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**CAR WATCH: CLOCKING
INFORMAL PARKING
ATTENDANTS IN
CAPE TOWN**

Jesse Bernstein

CSSR Working Paper No. 55

Published by the Centre for Social Science Research
University of Cape Town
2003

Copies of this publication may be obtained from:

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Price in Southern Africa (incl. VAT and postage): R 15.00

or it can be downloaded from our website
<http://www.uct.ac.za/depts/cssr/pubs.html>

ISBN: 0 7992 222 5

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RESEARCH

Social Surveys Unit

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December 2003

Jesse Bernstein will complete his final year at Sarah Lawrence College (New York) in May 2004. He spent his junior year abroad at the University of Cape Town.

The author would like to thank Vicki Igglesden and Phil Gussin for their insights and ideas. This report benefited from their help and support.

Car Watch: Clocking Informal Parking Attendants in Cape Town

Abstract

In February 2003 the Cape Town City Council proposed a new by-law to regulate informal car parking attendants or car guards. This was a response to complaints by car drivers that they had been harassed by car guards. The by-law proposed a mandatory registration process and sets a quota limiting 30 percent of licenses to refugees. In response, the Centre for Social Science Research conducted a survey of car drivers and car guards in two areas of central Cape Town where many complaints regarding car guards have been registered. Our findings confirm that the complaints made against car guards are just one part of the story. While we found that harassment of motorists does occur, it is at a lower level than has been suggested. The proposed legislation implies that Cape drivers are specifically dissatisfied with refugee car guards. Our data indicates the opposite: Cape Town car drivers are most satisfied with the car parking system when foreigners or refugees are guarding their cars. Restrictions on foreigners seem to reflect xenophobia, which is all too common in South Africa, not the actual experiences of car drivers. Any harassment is unacceptable, of course, but our data questions whether a complex administrative system of regulation is warranted. We also found that car guards report experiencing extortion by police and private security officers on an almost daily basis.

Introduction

Informal parking attendants, often known as car guards, have become permanent fixtures in Cape Town's inner-city landscape, just as in other cities and towns across Southern Africa. Their ubiquitous presence reflects the two major social problems facing South Africa: crime and unemployment. High unemployment rates fuel crime, which results in a need for security. At the same time, unemployment means that there are many people looking for work, including providing security.

Cape Town has been plagued by crime relating to cars. Because the police release few crime statistics, the best available data are those collected by the City Improvement District (CID, a project established by the public-private Cape Town Partnership). From January to September 2001, 8 248 incidents of

motor vehicle and motorcycle theft and 30 685 incidents of theft out of or from motor vehicles were reported within the Cape Town metropolitan area (Dugmore, 2003: 26). The municipal government responded to crime by imposing harsh penalties on low-level offenses. Urinating, causing public disturbances and blocking a public thoroughfare have become offenses that result in arrest and detention. But law enforcement officers within the central business district are reluctant to arrest petty offenders because they often wait in over-crowded facilities for long periods of time before trial (*Ibid*: 16).

In response to these crime statistics, complaints from car drivers and the need for increased parking meter revenue, the Cape Town Council introduced in December 2001 a parking marshal program employing fifty trained, uniformed parking marshals. Marshals carry cash cards for paying meters that are bought by drivers after they park. The marshal then helps drivers use cash cards on parking meters (*Cape Town Partnership, "Kerbside Parking"*, accessed October 2003). Wearing their official uniforms, they provide a sense of security for car drivers. But parking marshals do not work at night. Nor are there many of them. Meters, on their own, do not protect cars from crime. In September 2003, the City decided to extend this system into additional areas of downtown Cape Town, including areas with unmetered parking bays. Here car drivers are not required to use a cash card in a meter, but instead directly pay the parking marshal on duty.

Informal car parking guards have remained, even in areas with official marshals. Sometimes they compete on the basis of price. In "marshaled" areas, the cost of parking is R5.80 per hour. Informal parking attendants do not have a fixed price; drivers pay anything from less than R1 to R10 (*Cape Town Central Improvement District, "Cape Town Partnership extends Kerbside Parking"*, accessed September 2003). More importantly, they offer better security. Informal car guards usually guard smaller areas than official marshals. But this protection is not "official", and they are often accused of perpetuating crime rather than helping to guard against it.

In a recent letter to the *Cape Times*, Michael Farr, the previous chief executive of the Cape Town Partnership¹ writes: "We agree 100% that 'informal parking attendants' are a menace and that they regularly harass and intimidate motorists

¹ The Cape Town Partnership was established in June 1999. It is made up of a "broad range of members from the public and private sectors which are dedicated to inner city renewal and revitalization. Members include the South African Property Owners' Association (SAPOA); the City of Cape Town; the Cape Chamber of Commerce and Industry; Business Against Crime; the City Community Patrol Board; the South African Black Technical and Allied Careers Organisation (SABTACO); Cape Town Tourism; the Cape Town Heritage Trust; and the City Improvement District (CID)". The partnership coordinates Cape Town's revitalization plan, and to that effect, established the Central City Improvement District (CID) in November 2000 (*Cape Town Partnership, About Us*, accessed October 2003).

... We find the behavior of ‘informal parking attendants’ unacceptable and we will continue to arrest them for all transgressions of the law”² (*Cape Times*, December 27, 2002). This letter is only the tip of the iceberg. If you ask anyone at the CID about informal parking attendants, you will hear a litany of aggravations and grievances relating to informal parking attendants. As the CID is the office that registers complaints regarding car guards, they have familiarized themselves with the frustrations felt by city drivers.³ According to the CID, complaints against informal parking attendants “range from harassment/intimidation and demanding of money for guarding vehicles in public space, threatening to damage vehicles if not given money, [and] being drunk and disorderly” (Derek Bock, head of the CID security department, personal communication, March 26, 2003). Women driving alone are said to be especially targeted by car guards. Further, as mentioned above, the City is losing revenue on metered parking bays because informal parking attendants are offering drivers to guard their cars personally rather than having drivers pay a parking marshal. Though the CID admits that some drivers choose not to pay the meters (*Ibid*), this non-payment is blamed on the informal parking attendants rather than the drivers.

In response to the complaints and loss of revenue, the City Council has drafted and received comments on the *By-Law for the Promotion of Safety and the Prevention of Nuisances*.⁴ Addendum B (of Schedule 2) will result in the regulation and supposed formalization of informal parking attendants.

Refugees and asylum-seekers make up a large part of the car guarding population. At night, virtually all car guards are refugees and asylum-seekers from central Africa. This fact might come as a surprise to the drafters of the above legislation, as the clauses that deal with informal parking attendants are

² Technically speaking, neither the Cape Town Partnership nor and the City Improvement District (CID) have the power of arrest, but a recent agreement between the CID and Cape Town City Council resulted in all CID security vehicles being manned by both a CID-employed private security officer and city police officer. Quick arrests can now be made as the police officer supplies the arresting power. This security arrangement ensures that safety and security related complaints from businesses be dealt with as expediently as possible. The efficiency of the arrangement seems to be overly pro-business, the business community of Cape Town working in tandem with the Cape Town police to protect their economic interests. In essence, Mr. Farr is correct in his statement, as the security arrangement does indeed give him and the CID virtual arresting powers, placing the power of the law in the hands of the business community (Interview, Derek Bock).

³ Complaints regarding car guards are unavailable to the public as the CID is a section 21 private company, even though the complaints registered occur from interactions on public city streets with everyday citizens. This practice raises numerous accountability and transparency issues which are beyond the scope of this paper. Further legal research is needed in this area (Interview, Derek Bock).

⁴ This by-law was originally named “The Safe and Secure Urban Environment By-law.” It can be found via <http://www.capetown.gov.za/council>, and then by entering the following path: Council and Committee Meeting Calendar / February / 5th / Safety Portfolio Committee/ Reports / SAF 09/05/02/03 – Safe & Secure Urban Environment By-Law.

exclusionary towards refugees.⁵ Addendum B (of Schedule 2) requires that all informal parking attendants provide identity numbers, although refugees do not have identity numbers because they are not South African citizens. Further it requires all informal parking attendants to show proof of identity, when many asylum-seekers and refugees are awaiting official identity documents from the Department of Home Affairs. The document that Asylum-Seekers receive when they register is a paper-thin “permit” not suitable for long-term legal identification.⁶ Most striking is clause 3.4, which limits to 30 percent the proportion of car guards who are refugees. The Legal Aid office of the University of Cape Town (UCT) and others have argued that the clause is illegal.⁷ Despite its legality, the clause is remarkable as refugees make up a large part of the population of car guards. Put in a political context, the clause is not *that* remarkable as current South African politics lends itself to blaming problems on “others”, a trait that is not easily shaken from the apartheid era. Instead of using “race” as *the* other, nationality is put in its place. Numerous scholars and activists have noted this trend. From causing crime to HIV/AIDS to affecting the economy negatively, refugees and other immigrants are becoming the people to blame (Mattes *et al.*, 2000; Crush, 1997; Rogerson, 1997; Morris, 1999; Bouillon, 1998).

More recently this draft by-law was amended by the Council’s Safety Portfolio Committee, a committee that suggests policy solutions related to safety and crime to Cape Town’s Executive Mayor and Council.⁸ The Committee removed the 30 percent clause, replacing it with a new clause that requires that an applicant for a parking-related service license be “a South African citizen or entity controlled by South African citizens and only after consideration of South African citizens, then non-South African citizens who are in possession of documentation to be prescribed by the Traffic Co-Ordinator which will include a valid identity document or asylum seeker permit issued in terms of the

⁵ Many other problems exist with the regulation process set out in Addendum B (of Schedule 2). As one example, the legislation requires that all car guards prove “demand for parking service” (clause 3.1). It is unclear how a car guard would prove this. UCT Legal Aid, the Legal Resources Centre, Paul Vernon from *The Big Issue* and the refugee service provider network of Cape Town named “Tutumike” have all submitted comments raising similar concerns to this legislation.

⁶ A recent report on implementation of the Refugees Act of 1998 notes: “There have been no reports of a refugee being refused an identity document. Documents have simply not been issued ... The ‘Formal Recognition of Refugee Status in the RSA’ form is the only document most refugees have. It is an A4 piece of paper with a departmental stamp”, lending itself to be easily destroyed as it is fragile, as well as “being torn up by police extorting bribes” (de la Hunt, 2002:27).

⁷ UCT Legal Aid has argued that this regulation is unconstitutional as section 27(b) of the Refugees Act states “A refugee enjoys full legal protection which includes the rights set out in Chapter 2 of the Constitution”. Further, a number of court cases have underlined the rights of foreign nationals to work despite their legal status. See *Patel v Minister of Home Affairs and Another*, *Larbi-Odam v MEC for Education (Northwest Province)* and *Watchenuka v The Minister of Home Affairs*.

⁸ For more information on the Safety Portfolio Committee, i.e. its membership and structure see the City of Cape Town’s website, www.capetown.gov.za. Sections of the website slated for the description and membership of the committee was, however, found to be blank.

Immigration Act and regulations” (clause 3.3).⁹ Though the wording has changed, most likely as a result of direct advocacy by numerous refugee organizations in Cape Town, the idea and concept is the same.¹⁰ Non-South African citizens will continue to be excluded. With this new amendment, the Committee has recommended full adoption of the by-law, though Clause 3.3 was tabled.¹¹ Implementation of the law is now in the hands of the Executive Mayor and the larger Cape Town City Council.¹²

In response to the proposed new *By-Law for the Promotion of Safety and the Prevention of Nuisances*, the Centre of Social Science Research (CSSR) at the University of Cape Town conducted a survey to generate more evidence on the ‘problem’ of car guards in central Cape Town. Special attention was paid to the behaviour of refugees and other non-South Africans who work as car guards. Our findings suggest that there are many issues relating to informal parking attendants that must be addressed, but it is our view that the proposed legislation will result in more problems if put into effect. The evidence presented below raises questions about some of the main allegations made against car guards.

This report also serves to document and provide evidence of a growing trend of police and private security harassment of informal parking attendants. As studying car guards required spending extensive time on public streets, our surveyors and researchers immediately became aware of police and private security harassment towards car guards. Our researchers witnessed car guards being arrested and chased away. Further, City police and security officers also extort money on a regular basis from car guards. This unlawful behavior must be addressed. It is hoped that this report will contribute to further discussion of unlawful behavior by City Council employees.

⁹ Clause 3.3 is found in Section 3 of Schedule 2, an attachment to the actual by-law. Schedule 2 is meant to provide an administrative framework for the approval and issuing of car guard licenses.

¹⁰ Comments about the by-law have been received and reported on by the legal services department of the City of Cape Town. They have compiled a report on comments received and the Committee’s reaction. See <http://www.capetown.gov.za/council>, and then enter the following path: Council and Committee Meeting Calendar / September / 8th / Safety Portfolio Committee/ Reports / Proposed By-Law for the Promotion of Safety and the Prevention of Nuisances: Evaluation of Comments Received.

¹¹ Schedule 2 of the by-law, which contains Clause 3.3, is included in the official minutes (see footnote 12 below) as Annexure 1. Annexure 1 was tabled, whereas the larger by-law was passed on to the Executive Mayor and Council. This by-law requires administrative guidelines, which Schedule 2 provides, thus at the time of writing, it is unclear why Schedule 2 was withheld from the ongoing legislative process. Monitoring of new developments on Schedule 2 and its larger by-law are clearly needed.

¹² Discussion around this by-law took place on 8th September 2003. For minutes and an amended version of the by-law, see <http://www.capetown.gov.za/council>, and then enter the following path: Council and Committee Meeting Calendar / September / 8th / Safety Portfolio Committee/ Minutes / Safety and Security Portfolio Committee Meeting Minutes 08 September.

Research Methodology

The study was conducted in areas of central Cape Town where complaints about car guards have been reported most often. The CID thankfully identified the names of ten streets, based on the information in their register of complaints (Derek Bock, personal communication, March 26, 2003). Time and financial constraints meant that we were restricted to two of these study areas: Long Street, including the side streets Leeuwen, Pepper and Bloem, and Kloof Street from Long Street to the Firdale Street.¹³ The first stage of the study involved interviewing drivers after they parked. Over 200 car drivers were interviewed either during the day or at night over the course of five days. Time of day is a crucial factor in measuring any data relating to car guards as virtually all car guards at night are foreigners, most being refugees. During the day, car guards on Long Street are mostly local, whereas on Kloof Street the car guards include both South Africans and non-South Africans.¹⁴

The second stage of the study involved interviewing car guards in the same areas. As there are a limited number of car guards operating on city streets, we hoped to interview as many car guards as possible, turning this portion of the study into a census rather than a sample survey. Questions were asked about the treatment they received from the police, from private security officers, and from other car guards. Also included were general background questions relating to education, place of birth, and satisfaction of living in South Africa. Interviewing both car guards and drivers had to be swift, as interviews took place on busy city streets consumed by activity, commotion and people on the move. Car guards were working during their interviews, so response options were pre-coded to expedite the interview. Interviewing car guards on Long Street during the day proved especially difficult as they were under close scrutiny from private security officers. Car guards would often run away during our interviews when they saw police or private security officers approach.

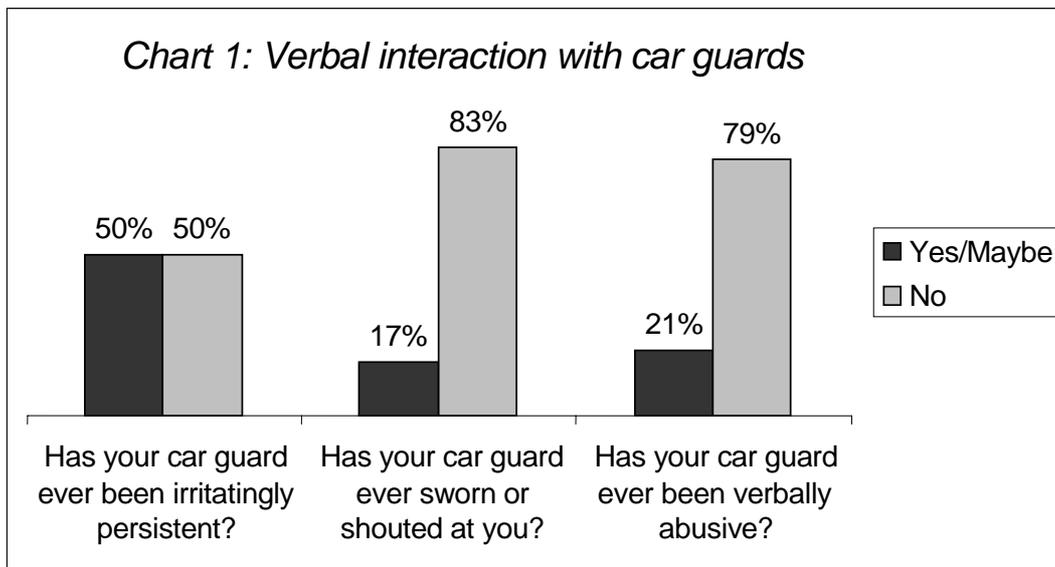
Finally, two car guards were interviewed at length at the University of Cape Town's Legal Aid offices. One car guard was South African, the other an asylum-seeker from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). These interviews focused on livelihoods and how each interviewee came to be a car guard. Plans to interview more informal parking attendants at length were abandoned due to a lack of time.

¹³ Appendix C contains a map of downtown Cape Town which profiles the areas surveyed.

¹⁴ Appendix A and B contain the surveys which were used for this study.

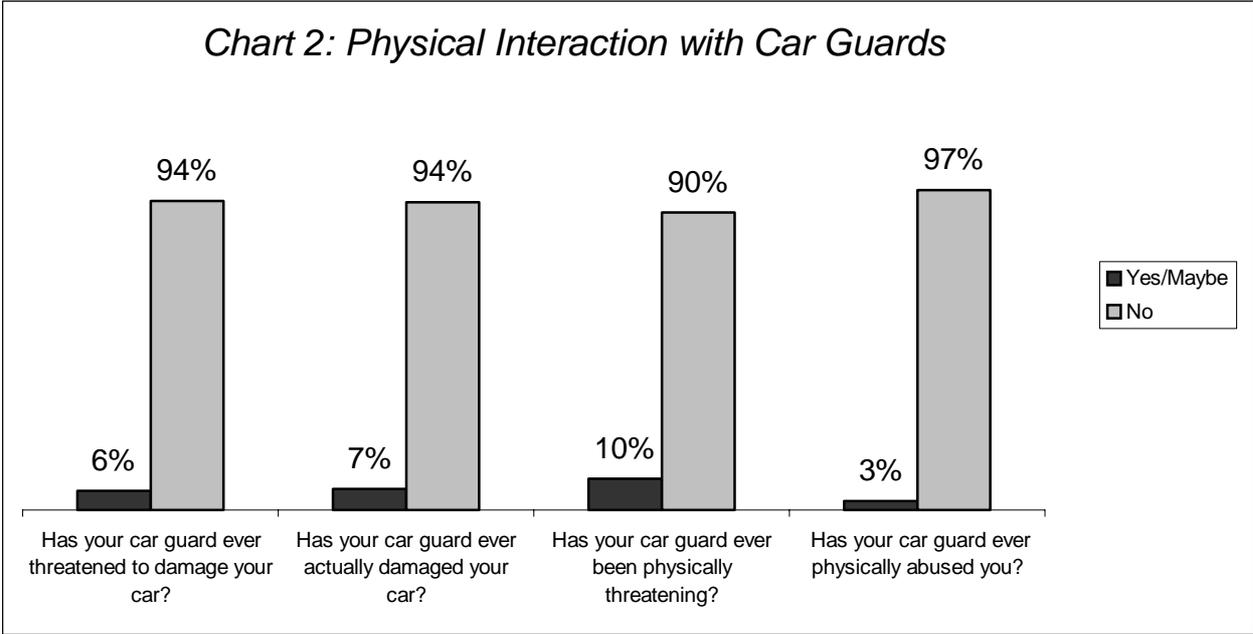
Harassment and Dissatisfaction: Car Drivers Speak Out

“Harassment” has become a vague term used by policy and decision-makers alike. The term is used to incite action, to make people on the top fear for their constituents, requiring extensive measures with drastic consequences. As noted above, the CID registers complaints around car guard harassment. But because details of the complaints and how often they occur are not disclosed to the public, we have no base of statistics on the incidence of reported harassment. In personal communications, interviews and newspaper articles, however, the CID makes it seem as if complaints are frequent. As a result, Cape Town city representatives have presented the public with a very stringent regulation process. Logically, people outside the CID conclude that strict regulation is warranted from the language dictated.



Our results tell a different story. Harassment happens, but not as often as is sometimes suggested (see charts 1 and 2). We asked whether car drivers had “ever” been harassed “in this particular area”, specifying a series of forms of harassment. Half of the car drivers reported that car guards had been “irritatingly persistent”, but only one in five reported verbal harassment, only one in ten reported being threatened physically, and fewer still reported actual physical harassment. Given that the survey was conducted in areas where most complaints are made about harassment, we can assume that in Cape Town as a whole, levels of harassment are much lower than we found in the survey.

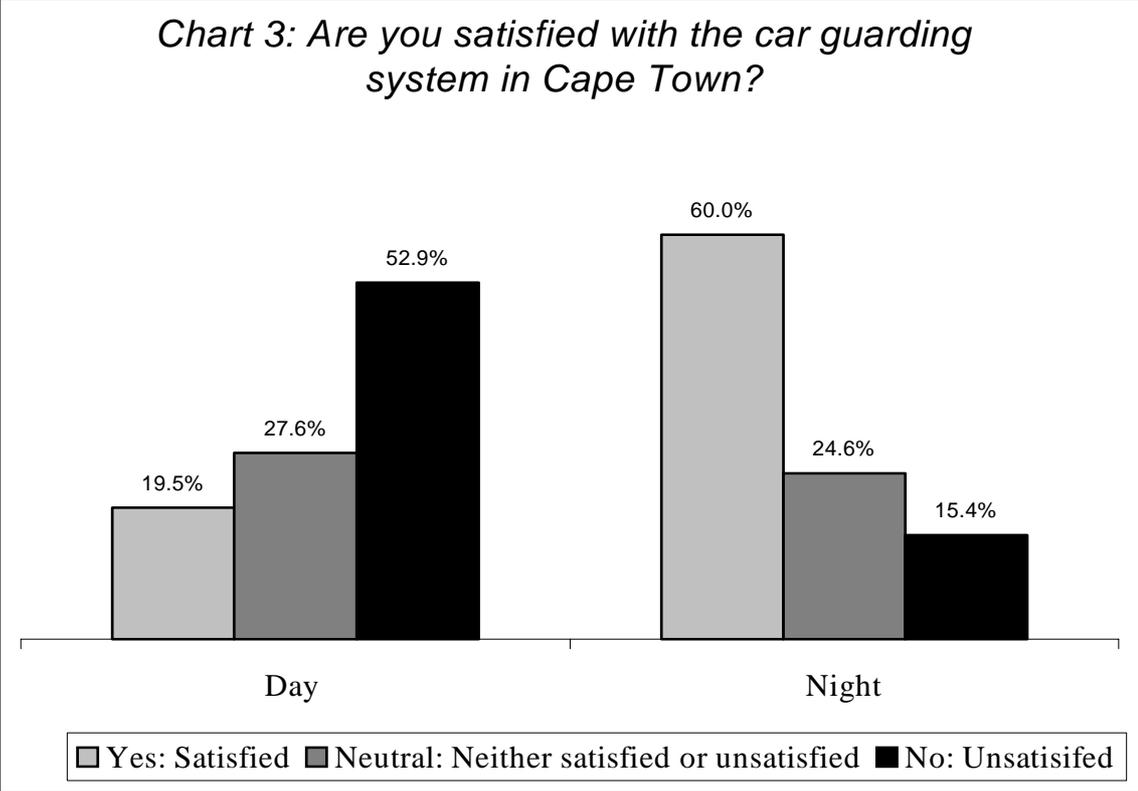
Any harassment is unacceptable. If one in thirty drivers has been physically abused, and one in fifteen has suffered damage to their cars, these are too many cases. But our results force us to question whether a strict regulation system is necessary. Though some sort of regulation may in fact be of good use to the Cape Town general public, the form of regulation that has been proposed is over zealous considering the rates of harassment our project recorded.

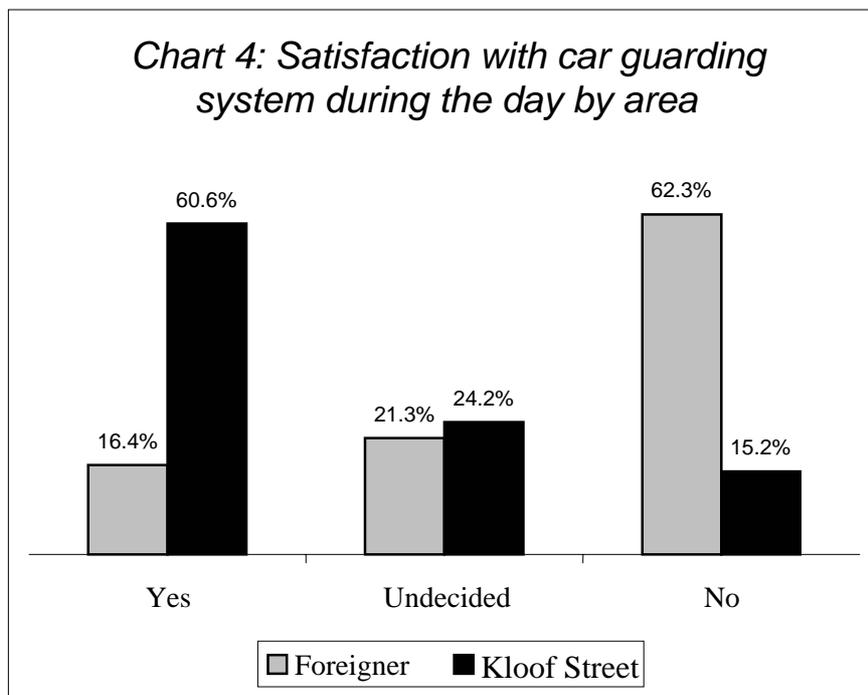


The CID claims that women who drive alone are being specifically targeted by car guards. We found no support for this claim: in general, women drivers report no more harassment than men. The only difference is in reported experiences of car guards being ‘irritatingly persistent’: 54 percent of women answered ‘yes or maybe’ compared to 49 percent of men; this is a trivial difference. It should also be noted that out of the 207 car drivers interviewed, only 51 (one quarter) were female. This makes it even more improbable that women are being targeted, continuing to question the City’s regulation process.

Regarding the role of foreigners and refugees, our survey found that levels of overall satisfaction with the car guarding system are higher when car guards are foreigners/refugees (see charts 3 and 4). Most (60 percent) of drivers who told us they parked only at night said that they were satisfied with the car-guarding system (with 25 percent saying they were neither dissatisfied or satisfied and just 15 percent saying they were dissatisfied). By comparison, only 20 percent of daytime drivers told us they were satisfied (with 28 percent saying they were

neither dissatisfied or satisfied and as many as 53 percent saying they were dissatisfied). Our research suggests that almost all car guards in these areas at night – i.e. at times when levels of satisfaction are highest – are foreigners, whereas during the day there are more South African car guards. This contrast might reflect drivers’ preference for car guards at a time when they feel their cars need guarding, i.e. at night, rather than because of the behaviour of the guards themselves. The contrast between the two areas we surveyed during the day suggests, however, that the fact that car guards are foreign is a cause of higher levels of satisfaction (see chart 4). During daylight hours on Long Street, the car guards are mostly local, whilst on Kloof Street the car-guarding population is mixed. Our survey found that 61 percent of daytime car drivers in Kloof Street were satisfied with the car-guarding system, whereas on Long Street only 16 percent of daytime drivers were satisfied.





Awareness of Nationality

Our data found that car drivers tend to confuse foreigners and locals. This may lead to blame being placed on foreigners for incidents of harassment during the day, and perhaps also the mistaken credit of locals for the better service provided at night. This is peculiar, as the proposed legislation not only refers to refugees, but excludes them. As an example, during nighttime hours, all car guards are foreigners. On Kloof Street, in the evening, 45 percent of drivers did not know whether their car guards were South African or not and about 5 percent thought that their car guards were South African, when in fact *none* of the car guards were South African. During the day on Long Street, all car guards were local South African, but 31 percent of drivers said that non-South Africans were guarding their cars and another 44 percent did not know.

Other surveys conducted by the Southern African Migration Project between 1997 and 2000 found that “many South Africans have no direct interaction and experience of foreigners, even from neighboring states” (Crush, 2001:5). The 1998 survey found that only 4 percent of South Africans had “a great deal of contact with people from countries in Southern Africa” (*ibid*). Our results raise the possibility that South Africans are sometimes unaware of having contact with foreigners, and at other times think they do when in fact they are having contact with locals. Actual and perceived contact may not be the same thing.

Some drivers mistakenly label their car guards as Nigerian. In our survey we did *not* ask car drivers if they knew the nationality of their car guards; we only asked if car drivers knew if their car guards were foreigners or local South Africans. But some drivers volunteered information about the specific nationality of their car guards. Many identified car guards as Nigerians. One car driver told a surveyor that all of the car guards on Long Street were ex-Nigerian soldiers, and that most drivers felt intimidated by their large and robust size, causing them to tip out of fear. (This driver admitted that he felt he could stand up to them, but doubted that other drivers possessed as much strength.) In our survey of car guards themselves, we did ask for nationality; there were no Nigerians amongst the interviewed car guards.

The association of Nigerians with urban issues like crime and drugs is not a surprise. When Morris (1999:315) studied the Nigerian and Congolese populations living in Hillbrow, a neighborhood located in the inner-city of Johannesburg, he noted that “the widespread stereotype that all Nigerians in Johannesburg are engaged in unlawful enterprises is not surprising: it is constantly voiced in the media and by those in positions of power. Often a general report on crime will make mention of Nigerians.” The Minister of Home Affairs, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has implied that all Nigerians immigrants are criminals and drug-traffickers (*ibid*).

Theories abound about why Nigerians and often Congolese are the two nationalities cited as the cause of social ills in South Africa. Apartheid education largely ignored or misinformed South Africans on the history and culture of the rest of Africa. North of the Limpopo River was lumped together as heathen land filled with savagery, leaving a legacy of misinformation about African geography and culture (Mattes *et al*, 1999: 2-3). This education is strikingly different to the education received by West and central Africans. White-dominated rule ended much earlier in central and West Africa, fortunately enabling West and central Africans to realize their equality sooner. This difference in education has often been cited as one of the many causes of animosity between central\Western Africans and black South Africans. This difference has also made central and West Africans more noticeable to local South Africans. Further analysis of the relationship between black South Africans and Africans from West/central Africa will be discussed below.

In addition to education, the culture and language that Nigerians and other African Francophone immigrants bring with them is different and new to most of South Africa. This makes West and central Africans a visible minority amongst the black African population. Their very noticeable differences also exaggerate their numbers. South Africans often think that there are more immigrants and migrants than actually exist (Bouillon, 1998:3).

Parking Attendants and the Regulation of the Informal Economy

Informal parking attendants work to support themselves, they are dependent on the tips they receive. Guarding cars is a “survivalist” activity, providing a minimal income that allows people to survive but not to prosper. Working in the formal sector is not an option: formal jobs simply are unavailable, either because of a lack of education (in the case of South African car guards) or circumstance (in the case of refugees), or both.

Many of the problems facing informal car guards in Cape Town are common to workers in the informal sector elsewhere in the world. Informal workers are varied and ever-present, including “street vendors in Bogota; rickshaw pullers in Hanoi and Calcutta; garbage collectors in Cairo; home-based garment workers in Manila, Madeira, Mexico City, and Toronto; and home-based electronic workers in Leeds, Istanbul, and Kuala Lumpur” (Chen *et al.*, 2002:4). Most are self-employed, earning a “non-standard” wage, working at home or part of a family business, temporary, and generally forced to work in the informal sector because there are no available formal employment opportunities (*ibid*).

States typically seek to regulate the informal sector. In some areas of South Africa, attempts have already been made to formalise car guards. In Durban informal parking attendants are required to register with the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (known as SIRA). SIRA “regulates the private security industry and exercises control over the practice of the occupation of security service providers in the public and national interest, and the interest of the industry itself” (SIRA, 2002). Section 20 of the Private Security Industry Regulations Act (Act 56 of 2001) requires that all who render a “security service” must be registered with SIRA. SIRA has publicly noted in reference to informal parking attendants that “all car guards who render a security service must be registered with the Authority prior to the rendering of a security service” (SIRA, 2002). In Durban, all car guards are thought to render a security service, whereas the Cape Town City government has yet to make that connection. Durban interprets the law one way and Cape Town another, suggesting that the issues around informal parking attendants should perhaps be brought to a national level in an effort to streamline policy. Just as the registration process in Cape Town is exclusionary towards refugees, the SIRA registration process also presents obstacles for refugees (see below). The provision of one rights-based national policy or law inclusive of non-South Africans would require implementation of that law by local municipalities, as well as set a precedent for other future policies on a wide array of social issues.

SIRA requires that car guards pay an application and monthly fee. In return, Durban car guards become “official” and receive a car guard name-tag. Registration also requires a “Grade E” certificate, which can only be obtained after going through a week-long security-related training course. The cost of the course must be paid by the car guard. In total, training, registration, a uniform, and name-tag add up to as much as 600 Rand. This is an extraordinary amount for an informal car attendant to pay. Other security professionals, who register with SIRA, such as security guards or bodyguards, have formal employers who provide benefits, job security, and most importantly, a fixed salary. Car guards are the only group that is without an employer. This results in them receiving a “raw deal” in that they are “required by law to register with SIRA to render themselves as ‘legal’ security personal, but without the luxury of formal employment, fixed salaries or protection of their status as car guards” (Thaver, 2002). Informal car attendants in Durban and in other areas where SIRA registration is required straddle the definition of informal workers. Though they have been trained, approved, and even given a uniform, they have little job security and their income is highly unreliable.

Since the enactment of the Private Security Industry Regulations Act, SIRA has refused to allow refugees to submit applications for registration as security providers. Lawyers for Human Rights, a South African human rights organization, contacted SIRA on behalf of two of their clients. SIRA responded, saying that they would in fact consider those applications as well as other applications of refugees. Still, the regulation process required by SIRA demands that all applicants have permanent residence status if they are not citizens, as well as police clearance(s) from all other countries of prior residence if the applicant has immigrated to South Africa within the past ten years. Both of these could potentially become obstacles for refugee applicants. As refugees are often fleeing state-sponsored persecution, it would be unreasonable to ask them to contact their home country governments for police clearances. Refugees from Somalia have no government to contact as Somalia is a collapsed state (Lawyers for Human Rights, personal communication, 2002). If the City of Cape Town were to adopt the SIRA registration process, it should ensure that the requests made by the application procedure do not exclude refugees. Lawyers for Human Rights are currently monitoring this ongoing situation.

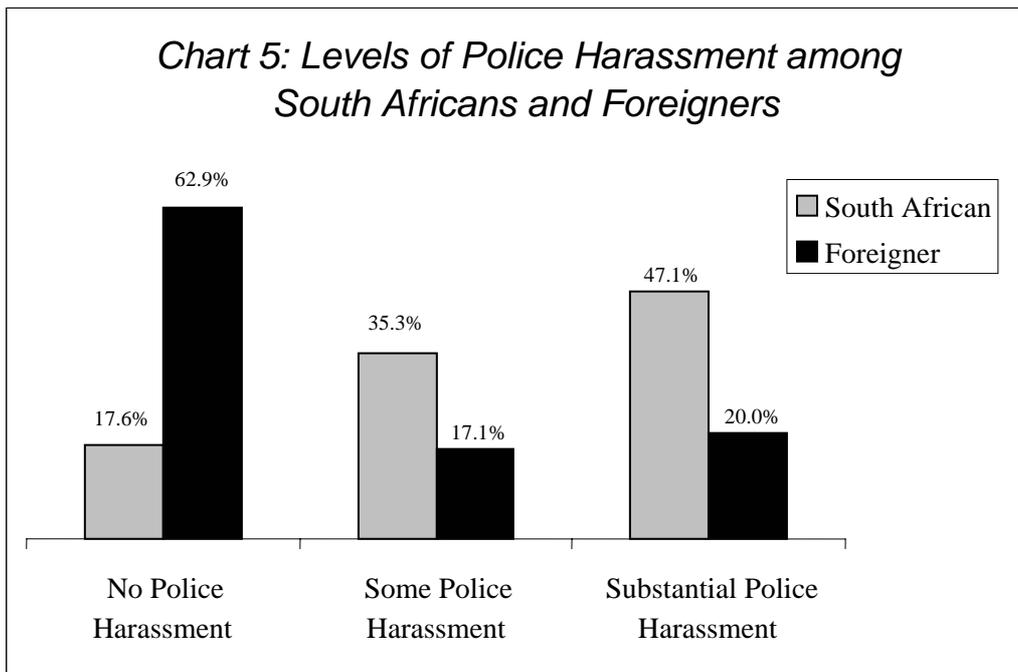
Businesses in one part of Cape Town, Greenpoint, have begun to require that car guards register with SIRA (personal communication from Marc Truss, who manages security in the Greenpoint/Upper Kloof areas, June 11, 2003). Car guards in Greenpoint must attain the Grade E certificate. Fuller information regarding the specifics of the registration process in Greenpoint could not be attained. The Community Police Forum in Muizenberg, another area of Cape Town, recently proclaimed that SIRA registration for car guards is ‘the law’

(personal communication from Vicki Igglesden, October 11, 2003). Both initiatives in Greenpoint and Muizenberg are not co-coordinated with the City of Cape Town's proposed new regulations. The City's proposals do not mention registration with SIRA, the City instead has invented its own registration process. Again, this clearly demonstrates a need for a singular, coherent policy on informal parking attendants.

The International Labor Office notes that there are two steps to regulating workers in the informal economy. The first involves *becoming* legal, specifically including registration and licensing. The second stage includes *remaining* legal, involving taxation, labor obligations, and even health and safety regulations (Chen *et al.*, 2002: 10). In some areas of South Africa (Durban and Greenpoint), car guards have gone through the first-step. The monthly fee that car guards must pay in Durban to keep their licenses could be considered a form of taxation, though it is questionable. Car guards in central Cape Town have not gone through either step, clearly remaining in the informal sector. The many responses to car guards outlined above represent ad-hoc policies, furthering the need for one coherent policy.

Informal Parking Attendants and Law Enforcement Officers

Informal parking attendants come from many different backgrounds. This section will analyze the data from the fifty-three interviews with car guards to put a face to the people with whom city drivers interact every day. On the first day of research for this project, multiple arrests of car guards were witnessed. On later visits to the Central Business District (CBD), surveyors witnessed car guards being chased away. Thus, documentation of police and security officer harassment will be discussed, as well as arrests and detentions. This will be followed by a brief description of where car guards come from and their education levels. Our findings demonstrate a need for a more in-depth survey of car guards themselves, covering wider areas of Cape Town and even the greater South Africa. For the sake of time and focus, questions about family, income, and other slightly personal items were not asked in the questionnaire.



Our study found that informal parking attendants receive a significant amount of attention from police and private security officers. More specifically, our data found that South African car guards seem to attract more attention from the police (see chart 5). Eighteen percent of attendants had experienced no police harassment. One-third had experienced some harassment, defined as including one or two experiences in at least two of the following categories: Have the police ever shouted at you, ever demanded money, chased you away or physically abused you? Almost half said they had experienced ‘substantial police harassment’, defined as experiencing harassment once or twice in three or more categories. For whatever reason, South African car guards receive more police observation and action than foreign car guards.

One car driver told a surveyor that the harassment caused by local South African car guards is due to jealousy; local car guards see South Africans with cars, an apparent symbol of success. They then become jealous, and strike out. The South African car guard who was interviewed at length, James, noted that “the other central Africans are not being chased away, I don’t know [why]. They [police/security officers] don’t even ask the foreigners for papers, they just come to us [South Africans]”. James added that he witnessed a restaurant owner on Kloof Street telling central African car guards to chase away local South African car guards.

Also interviewed at length was Bomoi, a Congolese (DRC) asylum-seeker who guards cars on Kloof Street; Bomoi is not his real name. Bomoi told of a time when private security officers randomly decided they did not want any car guards on the road. He gave the security officers 10 Rand to leave him alone.

This instance is one of many. Bomoi reported that twice a week security officers would ask him for 10 Rand for a “cold drink”. Bomoi is not alone, our data showed that as many as one in three car guards reported that private security officers have asked them for money. This is a blatant example of extortion, and also demonstrates an ad-hoc response to car guards by various city employees. Bomoi’s experience, backed up by our data, again demonstrate the need for a clear policy relating to car guards.

Our study also found that police and private security officers randomly arrest and detain informal car guards. Nineteen of the fifty-three car guards interviewed had been arrested, with their arrest directly relating to their jobs as car guards. Four car guards told our researchers they had been detained overnight to be released the next day without being charged; nor were they ever shown before a magistrate or judge. This practice violates South African law as well international legal instruments.¹⁵ Other car guards reported that they were told by the police to stop car guarding, but continue to do so, as it is their only way to earn an income. These car guards are then arrested for refusing to cooperate with the police (in terms of Provincial Notice 271/1995). Police also use ordinances that make it illegal to cause a public disturbance, as well as traffic ordinances (such as blocking a public street) to arrest and detain informal parking attendants. Some car guards are lucky enough to be released the same day as they are arrested, whereas others are detained for up to forty-eight hours. The current formalization regulation has yet to be passed, but it is already clear that the CID in conjunction with the police have begun a “crack-down” on car guards using other means.

Above, it was noted that South African car guards experience more police/security harassment than foreign car guards. A similar situation exists regarding arrests. Out of the nineteen informal parking attendants arrested, thirteen of them were South African, five were from the DRC, and one was Angolan.

Bomoi, the Congolese car guard quoted above, told interviewers that he was approached by both security and police officers on Kloof Street as he was finishing a night of car guarding. He was searched, and then transported to the police station with other car guards that had been arrested. He continued:

We were all locked together, and they asked me for my temporary permit, and it wasn’t on me at the time – I kept it at home. I spent the night there, the next day they took me

¹⁵ Article 9 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states “No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.”

to the court, and took my fingerprints. And then around 1:30, they let me go. As of right now, I don't know why I was arrested. I never saw a judge. They just took my fingerprints. There were around 8 of us arrested, it was a mix between foreigners and locals. I was very passive about the whole experience, so they left me alone. But others who were insulting the officers, they insisted to know why they were being arrested, they were being slapped and beaten. It was my first time being in jail.

At the time of writing, wrongful arrest claims have yet to be filed. In cases like Bomoï, where people are being arrested without being charged, legal challenges are clearly needed and warranted. While it is acknowledged that all of the public legal resource centers in Cape Town are overtaxed as it is, the random arrest of informal parking attendants must be dealt with either in court or by concise and clear legislative policy.

Informal Parking Attendants: A Brief Profile

Before examining who car guards are, it is important to realize that their situation is precarious. Firstly, as mentioned above, car guards are mostly working as car guards to survive; their circumstance or lack of education has resulted in guarding cars being the only way for them to earn a living. In addition to themselves, some have families to support; thus the tips earned often provide food and shelter. Secondly, informal parking attendants have no insurance whatsoever, making them more at risk to job-related injuries or mishaps. Thirdly, car guards lack institutions or other mechanisms that could potentially help deal with risks associated with their jobs (Chen *et al.*, 2002:13). All of the above are risks that all informal workers face. Informal car attendants face a more specific risk; as shown above car guards spend their working hours in public space while experiencing police and private security harassment on a regular basis.

The fact that a large amount of foreigners are informal parking attendants adds another conundrum to discussions around informal parking attendants. This cannot be ignored, as South Africa will continue to be a mecca for foreign migrants fleeing both political strife and economic distress. The ongoing civil unrest in central Africa and the lack of food and other resources throughout the SADC region will continue to make South Africa a hopeful place of refuge. Not only are informal foreign workers vulnerable because they are unprotected by law, they have also become susceptible to arrests, deportations, and harassment

(Crush, 1997; Okoth-Obbo, 2000; Mattes *et al.*, 1999; Morris, 1999; Human Rights Watch, 1998).

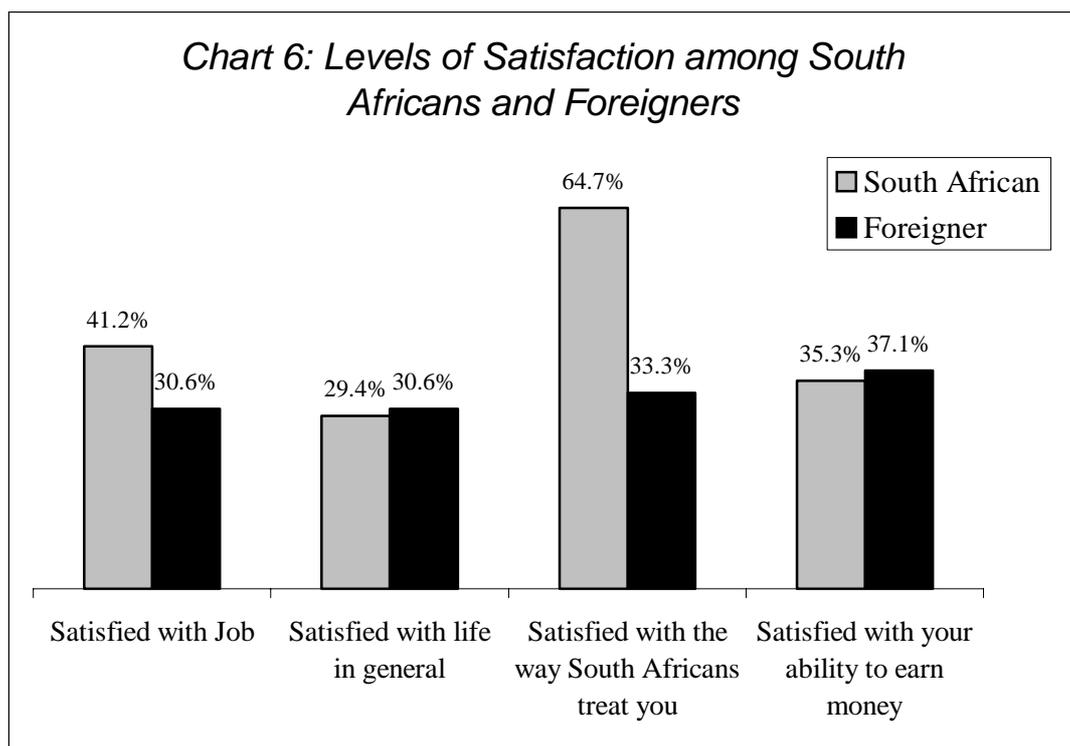
Table 1: Car guards: Nationality and Legality

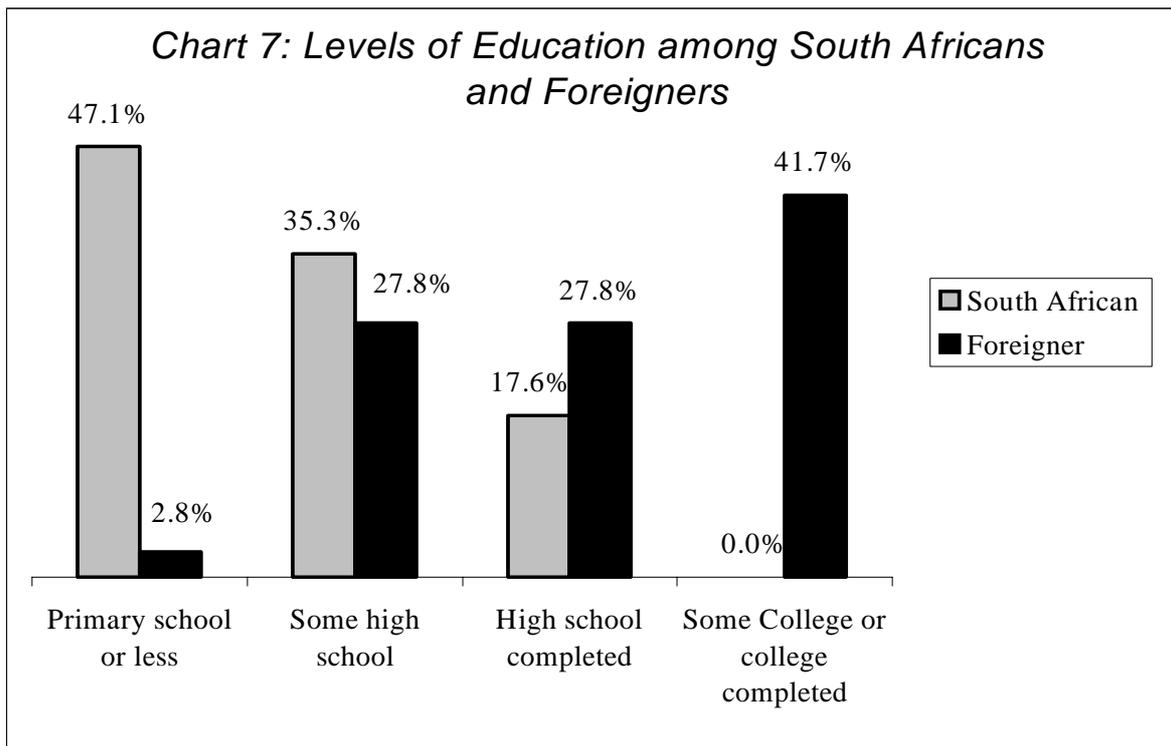
<i>Where were you born?</i>		<i>What is your legal status?</i>	
South Africa	17	South African	17
Congo DRC	20	Refugee	31
Congo Brazzaville	9	Asylum-Seeker	4
Angola	6	Missing	1
Cameroon	1		
Total	53	Total	53

We asked car guards where they were born, as well as their legal status. The results are shown in Table 1. Of the non-South Africans, most came from Congo DRC with smaller proportions from Congo Brazzaville and Angola. Not one was born in Nigeria! We asked about both birthplace and legal status to check the accuracy of our own surveying as well as the honesty of our respondents. Though we know that this “double-questioning” does not guarantee that our respondents were honest in other areas of the survey, however, the results provide a certain measure of credibility. As the number of South African citizens and those indicating they were born in South Africa is the same, it suggests that the respondents are indeed somewhat credible. There may be discrepancies between the number of refugees compared with the number of asylum-seekers. One Francophone car guard from the Congo (DRC) told an interviewer in broken English that he would like to take English classes. The interviewer recommended two language schools that offered free classes to refugees. The interviewer went to write down his name, but could not understand the respondent; to be thorough, the interviewer asked to see the respondent’s refugee permit. The ‘refugee’ car guard did not hesitate, and immediately showed his asylum-seeker permit. Thus many asylum-seekers, though officially not refugees, still consider themselves refugees. Refugee scholar Guy S. Goodwin-Gill would agree with them, he notes that persons who flee their country of origin due to persecution are technically refugees as soon as they cross their respective borders (Goodwin, 1998:32). In addition, misinformation and confusion about refugee-status determination processes is not uncommon in refugee communities throughout the world. This may cause many to mis-identify themselves. Though official titles and labels are important, it is equally valuable to honor self-identification and its social and political underpinnings.

Levels of Livelihood Satisfaction and Education Differences

Foreign and local South African car guards answered similarly when they were asked general questions about their livelihood – with one exception. When asked if they were satisfied with the treatment they received from South Africans, 65 percent of South Africans said yes, compared to only 33 percent of non-South Africans (see chart 6; this chart combines “satisfied” and “very satisfied” responses). Thus most non-South Africans are unsatisfied with the treatment they receive from local South Africans. Numerous studies mentioned earlier in this paper explain the dynamic between South Africans and black Africans from the rest of the continent. As non-South African immigrants and migrants are blamed for social problems, they easily become targets for xenophobic acts. Over thirty asylum-seekers and refugees have been killed in xenophobia-inspired hate crimes (Okoth-Obbo, 2000: 47).





Education remained a large difference between foreign and local car guards (see chart 7). Bomoï, the Congolese informal parking attendant was in his third year of studying to be a doctor when his university, the University of Lubumbashi raised the prices for enrollment. Bomoï and his fellow classmates protested, which resulted in clashes with the military and police. Bomoï began to fear for his life as he was one of the main organizers of the protests; he thus fled political persecution and arrived in South Africa. The University of Lubumbashi (sometimes referred to as Lubumbashi University) has been a hotbed of political activity for quite some time. Student demonstrations and the arrests that follow have been documented by Human Rights Watch.¹⁶ So here we have a third year medical student guarding cars on the streets of Cape Town. Bomoï is not alone; the data shown in Chart 7 illustrates that there are many highly educated car guards on city streets. Many have spoken about the stereotype that ‘other’ black African immigrants and migrants are uneducated. This study adds to growing collection of studies that have made this stereotype a myth (Hunter *et al.*, 2003; McDonald *et al.*, 1999; Rogerson, 1997; Peberdy and Crush, 1998).

The education gap further strains relations between black South Africans and non-South African Africans living in South Africa. In Bouillon’s study of Francophone African immigrants in South Africa, his respondents point out that

¹⁶ See Human Rights Watch 1997 Zaire Report: <http://www.hrw.org/reports/1997/zaire/>

their sense of effort and endurance is often absent among “average” South Africans (1998:26). While this comment seems like it may have negative racial undertones, apartheid definitely left its mark in making people feel and act inferior. We are seeing this mark through the interactions of black Africans from various parts of the continent. The remaining inequalities of education and income continue to castigate these two historically disadvantaged groups. Rather than to continue to exclude central African immigrants who are highly educated, South Africa should make use of their skills. More generally, South Africa should capitalize on the fact that it is attracting a good amount of skilled professionals and labour (Mattes *et al.*, 2000).

Our data shows that the majority of both foreign and local car guards are generally happy with their job, life, and even ability to earn an income (see Chart 6). These results imply that though their situation is bleak now, they are most likely optimistic for the future. Rather than continue to marginalize informal parking attendants, the City of Cape Town should take their rights and abilities into consideration.

Conclusions and Remaining Questions

Our research raises the following questions:

Is it really necessary to regulate car guards?

While regulation of car guards may be necessary, the proposed legislation makes it seem like car guards are wreaking havoc on Cape Town city streets. This is not the case. Our survey suggests that there is much less harassment than the ‘complaints’ suggest, and that the public are in fact quite appreciative of the service provided by car guards. Some car guards do commit crimes or harass drivers, but is it either necessary or fair to impose complex regulations on all car guards because of the behavior of a few rotten apples? Our data showed relatively low levels of harassment in all areas and at all times of day. The claim that women are specifically “targeted” by car guards is also imprecise; in the modest amount of harassment that does occur, a gender difference is non-existent. The language used by city employees and the behaviour of police and private security officers does make it seem plausible that a complex regulation system is needed. However, language from the CID and other city officials is incomplete in relating the full picture of car guard behavior.

Is there any good reason to exclude non-South African citizens from the informal parking attendant sector?

Car drivers seem to prefer refugees and other non-South African car guards to South African car guards. When drivers were asked if they were generally satisfied with the overall car guarding system, areas where refugees/non-South Africans guard cars received higher levels of satisfaction. Further, the fact that Cape drivers are often unaware of who is guarding their car might mean that refugees are being unfairly singled out. The exclusionary language is a loud example of the xenophobia that still remains part of South Africa's political and social discourse.

Is there any justification for the high level of police (and private security force) harassment and intimidation of car guards?

At present there is far too high an incidence of unlawful arrest, detention, and extortion. These are blatant scare tactics used by security officers and police alike. Further, it is an ad hoc response to car guards, demonstrating the need for a clear and coherent policy relating to this informal sector.

Do car guards really provide a service?

During our interviews with car drivers, many told us they thought that informal parking attendants were unnecessary. One car driver asked, "Do they really protect us?" Another one asked: "Aren't car guards part of the problem?" Another driver suggested that car guards are only needed at night. While some car guards do help to protect cars and other valuables, others do not. Ideally, all of us would like to live in a society that doesn't need people to guard cars. One driver asked, "Isn't car guarding a form of begging?" While car guarding may be a form of begging, it provides an income when nothing else will. Bomoi, the Congolese car guard interviewed, has used the money he earned being a car guard to pay for a waitering course at Grand West Casino. He is now waitering part-time at Grand West; when he is not doing that, he continues to be a car guard. Bomoi himself admitted, "I don't like being a car guard, I am only doing it to survive. If I look back in time, I would never do this job. Back home I was studying and I would never do this, it is like begging on the road." Thus he and others like him are making the best of a horrible situation. They should not be punished for doing so. Rather, their grievances should be heeded as they have the potential to contribute to South Africa's new democracy.

Formalization of car guards may be necessary, but it must be done in a just, fair, and equal way. As a good majority of informal parking attendants have high levels of education, the City of Cape Town should look at ways to help them find employment that match their already existing qualifications. Rights of all of people, regardless of nationality should be enshrined into the regulation process. While businesses and consumers have certain rights, so do car guards. As South Africa's economy is struggling to provide employment for everyone, the informal sector should be respected as it provides a livelihood for many.

APPENDIX A: SURVEY OF CAR DRIVERS IN CAPE TOWN

Survey number: _____ Date: _____ Name of Surveyor: _____

Section I: Surveyor Observations (before or after interview takes place, circle what is appropriate)

<u>LOCATION</u>		<u>TIME</u>		<u>Gender</u>		<u>Race</u>	
Long Street Area	1	Morning	1	Male	1	Black/African	1
Kloof Street Area	2	Mid-Day	2	Female	2	Coloured	2
		Afternoon	3			Indian	3
		Evening	4			White	4
		Late Evening	5			Other	5

Section II: Introduction

The Centre for Social Science Research at UCT is conducting a study on informal car attendants. The study comes as the City of Cape Town is debating a law that would regulate informal car attendants. The law is a result of complaints regarding informal car attendants that the City registers on a daily basis. It is the goal of the Centre to measure complaints independently, and thus judge whether the City is responding to these complaints in an adequate, efficient, and humane manner. In addition to asking questions about your experiences with informal car attendants, we also need to question your background as a means to gauge if certain populations in Cape Town are more or less affected by informal car attendants.

Your answers will be confidential. They will be put together with 200 other people we are interviewing, to give an overall picture. It will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to tell us what you think. Can we proceed by asking you some questions? If no or in doubt, CLOSE INTERVIEW.

Section III: Background Information on subject – to be asked by surveyor

5) Age: _____

6) Now your annual salary, how much Rand per month do you earn? (circle on)

Less than 5000R per month	1	Between 10,000-20,000Rpm	3
Between 5000-10,000 Rand per month.	2	Greater than 20,000Rpm	4

7) What level of education have you completed? (Do not read out answers – circle one)

No Formal schooling	1
Some primary school	2
Primary school completed	3
Some high school	4
High school completed	5
Some university/college	6
University/College completed	7
Postgraduate work	8
Other	9
Don't know	10

8) What is your occupation? _____ (fill in)

Section IV: Experiences with car guards in this area

9) Now we'd like to ask you about your experiences with car guards in this area. First, How often do you park in this area (circle one)?

Everyday	1
Two or three times a week	2
Once a week	3
A couple times a month	4

10) Now at what time of day do you usually park here? (circle one) 11) In this particular area, is your car guard usually? (circle one)

Early Morning	1	South African	1
Mid-Day	2	Non-South African	2
Afternoon	3	I don't know	3
Evening	4		
Late Evening	5		

Now I'm going to list a number of commonly reported complaints made against car guards. Please tell me if any of them have ever happened to you in this particular area. For each category, you can answer definitely yes, perhaps/maybe, or definitely no.

Surveyor: Please read out the answers for the first question only.

		Definitely yes	Perhaps/ Maybe	Definitely no
12	Is your car guard irritatingly persistent?	1	2	3
13	Has your car guard ever sworn or shouted at you?	1	2	3
14	Is your car guard verbally abusive?	1	2	3
15	Has your car guard ever threatened to damage your car?	1	2	3
16	Has your car guard ever actually damaged your car?	1	2	3
17	Has your car guard ever been physically threatening?	1	2	3
18	Has your car guard ever physically abused you?	1	2	3
19	In light of your above answers, do you think you have ever been harassed by a car guard in this area?	1	2	3
20	Now I'd like to ask if you have had any positive experiences with car guards in this area. Has your car guard ever been polite?	1	2	3
21	Do you find your car guard helpful?	1	2	3

Section V: Experiences with car guards in other areas of Cape Town

22	Also in light with your above answers, would you say that you have been harassed by car guards in other areas of Cape Town?	Yes	1
		No	2
		Unsure	3
23	If YES, which areas of Cape Town besides the one we are in now have you experienced harassment? →		
24	In the area where the harassment occurred, was the car attendant South African/Non-South African, or your unsure?	South African	1
		Non-South African	2
		I don't know	3

What did the harassment involve? Just like above, I am going to name a number of commonly associated complaints made against car guards. For each category, you can answer definitely yes, perhaps/maybe, or definitely no.

Surveyor: Please read out the answers for the first question only.

	Definitely yes	Perhaps/ Maybe	Definitely no
25) Was your car guard irritatingly persistent?	1	2	3
26) Has your car guard ever sworn or shouted at you?	1	2	3
27) Is your car guard verbally abusive?	1	2	3
28) Has your car guard ever threatened to damage your car?	1	2	3
29) Has your car guard ever actually damaged your car?	1	2	3
30) Has your car guard ever been physically threatening?	1	2	3
31) Has your car guard ever physically abused you?	1	2	3

Section VI:

Now I'd like to ask you some general questions regarding your opinion towards car guards in Cape Town. 32) Generally speaking, are you as a driver in Cape Town satisfied with the car attendant system (circle one)?

Yes: satisfied	1
Neutral: neither satisfied or unsatisfied	2
No: unsatisfied	3
Don't know	4

33) How do you think the car guarding system could be improved?

Everything is fine; no improvement is necessary	1
Construct a fair and equal process of formalizing the informal car guards, involving training's for car guards	2
Not allowing foreigners to be car guards	3
Other:	4

APPENDIX B: SURVEY OF CAR GUARDS IN CAPE TOWN

Survey number: _____ Date: _____ Name of Surveyor: _____

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>TIME</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Race</u>
Long Street Area 1	Morning	1 Male	1 Black/African
Kloof Street Area 2	Mid-Day	2 Female	2 Coloured
Specific street:	Afternoon	3	3 Indian
	Evening	4	4 White
	Late Evening	5	5 Other

Introduction

Hello, we are conducting a study on the experiences of informal car attendants on the streets of Cape Town. The study is part of a project sponsored by the Centre for Social Science Research at the University of Cape Town. I was hoping that I could ask you some questions about your experiences as a car guard.

Your answers will be confidential. They will be put together with 150 other people we are interviewing, to give an over all picture. It will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to tell us what you think.

I am not a member of any branch of the government, nor am I associated with the Department of Home Affairs. Are you willing to participate? IF no or in doubt, CLOSE INTERVIEW

1) In your experience with the Cape Town City Police, have you ever any of the following?	Never	Once or Twice	Sometimes; On Occasion	Often	Don't know
a)shouted,yelled, or sworn at	1	2	3	4	5
b)a demand for money	1	2	3	4	5
c) been chased away	1	2	3	4	5
d) hit or beaten	1	3	3	4	5
2) Now what about private security officers, such as Grey Security, have you ever experienced any of the following??	Never	Once or Twice	Sometimes; On Occasion	Often	Don't know
a) shouted,yelled, or sworn at	1	2	3	4	5
b)a demand for money	1	2	3	4	5
c) been chased away	1	2	3	4	5
d) hit or beaten	1	2	3	4	5
3) And what about car owners, have you ever experienced any of the following with them?	Never	Once or Twice	Sometimes; On Occasion	Often	Don't know
a) shouted,yelled, or sworn at	1	2	3	4	5
b)a demand for money	1	2	3	4	5
c)car owners not paying what they said they would	1	2	3	4	5
d) hit or beaten	1	2	3	4	5
4) How about other car guards?	Never	Once or Twice	Sometimes; On Occasion	Often	Don't know
a) shouted,yelled, or sworn at	1	2	3	4	5
b)a demand for money	1	2	3	4	5
c) been chased away	1	2	3	4	5
d) hit or beaten	1	2	3	4	5
5) And finally, what about street people.	Never	Once or Twice	Sometimes; On Occasion	Often	Don't now
a)shouted, yelled, or sworn at	1	2	3	4	5
b)a demand for money	1	2	3	4	5
c)been chased away.	1	2	3	4	5
d) hit or beaten	1	2	3	4	5

6) Have you ever been arrested in relation to doing your job as guarding cars, including traveling to and from the area where you watch cars, actually watching cars, and returning home again (circle one)?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

If the answer to the above question is NO, please skip to question : 12

Section II: Questions pertaining to those who have been arrested.

7) How many times have you been arrested (fill in)?						
8) Generally speaking, what were you charged with when you have been arrested (circle one)?						
They never charged me.						1
They charged me with an ordinance saying I was physically blocking the street						2
They charged me with an ordinance saying I was causing a public disturbance						3
They chased me away from watching cars, and then I returned, so I was arrested						4
Other:						5
I don't know						6
9) In general, how long were you detained?						
I was released the same day I was arrested						1
I was detained overnight						2
I was detained 24 hours						3
I was detained for two days						4
Other:						5
10) Thinking of the times you were arrested, did you ever experience any of the following?						
	Never	Once or Twice	Sometimes; On Occasion	Often	Don't know	
a) shouted, yelled, or sworn at	1	2	3	4	5	
b) a demand for money	1	2	3	4	5	
d) hit or beaten	1	2	3	4	5	
11) What about other inmates. Did you experience any of the following from them?						
	Never	Once or Twice	Sometimes; On Occasion	Often	Don't know	
a) shouted, yelled, or sworn at	1	2	3	4	5	
b) a demand for money	1	2	3	4	5	
c) hit or beaten	1	2	3	4	5	
12) How satisfied are you with your job in South Africa (read out answers)? What about your life in general? Again, read out answers.						
	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very Dissatisfied		
a) your job	1	2	3	4		
b) life in general	1	2	3	4		
c) how you are treated by other by other South Africans	1	2	3	4		
d) your ability to earn an income	1	2	3	4		
13) What country were you born in? (fill in) →						
14) What level of education have you completed (Circle one)?						
No Formal Schooling						1
Some Primary School						2
Primary School Completed						3
Some High School						4
High School Completed						5
Some University/College						6
University/College Completed						7
Postgraduate work						8
Other						9

15) How would you define your legal status in South Africa?
 (If answer to number 13 is South African, do not ask this question, and check automatically Citizen.)

Citizen	1
Refugee	2
Asylum Seeker	3
Legal Immigrant	4
Without papers	5
Other	6

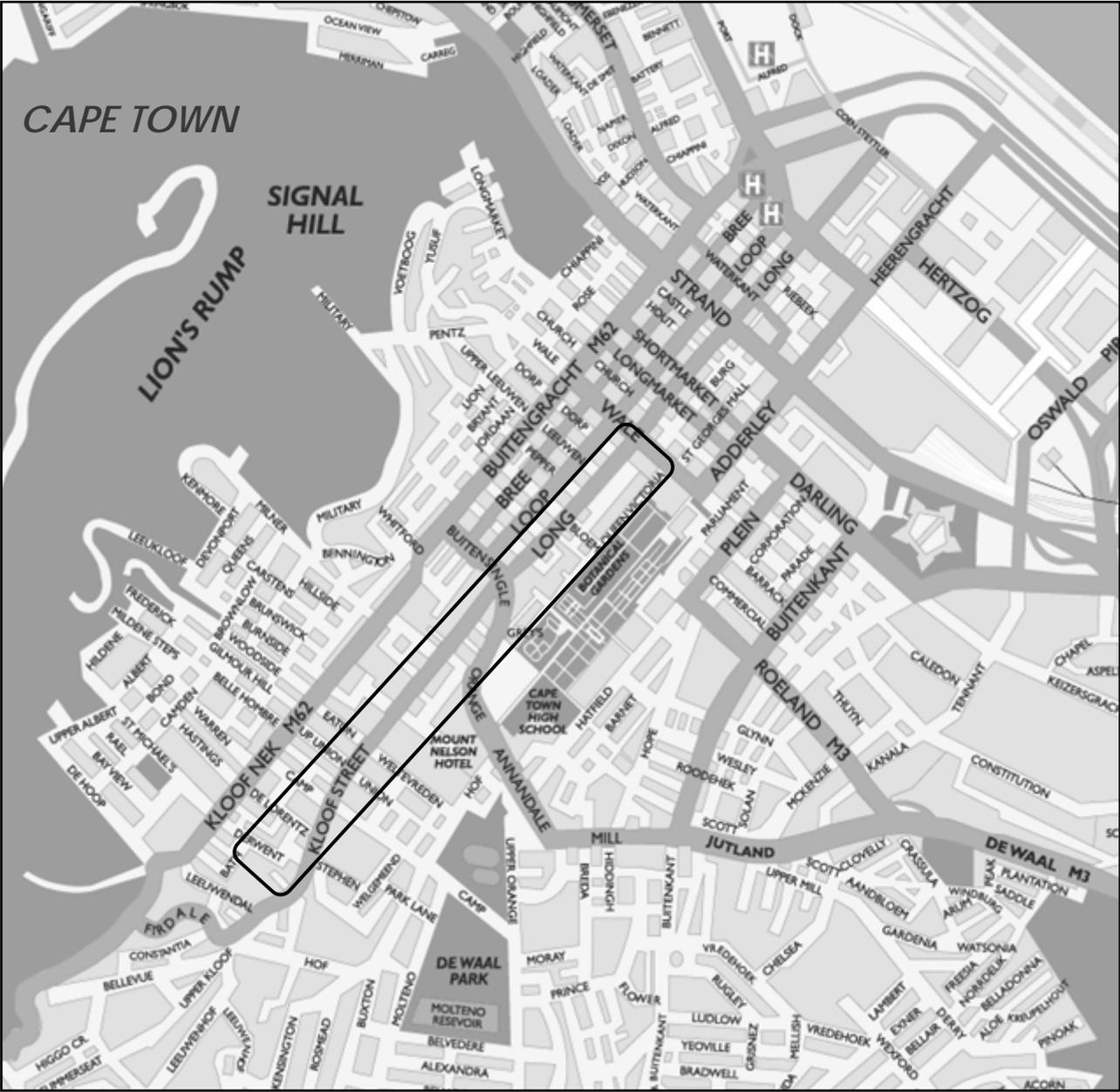
16) Thinking of how other South Africans treat you; for each of the following please tell me whether it makes people treat you better, worse, or makes no difference. Let's start with your job, do people treat you much worse, worse, no difference, better, or much better? And what about your income? Etc. Etc. Etc.

	Much Worse	Worse	No Difference	Better	Much Better
Your job	1	2	3	4	5
Your income	1	2	3	4	5
Your language	1	2	3	4	5
Your nationality	1	2	3	4	5
Your race	1	2	3	4	5

Surveyor's observations:

- 17) Race of respondent:
- 18) Nationality of respondent:
- 19) Accent:

APPENDIX C:



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The CSSR is an umbrella organisation comprising five units:

The Aids and Society Research Unit (ASRU) supports quantitative and qualitative research into the social and economic impact of the HIV pandemic in Southern Africa. Focus areas include: the economics of reducing mother to child transmission of HIV, the impact of HIV on firms and households; and psychological aspects of HIV infection and prevention. ASRU operates an outreach programme in Khayelitsha (the Memory Box Project) which provides training and counselling for HIV positive people

The Data First Resource Unit ('Data First') provides training and resources for research. Its main functions are: 1) to provide access to digital data resources and specialised published material; 2) to facilitate the collection, exchange and use of data—sets on a collaborative basis; 3) to provide basic and advanced training in data analysis; 4) the ongoing development of a web site to disseminate data and research output.

The Democracy In Africa Research Unit (DARU) supports students and scholars who conduct systematic research in the following three areas: 1) public opinion and political culture in Africa and its role in democratisation and consolidation; 2) elections and voting in Africa; and 3) the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on democratisation in Southern Africa. DARU has developed close working relationships with projects such as the Afrobarometer (a cross national survey of public opinion in fifteen African countries), the Comparative National Elections Project, and the Health Economics and AIDS Research Unit at the University of Natal.

The Social Surveys Unit (SSU) promotes critical analysis of the methodology, ethics and results of South African social science research. One core activity is the Cape Area Panel Study of young adults in Cape Town. This study follows 4800 young people as they move from school into the labour market and adulthood. The SSU is also planning a survey for 2004 on aspects of social capital, crime, and attitudes toward inequality.

The Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) was established in 1975 as part of the School of Economics and joined the CSSR in 2002. SALDRU conducted the first national household survey in 1993 (the Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development). More recently, SALDRU ran the Langeberg Integrated Family survey (1999) and the Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain Survey (2000). Current projects include research on public works programmes, poverty and inequality.
