this mold. It examines the links between individuals' resources and volunteerism, tests the consumption model and looks for confirmation of the investment model. The following section describes the data.

3 Data from the Volunteer Activities Survey

Large sample survey research on volunteers in South Africa has been limited by the availability of data. However, in the second quarter of 2010 Statistics South Africa undertook the first Volunteer Activities Survey. It was a household-based sample survey that collected information on the volunteer activities of individuals who were 15 years or older and lived in South Africa. This was a sub-sample of individuals who are members of households living in dwellings that take part in the Quarterly Labour Force Survey. The survey collected data on individual characteristics, a range of volunteer activities and the number of hours spent on volunteer work in the four weeks preceding the interview. This section provides an overview of the characteristics of the sample as a basis for the analysis reported in section 4.

The sample can firstly be characterised in terms of population group¹ and gender: 72.2 per cent of the respondents were Black/African, 11.7 per cent were Coloured, 2.4 per cent Indian/Asian and 13.7 per cent White. A cross-tabulation of population group and gender shows that the VAS reached more females than males and there are differences between the population groups. For example, 30.2 per cent of the Black respondents were males and 69.8 per cent females, while 40.8 per cent of the white respondents are male and 59.2 per cent female.

The average age of respondents is 43 years, with a standard deviation of 13.9. There are no age differences between the genders, but there are some

¹For the rest of the analysis the small Indian/Asian group was disregarded.

differences by population group. The average age is approximately 41 years for Black respondents, 46 years for Coloured respondents and 50 years for Whites.

In the VAS sample, 47 per cent of respondents were married and 7 per cent living together. The rest consisted of 29.7 per cent who have never been married, 5.9 per cent who were divorced or separated and 10.5 per cent widows or widowers.

It is also possible to describe the sample in terms of education and employment status, but it should first be noted that there are large differences between the average number of hours volunteered by population group. These differences may in turn be related to differences in education and employment status as per the individual assets view outlined in the previous section. Table 1 shows the differences in average number of hours volunteered per population group. It is clear that that Blacks volunteer on average almost double the number of hours that the other population groups do.

The aim of section 4 is to examine to what extent differences in individual resources can explain the above differences in volunteering, but first the sample can be characterised in terms of education and employment status.

Table 2 shows a cross-tabulation of education levels and population groups. Here the legacy of the Apartheid education system is clear. Approximately 26 per cent of Whites completed only secondary education and 57.7 per cent also completed tertiary education. The Black and Coloured respondents obtained significantly lower levels of education.

These inequalities between the population groups are also reflected in labour market outcomes. The survey asked respondents for whom they work and distinguished between the unemployed, those working for someone else for pay, employers, own-account workers and those working without pay in a household business. Cross-tabulation of employment statuses and the population groups shows that 61.6 per cent of Blacks are unemployed and 28.3 per cent works for someone else for pay. Approximately 8 per cent are own account workers. By comparison, 37.6 per cent of Whites are unemployed, 46 per cent works for someone else for pay and 10.5 per cent are employers. One should note that the definition of unemployed used in the VAS differs from both the narrow and broad definitions of StatsSA and includes for example discouraged workers, students and housewives, but the differences between the population groups are notable.

Keeping the characteristics of the dataset in mind section 4 presents some analysis of the links between the individuals' resources and volunteerism, and presents evidence for the consumption and investment models of volunteerism.

4 Empirical analysis

From the literature review in section 2 one would expect positive relationships between hours volunteered and being female, being better educated and being employed. The effect of income is unclear, but higher levels of income will be correlated with higher levels of education and being employed. The idea that

volunteering experience is an investment in human capital will be positively related to hours spent volunteering. The description of the data in section 3 showed that the white population has those higher levels of education and employment and one would expect them to out-volunteer everyone else. Yet this is not the case. Table 1 showed that on average they volunteer fewer hours. The question is, can volunteering be explained by differences in individual resources between and within the population groups? Table 3 presents the results of a simple linear regression model estimated by Ordinary Least Squares. The dependent variable is the natural log of hours volunteered and the table reports standardised beta coefficients and White's robust standard errors.

The results show that only two of the predictors are statistically significant. First, compared to the Black and Coloured population groups, being White is negatively and significantly associated with hours volunteered. In fact, Whites volunteer 8.5 per cent fewer hours compared to the Black and Coloured population groups. Second, when "others" received the benefit of the volunteer work, compared to household members, family or friends, there is a positive and significant association with hours volunteered – 9.4 per cent more hours are volunteered.

The other predictors are not statistically significant. Age is negatively associated with hours volunteered. People who are married or living together are compared to those that are single, divorced or widowed. Being married is negatively associated with hours volunteered, but living together has a positive association. Compared to people who did not complete secondary education, those that did, and those that also completed tertiary education, volunteer more hours, but these relationships are also statistically insignificant. People who reported that they received something in return for their volunteer work (cash, expenses, or in-kind payments), volunteered more hours than those who did not receive anything in return. Higher incomes are positively associated with hours volunteered, but not significantly so. In summary, being Black and helping others are the only significant predictors of hours volunteered. The coefficients of the education and income variables have positive signs, but are insignificant. Analysis of variance shows that the model as a whole is significant ($F= 4.720$), but the model explains very little of the variance in hours volunteered with an R-squared statistic of only 0.058.

A second step in this analysis would be to estimate separate models for the population groups, or to interact the population group dummy with the other variables in the model. This does not contribute much to the explanation of hours volunteered in terms of individual resources. In a sub-sample of only the Black and Coloured population, having completed secondary education, receiving something in return for the volunteer work and helping "others" are positively and significantly associated with hours volunteered. The model explains 11 per cent of the variance in hours volunteered. As an alternative to regression models, it might be useful to simply take a closer look at the data for the key individual resources.

The literature found positive relationships between higher levels of educational attainment and volunteering but section 3 showed that there are substan-

tial inequalities in educational attainment between the different race groups in South Africa. Analysis of variance for the sample as a whole shows that there is a positive and significant relationship between having completed secondary education and hours volunteered. Table 4 shows a breakdown of the hours volunteered per population group by education level and it is clear that Blacks who have completed secondary education contribute well above average volunteer hours.

Similarly, employment status has been argued to be an asset that enables people to volunteer. However, in the South African sample there is no simple positive relationship and interrelationships with education and income precluded this variable from the regression model. Table 5 shows that the unemployed as well as own-account workers work above average hours as volunteers.

Table 6 shows the results of a simple regression model of only monthly earnings on hours volunteered for each of the population groups. It is clear that in these separate regressions there is a very small negative and insignificant relationship between earnings and hours volunteered. The standardised coefficients indicate that this substitution effect is slightly bigger for the coloured and white groups than for the black group. In all three cases the model explains almost none of the variation in hours volunteered.

If differences in individual resources and income do not matter for volunteering, is there any evidence of investment-type behaviour? The VAS asked respondents if they received anything in return for their volunteer work and the regression models above provided ambiguous results for the link with hours volunteered. Table 7 shows a more detailed breakdown of the average number of hours volunteered per population group by employment status and what they reported they received in return for the volunteer work. It is clear that the interesting story here is of the Black population. The Coloured and White groups for the most part received nothing for their volunteer work. This is largely true for the Black population as well, but a small number of them reported receiving out of pocket expenses, food or transport. In these cases the unemployed volunteered significantly more hours than the average. However, as the table shows, the number of people involved is small and receiving rewards for volunteering cannot drive the differences in volunteering rates between the different population groups. As for the investment model, there were some unemployed Black volunteers (46 respondents) that indicated that they gained experience and skills – they also volunteered substantially more hours (53 hours on average).

A final question may be whether the differences in volunteering rates can be explained by the nature of the volunteer work. The regression results already showed that when “others” received the benefit of the volunteer work, compared to household members, family or friends, there is a positive and significant association with hours volunteered. It is not the case that the relatively less educated, more unemployed, poorer black population is mainly helping out friends and family in lieu of better social safety nets. Table 8 shows the average hours volunteered and who the volunteer activity was done for by population group.

The table shows that for all population groups the volunteer work was for

the benefit of “others”. Volunteering for the benefit of other relatives, or for friends, is limited and involved below-average hours.

5 Conclusion

This paper set out to examine the characteristics of volunteers in South Africa and how are these related to the number of hours that they spend as volunteers. Analysis of data from the Volunteer Activities Survey showed that that Blacks volunteer on average almost double the number of hours that the other population groups do, but this cannot be explained only by individual resources or assets such as gender, education, work status and income. Other factors play a role.

As such this shows the limits of large sample survey research and serves as a call for further research. There is a need to further examine the causes of volunteerism in terms of subjective dispositions, life course and social context using in-depth interviews, focus groups and life histories. There are a few examples in the South African context. Akintola (2011) examined the motivations underlying volunteering in AIDS care using data from qualitative interviews with 57 volunteer caregivers. The results show that the motivations are complex and 11 categories were identified – these range from concern about others and the community, to employment and career benefits. Hunter and Ross (2013) examined stipend-paid volunteering through focus groups and semi-structured interviews with 35 volunteers. They found that the volunteers were initially motivated by extrinsic factors such as the stipend, but persist due to a community service orientation. Further research matters for the role that volunteers can play in a time when social safety nets are weak and there are ever increasing demands on welfare organisations.

References

- [1] AKINTOLA, O. 2011. What motivates people to volunteer? The case of volunteer AIDS caregivers in faith-based organisations in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Health Policy and Planning*, 26 (10): 53-61.
- [2] BORAAS, S. 2003. Volunteerism in the United States. *Monthly Labour Review*, Aug.
- [3] CARLIN, P.S. 2001. Evidence on the volunteer labour supply of married women. *Southern Economic Journal*, 67(4): 901-824.
- [4] FOURIE, F. C.v.N. (2011). The South African unemployment debate: three worlds, South African Labour and Development Research Unit Working Paper Number 63. Cape Town: SALDRU, University of Cape Town.
- [5] FREEMAN, R.B. 1997. Working for nothing: The supply of volunteer labour. *Journal of Labour Economics*, 15(1): S140-S166.

- [6] HACKL, F., HALL, M. & PRUCKNER, G.J. 2007. Volunteering and income – The fallacy of the good samaritan? *Kyklos*, 60(1): 77-104.
- [7] HAYGHE, H.V. 1991. Volunteers in the U.S.: Who donates the time? *Monthly Labour Review*, Feb.
- [8] HUNTER, K. & ROSS, E. 2013. Stipend-paid volunteers in South Africa: A euphemism for low-paid work?, *Development Southern Africa*, 30:6, 743-759,
- [9] KRUGELL, W.F. 2010. Wie is die goeie Samaritane?: Eienskappe van vrywilligers in Suid-Afrika. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*, 50(2): 187-196.
- [10] PI, L., LIN, Y., CHEN, C., CHIU, J. & CHEN, Y. 2014. Serious leisure, motivation to volunteer and subjective well-being of volunteers in recreational events. *Social Indicators Research*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11205-013-0562-x>%I
- [11] PHO, Y.H. 2008. The value of volunteer labour and the factors influencing participation: Evidence for the United States from 2002 through 2005. *Review of Income and Wealth*, 54(2): 220-236.
- [12] ROTOLO, T., WILSON, J. & HUGHES, M.E. 2010. Homeownership and volunteering: An alternative approach to studying social inequality and civic engagement. *Sociological Forum*, 25, 570-587.
- [13] STATSSA, 2011. Volunteer Activities Survey, 2010/Statistics South Africa. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.
- [14] VAILLANCOURT, F. 1994. To volunteer or not: Canada, 1987. *Canadian Journal of Economics*, XXVI (4): 813-826.
- [15] WILSON, J. & MUSICK, M. 1997. Who cares? Towards an intergrated theory of volunteer work. *American Sociological Review*, 62(5): 694-713.
- [16] WILSON, J. 2012. Volunteerism research: A review essay. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 41(2): 176-212.
- [17] WITTENBERG, M. 2014. Analysis of employment, real wage and productivity trends in South Africa since 1994. Conditions of work and employment series, No.45, ISSN: 2226-8944; 2226-8952 (web pdf). International Labour Office; Inclusive Labour Markets, Labour Relations and Working Conditions Branch.

Table 1: Average number of hours volunteered per population group

Population groups		Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Blacks	Male	23.74	458	42.790
	Female	25.64	1059	41.177
	Total	25.07	1517	41.665
Coloured	Male	16.56	90	27.636
	Female	16.18	155	20.176
	Total	16.32	245	23.141
Whites	Male	12.99	117	15.761
	Female	14.35	170	20.309
	Total	13.80	287	18.572
Total	Male	20.87	665	37.750
	Female	23.20	1384	37.584
	Total	22.44	2049	37.644

Source: Authors' own calculations from VAS data

Table 2: Population group and education level

Education level		Population groups		
		Blacks	Coloured	Whites
No schooling	Count	95	10	11
	% within Education level	81.9%	8.6%	9.5%
	% within Population groups	6.3%	4.1%	3.8%
Less than primary completed	Count	220	17	1
	% within Education level	92.4%	7.1%	.4%
	% within Population groups	14.5%	7.0%	.3%
Primary completed	Count	106	16	0
	% within Education level	86.9%	13.1%	0.0%
	% within Population groups	7.0%	6.6%	0.0%
Secondary not completed	Count	589	103	35
	% within Education level	81.0%	14.2%	4.8%
	% within Population groups	38.9%	42.2%	12.2%
Secondary completed	Count	306	46	74
	% within Education level	71.8%	10.8%	17.4%
	% within Population groups	20.2%	18.9%	25.9%
Tertiary	Count	198	52	165
	% within Education level	47.7%	12.5%	39.8%
	% within Population groups	13.1%	21.3%	57.7%

Source: Authors' own calculations from VAS data

Table 3: Regression results: Predictors of hours volunteered

	Beta	Std. Error
(Constant)	1.983	0.342
White population	-0.085*	0.105
Age in years	-0.009	0.004
Married	-0.050	0.084
Living together	0.011	0.153
Education: Secondary education completed	0.034	0.115
Education: Tertiary education completed	0.015	0.114
Received something in return	0.183	0.157
“Others” received the help	0.094*	0.097
Ln of earnings	0.031	0.043

Source: Authors' own calculations from VAS data

Table 4: Average number of hours volunteered per population group by education level

	Blacks	Coloured	Whites
No schooling	21.5	30.4	10.0
Less than primary completed	21.2	12.2	8.0
Primary completed	19.8	12.9	0.0
Secondary not completed	24.9	17.5	16.2
Secondary completed	35.2	16.3	11.4
Tertiary	18.5	13.7	14.7
Total	25.0	16.3	13.8

Source: Authors' own calculations from VAS data

Table 5: Average number of hours volunteered per population group by employment status

	Blacks	Coloured	Whites
Unemployed	28.66	19.41	18.41
Working for someone else for pay	17.29	13.22	9.54
An employer	25.14	12	11.13
Own account worker	24.79	21.56	23.27
Working without pay in a household business	27.4	0	15
Total	25.07	16.32	13.8

Source: Authors' own calculations from VAS data

Table 6: Regression results: Volunteer hours and earnings

		Standardized Beta Coefficients	Std error
Blacks	(Constant)		1.818
	Monthly earnings for employees	-.015	.000
Coloured	(Constant)		1.180
	Monthly earnings for employees	-.029	.000
Whites	(Constant)		1.096
	Monthly earnings for employees	-.045	.000

Source: Authors' own calculations from VAS data

Table 7: Average number of hours volunteered per population group by what they received

What did you receive?	Work for whom	Blacks		Coloured	White
		Mean hours	N	Mean hours	Mean hours
Nothing	Unemployed	22.37	779	19.74	18.19
	Working for someone else for pay	15.14	389	13.03	9.52
	An employer	24.62	24	12	11.46
	Own account worker	21.42	95	21.56	23.27
	Working without pay in a household business	27.4	5		20
	Total	20.18	1292	16.32	13.77
Out of pocket expenses	Unemployed	70.1	59	21.5	
	Working for someone else for pay	38.92	12		
	An employer	7	2		
	Own account worker	30.56	9		
	Total	59.66	82	21.5	
Food	Unemployed	58	15	8	
	Working for someone else for pay	47.33	6	6.5	
	Own account worker	21	2		
Transport	Unemployed	61.67	6		
	Working for someone else for pay	8	1		
	Own account worker	7	1		
Clothes	Unemployed	85.33	3		
	Working for someone else for pay	20	1		
Shelter	Unemployed	2	1		
	Own account worker	16	1		
Experience / skills	Unemployed	58.37	46	17	
	Working for someone else for pay	24.18	11	6	1
	An employer	30	2		
	Own account worker	65	9		
	Working without pay in a household business				10

Source: Authors' own calculations from VAS data

Table 8: Average number of hours volunteered per population group by the beneficiaries

Population groups		Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Blacks	Other relatives	23.52	161	35.568
	Friends	13.87	272	29.242
	Other	28.11	1084	44.588
	Total	25.07	1517	41.665
Coloured	Other relatives	8.83	12	10.347
	Friends	17.76	25	34.984
	Other	16.58	208	21.911
	Total	16.32	245	23.141
Whites	Other relatives	17.50	12	14.866
	Friends	11.43	28	8.946
	Other	13.89	247	19.520
	Total	13.80	287	18.572
Total	Other relatives	22.18	185	33.679
	Friends	13.96	325	28.534
	Other	24.27	1539	39.512
	Total	22.44	2049	37.644

Source: Authors' own calculations from VAS data