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Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit

SAMPLE SURVEY OF SQUATTERS
IN CROSSROADS, DECEMBER 1977

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Preface

This survey was initiated by the Concerned Citizens' Action Committee and owes an enormous amount to Len Papenfus and Jacqui Malcolm for its successful completion. Particularly Len played a great part in co-ordinating activities and ensuring that the survey kept its momentum.

At the same time the survey was also a community effort and we are indebted to many people. Without being able to mention all the names, we want to express our gratitude to Peter Cloete who was principally involved in drawing up and printing the questionnaire (in his personal capacity), many women from the Black Sash who helped to supervise the interviewing and to code the completed questionnaires. In particular Barbara Baines and Faith Plaut put in many hard hours. We also wish to thank Sister Benigna for her most helpful and caring role. Last, but by no means least, we owe our gratitude to the many women and men of Cross Roads who, in high spirits and with much humour, conducted the interviews. Their example was an inspiration to the rest of us.

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REPORTIntroduction

The survey was carried out from 4 to 11 December, 1977 and was drawn from a random sample of 288 houses with a total of 1 785 residents comprising about 8,5-10% of the Cross Roads population. The results are therefore likely to be representative of Cross Roads as a whole. The interviews were mostly done by residents living in the community who had been trained before the interviewing took place. Each questionnaire was checked upon being returned to ensure that it was filled in correctly. Naturally, many errors escaped the notice of checkers and were only picked up when the information was coded. Only information that was considered reliable was accepted for coding and analysis. In spite of that a survey of this nature is bound to contain errors and omissions.

Information drawn from the questionnaire is contained in Tables 1 to 17. The contents of these Tables are discussed below under the following major headings: analysis of residents of houses (Table 1), legal status of residents (Table 2), employment and income situation (Tables 3-5), former residences and length of stay in Cape Town Region of Cross Roads inhabitants (Tables 6-13), residential areas before coming to Cape Town Region (Tables 14-15), and past demolition experiences and intentions in case of future demolition (Tables 16-17).

Analysis of Residents of Houses (Table 1).

The average number of residents per house is 6,2 of which 3,2 are adults and 3,0 are children. Seventy seven per cent of the houses have 1 family living in them and 22% have 2 families. There are extremely few single boarders. Although 100% of the families in the sample were exclusively African, the residents maintain that there are some mixed (African and "Coloured") families living in Cross Roads. The average size of the families actually living in Cross Roads is less than 5, smaller than is usually assumed.

Legal Status of Residents (Table 2).

Fifty per cent of the heads of household (HH) qualify to be legally in the area. A particular noteworthy fact is that 22,1% of all heads of households (or 44% of HH qualifying to be in the area) have Section 10(i) (b) rights which means that they have most likely been in the Cape Town region for at least 19 years. This is because qualification under Section 10(i) (b) requires that a person had to work 10 years continuously for the same employer or reside in the area for 15 years continuously before 1968¹. Such men are not allowed to have their wives living with them unless their wives qualify in their own right to be in the area and there is suitable accommodation available. Given the housing shortage for Africans it is therefore understandable why men qualifying under Section 10(i) (b) take to squatting.

The remaining half of the heads of household are in the area without permission or they did not specify their legal status. Usually, when people were unwilling to specify their legal status or were vague about it, it was because they did not qualify to be in the area.

Only 9,3% of the spouses definitely qualified to be in the area. Thus the overwhelming proportion or 90,7% were either in the area without permission or did not clarify their legal status.

A large proportion, 21,8% of children above the age of 16 years were born in the area. This partly reflects the fact that many of the spouses, 17,9%, have been in the Cape Town Region for more than 16 years (Table 13).

1. For details of this legislation and how it affects Africans, see Black Sash (1971), pp.3-12.

It is possible that some of the children born in Cape Town have not managed to acquire borner status because they might, for instance, have been raised by a relative in Transkei or gone to school there.

The interviewers did not demand to see the reference books of persons interviewed in order not to lose their confidence. Nonetheless the interviewers were carefully instructed not to classify people as borner or 10(i)(b)'s until they had assured themselves that it could reasonably be true by asking numerous clarifying questions. The results obtained show it is unlikely that they are biased in favour of those qualifying to be in the area.

Employment and Income Situation (Tables 3 - 5).

As an innovation to usual employment figures, these Tables include employment in the informal sector and the income derived from such employment. The informal sector includes a variety of self-employment activities in Cross Roads itself. These activities include domestic production of foodstuffs and clothing items, self-run shops selling essential requirements such as vegetables and fuel to the community and the provision of services such as car repairing.²

Eighty one per cent of the heads of household in the labour force are employed in the formal (wage) sector, 11,2% in the informal sector and 1,8% in one or other sector or both. Thus only 6% of the heads of household are unemployed. Note that if the informal sector had been omitted the unemployment rate would have appeared to be 17,2%.

The importance of including the informal sector becomes more apparent when considering incomes. Heads of household employed in the informal sector earn R28,3 per week on average whereas those employed in the formal sector earn R24,3 per week.

Spouses appear to earn much lower incomes. They receive R9,5 per week. The average weekly income of all adults in the sample for whom figures were available is R21,3.

2. At the time of writing Kim Weichel and Leonard Smith of the Urban Problems Research Unit (UPRU) of the University of Cape Town are completing a comprehensive study of the Cross Roads community which includes an examination of the informal sector.

Figures were only available for 403 or 44% of adults in the sample. Income figures of many families and boarders were omitted. This could either be because they were receiving no income at all (which seems unlikely) or they were unwilling to divulge their earnings. The results may therefore be biased, but it is difficult to say which way they are biased without knowing how many income figures are missing and what the missing figures are. The total weekly income of a family with 1,2 breadwinners on average is R24,1.

Former Residences and Length of Stay in Cape Town Region (Tables 6-13).

Tables 6 to 9 indicate the places where the heads of households and spouses were living immediately before moving to Cross Roads.

Table 9 indicates that only 2% of heads of households and 17% of spouses had come to Cross Roads directly from outside the Cape Town Region which is defined as the magisterial districts of Bellville, Cape, Simonstown and Wynberg. Fifty four per cent of the heads of household and 39% of the spouses moved from the African townships while almost a third of both the heads of households (30%) and spouses (31%) had been squatting elsewhere prior to moving into Cross Roads.

Table 8 indicates that 70% of the 50 heads of household whose wives did come to Cross Roads from outside the Cape Town Region had been living in the African townships before. Table 7 shows an interesting result: in the case of families where the head of household and spouse had both been living in the Region before, but were separated,, only 14% of the heads of households as opposed to 47% of the spouses were living in squatter areas.

Table 6 indicates that 86% of the families that had been living together in the African townships came from Nyanga and Guguletu. Of those who were living in squatter areas before moving to Cross Roads, 30% lived in Brown's Camp, 13% each in Elsie's River and Philipppi, 12% in Steenberg and 9% in Vrygrond. These results form an interesting contrast with the Unibell squatters. Of those families living together in townships before, 56% had moved from Langa to Unibell. In the case where families were squatting together, 28% of the families had come from Werkgenot to Unibell and 18% from Kraaifontein.³ These comparisons suggest that the proximity of neighbouring residential areas

3. J. Maree and J. Cornell (1977), Tables 1 and 4.

play a great part in determining where families decide to live. The closer the area is, the greater the proportion of squatters who came from that area. Werkgenot and Brown's Camp provide the most extreme examples. No former Werkgenot squatters were found in Cross Roads whereas no former Brown's Camp squatters were found in Unibell. Yet the largest proportion of squatters in Cross Roads comes from Brown's Camp and the largest proportion in Unibell comes from Werkgenot. The reason is clear: Werkgenot is very close to Unibell and Brown's Camp is very close to Cross Roads.

Tables 10 and 11 provide an historical analysis of all the areas in which the heads of household and spouses had lived in before moving to Cross Roads. Table 10.a shows that 65% of heads of households who had lived in squatter areas before, had lived in one squatter area, 27% in two, 6% in three and 2% in four squatter areas before moving to Cross Roads. The average length of time that had been spent in other squatter areas is 6,4 years.

Table 10.d pulls together all the information on former accommodation of heads of households in the Cape Town region. It shows that 31% of the 325 heads of household had lived in one residential area, 28% in two, 27% in three and the remaining 14% in four to six previous areas before moving to Cross Roads. As the number of previous residences increases so does the average length of time stayed in the Cape Town Region from 10,6 years for one previous residence to 25,9 years for six former residences. The average length of time in the Region spent by heads of households before moving to Cross Roads is 15,8 years. Fifty seven per cent of that time was spent in African townships and 18,1% in other squatter areas.

Table 11.d shows that 46% of the 203 spouses for whom information was available had lived in one other residential area, 26% in two, 20% in three, and the remaining 7% in four to six residential areas before moving to Cross Roads. The average length of time spent in the Cape Town Region increases from 6,0 years for those spouses who had lived in one residence before to 20,8 years for those who had previously lived in six different areas. The average length of time spent by the spouses before moving to Cross Roads is 9,3 years of which 56,2% was spent in the African townships, 21,1% in squatter areas and 18,5% in other residential areas.

This information, together with the fact that 82% of the spouses had lived elsewhere in the Cape Town Region before moving to Cross Roads (Table 9), strongly contradicts the view that there was virtually no African squatting before Easter 1975 and that the spouses had only come into the Region once word went out that it was possible to squat at Cross Roads.

Table 12 shows that the average length of time of heads of household in the Cape Town Region (including Cross Roads) is 18,2 years and of the spouses is 11,7 years. Only 6,8% of the heads of households had been in the Region for less than 4 years and 12,6% of the spouses had been here for less than 2 years (Table 13). On the other hand, half of the heads of households and 17,9% of the spouses had lived in the Cape Town Region for longer than 16 years. Furthermore 22,3% of the spouses had been in the Region from 8 to 16 years and 24,6% from 4 to 8 years. This again bears out the points that the spouses have been in the Region for a long time even though they do not have formal permission to be in the area.

Residential Areas Before Moving to Cape Town Region (Tables 14 and 15).

The regions which heads of households and spouses came from before moving into the Cape Town Region are indicated in Tables 14 and 15. The majority moved here from Transkei: 67% of the heads of household and 70% of the spouses were living in Transkei before coming to Cape Town. Reasonably large proportions had come from different parts of the Cape Province as well: 20,5% of the heads of household and 13,7% of the spouses had moved to the Cape Town Region from the Eastern, Central and Western Cape regions. (These regions are described in a footnote to Table 14). It is thus not the case that all the heads of households and spouses come from a "homeland".

Past Demolition Experiences and Future Intentions (Tables 16 and 17).

Thirty four per cent of the families interviewed had their previous squatter houses demolished before: 13,9% of the families had one house demolished, 9,6% two houses, 8,2% three houses and the rest 4 or more houses. More than half the families (54,1%) have as yet not been faced with such an experience.

The squatter families were asked, "In the event of your house being demolished, what will you do?". The vast majority, 72%, said they intended to erect a house elsewhere in the Cape Town Region. Only 2,3% said they would send their wives and children away and 0,6% that the whole family would leave Cape Town. Quite a large proportion, 15,6% did not answer or did not know what they would do.

Conclusions

Compared with the Unibell residents, the Cross Roads residents appear to be a more settled Cape Town community. The legal statuses of the heads of households and spouses in Unibell and Cross Roads are roughly similar, but the Cross Roads community have been living in the Cape Town Region for a considerably longer time than the Unibell community even though the Unibell residents themselves have been here a considerable period of time as well. Whereas the Unibell heads of households have been in the Region for 12,6 years on average, the Cross Roads heads of households have been here for 18,2 years and, whereas the Unibell spouses have been in the Region for 5,2 years on average, the Cross Roads spouses have been here for 11,7 years.

The employment and income situation demonstrates why the Cross Roads residents are in the Cape Town Region in the first place, namely to earn money and make a living. No less than 94% of the heads of households are employed with the informal sector making an important contribution to both employment and the income of families. This needs to be contrasted to Transkei where most of the families came from and where the opportunities for formal and informal sector activities are virtually nil.⁴ It is thus sheer economic necessity that drives Africans from Transkei and other rural areas to the Cape Town Region where opportunities do exist for making a living. It is in the light of this that the intention of the overwhelming majority of families to remain in Cape Town in the event of their houses being demolished has to be seen. For the same reason the demolition of African squatter housing will not solve any problems. It will merely displace most of the residents from the demolished squatter area to other residential areas and put an added strain on already overcrowded accommodation.

1. See G. Ellis, D. Hendrie, A. Kooy and J. Maree (1977), pp.96-105, for detailed and carefully documented confirmation of this statement.

References

Black Sash (1974), Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Influx Control, Sash vol. 16, no. 8, February 1974.

G. Ellis, D. Hendrie, A. Kooy and J. Maree (1977), The Squatter Problem in the Western Cape, Some Causes and Remedies, South African Institute of Race Relations.

J. Maree and J. Cornell (1977), Sample Survey of Squatters in Unibell, September 1977, Saldru Working Paper No. 14, University of Cape Town.

TABLE 1

Analysis of Residents of Houses

Average no. of residents per house	6,2
" " " adults ¹ per house	3,2
" " " male adults per house	1,4
" " " female adults per house	1,8
" " " children ²	3,0
No. of male adults per female adult	0,8
" " " children per female child	0,8
Average no. of families per house	1,2
Per cent of houses with one family	77,4%
" " " " " two families	22,2%
" " " " " three families	0,3%
Average no. of members per family	4,9
" " " sons above 16 years per family	0,3
" " " daughters above 16 years per family	0,4
" " " children less than 16 years	2,4
Per cent of families with single heads of household	14,7%
Per cent of single heads of household who are female	96,2%
Average no. of adult boarders per house	0,1
Average no. of boarders under 16 per house	0,03
Per cent African families	100%
No. of Houses in Survey	288

1. Adults include children who are 16 years and older.
2. Children are younger than 16 years.

TABLE 2

Legal Status of Residents

	%	Head of Household	Spouse	Children above 16 Years	Boarders	All Adult residents
Borners	%	4,8	5,3	21,8	7,5	9,4
10(1) (b)	%	22,1	4,0	0,4	7,5	10,1
Contract workers	%	23,2	0,0	0,9	2,5	9,2
Without Permit	%	38,5	78,7	23,9	52,5	48,5
Other/unspecified	%	11,3	12,0	53,0	30,0	22,8
Total	%	100,0 ¹	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
No. of adult residents		353	301	234	40	928

1. Figures do not add up to 100,0 because of rounding error.

TABLE 3

• Employment Situation

	Head of Household	Spouse	Children above 16 years	Boarders	All Categories
	%	%	%	%	%
Formal Sector only:					
At least 5 full days per week %	73,4	25,8	58,5	60,0	62,1
Less than 5 full days per week %	7,6	20,6	1,9	10,0	9,6
Informal Sector only:					
Self-employed in Crossroads %	11,2	21,6	7,5	5,0	12,6
Formal and/or Informal Sectors:					
At least 5 full days per week and self-employed %	0,6				0,4
Less than 5 full days per week and self-employed %	1,2	2,1			1,2
Unemployed workseeker %	6,0	30,2	32,1	25,0	14,2
Total Labour Force %	100,0	100,0 ¹	100,0	100,0	100,0 ¹
No. of Labour Force	331	97	53	20	501
Participation Rate	0,9	0,3	0,2	0,5	0,5
No. of Pensioners or Disabled	4	0	0	3	7
% of adult residents %	1,1			7,5	0,8

1. Figures do not add up to 100,0 because of rounding error.

TABLE 4 Average Weekly Income of Residents

		Head of Household	Spouse	Children above 16 years	Boarders	All Categories
Income from Formal sector only	R	24,3	9,8	18,1	18,1	21,8
Income from Informal sector only	R	28,3	9,2	13,3		21,1
Income from Formal and/or Informal sector	R	14,8	4,5			12,3
Total Earnings per week	R	24,6	9,5	17,5	18,1	21,5
Allowances (pensions etc.)	R	2,3				2,3
Total Income per week	R	24,3	9,5	17,5	18,1	21,3
No. of people in sample		301	64	34	7	406

1. Calculations are based on the number of workers whose earnings were specified. The calculations all reflect average weekly earnings. Therefore "Total earnings" is the average weekly earnings of all employees in the formal and informal sectors. Likewise "Total Income" is the average weekly income of all formal and informal sector employees and people receiving allowances.

TABLE 5 Employment and Income of Families

	Average per Family
No. working at least 5 full days per week	0,8
No. working less than 5 full days per week	0,1
No. self-employed in Crossroads	0,2
No. working at least 5 full days p.w. and self-employed	0,01
No. working less than 5 full days p.w. and self-employed	0,02
Total members of family working	1,2
No. of unemployed workseekers	0,2
No. of pensioners and disabled	0,01
Weekly earnings from formal sector only	R20,2
Weekly earnings from informal sector only	R 3,6
Weekly earnings from formal and/or informal sectors	R 0,3
Total weekly earnings	R24,1
Weekly allowances (pensions etc.) ¹	R 0,03
Total weekly income	R24,1
Weekly income per capita	R 4,9

1. Monthly allowances were converted to weekly allowances by dividing by 4,3.

TABLE 6

Prior Residential Area in Cape Town Region of
Families with Husbands and Spouses Living Together

a. Squatter Areas

	Air- port	Brown's Camp	Elsies River	Kraai- fontein	KTC	Modder- dam	Steen- berg	Vry- grond	Phil- ippi	Unspeci- fied	Total
No. of Families	2	25	11	4	6	2	10	7	11	5	83
% of Families %	2	30	13	5	7	2	12	9	13	6	100 ¹

b. African Townships

	Langa	Nyanga	Guguletu	Total
No. of Families	16	34	61	111
% of Families %	14	31	55	100

c. Other Residential Areas²

Area	Bellville	Cape	Simons- town	Wynberg	Outside Cape Town Region	Total
No. of Families	10	4	2	18	5	39
% of Families %	26	10	5	46	13	100

d. All Areas

	Squatter Area	African Township	Other Cape Town Region	Outside Cape Town Region	Total
No. of Families	83	111	34	5	233
% of Families %	36	48	15	2	100 ¹
% of All Families in sample %	26	35	11	2	73

1. Figures do not add up to 100 because of rounding error.
2. These areas are the Bellville, Cape, Simonstown and Wynberg magisterial districts which together comprise the "Cape Town Region". Outside Cape Town Region is mainly Transkei and Eastern Cape.

TABLE 7

Prior Residential Area in Cape Town Region with Husbands
and Spouses not Living Together

	Squatter Area	African Township	Other Cape Town Region	Total
No. of Household	5	27	4	36
% of Household %	14	75	11	100
% of All House- holds in sample %	2	8	1	11
No. of Spouses	17	15	4	36
% of Spouses %	47	42	11	100
% of all Spouses in sample %	5	5	1	11

TABLE 8

Prior Residential Area of Heads of Household with
Spouses Living Outside Cape Town Region

	Squatter Area	African Township	Other Cape Town Region	Total
No. of Head of HH	8	35	7	50
% of " " " %	16	70	14	100
% of all HH in sample %	3	11	2	16

TABLE 9

Prior Residential Area of All Heads of Household and Spouses¹

	Squatter Area	African Township	Other Cape Town Region	Outside Cape Town Region	Total
No. of HH	96	173	45	5	319
% of HH %	30	54	14	2	100
No. of Spouses	100	126	38	55	319
% of Spouses %	31	39	12	17	100 ²

1. This Table is composed from Tables 6.d, 7 and 8.

2. Figures do not add up to 100 because of rounding error.

TABLE 11

Former Residences of Spouses in Cape Town Regiona. Squatter Areas

No. of Former Squatter Areas	1	2	3	4	Total
No. of Spouses	65	24	3	2	94
% of Spouses	69	26	3	2	100
Average period in Squatter Areas (years)	3,4	5,7	8,0	8,3	4,2

b. African Townships

No. of Former African Townships	1	2	3	4	Total
No. of Spouses	97	33	3	1	134
% of Spouses	72	25	2	1	100
Average period in Townships (years)	6,9	9,8	17,7	18,0	7,9

c. Other Residential Areas

No. of Former Residential Areas	1	2	Total
No. of Spouses	57	9	66
% of Spouses	86	14	100
Average period in Residential Areas (years)	5,0	7,0	5,3

d. All Former Residences

No. of Former Residences	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
No. of Spouses	93	53	41	11	3	2	203
% of Spouses	46	26	20	5	1	1	100 ¹
Average period in Residences (years)	6,0	10,0	12,2	19,3	16,3	20,8	9,3
% of Residential period spent in:							
Squatter Areas	15,0	22,7	22,9	21,1	49,0	29,1	21,1
African Townships	68,7	54,1	50,5	51,2	10,2	64,9	56,2
Other Residential Areas	16,3	16,5	21,4	21,1	40,8	0,0	18,5
Unspecified	0,0	6,7	5,1	6,6	0,0	6,0	4,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0 ¹	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0 ¹

1. Figures do not add up to 100,0 because of rounding error.

TABLE 12

Average Period of Residence in Cape Town Region

	Head of Household	Spouse
Period in Cross Roads (years)	2,4	2,4
Period in Former Residences (years)	15,8	9,3
Total Period in Region (years)	18,2	11,7
No. of HH	349	325
No. of Spouses	296	203

TABLE 13

Distribution of Period of Residence in Cape Town Region

	0-1 years	-2	-4	-8	-16	longer than 16 years	Unspecified	All Periods
No. of Heads of Households	2	3	19	42	97	176	14	353
% of HH	0,6	0,8	5,4	11,9	27,5	49,9	4,0	100,0
No. of Spouses	15	23	57	74	67	54	11	301
% of Spouses	5,0	7,6	18,9	24,6	22,3	17,9	3,7	100,0
Total	17	26	76	116	164	230	25	654
%	2,6	4,0	11,6	17,7	25,1	35,2	3,8	100,0

1. Figures do not add up to 100,0 because of rounding error.

TABLE 14

Residential Area of Heads of Household Before Coming to
Cape Town

	Transkei	Ciskei	Eastern ¹ Cape	Central ¹ Cape	Western ¹ Cape	Other	Unspec- ified	Total
No. of HH	225	13	39	8	22	6	23	336 ²
% of HH	67,0	3,9	11,6	2,4	6,5	1,8	6,8	100,0

1. Eastern Cape comprises magisterial districts 18 to 21, namely, Kirkwood-Bathurst, Peddie-King William's Town, East London and East Central Cape. These all border on the Ciskei and Transkei.

Central Cape comprises magisterial districts 07 to 13, namely Ladismith-Oudtshoorn, Mossel Bay-Knysna, Uniondale-Humansdorp, Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage, West Central Cape, Willowmore-Jansenville and Cape Midlands.

Western Cape comprises magisterial districts 03 to 06, namely Vredendal-Clarwilliam, South West Cape, Boland and Caledon-Riversdale.

These divisions were made in order to divide the Cape Province into three distinguishable regions.

2. The sample of heads of household excludes the 17 persons born in Cape Town.

TABLE 15

Residential Area of Spouses Before Coming to Cape Town Region

Former area of Residence	Transkei	Ciskei	Eastern Cape	Central Cape	Western Cape	Other	Unspec- ified	Total
No. of Spouses	199	10	28	5	6	2	35	285 ¹
% of Spouses	69,8	3,5	9,8	1,8	2,1	0,7	12,3	100,0

1. The sample of spouses excludes the 16 persons born in Cape Town.

TABLE 16

Demolitions

No. of Prior Demolitions	Unspecified	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	All Categories
No. of Families	41	191	49	34	29	4	1	2	1	1	353
% of Families	11,6	54,1	13,9	9,6	8,2	1,1	0,3	0,6	0,3	0,3	100,0

Note:

Out of 353 families 100 had at some stage been told to leave Crossroads, 213 had received no such notice and 40 gave no reply to the question.

TABLE 17

Intended Move in Case of Demolition

	Number	%
Try to erect a house elsewhere	254	72,0
Move in with other squatter family	14	4,0
Try to find other accommodation in Cape Town	20	5,7
Send wife and children away to:		
Transkei	5	1,4
Elsewhere	3	0,8
Total	8	2,3 ¹
Whole family will leave Cape Town for:		
Transkei	1	0,3
Western Cape	1	0,3
Total	2	0,6
Do not know / unspecified	55	15,6
Total	353	100,0 ²

1. Sub-totals do not add up to 2,3 because of rounding difference.
2. Figures do not add up to 100,0 because of rounding error.