

Neighbourhood Profile

FREEDOM PARK MITCHELL'S PLAIN



BACKYARDING MATTERS

Enabling People, Place and Policy

12/2020

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BACKYARD MATTERS

ENABLING PEOPLE, PLACE & POLICY

This document is produced as part of the project Backyard Matters: Enabling People, Place and Policy. Backyard Matters is a partnership project initiative between Development Action Group (DAG), Isandla Institute and Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU). The project is aimed at strengthening the backyard rental market and contributing towards well-managed, quality rental stock that provides affordable, dignified and safe housing solutions. Backyard Matters is funded by Comic Relief.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The backyard sector is widely recognised as a critical and growing component of housing provision in South African cities. However, an absence of data, particularly at the neighbourhood level, has meant that the nature of backyarding is not well understood. As such, there is a lack of public policy offering guidance and programmatic responses.

Within this context, the Backyard Matters project aims to contribute towards an improved understanding and the identification of interventions which enhance and foster this particular under-estimated and neglected housing sector.

Backyard Matters is a 42-month project funded by Comic Relief, which brings together the Development Action Group [DAG], Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading [VPUU], and the Isandla Institute. The main objectives of the project related to improving access for affordable rental housing stock, improve the quality of rental stock through technical support and develop new forms of collective bargaining.

In order to improve the understanding of the backyard rental market, DAG and VPUU conducted primary data collection in eight neighborhoods Lost City and Freedom Park (in Tafelsig, Mitchells Plain), Maitland Garden Village, Palm Park (in Eerste River), Lotus Park, Ilitha Park, Kensington, and Manenberg. The primary data is distilled into these neighbourhood profiles and supplemented by focus group discussions.

The key findings from this survey are as follows:

533 residential erven in the enumeration area were surveyed and altogether **1892 residents** were interviewed. In general, the survey discovered multiple forms of tenure and high degree of fluidity between landlords and tenants. This can be attributed to extended family relationships where, for example, several household members of landlords reside as backyard tenants etc.

Most landlord households have been living in Freedom Park for a fair length amount of time. While many moved to Freedom Park in the 1990s after or during land occupation, the majority moved to the area in the 2000s. The overall average of landlord household is about **four** people. Amongst effective landlords themselves, nearly **75%** are unemployed or looking for work. For the landlords earning **less than R3 500**, the rent contributes substantially to the overall household income.

Much like landlord households, tenant households have lived in Freedom Park for many years, though most households arrived from the 1990s onwards. Whereas landlord households averaged around **four** members, tenant households are, on average **three** people, though there is a fair spread of households between **one and six** people. Some households are very large with **seven or more** members, indicating overcrowded conditions.

The average rent is around **R662 per month** with a range from **R300 to as high as R1,800 per month**. **80%** of all tenant

households pay their rent in cash and less than 10% of both tenant and landlord households say that they have a formal written rental agreement.

There is a trio of related factors which help to understand why households (both tenants and landlords) choose to live in Freedom Park that are primarily social. They want to be closer to family, access affordable housing and have better living conditions. Push factors would be primarily economic - households would move to improve their livelihoods through better employment.

Across the board the main house secures refuse, water, sanitation and electricity from the municipality and provides these services in turn to the backyarders, though a few backyarders access services independently. The majority of households (mostly landlord and main house tenants) are living in the main house on the property which is almost always made of brick and cement. However, in Freedom Park a fair number of other structures are also made from brick and cement. **38** backyard structures in total were made of brick and cement - around **7%** of all households. The remainder are largely informal structures made of metal or wood. There were no significant examples of entrepreneurial landlords or boarding houses.

This document, along with the seven other neighbourhood profiles will inform further synthesis and understanding of the backyarding sector.

INTRODUCTION

Project Background

The backyard sector is widely recognised as a critical and growing component of housing provision in South African cities. However, an absence of data, particularly at the neighbourhood level, has meant that the nature of backyarding is not well understood. As such, there is a lack of public policy offering guidance and programmatic responses.

Within this context, the Backyard Matters project aims to contribute towards an improved understanding and the identification of interventions which enhance and foster this particular under-estimated and neglected housing sector.

Backyard Matters is a 42-month project funded by Comic Relief, which brings together the Development Action Group [DAG], Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading [VPUU], and the Isandla Institute.

The following insights and arguments motivate for the project:

- The backyard rental market is a rapidly growing accommodation option for an increasing number of people, especially in South African cities.
- There is a lack of data and understanding of the nature and dynamics of backyard rental markets in different cities and neighbourhoods.
- There is no clear definition of backyarding or backyard dwellings to guide policy and programmatic responses.
- Government responses to backyarding have been untargeted and ad-hoc.
- New actors have emerged that are likely to shape backyard rental markets.

Project Objectives

- Better access to reliable information and well managed, quality rental housing stock.
- Improved rental housing stock through technical support, development guidelines and formalisation.
- New and innovative collective bargaining models are tested and adopted.

Project Methodology

To gain a deeper understanding of the community-owned solution that is the backyard rental sector, the primary focus of the project in the first year [October 2019 - September 2020] is on data collection and analysis, through sample surveys and focus group discussions in eight selected neighbourhoods across the Cape Town metropolitan area.

The eight identified case studies, with different socio-spatial conditions, are **Lost City** and **Freedom Park** (in Tafelsig, Mitchells Plain), **Maitland Garden**

Village, Palm Park (in Eerste River), **Lotus Park, Ilitha Park, Kensington**, and **Manenberg**. The data collected has been compiled into a series of neighbourhood specific sample profiles directly informing a synthesis paper, which will seek to distil a provisional typology of backyard rental markets in Cape Town.

The project will also focus on research and engagement processes aimed at understanding potential policy levers and programmatic interventions to strengthen the backyard rental sector

as a provider of affordable, flexible and dignified housing options. As such, the project will engage in literature, policy review and convene stakeholder engagements, including meetings of the local community of practice of Cape Town based-NGOs. Lastly, the project will initiate engagements with landlords and tenants in selected neighbourhoods, to review and strengthen opportunities for collective bargaining in a move towards a robust and affordable backyard rental sector.

Project Narrative

To comprehensively unpack the backyard sector, a series of relevant themes have been identified and organised into a coherent research policy framework, namely the project narrative.

Each of these themes explores how to measure a dimension of the backyarding phenomenon, testing various indicators through targeted questions, which may [or may not] find their answers in the literature review, sample surveys, qualitative interviews and or focus group discussions.

What is and could be people's Quality of Life within the backyarding phenomenon is the underpinning question of this research, simultaneously mapping the status quo and exploring the potential.

In this light, the project narrative includes the following themes:

Tenant and landlord profiles | tenant-landlord relationships | renting household profile | cost of living | market | support | neighbourhood [context/area] | properties | structures | basic-services | design/planning | policy/legislation

The project intends to test the research methodology, together with the Project Narrative as a precursor of a more in-depth – Backyarding Index.

Safeguarding

Partners have adopted a safeguarding strategy that aims to protect all stakeholders taking part in the project from harm during data collection and analysis; as well as any meetings and forums that are organised. This has been tailored to address specific risks in each community through local safety plans.

All participants in surveys will be informed about the purpose of the project and how the data will be used and consent will be obtained. Data will be anonymised so that the identity of participants is protected and used for research purposes only.

The COVID-19 pandemic and the declaration of a State of Disaster in South Africa required specific safety measures to be put into place to comply with the law, prevent spread of the virus and protect staff, fieldworkers and residents from being infected as well as managing distress and the fears of all involved.

About the Neighbourhood Profile

Within the Backyard Matters project, this report aims to provide a deeper understanding of the informal rental sector within a specific neighbourhood context.

As part of a set of eight reports illustrating and analysing the data collected within the selected neighbourhoods, this report focuses on the informal rental sector in Freedom Park, Mitchells Plain. However, it is important to note that this study explores a way of inquiry through **sample surveys**, rather than mapping each neighbourhood in its entirety.

Firstly, this report **illustrates the neighbourhood context**, and it provides a summary of some of the key demographic, social, economic, and housing trends. Secondly, it **maps the informal rental sector** within that specific neighbourhood.

To identify targeted responses and policy recommendations, it is necessary to explore the informal rental sector within different neighbourhood contexts, and drawing from the nuances emerging from the different socio-spatial conditions.

In this light, the synthesis paper interrogated and compared the informal rental sector within different contexts, drawing from the various neighbour-specific sample surveys.

PARTICIPATORY DATA COLLECTION

Data Collection

This neighbourhood profile is based on a participatory data collection process.

Consultation and training

- Local leadership and/or organisations were identified and engaged to secure buy-in for the field work.
- Preliminary focus group discussions were conducted with residents and potential local fieldworkers with the intention of providing information about the project and gaining an initial understanding of how the backyard sector functions in each community.
- Local field workers were recruited by staff and community leaders, screened for suitability and between 5 and 10 were then trained on the purpose of the project and how to complete and troubleshoot the surveys on the tablets. They were paid for this work.

Fieldwork sample surveys

- An extensive survey was designed to capture data on the main research areas. The surveys were conducted during level three of the lockdown (30 June to 07 July 2020).
- Before fieldwork began, the fieldworkers went door-to-door and a community meeting was held to ensure that as many residents as possible were aware that the enumeration was taking place and what it was for. This preparation assisted greatly in helping to ensure the actual enumeration went smoothly.
- Over a few days, field workers surveyed as many households in the area as they could access. This included information about each household living on the erf and additional information about each person in the household.
- In general a central location was designated as a headquarters during the process that could be used for daily briefing, queries and an assembly point should any incident occur. Each day, target erf numbers were identified and field workers conducted surveys in pairs and maintained contact regarding their movement with supervisors via whatsapp.
- Particular concerns arose regarding gang activity. Field workers were mostly drawn from the area and were able to navigate the neighbourhood, but were advised to enter the nearest house to avoid

getting caught in crossfire. Vacant and dilapidated houses where gang or drug activity were likely to be taking place were avoided. Yards were checked for the presence of dogs.

- Where possible, permission was obtained from landlords before entering backyards and speaking to tenants. Consent was obtained and photos were taken of each house that was enumerated.

Data analysis

- The data collected was then cleaned and analysed.
- Key themes were identified and possible questions for focus group discussions were identified.

Focus group discussions

- Focus group discussions were conducted with both tenant and landlord households where participants gave consent to be contacted.

Fieldwork sample survey in Freedom Park, Mitchells Plain

Boundary



Figure 1: Boundary of enumeration area. Source: Enumeration Survey.

The enumeration area covers the boundaries of what is locally known as **Freedom Park in Mitchells Plain**, following Tafelberg road on the northern boundary, Langeberg to the west and Erica to the

east. The southern boundary falls behind the last row of house on the boundary line behind Benfica Street.

Sample size

533 residential erven in the enumeration area surveyed:

1892 residents surveyed:

211 landlord households across various tenure types with:

tenants living in backyards **676**

243 effective landlords
198 backyarder households
124 tenants living in rooms in the main house
383 effective tenants¹

tenants living in the main house **370**
members of landlord households **846**

Exact breakdown of residents in the table below.

SAMPLE SIZE (IN VALUES)			
	Total households	Effective landlord/tenant	Total Residents
TENANT households			
Main house tenants	124	143	370
Backyard owners	68	89	243
Backyard tenants	124	144	415
Backyard residents	6	7	18
Total	322	383	1046
LANDLORD households			
Landlord owners	194	221	774
Landlord tenants	10	12	38
Landlord residents	7	10	34
Backyard landlords	0	0	0
Total	211	243	846
Grand Total	533	626	1892

Table 1: Sample sizes by tenure type.

¹The tenure types and definition of effective landlords/tenants are discussed in more detail in the landlord and tenant sections.

ABOUT FREEDOM PARK - CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Historical Context and Development

Location



Figure 2: Location of Freedom Park, circled, in the City of Cape Town (Stamen, 2020).

Freedom Park is located at the periphery of the city in the very south-east corner of Tafelsig, Mitchells Plain. It one of the last suburbs at the edge of the apartheid era buffer of open land that was left between Mitchells Plain and Khayelitsha.

Historical development

Freedom Park was initially intended to be a public school and was left undeveloped while other housing projects were established. Around 1998 the land was occupied by local residents who had been living in backyards. The City of Cape Town moved to evict the residents and quickly secured an eviction order, but the new residents were well-organised and managed to resist the execution of the order. The City Council and residents agreed to enter into a mediation process and the City withdrew its eviction application. By the end of 1999, about **485 homes** had been erected and nearly **2500 people** were living on the land. By

2001 rudimentary services were installed including shared toilets and standpipes and refuse collection. By this stage circumstances had changed and the City Council had agreed to allow the community to build their own homes through a People's Housing Process also known as PHP. DAG provided significant support through this time as residents negotiated with the Council on the development. By 2006, the site was ready for housing and

construction started in 2007 with the support of the Mellon Housing Initiative and various typologies were developed. Despite significant issues that had to be worked through, including poor construction, lack of security and contestation over access to housing, progress was made and many residents eventually occupied their homes nearly a decade after originally occupying the land (DAG, 2009).

Spatial Context & Urban Fabric

Connectivity

Freedom Park is not near any major railway lines and residents would have to take taxis to the nearest interchange. Despite being in the geographic heart of the city, it is not well connected to the surrounding suburbs nor any major truck routes into the city centre, resulting in long commutes for those who do have work.

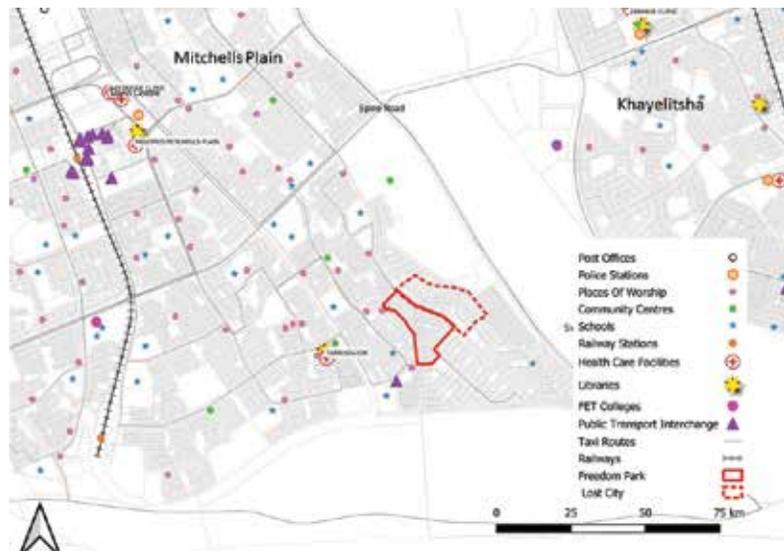


Figure 3: Social facilities and transport infrastructure (City of Cape Town, 2020).

Social facilities

Mitchells Plain is extremely large and sprawling and public service are thinly spread out across the suburb. Freedom Park is located in the south-east corner, fairly far from the local CBD. There are schools, a clinic and two large community centres within walking distance, though this would take some time. Freedom Park does have a small hall that was constructed during the developing phase and two small parks.

Land use and zoning



Figure 4: Zoning scheme (City of Cape Town, 2020).

Apart from the obvious exceptions such as the parks, which are zoned for community use, the remaining erven are zoned as residential. The surrounding land is zoned almost entirely residential too.

Of the **536** erven in the enumerated area of Freedom Park, **533** are primarily residential.

ERVEN	
Residential erven	533
Parks, fields and open space	2
Schools and Pre-Primaries	0
Churches and community facilities	1
	536

Table 2: Description of all erven uses in enumeration area (City of Cape Town, 2020).

All of the residential erven are zoned as Single Residential 1

Single Residential 1 provides for, '... predominantly single-family dwelling houses... in low- to-medium-density residential neighbourhoods [and] limited employment and additional accommodation opportunities are possible as primary or consent uses' (City of Cape Town, 2015:108).

Accordingly, the zoning scheme provides for up to three dwellings on the same erf with a floor factor of one. While it is possible to build up to the boundary, a maximum floor coverage of **75%** of the erf is permissible. Second and third dwellings must be constructed in a style that is similar to the architecture of the main dwelling house and is subject to certification that capacity is available on the service networks (City of Cape Town, 2015:112).

Clearly the majority of households with backyard housing are not compliant with the zoning scheme, which imagines the construction of more formal housing, primarily because there are often more than three dwellings and the backyard structures (made out of wood and zinc) are rarely constructed in a similar architectural style.

In addition, apart from providing for a limited range of home occupations including hair salons, the zoning scheme expressly forbids commercial activity such as workshops and spaza shops.

General Residential 1 primarily encourages, '...group housing, which is a medium-density form of residential development, where attention is given to aesthetics, architectural form and the inter-relationship between different components of the development' (City of Cape Town, 2015:116).

Clearly, this is ambitious and the underlying zoning doesn't match the current built form at all.

Urban fabric

Streetscape

Through the PHP, it was agreed that there would be smaller erf sizes so that more households could be accommodated and this has resulted in smaller roads that have bends and a somewhat denser urban form. While the houses are similar in design to many public housing projects, there is a mixture of freestanding, semi-detached and double storey homes.



Figure 5: A typical streetscape (Google Maps, 2020).

There is a significantly amount of infilling of land, not just with backyard structures, but with boundary walls and a mixture of extensions. In general, the lack of greening is obvious. The soil is mostly beach sand, which blows across the suburb and is hard to manage. Most of the houses are surrounded by sand and gravel. The community is poor and unemployment is high and many homes have fallen into disrepair over the years.

Growth in backyarding

As can be seen, backyarding is fairly ubiquitous in Freedom Park. The number of backyard structures has increased substantially over the last 10 years or so. An aerial desktop analysis reveals very few wooden backyard structures immediately after the construction of the area compared to roughly 250 in 2020.³



Figure 6: Bird's-eye view of backyards in Freedom Park. Source: Google Maps.

³A floor factor is used to calculate the maximum floor space of buildings permissible. It is the maximum floor space as a proportion of the net erf area. For example, an erf 200m² in size with a floor factor 1 may have up to 200m² of floorspace across storeys subject to coverage and height limitations. High floor factors can be used to encourage density in some land uses.

Land values in Freedom Park: R290,000 to R325,000

City of Cape Town, 2018

Social and Economic Context

Official census data from 2011 is only available at the subplace level for Tafelsig, which is too big to be of use comparatively. At the small area level, the closest match is section of Freedom Park between Langeberg Avenue in the north and Stella Road in the south, which is about two-thirds of the enumerated area.

Gender and Age

Total population: 2,092 living in **400** households

51% split majority female



The population is distributed across age groups and is largely youthful (66% of residents under 30 years of age).

AGE DISTRIBUTION									
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+
No.	493	456	417	229	322	128	30	5	6
%	24%	22%	20%	11%	15%	6%	1%	0.2%	0.3%

Table 3: Age distribution of all residents. Source: Stats SA.

Race and language

Nearly 96% of the population identifies as Coloured with less than 3% identifying as Black African. The majority, around 84% speak Afrikaans as a first language, with 12% speaking English (Stats SA, 2011).

Employment and household income

Unfortunately employment and household income data is not available publicly at the small area level at this stage.

LANDLORDS

Landlord Tenure

Types of landlords in the backyard sector have not been formally designated in public policy, though there is some convergence in the literature.

A landlord is defined as, 'The person who occupies the main house, controls access to the backyard unit and services, and enters into a rental agreement with the backyard tenant... The landlord is not necessarily the owner of the land and does not necessarily have legal authority to let the space in the back' (Tshangana, 2014:8).

Landlords have for the most part been categorised by the degree to which the landlord is investing in and deriving an income from rental housing and this is reflected in the formality of the relationship with tenants and the typology of backyard structures.

LANDLORD TYPES

	Investment	Relationship	Structure typology
Subsistence landlords	Landlords rent out parts of their property to generate income for basic household needs. Renting forms part of the household's strategy to get by. Minimal investment on the part of landlord and rental does not generate large surpluses. Tenants often build their own structures on landlord's property.	Tenants may be family or extended relations or others known to the landlord. Most pay rent though not always. Rental agreements are normally verbal and relationships are managed informally.	Backyard shacks made out of timber and zinc or other materials are erected to the front, rear or side of the main house. Limited access to services, often in or from the main house.
Homeowner landlords	Landlords who are not necessarily reliant on the rental income for basic needs. They invest surplus in upgrading the infrastructure and rooms, often incrementally, and are able to charge higher rents. The intention is to increase income to improve their quality of life.	Tenants are more independent and less reliant on the main house and the relationship is more formal. They often have their own keys. The landlord either lives on the property and manages the relationships or appoints someone.	One or two storey micro-flats or rooms built from brick and mortar are constructed in the backyard, often with shared facilities in the yard or en suite bathrooms. Some include electricity in the room. Mostly constructed without formal plans or technical know-how. Can result in units that are haphazardly built.

LANDLORD TYPES			
	Investment	Relationship	Structure typology
Entrepreneurial landlords	Landlords who collect rent as their main source of income. Their intention is to expand and accumulate wealth and they are able to network and invest in multiple properties, though they may not have access to finance or technical skills.	Landlord rarely lives on the premises and the relationship is more clinical and 'arms-length' even though agreements may still be verbal.	Boarding houses or larger double storey buildings. Often the main house has been demolished or completely renovated to accommodate multiple rooms with en suite or shared bathrooms and a shared kitchen. Electricity connection may be upgraded and separate meters installed, though the original water and sewerage lines are used.

Table 4: Landlord types (Scheba & Turok, 2020:10-15).

The most visible indicator of the nature of landlording is the typology of backyard structures. In Freedom Park, around 80% of backyarder households are living in timber, plastic or metal structures with around 19% living in structures made of brick and cement. It would appear that the majority of landlord households are renting backyard structures on a subsistence basis, though

the fair number of brick and cement structures might indicate that more and more landlords are investing in backyard structures. There was as a few examples of entrepreneurial landlords, where the property had been entirely renovated into double storey structures that are rented. The survey was not able to capture the details of landlord households which do not reside on the property.

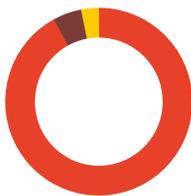
Landlord tenure types

Through the consultations, survey development and analysis a number of different tenure types were documented for landlords and tenants. **These include:**

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLDS TENURE TYPE	
General Definition	Common expression in Freedom Park
Landlord owners Landlord households which own the property and live in the main house. They rent out rooms and/or structures and space in the yard.	Most property owners in Freedom Park built their own home or bought the property on the private property market.
Landlord tenants Landlord households which rent the main house themselves and sublet rooms and/or structures and space in the yard.	A few landlord tenants in Freedom Park rent the main house. This might be a main tenant who sublets to others living on the property, or more likely a number of households who all rent rooms and backyard structures from the owner.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLDS TENURE TYPE	
General Definition	Common expression in Freedom Park
<p>Landlord residents Landlord households which have some other kind of tenure and rent out room and/or structure and space in the yard.</p>	<p>Some landlord households may have inherited their homes from parents or bought the property but never transferred formal title. Others may be where the owner is absent or a relative who isn't interested in taking occupation. This was common in Freedom Park as most tenure was strictly ownership.</p>
<p>Backyard landlords Landlords who own and rent the main house and/or structure and space in the yard and live in a structure in the yard themselves.</p>	<p>Mostly in order to make extra income, but it may be that an elderly parent has moved out back to allow a child or relation to live in the main house.</p> <p>There were no backyard landlords surveyed in Freedom Park. All of the landlords who lived on the property were staying in the main house.</p>

Table 5: Landlord households by tenure type.



Landlord tenure types

- 92% Landlord owners
- 5% Landlord tenants
- 3% Landlord residents

- Where the landlord doesn't live on the property and rents the main house or rooms in the main house and structures in the backyard directly and separately.

211 landlord households were enumerated, of which the vast majority owned the main house. This makes sense in Freedom Park, where all of the houses were built as part of the People's Housing Programme. A few may have since been purchased on the private property market.

Only 10 landlord households rent the main house themselves and sublet rooms and the yard to backyarders. None were living in the backyard themselves. There is fairly consistent pattern here of landlord households living in the main house and renting rooms, yard space or backyard structures to tenants.

There are; however, a number of complexities and anomalies in tenure which were not well captured by the survey and might require further research. **These may include:**

- Single intergenerational households living in multiple structures on the property.

In Freedom Park, 2% of landlord household members (38 out of 1892) consider themselves to be tenants. These are possibly 'hidden' tenants in landlord households - most often boarders, adult singles, couples and elderly members of landlord households who pay rent of some kind, but consider themselves to be part of the household or extended household.

As it stands, where these were deemed to be separate households they were captured as tenants, but where these were deemed to be part of the landlord household they may be rendered invisible. This in large part comes down to how respondents considered what a household is, which is always a subjective determination. The survey did not impose a standard on what might be considered a household and so respondents were able to determine themselves what constituted a household. A more standardised assessment might have revealed more separate households with more tenants or less households with more members contributing financially - depending on the measure.

Length of tenure

Most landlord households have been living in Freedom Park for a fair amount of time. While many moved to Freedom Park in the 1990s, the majority moved to the area in the 2000s. This seems to have tapered off and by the early 2010s very few households were moving to the area.

This may be because the landlord households were fairly stable and there is less churn in houses being sold; because there are now no new open plots of land available to build housing.

When asked directly, as many as 131 out of 243 (around 53%) of effective landlords stated that they had have benefited from a housing subsidy with the remainder indicating that they had not or did not respond. This is a strange result, considering that the whole area was developed through PHP which is a public subsidy programme.

LENGTH OF TENURE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
1970s			1	1	0.47%
1980s	1			1	0.47%
1990s	54	2		56	26.54%
2000s	119	4	4	127	60.19%
2010s	19	1	5	25	11.85%
2020s	1			1	0.47%

Table 6: Landlord length of tenure.

Landlord Demographic Profiles

Landlord demographic profiles are determined by the economic and social history of the area (Bank, 2007).

More recently it has been commonly assumed that landlords are mostly women: 'In older township areas the landlords are often predominantly female, retired or close to retirement age, low income and long-term urban residents. By enabling home owners to become small-scale landlords, backyard rental thus creates valuable entrepreneurial opportunities' (Tshangana, 2014:6).

The survey did not ask specifically who the effective landlord might be in each household and determining this is problematic and may not necessarily have been accurate. **For example:**

- The landlord may not reside on the property at all, which makes it hard to capture their demographic details in a house to house neighbourhood survey.
- Depending on the particular circumstances, the idea that one or more particular individuals is the

- landlord may not represent how the relationship is managed. This is most obvious in the case where a multi-generational household lives in rooms and backyard structures. Rent does not necessarily accrue to any one individual but payment is made in kind towards overall household costs or pooled.
- It is also possible for rent to accrue to multiple households in a property who all consider themselves to be landlords of sorts. For example,

where a boarder pays towards rent to a backyarder tenant.

It would be easier to determine who the landlord is technically based on whose name title formally resides in through a title deed. However, many families have owned a home for years, but do not have a title deed. Sometimes, title is held technically one member of the household but, in effect, the person who actually manages the tenant relationship is another member of the household and both or either may consider themselves the landlords. This is most obvious in the case of an elderly parent who owns the property but is frail and to a large extent leaves management of the property to a grown child or other relation.

As a result, for this analysis we have deemed a household member to be the effective landlord where they are living in the main house, own the land, and are considered to be the head of the household. This is an informed assumption and of course this may not always be the case and as a result demographic profiling in this report should be taken as indicative.

While there are 211 landlord households, there are 243 effective landlords; in a number of households there were two members who both considered themselves to be joint-heads (often because they are married, but not always). In these instances we have included them both as landlords.

Gender and marital status⁴

Gender in landlord households is not evenly split. Across all 846 members 52% identify as women (and girls) and 47% identify as men (and boys). Three individuals (two children and an adult) had another gender identity.

When it comes to effective landlords, this trend becomes clear. Over 60% of landlords are women compared to 37% who are men.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD GENDER					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Women	137	7	9	153	62.96%
Men	84	3	3	90	37.04%
	221	10	12	243	100%

Table 7: Effective landlord gender.

There is an interesting divergence between male and female landlords when it comes to marital status. The majority of male landlords are married (around 60% of men are married); whereas female landlords are roughly equally likely to be married, divorced or separated, or a widow (between 22 - 26% in each case).

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD MARITAL STATUS BY GENDER			
	Women	Men	Total
Civil partnership	2	1	3
Traditional / Customary	2	4	6
Cohabiting / living together as partners	12	4	16
Divorced / Separated	34	5	39
Widow / Widower	34	6	40
Never Married	28	15	43
Married	41	55	96
	153	90	243

Table 8: Effective landlord marital status by gender.

⁴Respondents were provided with the opportunity to select additional gender identities.

Age

It might be tempting to determine an average age for landlords in Freedom Park.

50-59 yrs predominant landlord age

Table 9 demonstrates that ages range widely from landlords in their 20s through to landlords nearing 80. The youngest is 21 and the oldest is 77.

The average age for all members across landlord households is 31 years old, which makes sense when you factor in youth and children.

Language and nationality

The vast majority (nearly 90%) of landlord households speak Afrikaans as a primary language with the remainder speaking English at home.

The vast majority (about 99%) of all effective landlords are South African citizens and this is the same for households in general.

It would seem then that Freedom Park is fairly homogenous culturally. This is not surprising and correlates with both the tenant households and the overall demographics of the suburb and is almost certainly due to the fact that Freedom Park was historically a Coloured suburb and has remained so.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD AGE RANGE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
20-29	8	2	2	12	4.94%
30-39	17	2	2	21	8.64%
40-49	39	3	2	44	18.11%
50-59	107	2	5	114	46.91%
60-69	44	1	1	46	18.93%
70-79	6			6	2.47%
	221	10	12	243	100%

Table 9: Age range of landlords.

LANDLORD / LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD AGE				
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total
Landlords	52	44	46	52
Landlord households	31	25	31	31

Table 10: Average effective landlord and landlord household age.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD PRIMARY LANGUAGE				
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total
Afrikaans	172	6	6	184
English	22	1	4	27
	194	7	10	211

Table 11: Landlord primary household language.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD NATIONALITY					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Permanent Resident	1			1	0.12%
Prefer not to answer	1	1		2	0.24%
South African	772	33	38	843	99.65%
	774	34	38	846	100%

Table 12: Nationality of effective landlords.

Household size

Landlord households can range from **one to over ten people**, though most households are between **two and five people** and the overall average is about four people. When you consider that the average number of people staying on the property is around **nine** people, it becomes clear that there are many more people living on properties in backyarder households than in landlord houses. In fact there are double as many.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD SIZE					
Household Size	Resident	Owner	Tenant	Total	%
1	1	1	1	4	3.42%
2	2	2	2	6	5.13%
3	3		3	6	5.13%
4	4	4	4	12	10.26%
5	5	5	5	15	12.82%
6	6		6	12	10.26%
7	7	7		14	11.97%
8	8		8	16	13.68%
9	9			9	7.69%
10	10	10		20	17.09%
>10	3			3	2.56%
	58	29	29	117	100%

Table 13: Landlord household size.

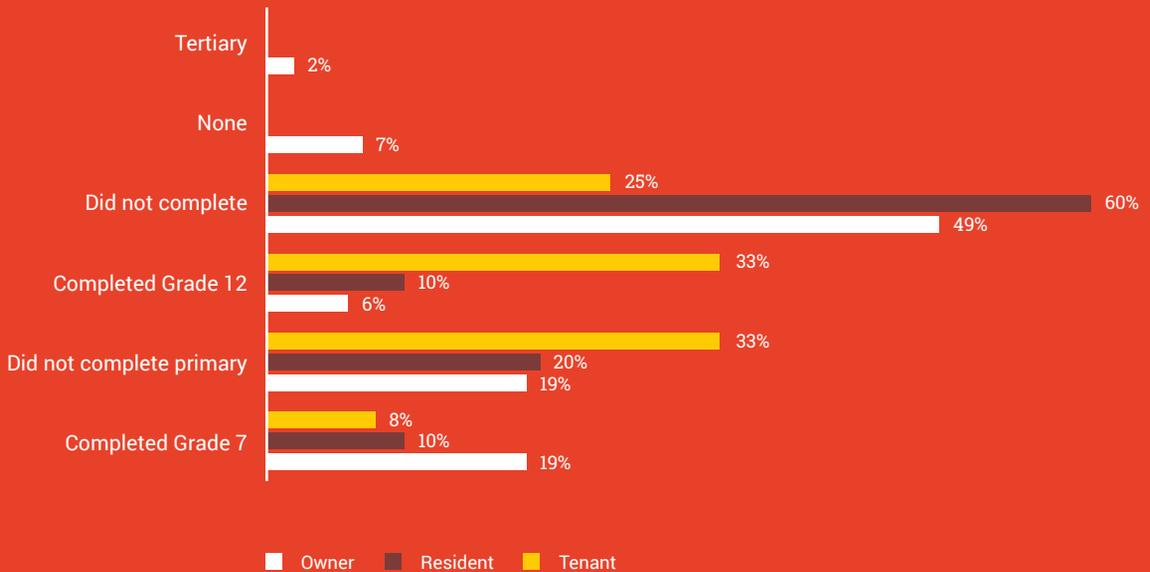
Education

The level of formal education amongst landlords is low and extremely variable. A good number, (around 40%), only received education at the primary school level. Of the remainder, almost everyone left school during secondary school with only about 7% finishing matric. **Five** landlords (around 2%) went on to secure a part or full tertiary qualification.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD EDUCATION				
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total
None	15			15
Grade 1	4			4
Grade 2		1		1
Grade 3	9	1		10
Grade 4	8			8
Grade 5	6			6
Grade 6	15		1	16
Grade 7	42	1	3	46
Grade 8	35			35
Grade 9	23	3	2	28
Grade 10	36	2	2	40
Grade 11	14	1		15
Grade 12	14	1	4	19
Full tertiary	5			5
	221	10	12	243

Table 14: Effective Landlord highest education level achieved.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD EDUCATION					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Completed Grade 7	42	1	1	44	18%
Did not complete primary	42	2	4	48	19%
Completed Grade 12	14	1	4	19	8%
Did not complete		6	3	117	47%
None	15			15	6%
Tertiary	5			5	2%
	221	10	12	248	100%



Landlord Economic Status

There is a perception that subsistence landlords are mostly unemployed and rely on rent from backyarding to get by: 'Renting out a room in the back or even making enough space for a tenant to erect their own structure, can enable a vital income stream for those who own a house but are simply unable to find formal employment' (Tshangana, 2014:6).

This goes hand in hand with the idea that where a landlord is working, the rental income becomes surplus and is available for investing in the backyard housing - a necessary step towards becoming what Scheba and Turok (2020) called a homeowner landlord.

Employment

Unemployment is very serious amongst all residents living in landlord households. Amongst effective landlords themselves, nearly 75% are unemployed or looking for work. While only 5% are retired and only around 16% are employed or self-employed.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD EMPLOYMENT					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Looking for work	1			1	0.41%
Self-employed	1			1	0.41%
Other	2			2	0.82%
Home keeper	8			8	3.29%
Retired	9	2	1	12	4.94%
Employed	32	1	5	38	15.64%
Unemployed	168	7	6	181	74.49%
	221	10	12	243	100%

Table 15: Effective landlord employment status.

When school learners are excluded, around 70% of household members are unemployed or looking for work.

Household income and source

Around 25% of households are earning no income at all and a further 7% are earning under R400 per month. Most households have a combined income of predominantly between R1,501 and R3,501 per month. This compares well with income across the City of Cape Town, where the average household income is roughly R4,775 per month (Stats SA, 2011).

What is noticeable is how much income in landlord households is primarily from rent, with households earning less than R3,500 per month indicating that they rely more on rent than wealthier households.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD RESIDENTS EMPLOYMENT					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Tertiary student	1			1	0.12%
Looking for work	5			5	0.59%
Self-employed	7		1	8	0.95%
Pre-school	12	1	1	14	1.65%
Retired	11	2	3	16	1.89%
Home keeper	24			24	2.84%
Other	58	3	2	63	7.45%
Employed	81	4	7	92	10.87%
Learner at school	170	7	8	185	21.87%
Unemployed	405	17	16	483	51.77%
	774	34	38	846	100%

Table 16: Landlord household residents' employment status.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD INCOME					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
No income	52		1	53	25.12%
R1 - R400	15			15	7.11%
R401 - R800	29	1	1	31	14.69%
R801 - R1,500	29	3	1	33	15.64%
R1,501 - R3,500	37	2	5	44	20.85%
R3,501 - R7,500	28	1	2	31	14.69%
R7,501 - R15,000	3			3	1.42%
R15,001 - R22,000	1			1	0.47%
	194	7	10	211	100%

Table 17: Landlord household income.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY SOURCE							
	Salary/ Job	Own Business	Rent	Grants	Other	Total	%
No income	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
R1 - R400	1	0	9	5	0	15	8.67%
R401 - R800	1	0	26	7	0	24	13.87%
R801 - R1,500	4	0	19	7	5	25	14.45%
R1,501 - R3,500	22	1	19	6	2	50	28.90%
R3,501 - R7,500	22	1	7	0	4	34	19.65%
R7,501 - R15,000	2	1	1	0	0	4	2.31%
R15,001 - R22,000	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.58%
	58	3	81	25	11	173	100%

Table 18: Landlord household sources of income (more than one option can be selected).

In this regard, rental income forms a necessary component of overall household income as a strategy to diversify sources of income in the context of unemployment, generally low wages and a high cost of living. Landlording is not necessarily a strategy to secure income in the absence of employment - it is part and parcel of **getting by**.

Disabilities and grants

Disabilities

66 out of 846 (nearly 8%) people living in landlord households considered themselves to have a disability with a few having multiple disabilities. For those selected another disability not listed, chronic illnesses, diabetes and hypertension are in the majority.

DISABILITY			
	Household members	Landlords	Total
Hearing difficulty		5	5
Mental difficulty	8	4	12
Seeing difficulty	1	5	6
Communication / speech difficulty	3	1	4
Walking difficulty	2	11	13
Other	12	24	36
	26	50	76

Table 19: Effective landlord and landlord household disabilities.

Grants

A significant number of people receive a grant of some form or another in landlord households. Altogether 342 out of 846 (around 40%) of people receive grants with the majority receiving a child support grant.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD GRANTS				
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total
Care Dependency Grant	1			1
Child Support Grant	210	9	9	229
Disability Grant	53	1	2	56
Foster Child Grant	4			4
Older Person's Grant	51	1		52
	320	11	11	342

Table 20: Landlord household grants.

Expenditure

Subsistence landlords simply do not make enough income to maintain or improve backyarder structures (Tshangana, 2014) (Scheba and Turok, 2020).

Of those households which did respond, the breakdown of average expenditure is listed in table 21. As expected food and groceries takes up 32% or about a third of all expenditure, followed closely by rent or bond payments (with landlord tenants paying about R200 more per month than those who own their own home).

Services such as electricity, water, refuse, rates and sanitation combined account for 18% of expenditure.

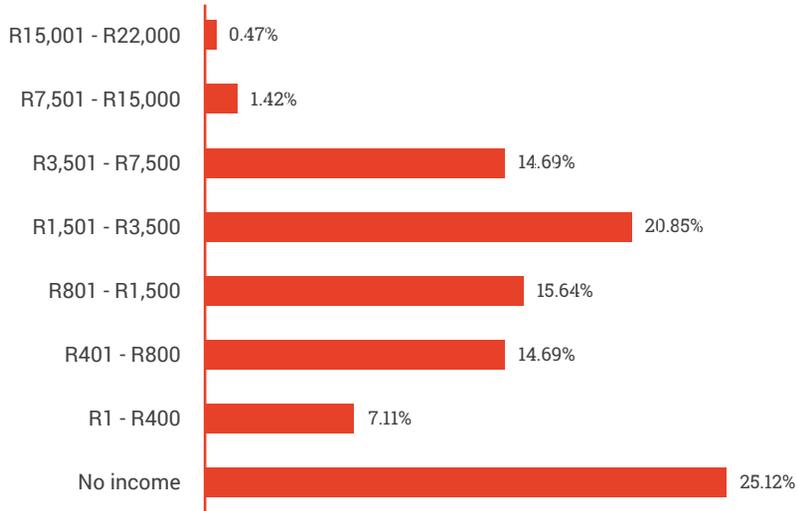
Transport costs in other households across the city can be considerable and in Freedom Park it averages at a 12% share of expenditure.

Stated expenditure confirms that money spent on maintenance of structures is negligible - accounting for only 2% of expenditure and less than R100 per month.

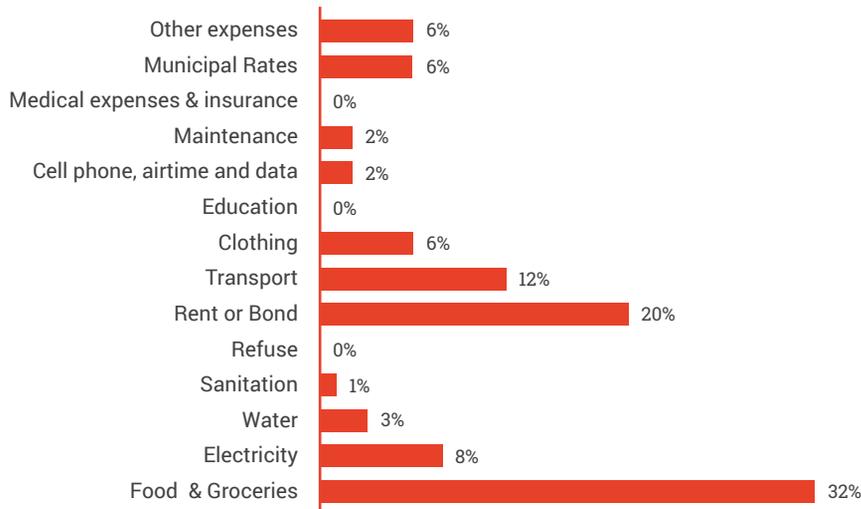
LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Food & groceries	1336	1129	1111	1319	32%
Electricity	323	250	285	319	8%
Water	133	200	117	131	3%
Sanitation	45	0	50	45	1%
Refuse	0	0	0	0	0%
Rent or bond	791	650	967	824	20%
Transport	450	690	571	483	12%
Clothing	249	485	413	263	6%
Education	0	0	0	0	0%
Cell phone, airtime & data	71	45	133	73	2%
Maintenance	98	128	120	101	2%
Medical expenses & insurance	0	0	0	0	0%
Municipal rates	262	0	0	262	6%
Other expenses	244	325	233	247	6%
	4002	3801	4000	4067	100%

Table 21: Average household expenses by tenure type.

Landlord household income



Landlord household expenditure



It is important to note that due to survey restrictions and estimated figures provided by households, there might be discrepancy between reported income and expenditure.

Typical Landlord

A typical landlord in Freedom Park is likely to be an **Afrikaans speaking South African women in her 50s** who moved to the area in the 2000s. She might be married, single or divorced and lives with three others - which could include her children and their partners. She didn't finish secondary school and is currently unemployed and the household lives on **less than R3,500 per month** - mostly drawn from rent and different members of the household who are receiving wages or a child support grant.

TENANTS

Tenant Tenure

Types of tenants in the backyard sector have not been comprehensively designated in public policy, nor in research to date.

In general, a backyard tenant is defined as, 'A person occupying a backyard residential unit under some type of rental agreement with the main homeowner which may or may not include monetary payment for the right to occupy the unit, and may or may not be set out in a formal written agreement' (Tshangana, 2020:8).

The survey recognised three forms of tenure for tenants living in backyards, including an option for 'none of the above'. Through the enumeration and further verification, a fourth tenure type was identified as common - **tenants living in the main house**. We describe all four tenure types in table 22.

Altogether there were **322** tenant households enumerated of which **124** were staying in rooms in the main house - a surprisingly large number.

Despite the lack of expenditure on maintenance, there is clearly surplus income available amongst landlord households to be able to provide structures for tenants to rent. A further **124** were renting structures in the backyard.

The remaining tenants own their structures or live under another tenure arrangement

Tenant tenure types

TENANT HOUSEHOLDS TENURE TYPE	
General Definition	Common expression in Freedom Park
<p>Backyard owners Tenant households which own their own structure and rent space in the yard from the landlord.</p>	This is most often a timber wendy house, but can be whatever materials they can afford. Tenants are unlikely to build in brick and cement on the landlord's property, but there are instances where family members might pay for the materials for a more permanent backyard structure. These are tenants who own their structure and pay to rent space in the yard. If they ever move they can take the structure with them.
<p>Backyard tenants Tenant households which rent both the structure and the space in the yard.</p>	This can be a temporary structure or a more permanent brick and cement structure.
<p>Backyard residents Households which live in a structure in the yard under some other form tenure.</p>	There are a range of households living in yards who have unique tenure arrangements with the landlord and don't generally pay rent. For example, the landlord may be offering a household shelter on a charitable basis, or is allowing a parent, child or other relation to live on their property rent free.
<p>Main house tenants Tenants which rent a room or rooms in the main house directly from the landlord.</p>	Where the landlord lives in the main house these could rightly be considered boarders. In other instances, the landlord isn't living on the property and the whole main house is rented to tenants households. These tenant households generally occupy a room each, though some may occupy more than one room.

Table 22: Tenant households by tenure type.

Length of tenure

Much like landlord households, tenant households have lived in Freedom Park for many years, though most households arrived from the 1990s onwards. One or two households dated their tenure back to the 1970s. This is unlikely to be in Freedom Park itself as the area did not exist then, but could be in Mitchells Plain more generally.

Backyard tenants renting structures started arriving mostly in the 2000s and have continued apace. Tenants who own their structure started to arrive in the 2010s. This is hard to interpret but it could mean that landlords switched to allow more tenants to construct their own structures. Overall **between 120 and 130** new tenant households are moving into the area each decade.



Tenant tenure types

- 21%** Backyard owners
- 38,5%** Backyard tenants
- 2%** Backyard residents
- 38.5%** Main house tenants

TENANT HOUSEHOLD LENGTH OF TENURE						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
1970s			1		1	0.31%
1980s			1	3	4	1.25%
1990s	3	3	18	17	41	12.81%
2000s	15	3	41	62	121	37.81%
2010s	46		55	32	133	41.56%
2020s	4		6	10	20	6.25%

Table 23: Tenant length of tenure.

Tenant Demographic Profiles

Much like with landlord households, the survey did not ask respondents to name the effective tenant. We have used the demographic profile of the head of the tenant household and/or the person who owns the structure in the yard.

This is likely to be the person who is primarily responsible for honouring the rental agreement, even where this is verbal, and paying rent for the

household. Though of course multiple people in a tenant households may be contributing towards the rent or different people may be responsible at different times depending on who may have work. Some households deem two people to the joint heads and in these instances we have included the details for both as effective tenants. Accordingly, there were 189 effective tenants across 158 tenant households surveyed.

Gender and marital status

Female-headed households and single working-age men are common. Backyard tenants may be small households of between 1 and 2 people (Tshangana, 2014:5).

Tenants are roughly equally likely to be a woman or a man where they are the head of the household.

Just over a third of tenants are married and about the same proportion have never been married.

EFFECTIVE TENANT GENDER						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Women	36	4	67	73	180	47%
Men	53	3	77	70	203	53%
	89	7	144	143	383	100%

Table 24: Effective tenant gender.

EFFECTIVE TENANT GENDER					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Traditional / Customary	4			2	6
Civil Partnership			5	2	7
Widow / Widower			12	14	26
Cohabiting / living together as partners	9	2	11	8	30
Divorced / Separated	7	1	17	17	42
Never married	30	4	42	59	135
Married	39		57	41	137
	89	7	144	143	383

Table 25: Effective tenant marital status.

Age

The age range of tenants is between **18 and 75 years** old so there are tenants renting structures in every age group. Most tenants; however, are between the age of **20 to 40**.

The average age for tenants is **35 years** which is nearly two decades younger than the equivalent average for landlords. It's understandable that the average of **22** is lower when you include all members of tenant households.

Language and nationality

As with landlord households, tenant households overwhelmingly speak **Afrikaans** as a primary language, though about **15%** speak English at home.

EFFECTIVE TENANT AGE RANGE						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
<20				2	2	0.52%
20 - 29	33	1	57	59	150	39.16%
30 - 39	33	5	49	44	131	34.20%
40 - 49	13	1	24	15	53	13.84%
50 - 59	8		12	16	36	9.40%
60 - 69	2		1	4	7	1.83%
70 - 79			1	3	4	1.04%
80 - 89						
	89	7	144	143	383	100%

Table 26: Age range of tenants.

EFFECTIVE TENANT AND TENANT HOUSEHOLD AVERAGE AGE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Tenant	35	34	35	35	35
Tenant households	21	20	22	22	22

Table 27: Average effective tenant and tenant household age.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD PRIMARY LANGUAGE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Isixhosa				1	1
Other			2		2
English	13		20	20	53
Afrikaans	55	6	102	103	266
	68	6	124	124	322

Table 28: Tenant primary household language.

Much like with landlords, the vast majority, or about **98%**, of tenants are South African citizens. This is not an area where immigrants are living in any great numbers though it must be said that immigrant households are less likely to agree to be surveyed.

EFFECTIVE TENANT NATIONALITY						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Prefer not to answer	1				1	0.26%
Non South African			2		2	0.52%
Permanent resident			3		3	0.78%
South African	88	7	139	143	377	98.43%
	89	7	144	143	383	100%

Table 29: Nationality of tenants.

Household size

‘Average household size in South Africa has dropped from 4.2 people in 2001 to 3.1 people in 2011... notably, average household sizes of people in backyard accommodation are on average significantly smaller than normal households’ (Tshangana, 2014: p9).

Whereas landlords households averaged around **four** members, tenants households are, on average **three** people, though there is a fair spread of households **between one and six** people. Some households are very large with **seven or more** members.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD SIZE						
Household Size	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
1	4	2	14	29	49	15.22%
2	13	1	27	22	63	19.57%
3	22	1	28	32	83	25.78%
4	13		28	19	60	18.63%
5	9	1	20	12	42	13.04%
6	4	1	4	7	16	4.97%
7	1		2	1	4	1.24%
8	1			2	3	0.93%
9						
10						
> 10	1		1		2	0.62%
	68	6	124	124	322	100%

Table 30: Tenant household size.

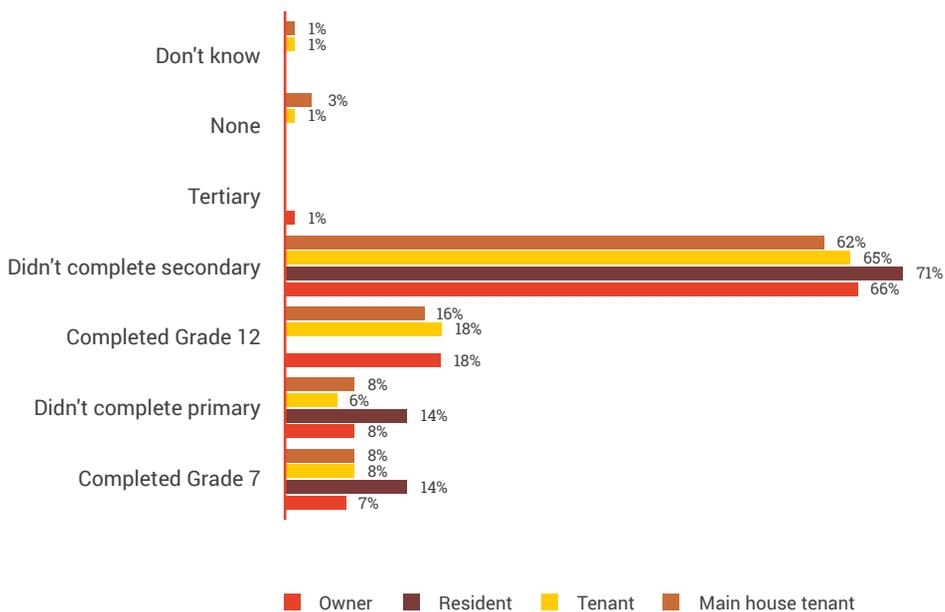
Education

Tenant households are, in general, slightly better educated in terms of years of schooling.

80% left during secondary school with 16% completing matric. Though much like landlords, tenants mostly did not study further - only one tenant has a tertiary qualification.

EFFECTIVE TENANT EDUCATION					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Don't know			2	1	3
None			2	5	7
Grade 2		1	1		2
Grade 3			1		1
Grade 4	3			7	10
Grade 5	2		2	1	5
Grade 6	2		5	4	11
Grade 7	6	1	12	12	31
Grade 8	16	3	17	19	55
Grade 9	10	2	25	27	64
Grade 10	25		35	31	91
Grade 11	8		16	12	36
Grade 12	16		26	23	65
Part of tertiary				1	1
Tertiary	1				1
	89	7	144	143	383

Table 31: Effective tenant highest educational level achieved.



Tenant Economic Status

'It is not uncommon for backyard tenants to be employed and/or have a more secure income stream than the main homeowner or landlord, particularly in situations where the landlord is an unemployed person letting out rooms in the back as an additional or sole income stream... tenants typically earn less than R3,500' (Tshangana, 2014).

Employment

Around 33% of tenants are employed or self-employed compared to over 60% of tenants who are unemployed or looking for work. Despite the age of some tenants, none claim to be retired.

The proportions of unemployed people, when looking at all members of tenants households is much less at around 50%, when learners at school are excluded, though only 20% are employed. It's unclear why 143 tenants selected 'other' as an option - a significant number.

When you consider that tenant households members are distributed across all ages, it's clear that unemployment is chronic in Freedom Park and we really need to view backyarding as a strategy for getting by under these circumstances.

EFFECTIVE TENANT EMPLOYMENT						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Other			2	1	3	0.78%
Tertiary student				2	2	0.52%
Looking for work	3		2	3	8	2.09%
Self-employed	2		4	2	8	2.09%
Home keeper	1		6	7	14	3.66%
Employed	27	1	45	47	120	31.33%
Unemployed	56	6	85	81	228	59.53%
	89	7	144	143	383	100%

Table 32: Effective employment status.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Tertiary student			2	2	4	0.38%
Retired			4	1	5	0.48%
Self-employed	3		6	2	11	1.05%
Looking for work	4		6	5	15	1.43%
Home keeper	4		16	16	36	3.44%
Pre-school	16		16	12	44	4.21%
Other	42	1	45	55	143	13.67%
Employed	40	1	65	55	161	15.39%
Learner at school	45	6	100	76	227	21.70%
Unemployed	89	10	155	146	400	38.24%
	243	18	415	370	1046	100%

Table 33: Tenant household members employment status.

Household income and source

There are a significant number of tenant households (around 30%) declaring no income in a month.

Around 22% of households have an income of predominantly **between R1,501 and R3,501** with just over 60% of all households earning somewhere **between R400 and R7,500**. Higher incomes are rare with only four households in total earning about **R15,000 per month** in combined income.

The majority of households rely on salaries and wage income. Interestingly, few earn rent themselves as part of their household income. This could be a boarder or even grown members of the family contributing rent towards household expenses.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD INCOME		
	Total	%
No income	101	31%
R1 - R400	9	3%
R401 - R800	36	11%
R801 - R1,500	38	12%
R1,501 - R3,500	74	23%
R3,501 - R7,500	54	17%
R7,501 - R15,000	6	2%
R15,001 - R22,000	3	1%
Above R22 000	1	0%
	322	100%

Table 34: Tenant household income.

Disabilities and grants

Disabilities

Only 20 tenants overall had a disability (**less than 5%**). Mostly hearing, walking and mental difficulties, as well as chronic illnesses.

Grants

A significant number of household members receive grants. Around half of all residents receive a child support grant. Amongst effective tenants, who are head of the household, this drops to **30 people (or just below 20%)**.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY SOURCE							
	Salary / Job	Own Business	Rent	Grants	Other	Total	%
No income	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
R1 - R400	5	1	0	1	2	9	4.05%
R401 - R800	15	8	1	7	5	36	16.22%
R801 - R1,500	17	4	0	9	9	39	17.57%
R1,501 - R3,500	50	10	1	3	10	74	33.33%
R3,501 - R7,500	48	2	0	2	2	54	24.32%
R7,501 - R15,000	5	1	0	0	0	6	2.70%
R15,001 - R22,000	2	1	0	0	0	3	1.35%
Above R22,000	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.45%
	143	27	2	22	28	222	100%

Table 35: Tenant household sources of income (more than one options can be selected).

GRANTS					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Care Dependency Grant	1		1	1	3
Older Person's Grant	5		5	9	19
Disability Grant	8		11	6	25
Child Support Grant	102	11	175	167	455
	116	11	192	183	502

Table 36: Tenant household members receiving grants.

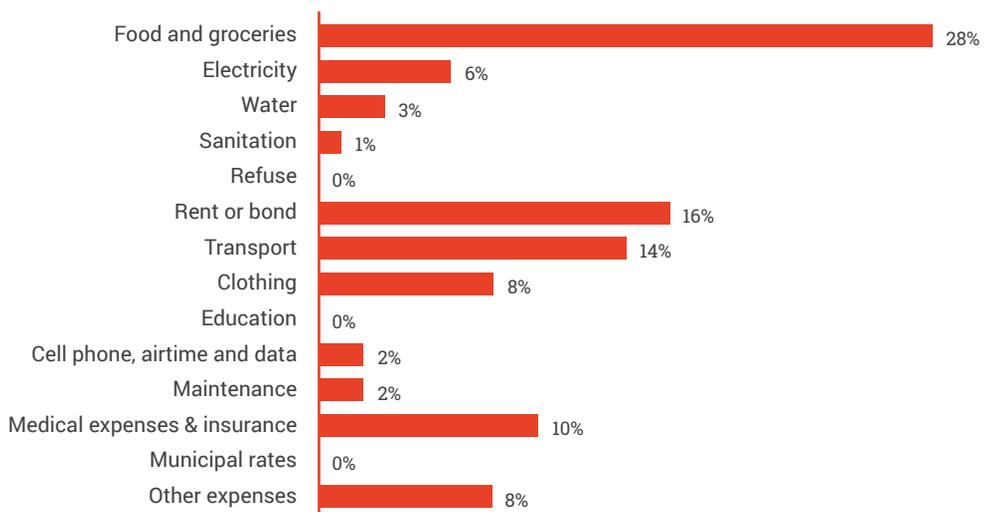
Expenditure

For those tenants which stated their expenditure, tenant households are spending on average **28%** of all expenditure on food and groceries followed by **between 16% and 14%** of expenditure on rent and transport respectively - about the same.

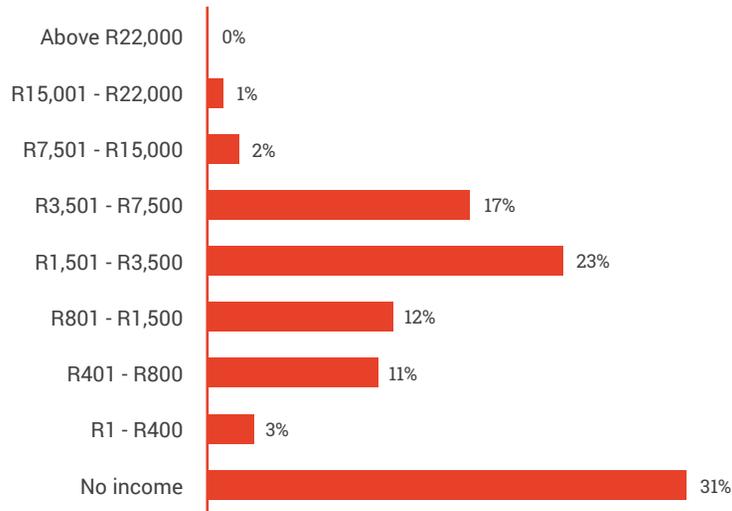
Combine expenditure on services, including electricity, water, sanitation, refuse and rates come to about **10%** of expenditure.

AVERAGE TENANT HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Food and groceries	975	760	1202	1016	1075
Electricity	225	188	269	226	242
Water	131	0	105	135	120
Sanitation	50	0	45	53	49
Refuse	0	0	0	0	0
Rent or bond	593	350	656	558	601
Transport	535	0	531	510	525
Clothing	281	263	335	326	319
Education	0	0	0	0	0
Cell phone, airtime & data	76	125	82	75	79
Maintenance	40	0	138	79	86
Medical expenses and insurance	0	0	398	0	398
Municipal rates	0	0	0	0	0
Other expenses	296	0	331	322	317
	3203	1685	4091	3301	3809

Table 37: Average household expenses by tenure type.



Tenant household income



Typical Tenant

A typical tenant in Freedom Park is a **South African, Afrikaans speaking man/woman in their 30s**. They most likely arrived in the area in the 2000s or 2010s and are living in the main house or renting a structure in the yard. They may be married, or not, and are living in a household of around 3 people. They left secondary school to work and probably didn't finish matric, though they are unemployed at the moment. The household is getting by on **less than R3,500 per month** and there may be a member receiving a child support grant.

ABOUT THE SOCIAL NATURE OF THE YARD

The Yard

The survey asked respondents **how many people were living on the property:**

09

Average number of **people living in the yard.**

2-3

Average number of **households.**

02

Average number of **structures.**

02

Average number of **rooms a household lives in.**

Tenant / Landlord Relationship

There are **two positions** when it comes to reviewing social relations between tenants and landlords in backyards.

One holds that, '...tenants are often more likely to be families or extended family members of the main homeowner' (Tshangana, 2014:5), and that landlords are motivated to, '...provide space for children who have grown older but cannot afford to move out, or extended family members who want to stay on the same property' (Tshangana, 2014:6).

In these situations, '...backyard rental reinforces social cohesion and may enable vital support networks for vulnerable households' (Tshangana, 2014:6), and performs a, 'profound and important social function, which allows for social cohesion and mutual support between kin networks and larger social groups, as well as support for vulnerable groups' (Tshangana, 2014:15).

The enumeration was not able to measure the extent to which landlords and tenants are related or the nature of the relationship.

However, 72% of tenant households stated that they had always lived in the area. This would seem to suggest that tenants had spent a considerable amount of their lives in the area - and many may have grown up here. Around 50% of tenant households stated that they lived in Freedom Park to be close to family - so that is significant. Much more significant than being close to work, for example. Tenants are benefiting from long tenure in an area near to family where they can access affordable rental housing.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD REASON FOR LIVING IN FREEDOM PARK		
	Responses	%
Always lived here	232	72%
Better employment opportunities	51	16%
To be closer to family	171	53%
Better living conditions	151	47%
Affordable renting	208	65%
Seeking good public facilities	40	12%
Closer to public transport	25	8%
Safety reasons	26	8%
Returning home	4	1%
Other reason	3	1%

Table 38: Tenant households reason for moving to Freedom Park (percent out of all tenant households).

Rental Agreement

Unlike newer forms of backyard rental housing developing in Cape Town, where more formal agreements are being developed, the literature confirms that most landlords and tenants in subsistence rental arrangements enter into informal verbal lease agreements (Tshangana, 2014). Similarly, Scheba and Turok state that, 'There are no written lease agreements, but some house rules usually exist and relations are governed informally' (2020:12).

While it may seem that these informal relations are somewhat unstable and risky for both tenants and landlords, by and large this does not seem to be the case. Gardner and Rubin state that, 'Evidence in South African cities suggests that 80 percent of backyard renters have been in their accommodation for five years or more and there are relatively few evictions' (2013:84). Indeed, backyard dwellers perceive themselves at less risk of eviction than informal settlement residents (Lemanski 2009:472).

Rent and bond payments

Most tenant households who responded to this question, (254 out of 322 or about 80% of all tenant households) pay their rent in cash, which is what you might expect in an informal rental arrangement.

Some landlord households (20 out of 211 or about 10% of all landlord households) also pay their rent or bond in cash, including some landlords who own the property, which suggests when you consider that the bank is unlikely to accept cash, that some households may have bought the property informally.

The remainder (very few) pay by EFT, debit order, banking app or at Shoprite.

Rental agreements and evictions

Less than 10% of both tenant and landlord households say that they have a formal written rental agreement. The vast majority of households are managing the rental agreement verbally and informally.

When asked directly what they would change in the community, only 16% of all tenant households (50 out of 322) thought that evictions needed to be addressed. This is very low and might indicate

RENT OR BOND PAYMENT METHOD				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Cash	155	20	99	274
EFT	0	3	0	3
Debit Order	0	0	0	0
Bank App	1	0	1	2
Shoprite	0	2	2	4

Table 39: Payment method for rent or bond.

RENTAL AGREEMENT				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
No	184	194	116	494
Yes	14	17	8	39
	198	211	124	533

Table 40: Number of households with a signed rental agreement.

QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIP				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Very difficult	5	2	3	10
Difficult	6	4	2	12
It doesn't matter	5	7	4	16
Very Friendly	60	60	33	153
Friendly	122	138	82	342
	198	211	124	533

Table 41: Quality of the relationship between tenants and landlords.

that despite the informality of agreements, the relationships are quite stable and few people are evicted at levels that might cause alarm. This is supported by the perception of the landlord and tenant relationship.

Quality and stability of the relationship

About 93% of both landlord and tenant households stated that relations between them was friendly or very friendly and the figure is similar when filtered by tenant households or landlord households. That's comprehensive and we must presume that informal rental arrangements are working for the majority of households, insofar as they are not leading to conflict or deterioration of relationships.

A similar figure, around 93% of tenants and landlord households, stated that the arrangement was stable or very stable. This is remarkable and may demonstrate why backyarding is the preferred choice for most households, compared to living in informal settlements or in formal rental housing. The exact factors as to why households deem the arrangement to be stable is unclear as is the factors which might destabilise the arrangement.

STABILITY OF ARRANGEMENT				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Very unstable	2	4	1	7
Not sure	4	7	3	14
Unstable	10	5		15
Very stable	46	46	29	121
Stable	136	149	91	376
	198	211	124	533

Table 42: Perception of the stability of the relationship.

Social Cohesion

With regards to more formal relations, Lemanski (2009) and Bank (2007) state that while relations might have been more paternalistic in the past, they are reportedly more positive, ensuring that rent is paid on time. Scheba and Turok (2020) argue that good relations, 'improve access to services, allow for alternative arrangements to be made if, for example, rent is late or an arrangement needs to be made, allows for rent to be paid in kind, and also aspects of social solidarity.'

There is no conclusive evidence for this, but Lemanski argues that, 'tenant-landlord relationships have become less abusive over the past decade as backyard housing is now increasingly demand-driven and in some cases the balance of (financial) power is held by the tenant, particularly in state-subsidised housing settlements' (Lemanski 2009:480).

At the same time, both Bank (2007), Scheba and Turok (2020) state that overcrowding can lead to conflict.

In Freedom Park, landlords and tenants have a good working relationship in general. The vast majority (80%) stated that households on the property always help each other out.

Likewise, the vast majority (around 74%) of both tenant and landlord households reported that they always trust other households. Only around 6% state that they never or seldom trust other households.

HELPING EACH OTHER OUT				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Seldom	3	3	1	7
Never	9	4		13
Sometimes	26	8	9	43
Mostly always	18	19	10	47
Always	142	177	104	423
	198	211	124	533

Table 43: Agreement that people generally help each other out.

TRUST				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Never	7	2		9
Seldom	12	7	5	24
Sometimes	20	10	10	40
Mostly always	21	29	15	65
Always	138	163	94	395
	198	211	124	533

Table 44: Trust in other households on the yard.

ABOUT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Perceptions of the Neighbourhood

Changes

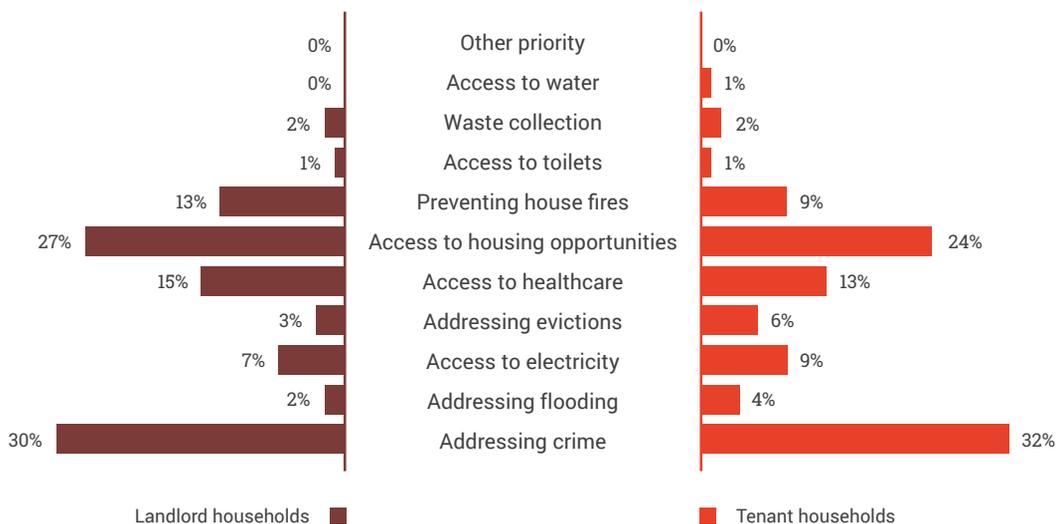
Basic services

With regards to basic services, very few households across the board felt that there needed to be any significant changes. Figures for access to toilets, waste collection and water were all indicated by **under 5%** of households. Electricity did feature slightly higher with nearly a quarter of households - no doubt due to the prohibitive cost for households and the nature of the supply.

Environment

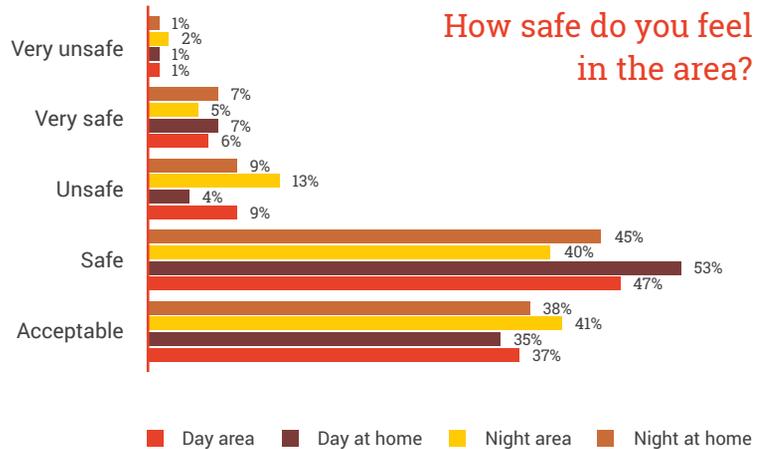
Two environmental factors stand out. While addressing flooding is not an issue, **addressing the risk of fire is an issue for nearly 40% of households**. This may be due to the density of households, but also because a home burnt down recently in the area, which may have made residents think more about the risk of fire.

Most important changes



Public services

Access to housing and healthcare are issues where households would like to see changes in the area. The problem of access to housing is clear and it houses support amongst both tenant and landlord households. It's less clear why healthcare is an issue in Freedom Park on the face of it



By far, the biggest issue is crime. 96% of households would like to see a change in how crime is addressed. It's not uncommon for perception of crime to be high on the list in the City of Cape Town, but this is particularly significant.

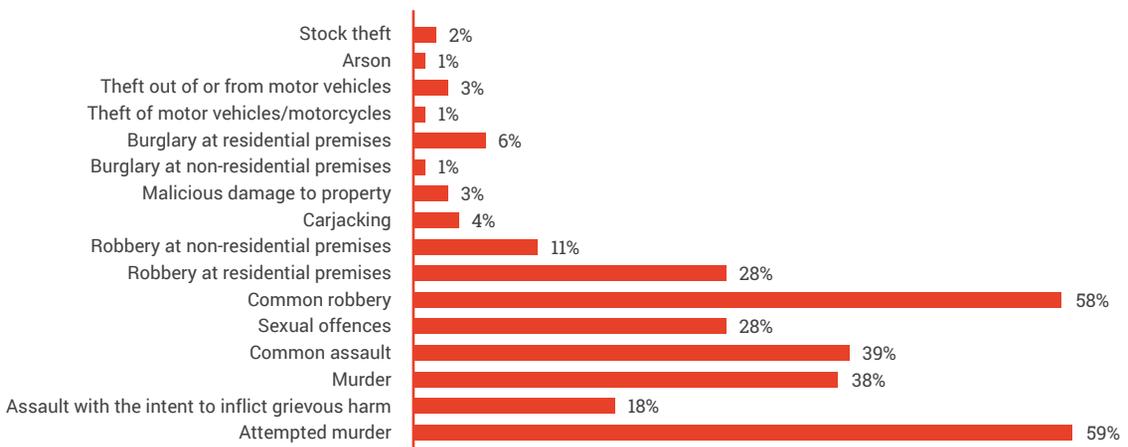
Safety

Despite crime being perceived as an issue, Freedom Park is generally viewed as a safe neighbourhood by all households (day & night).

Between 6% - 7% feel very safe both in the home and outside during the day and night and between 40% - 50% felt safe or acceptably safe. Around 10% of households didn't feel safe, particularly at night, though this proportion drops to less than 4% during the day.

It would be worthwhile asking what makes backyarders and landlord households feel safe? This might be for any number of reasons. For example, because of the sense of security living amongst so many people, or because parents are able to leave their children in the care of other adults, or because households are living with extended family.

Main crimes



Push and Pull Factors

Tshangana states that, 'The better location of the houses often makes the backyard accommodation they offer a preferable alternative to informal settlements or even RDP housing' (2014, p5).

Pull factors

A plurality of households have always lived in Freedom Park (44%).

There is a trio of related factors which explain why households (tenants & landlords) choose to live in Freedom Park and are primarily social: to be closer to my family (32%), better living conditions (28%), and affordable renting (39%)

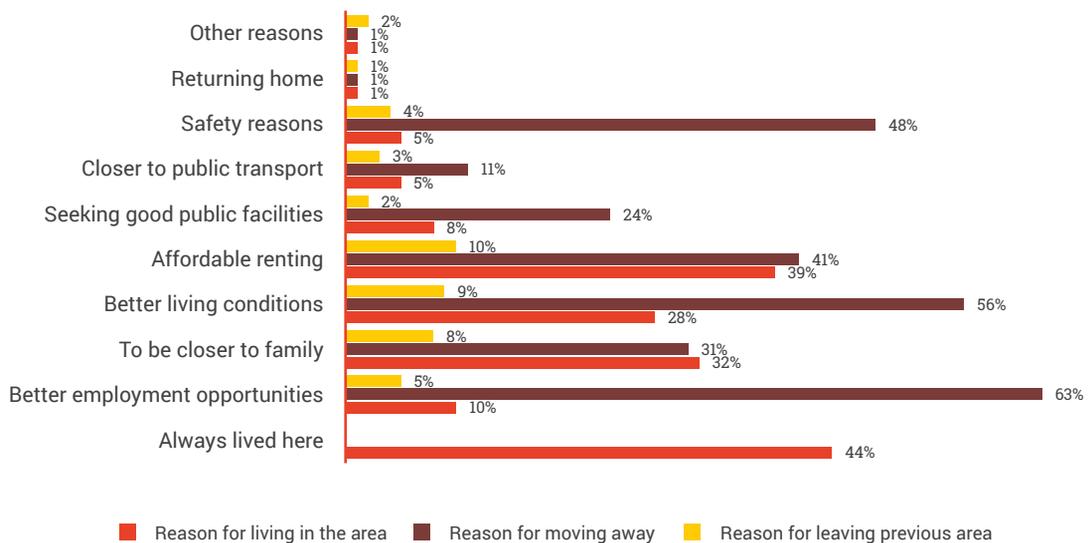
Economic issues do not really feature as pull factors - and perhaps this is because there is very little work available in this part of Mitchells Plain.

Push factors

With the distinction of safety (48% of households) - push factors are primarily economic: 63% of households would move for better employment opportunities and 56% would move for better living conditions - these are related. 41% of households would leave for more affordable housing opportunities.

Very few households participated in the survey question as to why they left their previous area - and perhaps this is because only half of households came from previous areas.

Pull and Push factors

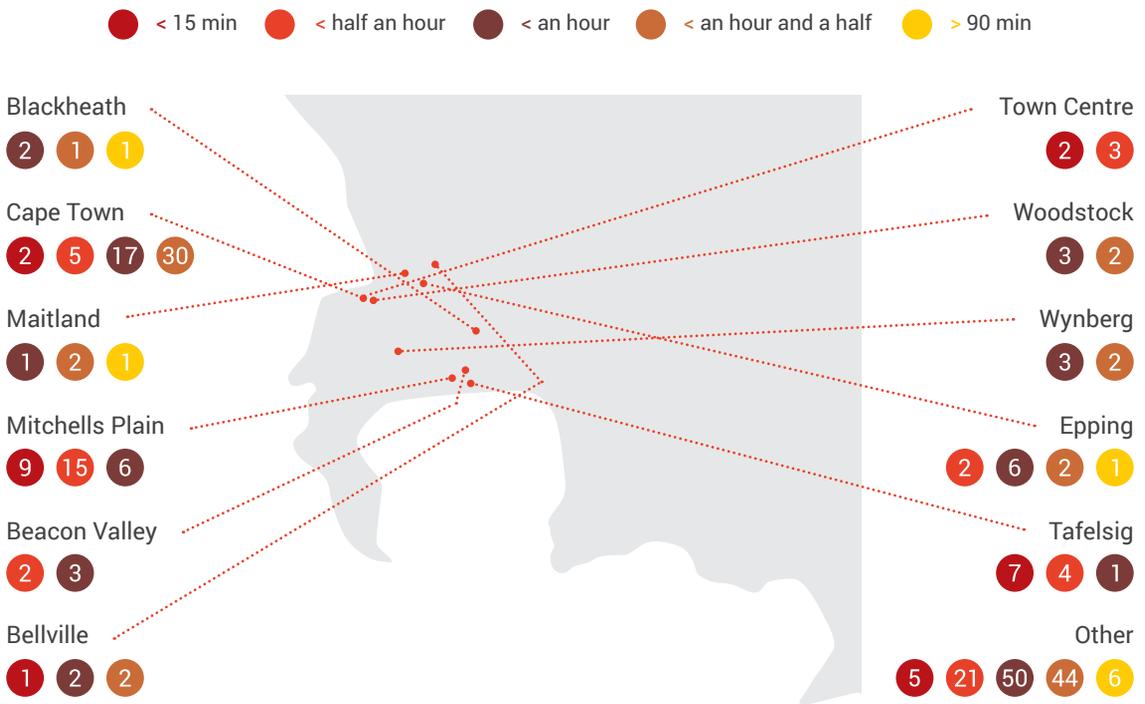


Commuting

Freedom Park is not very well-located and most households (excluding learners and students) have to commute between an hour and an hour and a half, bearing in mind that a majority of people are

unemployed. Most people are commuting within Mitchells Plain itself, to the city centre and to Epping industrial area.

Commuting locations and time



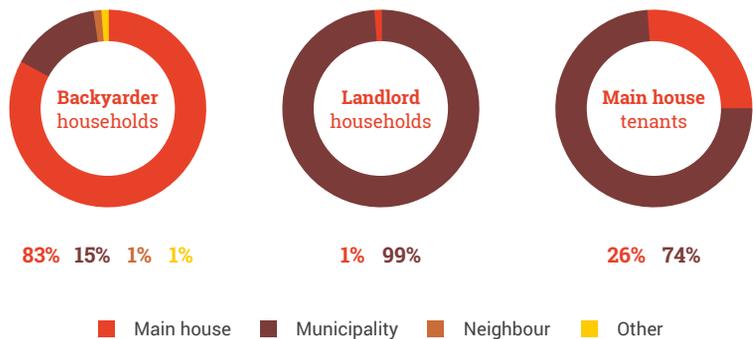
Services

Subsistence landlords generally provide limited access to basic services due to the cost of installing extra infrastructure. In most cases, tenants share toilets and water taps with landlords in the main house, unless there is a shared toilet or garden tap installed in the yard. But very few would provide water and sanitation in the backyard structures (Scheba and Turok, 2020).

Similarly, electricity is mostly provided as an extension from the main house which can result in the supply being overloaded. Tenants might negotiate specific time slots and usually pay the landlord a fixed amount for electricity. This is often a source of discontent because it is unrelated to the amount actually consumed (Scheba and Turok, 2020:12).

Lemanski states that, 'Although backyard dwellings arguably offer closer proximity to services and infrastructure compared to living in an informal settlement, the constant need to negotiate access through landlords, as well as the limited capacity of infrastructure, indicates the limits of informal living in a formal area' (2009:477).

These observations hold true for Freedom Park where, across the board, the main house secures refuse, water, sanitation and electricity from the municipality and provides these services in turn to the backyarders, though a few backyarders access services independently.



Access to electricity

By-and-large, electricity is supplied through homemade connections from the main house and in some instances from the neighbour, who are supplied directly by the municipality.

It's clear that some respondents, were confused when answering this question. Main house tenants almost certainly access electricity in the main house directly supplied by the municipality. So asking them to choose resulted in many

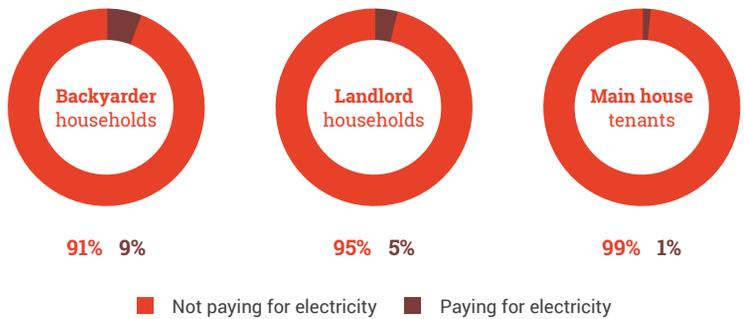
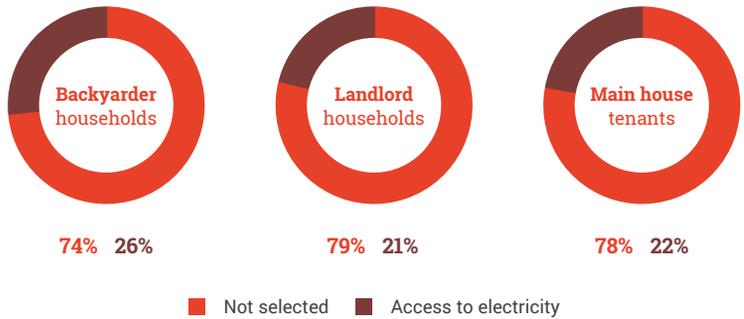
opting for one or the other. The majority of respondents buy electricity through one pre-paid meter installed in the main house. It is unclear how households are sharing the costs and it's likely that there are a variety of mechanisms being used - for example, paying landlord a set fee, taking turns, or splitting the costs.

It is interesting to note that around 20 - 25% of households across tenure type consider access to electricity to be an issue, which could indicate that there is a fairly consistent number of households that would like to see electricity service improved. Considering that most households do have access to electricity in one form or another, we can presume that households are concerned about the cost of electricity, the availability of electricity (considering the informal arrangements), or the specific arrangements between landlords and tenants which may not be perceived as optimal.

When asked only 5%, stated that they are not paying for electricity at all. It's clear that electricity costs are shared between backyarder and landlord households.

What is clear, from the discussion above, is that electricity is a major cost for both landlord and tenant households comprising around 6 - 7% of all expenditure.

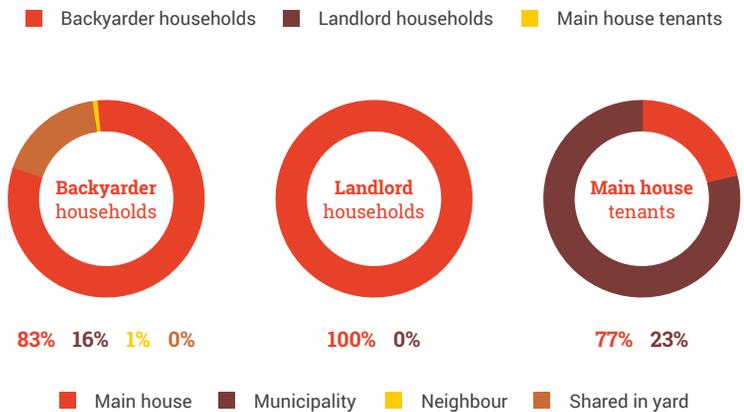
However, in general, landlords are paying more for electricity than backyarders/main house tenants at around R320 per month. The average for main house tenants is only R230 and for backyarder tenants it is around R250. When you consider that the unit price is determined by usage, based on an assumption that there is one household on the property, and that there is more than one household on each property, it would seem that households across the board are paying a higher rate per unit.



Access to water

Very few of the properties, if any, have installed separate mains access and water meters for backyard households in Freedom Park and it's unlikely the City of Cape Town would agree to install such for informal backyard households on private land that is not subdivided.

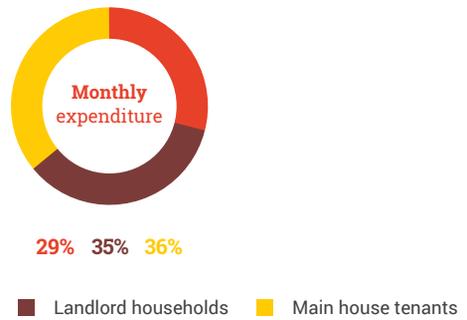
As such most backyard houses access water through the supply in the main house, who in turn



are accessing water through the municipal mains connection. There was similar confusion here for main house tenants who, as with electricity, access municipal water in the main house and so were likely to select both options, depending on their interpretation of the question.



However, the actual myriad of ways that connections can happen has not been captured. Some tenant households may be using buckets filled up in shared taps or in the main house. Some landlords have installed connections into extensions and backyard structures. Some households share a washing machine.



The number of households not paying for access to water is higher in Freedom Park than for electricity. Most households report not paying for water. In fact, only around 16% of households are paying for water.



In many households, the City of Cape Town have installed water meters, limiting the supply of water to **350 litres a day** (free). In theory this is a limit per household and the amount of free water can be increased where it can be proved that multiple households stay on the same property.

In practice this is very hard to do and can be denied where landlords are in arrears or unable to prove how many households reside on the property in a way which the municipality recognise - which is often the case where backyarders have informal agreements. Some landlords are unwilling to engage the municipality to increase the water allowance or to change back to an uncapped meter for fear of being liable for bigger water bills without being able to get tenants to pay for what they use. So the limitation is a frustration, but it keeps expenditure under control. What has been observed is that households are unable to access more water and so devise strategies to get by on the 350 litres, no matter the number of households on the property. Households fill buckets or reuse water etc. This may even be a limiting factor on the ability of landlords to secure more tenants.

Sanitation

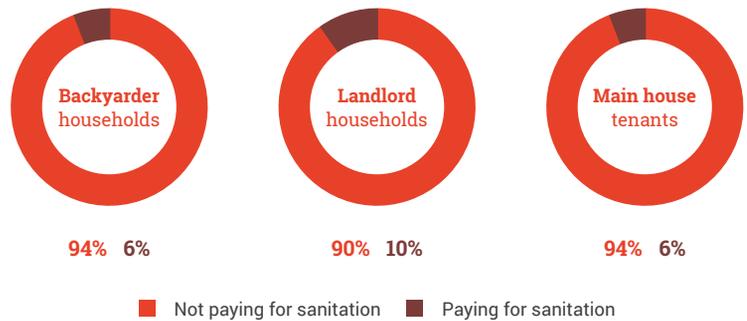
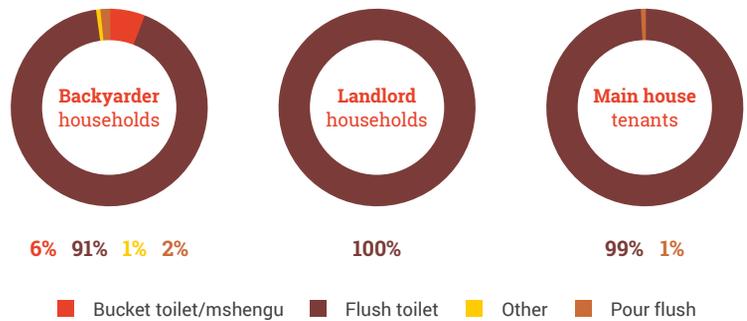
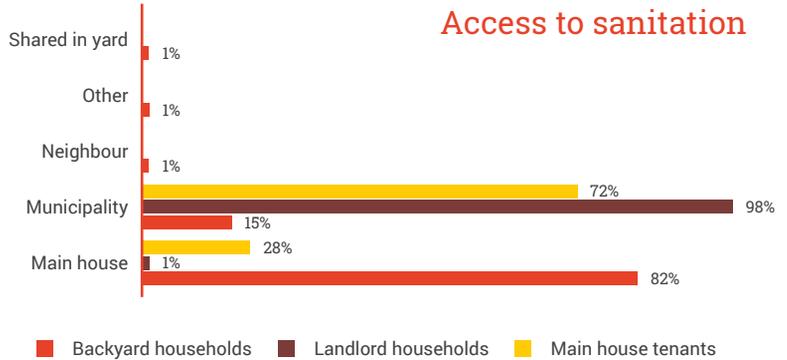
All households report that they have access to a flushing toilet of some kind in the main house or through the municipality - like water and electricity these responses are likely to be interchangeable. Most landlords are forced to open their homes to tenant households to use the bathroom but some may have arrangements where tenants empty buckets into the toilet rather than use the toilet itself. A few households use the neighbour's toilet or a shared toilet in the backyard.

However, the numbers alter slightly when asked what kind of toilet households use. While landlords and main house tenant households clearly all use a flush toilet, it is clear that tenants living in the backyard may also be using a bucket or mshengu chemical toilets.

The vast majority of households report that they do not pay for sanitation, which is not unexpected considering that the City of Cape Town bills property owners for sanitation as a proportion of water expenditure and considering that water is restricted, sanitation charges are likely to be free/minimal. It's unlikely that landlords would charge tenants for sanitation and most tenant households would not see the landlord's bills.

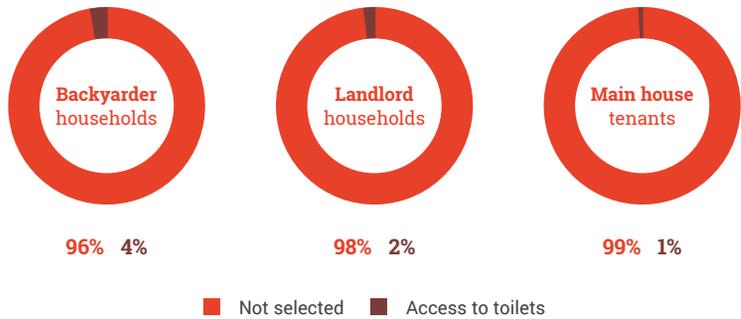
Nevertheless, for those paying for sanitation, the average expenditure is fairly low - under R50 across the board.

Access to sanitation



Backyarder households Landlord households Main house tenants

Sanitation does not seem to be an area which most households are concerned about in terms of services at all and this may be due to the framing of the question. No doubt, had respondents been asked if they would like to have access to their own toilet in their structure or shared with less people, many would readily agree.



Refuse and other services

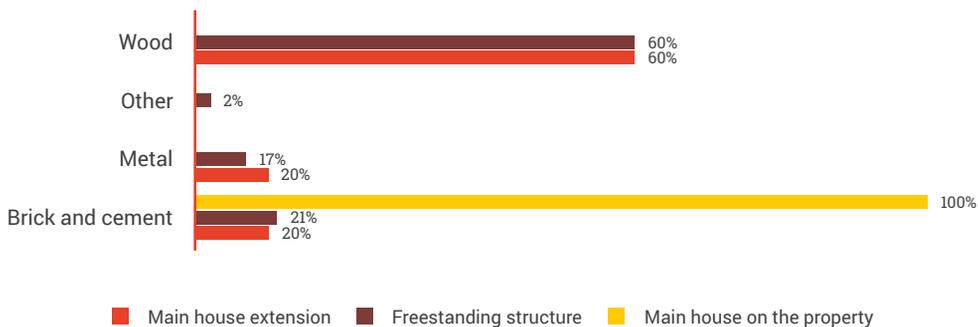
Households combine their refuse and it is collected by the municipality. A tiny minority pay for extras like satellite TV

RENTAL STRUCTURES

The majority of households (mostly landlord and main house tenants) are living in the main house on the property, which is almost always made of brick and cement. However, in Freedom Park a fair number of other structures are also made from

brick and cement. 38 backyard structures in total were made of brick and cement - around 7% of all households. The remainder are largely informal structures made of metal or wood.

Structure type and building material



Main houses

Erf sizes fairly consistently demarcated when it comes to size and are mostly around 100m².

As per the **People's Housing Process**, most houses were built in a one of two or three typologies. These included *double storey homes*, *detached homes* and *semi-detached*, though they all are roughly the same floor space inside.

Many of the houses have been renovated and extended and others are in a state of disrepair.

In general, backyard structures have been built behind the main houses, but others are located to the side or even in front depending on the available space.



Figure 7: Typical main house structures - both single and double storeys are common.

Backyard structures

When it comes to subsistence landlords, Scheba and Turok state that, 'Shacks are the most common and cheapest form of backyard accommodation. The original house is retained and the yard space is rented to tenants, who often erect their own shacks to the front, rear or side of the house. The landlord's investment is minimal,' (2020:10) and the, '... quality of materials used to build varies depending on the tenant's income and capabilities. Most have a cheap timber frame clad with new or recycled iron/zinc sheets or timber planks... wendy houses (simple timber sheds) are also quite common' (2020:12).

The enumeration in Freedom Park mirrors these findings almost completely and while most are made of metal or wood, a fair number is built from brick and cement. There is a wide diversity

of structures from freestanding to extensions and additional buildings. The plots are small so most structures are crammed into smaller spaces.



Figure 8: Typical freestanding backyard structures and main house extensions made of timber panels.

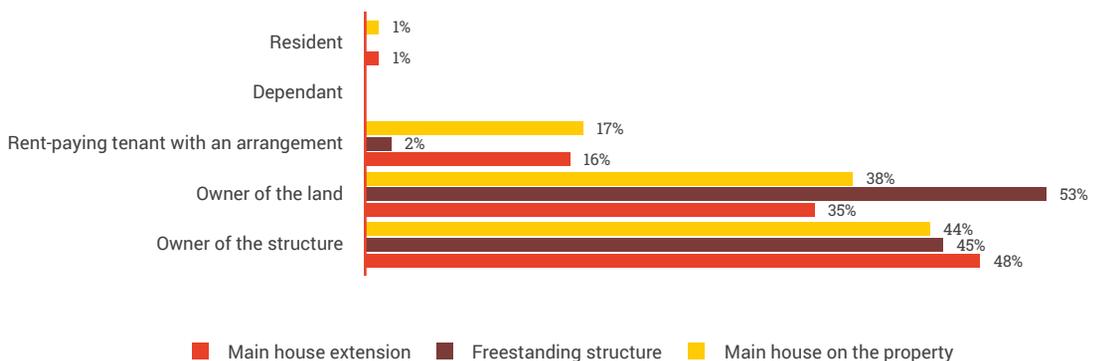
Maintenance

Scheba and Turok (2020) state that when it comes to maintenance, there isn't clarity on responsibilities for structure maintenance or maintenance of services, though in the case of structures that are owned, the tenants would be responsible for the upkeep. They state that the responsibility for maintaining services is unclear.

As stated above, neither landlords nor tenants are spending significant monthly expenditure on maintenance. What is most likely is that each property has come to their own arrangement depending on the relationship between households, the nature of the tenure and rental agreement

and the infrastructure that is in place. In general, maintenance responsibilities seem to be split between whoever owns the structure and whoever owns the land. In some instances this might be the landlord and in other instances this might be the tenant.

Maintenance of structures



Density and Infrastructure

Density is defined as:

'The increased use of space, both horizontally and vertically, within existing areas/ properties and new developments, accompanied by an increased number of units and/or population threshold' (City of Cape Town, 2012:5).

It's quite commonly taken as fact that backyarding leads to higher densities and this may overburden public infrastructure (Govender, 2011). For example, Gardner and Rubin state that, 'The boom in backyard shacks has had several adverse effects, including overcrowding, social discontent, health and safety risks, and pressure on public infrastructure' (2016:77-95).

Tshangana concurs, stating that, 'Increased densities due to backyard rental can lead to problems... The number of people utilising toilets, taps, drains and cooking facilities on a specific site and across neighbourhoods can stretch the carrying capacity of the existing infrastructure' (2014:8); however, she does go on to say that, '... there are also many incidences of suburbs with significant numbers of backyard units where infrastructure is coping with the added pressure' (2014:8).

We cannot conclusively confirm or oppose this position with regard to Freedom Park as it ultimately comes down to the specific carrying capacity of the main sewer lines for the suburb. However, a few points are worth noting.

The average number of structures across enumerated properties was **two**, including the main house. This is, on average, **one less than the number of dwellings that the SR1 zoning schemes allow**. It's highly unlikely that three dwellings, as permitted in the zoning scheme, would overburden the infrastructure.

Secondly, the City of Cape Town's densification policy seeks to ensure that a minimum of **25 dwellings per hectare (du/ha)** is achieved across the metro, but allows for **between 80 and 300**

net du/ha in areas set aside for public housing depending on the typology (City of Cape Town, 2012).

A rudimentary assessment demonstrates that the enumerated area in Freedom Park is **8,67 hectares** excluding the public parks, schools and fields. Across the **533 residential erven** we might expect around **1066 structures** (following the average of 2 per property) but there could be as few as **716** (which was counted manually from an aerial photo). This gives a **net density of only 122 du/ha** which is at the lower end of what is desirable.

It is plausible to argue; however, that there are issues with regards to other public infrastructure such as electricity supply and that the number of households may require the electricity to be upgraded. Ultimately, this all requires specific investigation.

ABOUT THE INFORMAL RENTAL MARKET

Rent

The average rent for tenant households in Freedom Park who do pay rent is around **R662 per month**. Backyard residents would seem to be paying less, though the number of such residents in the sample was very small to make bold inferences - and it is likely each household would have a different arrangement. Other tenants are generally paying between R600 and R700.

It may be more useful to look at the range of rental amounts paid, which vary from **as low as R300 to as high as R1,800 per month**.

Given the variation, it begs the question what factors are considered when determining rent. This may include the income of the tenant, the quality of the structure, the relationship with the landlord household and the number of people living in the structure. Some rentals include services while others do not.

TENANT HOUSEHOLDS AVERAGE MONTHLY RENT	
Backyarder - Owner	656
Backyarder - Resident	500
Backyarder - Tenant	720
Main House - Tenant	612
	662

Table 65: Average monthly rental paid by tenant households.

RENT					
Rent Paid	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
< 500	18	1	33	40	92
501 - 1000	23	1	41	45	110
1001 - 1500	9		23	15	47
> 1500	1			1	2
	51	2	97	101	251

Table 66: Spread of rent, amongst those who responded.

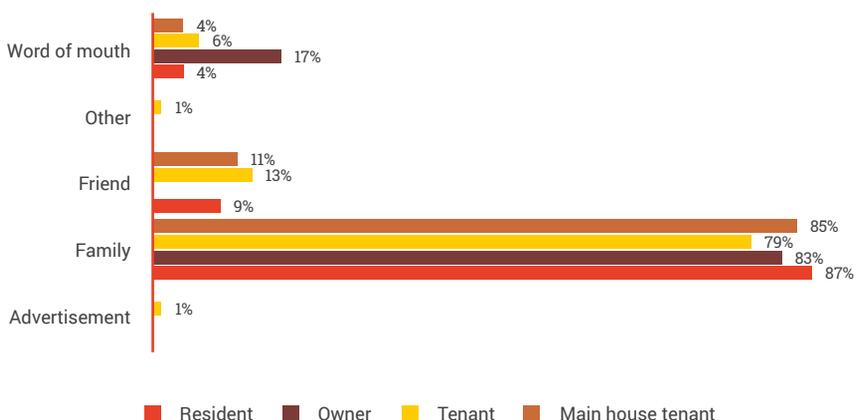
Market

Most tenants staying in the main house are paying somewhere **between few hundred Rand per month and R1,500**. Backyard tenants and backyard owners follow a similar pattern with the most paying **between R500 and R1000**.

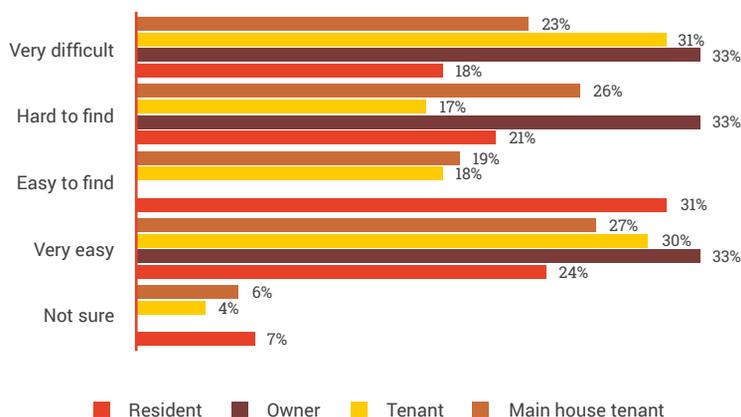
family members - nearly **83%** in total. Either way, there is a huge variety of perceptions when it comes to how easy or difficult it is to find affordable rental housing, with just as many tenant households finding it very difficult.

When asked how tenants found out about property the vast majority stated that this was through

Finding out about the property



Finding affordable rental opportunities



SALIENT FINDINGS

533 residential erven in the enumeration area surveyed:

211 landlord households across various tenure types with:

243 effective landlords identified

198 backyarder households

124 tenants living in rooms in the main house

383 effective tenants⁶ identified

1892 residents interviewed:

676 tenants living in backyards

370 tenants living in the main house

846 members of landlord households

60%+ female landlords compared to 37% who are men

50-59 yrs

average landlord age

90%

Afrikaans landlords with the remainder speaking English.

Most landlord households have been living in Freedom Park for a fair length of time. While many moved to Freedom Park in the 1990s after or during land occupation, the majority moved to the area in the 2000s.

Landlord households can range from 1 to over 10 people, though most are between 2 and 5 people and the overall average is about 4 people.

75% unemployed effective landlords looking for work

25% households earning no income at all

07% households earning below R400 per month

The level of formal education amongst landlords is low and extremely variable with the majority leaving school during secondary school.

40% received education at the primary school level

07% finished matric

⁶The tenure types and definition of effective landlords/tenants are discussed in more detail in the landlord and tenant sections.

Most households have a combined income of somewhere **between R800 and R7,500 per month**. What is noticeable is how much income in landlord households is primarily from rent, with households earning **less than R3,500 per month** indicating that they rely more on rent than wealthier households. A significant number of people in landlord households receive a grant of some kind in landlord households.

Much like landlord households, tenant households have lived in Freedom Park for many years, though most households arrived from the **1990s onwards**.

Tenants are roughly equally likely to be a woman or a man where they are the head of the household.

30-39 yrs average tenant age

Tenant households **overwhelmingly speak Afrikaans as a primary language**, though about **15% speak English at home** with the **vast majority being South African citizens**.

Tenants households are, **on average 3 people**, though there is a fair spread of households **between 1 and 6 people**. Some households are very large with **7 or more** members.

Tenant households are slightly better educated:

80% left secondary school **16%** finished matric
33% employed tenants **60%** unemployed tenants

Despite age ranges **none claim to be retired**.

Just over **60%** of all households earn **between R400 and R7,500**. A significant number of household members receive grants.

Half of tenant households live in Freedom Park to be close to family. Tenants are benefiting from long tenure in an area near to family where they can access affordable rental housing.

The average rent is around R662 per month with a range from R300 to as high as R1,800 per month. **80%** of all tenant households pay their rent in cash and less than **10%** of both tenant and landlord households say that they have a formal written rental agreement. However, only **16%** of all tenant households thought that evictions needed to be addressed. In general relations are friendly, the arrangement is stable and households trust and help each other out.

Regarding basic services, very few households felt that there needed to be any significant changes. Figures for access to toilets, waste collection and water were all indicated by under **5%** of households. **96%** of households would like to see a change in how crime is addressed. When asked what crimes are most prevalent surprisingly, attempted murder figures trumps murder itself.

A trio of related **social factors** explain why households (tenants/landlords) choose to live in Freedom Park. They want to be closer to family, access affordable housing and have better living conditions. Push factors would be primarily economic - households would move to improve their livelihoods through better employment.

Freedom Park is not very well-located and most households (excl. learners/students) have to commute between an hour and a hour and a half, (majority of whom are unemployed).

Across the board the main house secures refuse, water, sanitation and electricity from the municipality and provides these services in turn to the backyarders, though a few backyarders access services independently. The majority of households (mostly landlord/main house tenants) are living in the main house on the property which is almost always made of brick and cement. However, in Freedom Park a fair number of other structures are also made from brick and cement. **38** backyard structures in total were made of brick and cement - around **7%** of all households. The remainder are largely informal structures made of metal or wood. There were no significant examples of entrepreneurial landlords or boarding houses.

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