

BLACK SASH SURVEY OF CROSSROADS

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT due to the Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU), who gave us access to the original questionnaires completed for their report, 'Sample Survey of Squatters in Crossroads, December 1977', by Johann Maree and Judith Cornell.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT AND GRATITUDE due to the six Crossroads women who conducted the interviews.

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INTRODUCTION

Crossroads is a large and well-established squatter community in Cape Town of about 20 000 inhabitants living in about 2 700 to 3 000 shacks.

It arose in early 1975 when inspectors of the Cape Divisional Council rounded up African families from a number of camps scattered around the fringes of Greater Cape Town, and reputedly told them that they could build again at Crossroads. It was proclaimed an emergency camp in June 1976. No more shacks were then allowed to be built, thus freezing the number of shacks at about 3 000. The Cape Divisional Council started providing certain basic services, (water outlets, and the removal of garbage and night-soil), and has been charging a monthly due per shack to cover costs. Initially, the due was R10,00 per month, but since August 1977 it has been R7,00 per month. A shack is liable to be demolished if the due is not forthcoming. For a more substantial account of the history of Crossroads, the reader is referred to the Athlone Advice Office Annual Reports of 1976 - 1977 and 1977 - 1978.

The Athlone Advice Office has kept in close contact with the residents of Crossroads since March 1975. Individuals and delegates of the two Crossroads Committees have kept the Office in touch with day-to-day problems, many of which have then been discussed with officials and elected members of the Divisional Council.

Over the period March 1975 to December 1977, 900 Crossroads cases were handled with the aid of the experienced African interpreters who work full-time for the Advice Office.

The Black Sash survey was undertaken in order to up-date the individual cases on record at the Advice Office, and to provide some general information about the residents of Crossroads who have legal rights to remain in Cape Town since they have 'qualified' under Section 10(1)(a) or 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act as amended. ≠

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≠ Footnote : Section 10(1) of the Urban Areas Act as amended reads as follows :-

No Bantu shall remain for more than 72 hours in a prescribed area unless he produces proof in the manner prescribed that -

- a) he has, since birth, resided continuously in such area ; or
- b) he has worked continuously in such area for one employer for a period of not less than ten years or has lawfully resided continuously in such area for a period of not less than fifteen years and has thereafter continued to reside in such area and is not employed outside such area and has not during either period or thereafter been sentenced to a fine exceeding R100 or to imprisonment for a period exceeding 6 months.

It is hoped that this survey will complement two other surveys of Crossroads conducted recently. They are :-

- i) 'Sample Survey of Squatters in Crossroads', compiled by Johann Maree and Judith Cornell, SALDRU Working Paper No. 17, December 1977 ;
- ii) 'Nyanga and Crossroads - Some Aspects of Social and Economic Activity', by Weichel, Smith and Putterill, Urban Problems Research Unit, University of Cape Town, February 1978.

METHODOLOGY

The researchers scanned the Advice Office case sheets, (Form A, attached at end of report), and the SALDRU questionnaires, using Form B to list each case where at least one adult was found to be 'qualified'.

In most cases, such a case involved a family, i.e., husband, wife and children. Very occasionally, it involved a divorced or widowed woman with children, or a single man or single woman. Thus, a case has been regarded as a family or HOUSEHOLD.

For each 'qualified' household, a questionnaire, (Form C) was drawn up by the researchers and completed by the interviewers who were members of the Crossroads community. There were 6 interviewers, and they worked over a period of 10 days, ending 3 February 1978. They were not able to trace all households owing to the re-numbering of shacks in June 1976 ; the movement of a household, either to other shacks, or the townships, or even out of Cape Town ; or the temporary absence of the householder during the interviewing period.

Each questionnaire was checked upon being returned. Only information that was considered reliable was accepted for analysis.

Given a generous margin of error, (approx. 5-10%), the results are likely to be representative of Crossroads as a whole. The figures would be rough estimates only, but would compare favourably with other figures available.

ANALYSIS /

ANALYSIS

Of the 900 Advice Office case sheets scanned, 193 were found to be 'qualified' cases, and 69 of these were subsequently traced and interviewed in the follow-up study in January and February 1978.

Of the 353 SALDRU sample survey cases, 95 were found to be 'qualified' and 55 were traced, giving a total of 124 cases traced.

LEGAL STATUS :

From the 900 cases collected over a period of 3 years from March 1975 to December 1977, it was found that 21% qualified, the vast majority under Section 10(1)(b).

<u>Table 1 Households with at least one 'qualified' adult</u>		
	<u>Count</u>	<u>%</u>
Both man and woman 'qualified'	24	3
Man only 'qualified'	152	16
Woman only 'qualified'	<u>17</u>	<u>2</u>
	193	21

From the 353 SALDRU cases collected in December 1977, the following table of figures is obtained :

<u>Table 2 Households with at least one 'qualified' adult</u>		
	<u>Count</u>	<u>%</u>
Both man and woman 'qualified'	15	6
Man only 'qualified'	70	20
Woman only 'qualified'	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>
	95	27

From the 124 cases in the follow-up study, i.e., those cases traced by the interviewers in January - February 1978 :

<u>Table 3 Breakdown of adult 'qualified'</u>		
	<u>Count</u>	<u>%</u>
Both man and woman 'qualified'	4	3
Only man 'qualified'	115	93
Only woman 'qualified'	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	124	100

MARITAL STATUS :

Table 4 indicates that 89% of the 'qualified' male householders were not only married, but living with their wives. The marriage may have been according to tribal custom, civil law or Christian rites. There were no cases of a man having more than one woman living with him.

There were 5 cases traced where the 'qualified' householder was female ; in 4 of these cases, she had been widowed or divorced ; in 1, married to a man not 'qualified' to be in Cape Town. These 5 cases are not included in the Table below.

<u>Table 4 Marital status of 'qualified' males</u>				
	<u>Advice Office cases</u>	<u>SALDRU cases</u>	<u>Total count</u>	<u>%</u>
Married and living with wife	60	46	106	89
Living with girlfriend	3	3	6	5
Living alone	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	64	55	119	100

EMPLOYMENT :

<u>Table 5 Employment situation of 'qualified' men</u>				
	<u>Advice Office cases</u>	<u>SALDRU cases</u>	<u>Total Count</u>	<u>%</u>
Legally employed	58	51	109	92
Disability grant/pension	3	1	4	3
Unemployed/looking for work	2	1	3	2
Self-employed	1	-	1	1
Not known	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	64	55	119	100

DATE /

DATE OF ENTRY INTO CAPE TOWN :

Table 6 provides a breakdown of the date of entry of those men qualified under Section 10(1)(b). Sufficiently reliable information was available only for some of the Advice Office cases traced.

<u>Table 6</u>	<u>Registered date of entry into Cape Town</u>	<u>Total Count</u>	<u>%</u>
	1940 - 1949	26	54
	1950 - 1959	21	44
	1960 - 1969	1	2
	Since 1970	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
		48	100

PAYMENT OF DUES TO THE CAPE DIVISIONAL COUNCIL :

Table 7 indicates that 58% of the sample were up-to-date with their payments. For every case considered in the table, the interviewer saw the most recent receipt issued by the Crossroads office of the Cape Divisional Council, and recorded the date of payment and the name in which the receipt was made out, (i.e., the name of the registered owner of the shack).

In the vast majority of cases, the householder was found to be the registered owner of the shack.

There were a few cases of arrears payment. The date of payment of these cases was regarded as not known.

<u>Table 7</u>	<u>Payment of Dues</u>	<u>Advice Office Cases</u>	<u>SALDRU cases</u>	<u>Total Count</u>	<u>%</u>
	Up-to-date	35	37	72	58
	1 month overdue	14	10	24	20
	2 to 3 months overdue	7	6	13	10
	More than 3 months overdue	6	1	7	6
	Not known	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
		69	55	124	100

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Black Sash has on record information concerning 900 of the total approx. 3 000 households in Crossroads, which amounts to about 30% of all households. This is a very large sample, although it must be borne in mind that it spans a period of three years, (1975 - 1977). 21% of this sample were found to be 'qualified' to remain in Cape Town, mostly under Section 10(1)(b) of the Act, and it is reasonable to assume that at least 20% of all Crossroads householders are 'qualified'. The SALDRU Report, (P.2 and P.9, Table 2), gave a higher estimate, viz., 27%. It estimated that a further 23% were contract workers, thus 50% of all householders were legally in Cape Town.

It appears that in only about 3% of the cases are both husband and wife 'qualified', and thus eligible under present government policy for family housing. This means that should Crossroads be demolished, only about 100 families will be offered alternative accommodation, and yet there must be at least another 500 households in which the man not only qualifies to remain in Cape Town, but has spent his whole working life in Cape Town.

At least 89% of the 'qualified' male householders are married and living with their wives. They have chosen to live in shacks rather than in the bachelor quarters to which they are entitled in Langa, Nyanga or Guguletu. It is interesting to note from the SALDRU Report, (P.16, Table 12), that although the woman might not be formally qualified to live in Cape Town, the average period of residence was approx. 12 years. For men, both 'qualified' and not 'qualified', the average period of residence in Cape Town was approx. 18 years.

The vast majority of 'qualified' men have lived and worked in Cape Town for well over 18 years. Table 6 in this report suggests that as many as 54% have been in Cape Town continuously since the 1940's. It is appalling to think that such men are still unable to live a family existence unless they squat illegally in places such as Crossroads.

It is expected that most 'qualified' men are either employed or on pension, but given the present rate of unemployment in Cape Town, it is perhaps surprising to find such a high percentage, (92%), at present legally employed in the formal sector. Even more surprising are the SALDRU figures for all heads of household in Crossroads, (P.3 and P.10, Table 3) : 11% employed informally (i.e., self-employed), 81% employed in formal (wage) sector ; and a further 2% employed either formally or informally, or both. Thus it was estimated that only 6% of the breadwinners were unemployed.

From the sample in the follow-up study it was found that 58% of the house-owners were up-to-date with their payment of dues as at 31 January 1978 ; a further 20% were 1 month overdue, leaving only 22% more than 1 month overdue. Since the recent demolitions at Modderdan, Werkgenot and Unibell, there has been a sense of insecurity prevalent at Crossroads which would partly explain the failure to keep up-to-date with dues payment. We should like to suggest that should security of tenure be guaranteed, overdue dues would be forthcoming, especially from the 'qualified' householders.

The security of the 20 000 inhabitants of Crossroads remains tenuous, yet the men are in Cape Town to work, and are living with their families for perfectly normal reasons. Crossroads has solved not only the housing problem, but also the stresses and strains of divided families. For three years now the men have lived a normal family life as a result of their own efforts, and the contribution of the Cape Divisional Council. It would be a tragedy indeed if so much constructive effort were to be destroyed by the demolition of Crossroads, and the subsequent dissolution of a self-supporting, law-abiding and close-knit community.

BLACK SASH - CAPE WESTERN REGION

March 1978.

SQUATTERS

DATE.....

TRAVEL DOC. NO.

INTERVIEWER.....

REF. NO.....

GROUP NO.....

HOSPITAL CARD.....

AREA & SHACK NO.....

SURNAME.....FIRST NAMES.....

DATE & PLACE OF BIRTH.....

FIRST ENTRY INTO AREA.....BREAKS.....

HISTORY OF RESIDENCE.....

MARRIAGE (DATE, FORM & PLACE).....

NO. OF CHILDREN, BIRTHPLACE, WHEREABOUTS, AGES, SEXES, MEDICAL PROBLEMS.....

HOMELANDS ADDRESS.....

PRESENT OR LAST EMPLOYER.....

ENDORSEMENT IN REF. BOOK.....

ZONES.....

HUSBAND (OR WIFE'S) NAME.....TRAVEL DOC. NO.....

" BIRTHPLACE & DATE.....REF. BOOK NO.....

" ADDRESS.....HOSPITAL CARD.....

" WHEREABOUTS

DATE OF ENTRY.....BREAKS.....

EMPLOYER.....

REASON FOR COMING TO AREA.....

REASON FOR COMING TO ADVICE OFFICE.....

ARRESTS: WHO? WHERE? WHEN? CHARGE? APPEARED? REMANDED?.....

.....

ATHLONE ADVICE OFFICE
5 Long Street, Mowbray

CASESHEET INFORMATION

SHACK NO
[]

DATE OF CASE [1975] [1976] [1977]

NAME OF MAN [] []

NAME OF WOMAN [] []

MARRIAGE DATE [9] [] TRIBAL [] CHRISTIAN [] NOT MARRIED []

LEGAL POSITION OF MAN [] BORNER [] QUALIFIED [] ILLEGAL [] CONTRACT []

LEGAL POSITION OF WOMAN [] BORNER [] QUALIFIED [] ILLEGAL []

NEW INFORMATION

NAME OF INTERVIEWER
[]

DATE OF INTERVIEW .../.../78

CASESHEET MAN OR WOMAN FOUND? [] YES [] NO

IF NO

WHEREABOUTS OF CASESHEET MAN

.....

WHEREABOUTS OF CASESHEET WOMAN

.....

IF YES

SHACK NO.
[]

EMPLOYMENT OF MAN [] LEGAL

[] ILLEGAL [] LOOKING FOR WORK [] PENSION SICK [] SELF EMPLOYED

EMPLOYMAN OF WOMAN [] LEGAL

[] ILLEGAL [] LOOKING FOR WORK [] PENSION SICK [] SELF EMPLOYED

THE LAST RECEIPT FOR RENT IS DATED .../.../... IN THE

NAME OF