

Neighbourhood Profile

LOST CITY 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:

232 of the residential erven in the Lost City enumeration area were surveyed and altogether 838 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 Lost City for a fair amount of time. Most moved to Lost City in the 1990s. Landlord households can range from **one to ten** people, though most household are between **three and four** people and the overall average is closer to **four** people. Amongst effective landlords themselves, **nearly 75% are unemployed** or looking for work. Most households have a combined income of somewhere between **R800 and R7,500 per month** with **60%** of households earning between **R1,500 and R7,500 per month**.

Much like landlord households, tenant households only really began arriving in Lost City in the 1990s. Whereas landlord households averaged four members, tenant households are, on average around **three** people. Roughly the same number of tenants are employed, or self-employed compared those who are unemployed or looking for work (around **45%** in both cases)

The average rent for tenant households in Lost City (who do pay rent) is around **R850 per**

month. Main house tenants pay slightly more - around **R1100 per month**. **67%** of all tenant households pay their rent in cash and less than **15%** 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 Lost City. They want to be closer to family and find affordable rental housing. Push factors are primary economic, households would move to improve their livelihoods through better employment.

These observations hold true for Lost City 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. Very few, if any, 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. **33%** of backyard structures are made out of wood. However, in Lost City, a fair number of other structures are also made from brick and cement. 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 before the covid-19 lockdown (09 to 13 March 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 Lost City, Mitchells Plain

Boundary



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

The enumeration area covers most of what is known as **Lost City in Mitchells Plain**, in a band following Tafelberg Road to the south and the back boundary of the houses along Stella Road to the

north and west. The eastern boundary followed Nina Street.

Sample size

232 of the 245 residential erven in the enumeration area surveyed:

101 landlord households across various tenure types with:

125 effective landlords
120 backyarder households
11 tenants living in rooms in the main house
166 effective tenants¹

1892 residents surveyed:

406 tenants living in backyards
42 tenants living in the main house
390 members of landlord households

Exact breakdown of residents in the table below.

SAMPLE SIZE (IN VALUES)			
	Total households	Effective landlord/tenant	Total Residents
TENANT households			
Main house tenants	11	14	42
Backyard owners	39	49	143
Backyard tenants	50	69	158
Backyard residents	31	34	105
Total	131	166	448
LANDLORD households			
Landlord owners	90	111	334
Landlord tenants	9	10	42
Landlord residents	2	4	14
Backyard landlords	0	0	0
Total	101	125	390
Grand Total	232	291	838

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 LOST CITY - CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Historical Context and Development

Location



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

Lost City is located at the very far tip of Tafelsig, Mitchells Plain, about halfway between Spine Road to the north and Baden Powell Drive to the south. Its mostly surrounded by public housing and the veld which as historically separated Mitchells Plain from Khayelitsha.

Historical development

Mitchells Plain was developed as a Coloured township by the apartheid government as a response to the housing issues of the 1970s. The township planning was laid out in terms of neighbourhood unit concepts with large open spaces and localised public facilities influenced by the political ideologies of the time and standards-based planning. According to the 2011 Census, Mitchells

Plain's population was **310,485**, where the number of households was **67,995**. This results in an average household size of **4.57**.

Tafelsig is a sub-section situated in Mitchells Plain. The population of the 2011 Census of Tafelsig was **61,755** and the number of households was **12,861**.

The average household size was **4.80**. Lost City is a relatively new area within Tafelsig. The area is predominantly zoned SRT1: Single Residential dwelling with community zoned properties used for social facilities. Residents in Lost City are housed in formally developed private or subsidised units and backyard dwellings.

Spatial Context & Urban Fabric

Connectivity

The suburb sits at the centre of the city, but is peripherally located in terms of economic activity. For those who work it is a commuter or dormitory suburb. Despite this, Lost City is not near any major railway lines and residents would have to take taxis to the nearest interchange. Finding and attending work is often difficult, especially on low incomes.

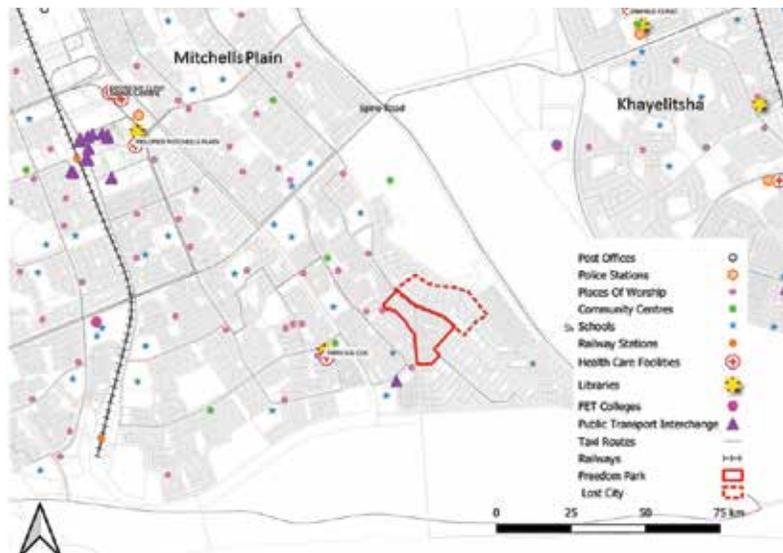


Figure 3: Social facilities and transport infrastructure (City of Cape Town, 2020).

Social facilities

Public service are thinly spread out across the suburb. Lost City 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.

Land use and zoning



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

Apart from the obvious exceptions such as the parks and school premises, which are zoned for community use, the remainder, are zoned as residential. The surrounding land is zoned almost entirely residential too, apart from the large buffer with Khayelitsha which remains undeveloped.

Of the 245 erven in Lost City, 242 are primarily residential.

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).

ERVEN	
Residential erven	242
Parks, fields and open space	2
Schools and Pre-Primaries	
Churches and community facilities	1
	245

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

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, which are ubiquitous in the area.

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



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

Growth in backyarding

Were it not for extensive backyarding, Lost City might be considered a single dwelling suburb. It is almost uniformly single storey homes built to the front of fairly large erf²s of around 200m².

The streets are tarred with little pavements, though the beach sand blows everywhere and is rarely swept by the City Council.



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

²A 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 Lost City:

City of Cape Town, 2018

↓ R220,000

Social and Economic Context

Official census data from 2011 is only available at the subplace level for Lost City, which includes the heart of the enumerated area between Stella Road and Tafelberg Road.

Gender and Age

Total population: 1,129 living in **228** households

50% split between male & female 

The population is distributed across age groups and is largely youthful.

AGE DISTRIBUTION									
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+
No.	269	198	282	92	141	113	18	9	3
%	24%	18%	25%	8%	13%	10%	2%	1%	0%

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

Race and language

Nearly 97% of the population identifies as Coloured with less than 1% identifying otherwise. The majority, around 64% speak Afrikaans as a first language, with 10% speaking English and 6% speaking isiXhosa (Stats SA, 2011). This is not unexpected given its history and such highly segregated neighbourhoods are not uncommon across the City of Cape Town.

Employment and household income

±40% unemployed people with: **10%** discouraged or unemployed people

The remainder are considered not economically active or employment is not applicable.

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 Lost City, around 80% of backyarder households are living in timber, plastic or metal structures with around 20% 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.

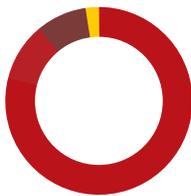
Landlord tenure types

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 Lost City
<p>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.</p>	Most property owners in Lost City built their own home or bought the property on the private property market.
<p>Landlord tenants Landlord households which rent the main house themselves and sublet rooms and/or structures and space in the yard.</p>	A few landlord tenants in Lost City 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 Lost City
<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 not common in Lost City as most tenure was strictly through 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 Lost City. 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

- 89% Landlord owners
- 9% Landlord tenants
- 2% 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.

99 landlord households were enumerated, of which the vast majority owned the main house. This makes sense in Lost City, where almost all of the houses have been built or purchased on the private property market.

Only 4 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 Lost City, 1% of landlord household members (8 out of 838) 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 Lost City for a fair length amount of time. Most moved to Lost City in the 1990s, with the number tapering off in the 2000s and 2010s. 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.

LENGTH OF TENURE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
1950s/60s	2			2	1.98%
1970s					
1980s	5			5	4.95%
1990s	69	1	2	72	71.29%
2000s	7	1	3	11	10.89%
2010s	6		4	10	9.90%
2020s	1			1	0.99%

Table 6: Landlord length of tenure.

When asked directly, only 46 out of 125 (around 37%) effective landlords stated that they had benefited from a housing subsidy with the remainder indicating that they had not or did not respond.

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 101 landlord households, there are 125 effective landlords; in many 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 roughly evenly split. Across all 390 members, 50% identify as women (and girls) and 50% identify as men (and boys).

When it comes to effective landlords, there are a few more women than men. Around 52% of landlords are women compared to 47% who are men.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD GENDER					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Women	60	2	4	66	0.53%
Men	51	2	6	59	0.41%
	111	4	10	125	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 70% of men are married); whereas more female landlords are likely to be single, divorced or separated, or a widow (between 16 - 27% in each case).

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD MARITAL STATUS BY GENDER			
	Women	Men	Total
Cohabiting / living together as partners	3	1	4
Civil partnerships	3	3	6
Traditional / Customary	3	3	6
Widow / Widower	11	1	12
Never Married	12	3	15
Divorced / Separated	16	6	22
Married	18	42	60
	66	59	125

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 Lost City.

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 landlord is 26 while the oldest is 73.

The average age for all members across landlord households is **34 years old**, which makes sense when you factor in youth and children.

Language and nationality

A slim majority (**about 60%**) of landlord households speak Afrikaans as a primary language with the remainder speaking English, save for two households who speak isiXhosa.

The vast majority (**about 96%**) of effective landlords are South African citizens and this is the same for households in general.

It would seem then that Lost City 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 Lost City was historically a Coloured suburb and has remained so.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD AGE RANGE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
20-29	4	1	1	6	4.80%
30-39	16	1	3	20	16%
40-49	6		1	7	5.60%
50-59	65	2	3	70	56%
60-69	18		1	19	15.20%
70-79	2		1	3	2.40%
	111	4	10	125	100%

Table 9: Age range of landlords.

LANDLORD / LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD AGE				
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total
Landlords	52	41	48	52
Landlord households	34	28	28	34

Table 10: Average effective landlord and landlord household age.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD PRIMARY LANGUAGE				
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total
Afrikaans	59		3	62
English	31	2	6	39
	90	2	9	101

Table 11: Landlord primary household language.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD NATIONALITY					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Non South African	1			1	0.26%
Permanent Resident	4	2		6	1.54%
Prefer not to answer	5	1	1	7	1.79%
South African	324	11	41	376	96.41%
	334	14	42	390	100%

Table 12: Nationality of effective landlords.

Household size

Landlord households can range from **one to ten people**, though most household are between **three and four people** and the overall average is closer to **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	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
1	9			9	8.91%
2	16			16	15.84%
3	22		2	24	23.76%
4	19		2	21	20.79%
5	8		4	12	11.88%
6	10	1		11	10.89%
7	4	1	1	6	5.94%
8	1			1	0.99%
9	1			1	0.99%
	90	2	9	101	100%

Table 13: Landlord household size.

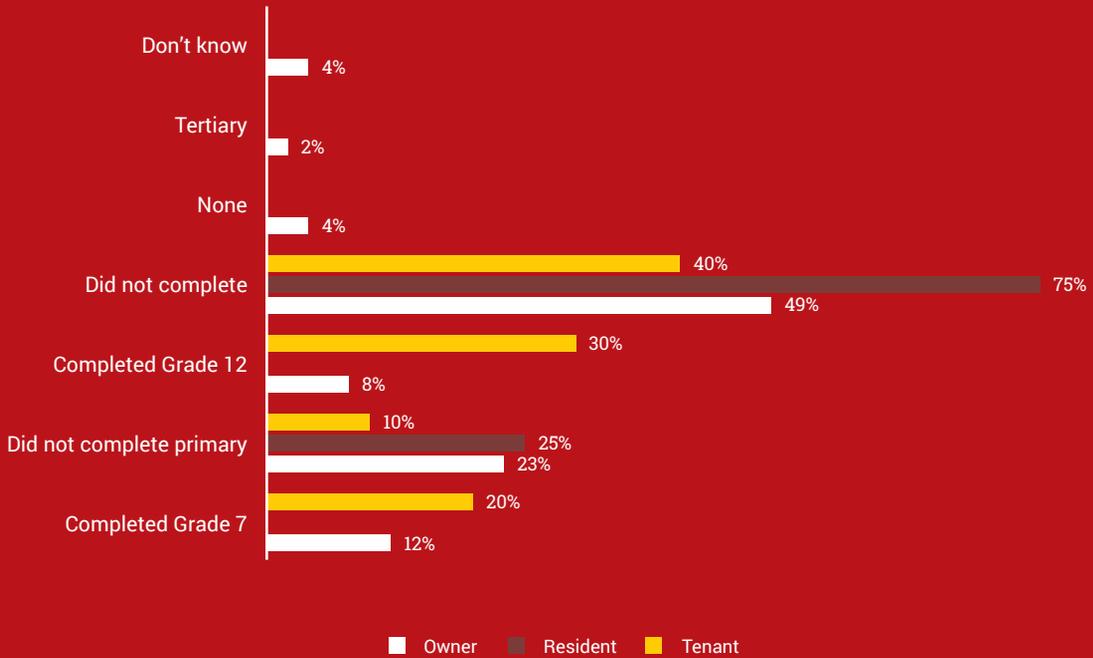
Education

The level of formal education amongst landlords is low and extremely variable. A good number (around 36%) only received education at the primary school level. Of the remainder, almost everyone left school during secondary school with only (about 10%) finishing matric. Two landlords (around 2%) went on to secure a part or full tertiary qualification.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD EDUCATION				
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total
Don't know	4			4
None	4			4
Grade 1	3			3
Grade 2	3			3
Grade 3		1	1	2
Grade 4	2			2
Grade 5	8			8
Grade 6	9			9
Grade 7	13		2	15
Grade 8	15	1		16
Grade 9	11		1	12
Grade 10	22	2	2	26
Grade 11	6		1	7
Grade 12	9		3	12
Part / Full tertiary	2			2
	111	4	10	125

Table 14: Effective Landlord highest education level achieved.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD EDUCATION					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Completed Grade 7	13		2	15	12%
Did not complete primary	25	1	1	27	22%
Completed Grade 12	9		3	12	10%
Did not complete	54	3	4	61	49%
None	4			4	3%
Tertiary	2			2	2%
Don't know	4			4	3%
	111	4	10	125	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, around half or 52% are unemployed or looking for work. While only around 25% are employed or self-employed.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD EMPLOYMENT					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Looking for work	2			2	1.60%
Other	5			5	4%
Self-employed	6			6	4.80%
Home keeper	8			8	6.40%
Retired	13		2	15	12%
Employed	19	3	3	25	20%
Unemployed	58	1	5	64	51.20%
	111	4	10	125	100%

Table 15: Effective landlord employment status.

When school learners are excluded, around **50%** of household members are unemployed or looking for work.

Household income and source

Most households have a combined income of somewhere between **R800 and R7,500 per month** with **60%** of households earning between **R1,500 and R7,500 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 many households are relying on grants to get by across the board.

Rental is considered a part of income in a fair amount of households. Overall, this might indicate that landlording does contribute towards income for households where landlords are unemployed, though it is not necessarily dominant or the only source of income.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD RESIDENTS EMPLOYMENT					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Tertiary student	3			3	0.77%
Self-employed	7		1	8	2.05%
Looking for work	10			10	2.56%
Home keeper	14			14	3.59%
Pre-school	11	3	3	17	4.36%
Retired	19		2	21	5.38%
Other	22		4	26	6.67%
Employed	43	4	10	57	14.62%
Learner at school	60	2	7	69	17.69%
Unemployed	145	5	15	165	42.31%
	334	14	42	390	100%

Table 16: Landlord household residents' employment status.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD INCOME					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
No income	3			3	3%
R1 - R400	6			6	6%
R401 - R800	7			7	7%
R801 - R1,500	11	1	1	13	13%
R1,501 - R3,500	30		2	32	32%
R3,501 - R7,500	25	1	4	30	30%
R7,501 - R15,000	7		2	9	9%
R15,001 - R22,000	1			1	1%
	90	2	9	101	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	2	1	2	5	4.95%
R401 - R800	2	1	3	1	0	11	10.89%
R801 - R1,500	2	2	1	8	0	13	12.87%
R1,501 - R3,500	7	2	5	19	1	34	33.66%
R3,501 - R7,500	14	2	2	12	1	31	30.69%
R7,501 - R15,000	7	1	0	1	0	9	8.91%
R15,001 - R22,000	1	0	0	0	0	3	2.97%
	34	8	13	42	4	101	100%

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

It would seem that most landlord households don't rely on one source of income, combining multiple sources, including rental income, as a strategy in the context of 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

59 out of 390 (nearly 15%) people living in landlord households considered themselves to have a disability with a few having multiple disabilities. Many selected a variety of conditions that were not listed including: arthritis, asthma and autism, amputations, chronic illnesses, epilepsy, high blood pressure and kidney failure.

DISABILITY			
	Household members	Landlords	Total
Hearing difficulty	1	1	2
Mental difficulty	7	2	9
Seeing difficulty	2	2	4
Communication / speech difficulty	1		1
Walking difficulty	7	9	16
Other	10	17	27
	28	31	59

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 159 out of 390 (around 40%) of people receive grants with the majority receiving a child support grant or disability grant.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD GRANTS				
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total
Care Dependency Grant	2			2
Child Support Grant	71	5	11	87
Disability Grant	39	1	2	42
Foster Child Grant	2			2
Older Person's Grant	23	1	1	25
War Veteran's Grant	1			1
	138	7	14	159

Expenditure

Table 20: Landlord household grants.

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 27% or nearly a third of all expenditure.

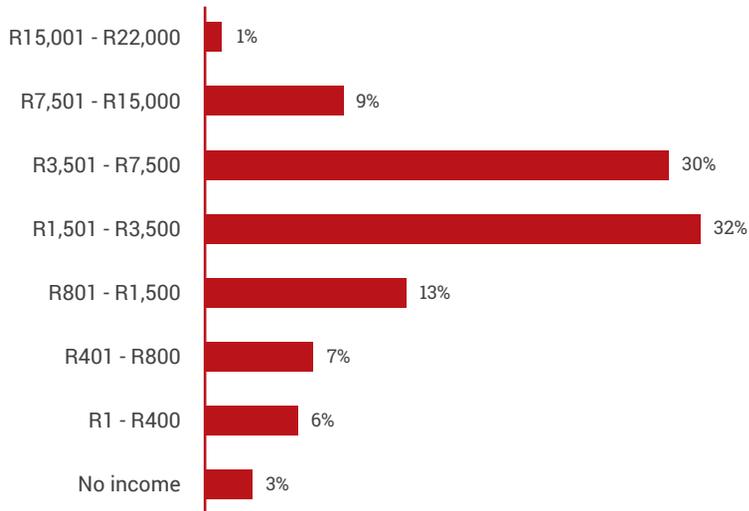
Landlord households pay surprisingly low amounts towards rent or bond payment, which takes just over 10% of expenditure - about the same that household members spend on transport (12%). Services such as electricity, water, refuse, rates and sanitation combined account for 21% of expenditure.

Stated expenditure confirms that money spent on maintenance of structures is negligible - accounting for only 3% of expenditure and between R100 and R250 per month.

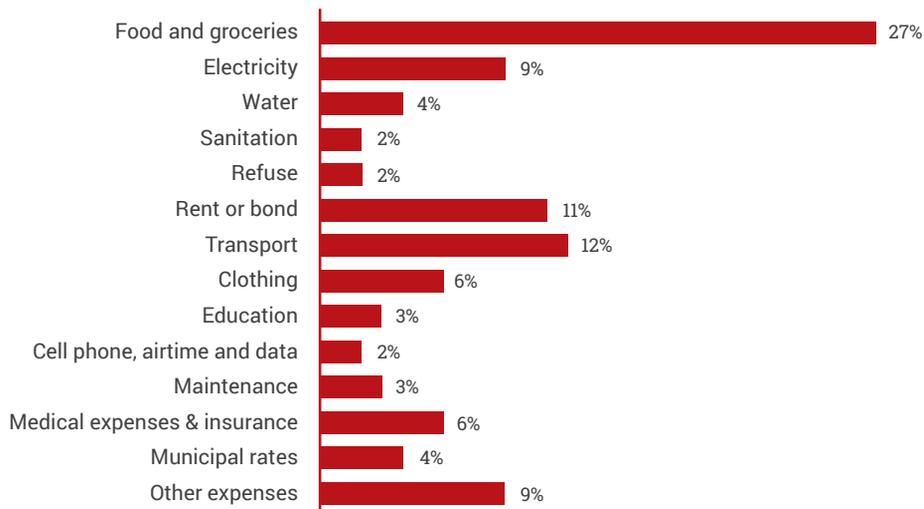
LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Food & groceries	1242	1600	1583	1281	27%
Electricity	445	625	271	435	9%
Water	184	150	155	182	4%
Sanitation	118	150	77	116	2%
Refuse	74	0	85	75	2%
Rent or bond	436	1200	992	508	11%
Transport	522	1050	897	581	12%
Clothing	279	0	363	286	6%
Education	150	0	150	150	3%
Cell phone, airtime & data	100	175	127	105	2%
Maintenance	121	250	100	123	3%
Medical expenses & insurance	220	0	600	274	6%
Municipal rates	169	0	0	169	4%
Other expenses	399	300	520	412	9%
	4460	5500	5919	4697	100%

Table 21: Average household expenses by tenure type.

Landlord household income



Landlord household expenditure



It is important to note that there is a discrepancy between reported income and expenditure. Essentially, what we want to take from this is an indication of what the top three expenditure items are, rather than actual amounts.

Typical Landlord

A typical landlord in Lost City is likely to be an **Afrikaans speaking South African in their 50s** but could be a woman or a man. They almost certainly moved to the area in the 1990s. If they are a man they are likely to be married, but if they are a woman they could equally be single, divorced or separated or widowed. They live with three others in the household on average. They would have finished some years of secondary school but are unlikely to have matriculated and are currently unemployed. Apart from rent, the household may derive an income from wages and either a child support or a disability 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 **131** tenant households enumerated. Only **11** households, or **less than 10%** were living as tenants in the main house. Most tenants are either staying in structures provided by the landlord (**50 out of 131 or 38%**) or own their own structures (**39 out of 131 or 29%**). There is a surprisingly large number of tenants households living under other tenure arrangements - **31 households** in total.

Tenant tenure types

TENANT HOUSEHOLDS TENURE TYPE	
General Definition	Common expression in Lost City
<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 household only really began arriving in Lost City in the 1990s. There are one or two households who dated their tenure earlier, but these are unlikely to have lived in Lost City itself as the area did not yet exist - they may have moved into Mitchells Plain more generally. From the 1990s to present between 40 and 60 households moved into the area per decade amongst enumerated households. The majority moved in the 2010s (within the past decade), but 57/131 have lived in the neighbourhood for about 20 years.



Tenant tenure types

- 30%** Backyard owners
- 38.1%** Backyard tenants
- 23.6%** Backyard residents
- 8.3%** Main house tenants

TENANT HOUSEHOLD LENGTH OF TENURE						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
1960s		1			1	0.76%
1970s						
1980s	1				1	0.76%
1990s	9	13	15	6	43	32.82%
2000s	5	2	5	1	13	9.92%
2010s	22	13	27	4	66	50.38%
2020s	2	2	3		7	5.34%

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).

Amongst tenants, a slightly majority identify as men where they are the head of the household.

Over half of all tenants are married, which is higher than the other areas enumerated by DAG: Maitland Garden Village, Eerste River and Freedom Park.

EFFECTIVE TENANT GENDER						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Women	25	12	25	7	69	41.57%
Men	24	22	44	7	97	58.43%
	49	34	69	14	166	100%

Table 24: Effective tenant gender.

EFFECTIVE TENANT GENDER					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Civil partnership	1		2	1	4
Widow / Widower	3	5	1		9
Traditional / Customary	4	1	3	2	10
Divorced / Separated	2	3	7		12
Cohabiting / living together as partners	3	4	7	1	15
Never married	5	3	13		21
Married	31	18	36	10	95
	49	34	69	14	166

Table 25: Effective tenant marital status.

Age

The age range of tenants is **between 18 and 85** years old, with a plurality of tenants in their 30s.

30-39 yrs

predominant tenant age

It's understandable that the average of 24 is lower when you include all members of tenant households.

EFFECTIVE TENANT AGE RANGE						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
<20		1	1		2	1.20%
20 - 29	10	5	14	4	33	19.88%
30 - 39	27	15	28	6	76	45.78%
40 - 49	4	3	10	2	19	11.45%
50 - 59	6	6	12	2	26	15.66%
60 - 69	1	1	2		4	2.41%
70 - 79	1	1	2		4	2.41%
80 - 89		2			2	1.20%
	49	34	69	14	166	100%

Table 26: Age range of tenants.

Language and nationality

As with landlord households, many tenant households speak Afrikaans. However, in Lost City in particular, there are almost as many English speaking households as Afrikaans. Altogether **42%** of households speak English at home compared to **55%** who speak Afrikaans. There was one isiXhosa speaking household surveyed.

EFFECTIVE TENANT AND TENANT HOUSEHOLD AVERAGE AGE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Tenant	37	43	39	37	39
Tenant households	23	26	26	21	24

Table 27: Average effective tenant and tenant household age.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD PRIMARY LANGUAGE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Isixhosa	1				1
Other			1		1
English	20	8	21	7	56
Afrikaans	18	23	28	4	73
	39	31	50	11	131

Table 28: Tenant primary household language.

Much like with landlords, the vast majority, or about **97%**, of tenants are South African citizens. This is not an area where immigrants are living in 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	%
Non South African		1	2	1	4	2.12%
South African	17	56	78	34	185	97.88%
	17	57	80	35	189	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).

This was confirmed by the survey. Whereas landlords households averaged **four** members, tenant households are, on average around **three** people. Most households have between **one and five** members.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD SIZE						
Household Size	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
1	3	4	7	1	15	11.45%
2	6	6	10	1	23	17.56%
3	7	6	15	4	32	24.43%
4	11	7	8	1	27	20.61%
5	9	6	6	2	23	17.56%
6	3	1	4	1	9	6.87%
7		1		1	2	1.53%
	39	31	50	11	131	100%

Table 30: Tenant household size.

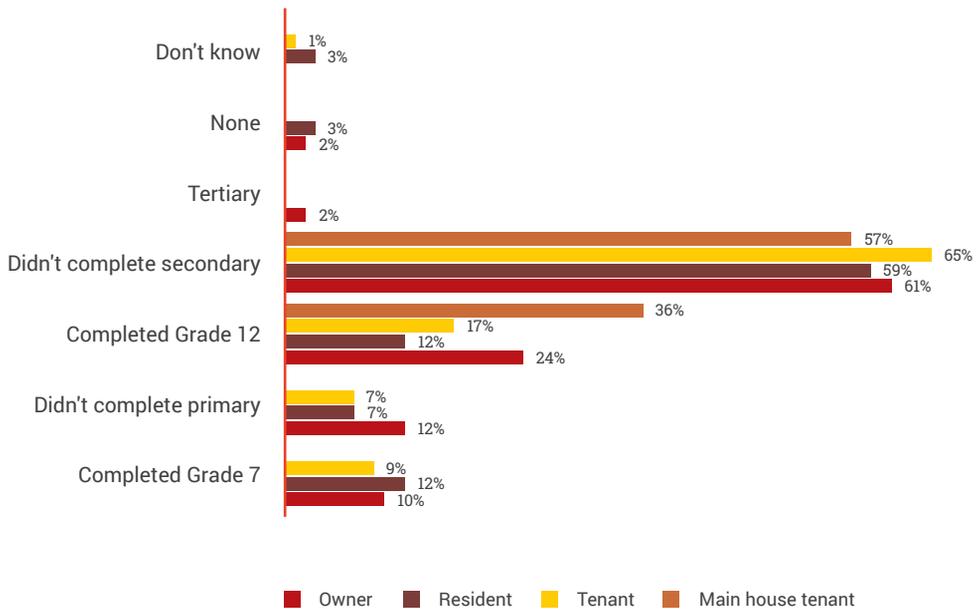
Education

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

80% left during secondary school with just under 20% 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		1	1		2
None	1	1			2
Grade 3		1			1
Grade 4			3		3
Grade 5		2			2
Grade 6		1	2	1	4
Grade 7	5	4	6		15
Grade 8	6	5	6	1	18
Grade 9	6	5	8	3	22
Grade 10	12	4	19	3	38
Grade 11	6	6	12	1	25
Grade 12	12	4	12	5	33
	49	34	69	14	166

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

Roughly the same number of tenants are employed or self-employed compared those who are unemployed or looking for work (around 45% in both cases). At least one tenant is still at school and only 5 are retired.

The proportions of unemployed people, when looking at all members of tenant households are slightly less, at around 33%, though employment is sitting at around 20%, when learners and pre-school goers are excluded. It's unclear why 48 tenants selected 'other' as an option - a significant number.

EFFECTIVE TENANT EMPLOYMENT						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Learner at school		1			1	0.60%
Other		1		1	2	1.20%
Looking for work		1	2	2	5	3.01%
Retired		3	2		5	3.01%
Home keeper	2	1	6	1	10	6.02%
Self-employed		3	8	1	12	7.23%
Employed	19	10	28	4	61	36.75%
Unemployed	28	14	23	5	70	42.17%
	49	34	69	14	166	100%

Table 32: Effective employment status.

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

TENANT HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Tertiary student	2	1		2	5	1.12%
Retired		3	3		6	1.34%
Looking for work	3	1	4	3	11	2.46%
Self-employed		3	12	1	16	3.57%
Home keeper	2	5	8	3	18	4.02%
Pre-school	17	8	12	5	42	9.38%
Other	15	16	13	4	48	10.71%
Employed	24	11	38	4	77	17.19%
Learner at school	36	23	33	11	103	22.99%
Unemployed	44	34	35	9	122	27.23%
	143	105	158	42	448	100%

Table 33: Tenant household members employment status.

Household income and source

Most tenant households are earning predominantly between R800 and R7,500 per month. Very few are earning above that - less than 10% earns above R15,000 per month. Comparably few households (under 10%) earn no income at all.

While most households rely on wages for income, a fair number also rely on grants. Interestingly, a few themselves earn rent as part of their household income. This could be a boarder or even grown members of the family contributing rental towards household expenses.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD INCOME		
	Total	%
No income	11	8.40%
R1 - R400	5	3.82%
R401 - R800	11	8.40%
R801 - R1,500	23	17.56%
R1,501 - R3,500	38	29.01%
R3,501 - R7,500	34	25.95%
R7,501 - R15,000	6	4.58%
R15,001 - R22,000	3	2.29%
	131	100%

Table 34: Tenant household income.

Disabilities and grants

Disabilities

22 members of tenant households in total indicated they had a disability. This mostly included mental and walking disabilities and a range of chronic conditions.

Grants

Just under 50% of all residents living in tenant households receive a grant of one kind or another, with around 40% receiving a child support grant.

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	0	4	0	5	4.10%
R401 - R800	3	1	0	5	2	11	9.02%
R801 - R1,500	5	9	0	7	4	16	13.11%
R1,501 - R3,500	16	3	1	16	2	38	31.15%
R3,501 - R7,500	26	4	0	3	1	34	27.87%
R7,501 - R15,000	3	1	1	1	0	6	4.92%
R15,001 - R22,000	3	0	0	0	0	3	2.46%
	57	18	2	36	9	122	100%

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

GRANTS					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Foster Child Grant		2	1		3
Care Dependency Grant	4	1	5	2	12
Disability Grant	3	4	2	3	12
Older Person's Grant	3	5	5		13
Child Support Grant	55	42	55	14	166
	65	54	68	19	206

Table 36: Tenant household members receiving grants.

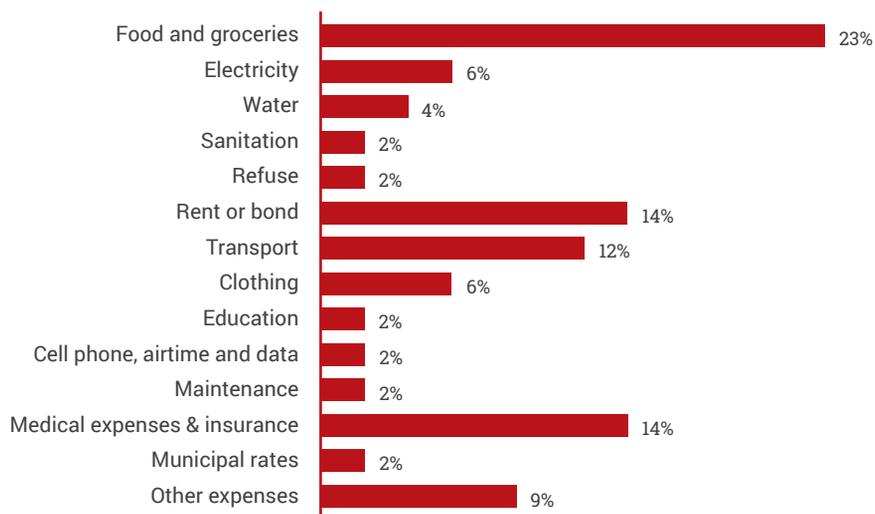
Expenditure

Tenant households spend proportionally more on food and groceries than any other expenditure - around 23% of all expenditure. The next highest expense is rent and transport at about 14% and 12% respectively. One or two tenant households seem to

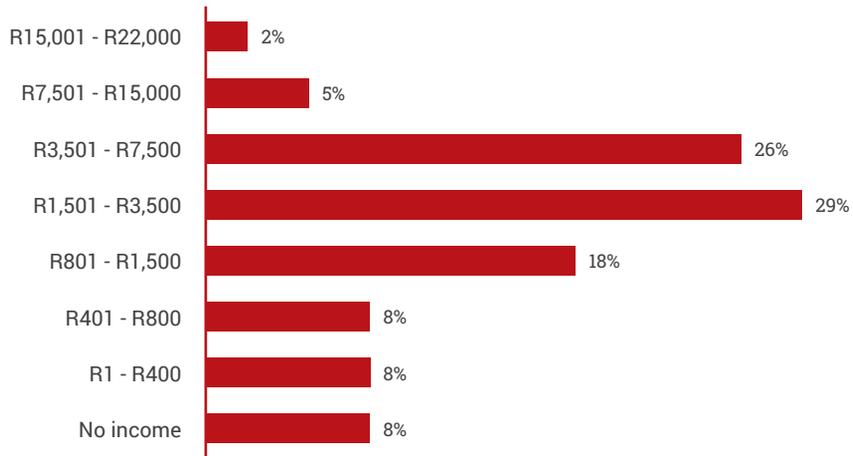
contribute towards rates - and in some households medical expenses are extremely high - pushing up the average expenditure. When this is excluded the average expenditure for main house tenants is closer to R4,800.

AVERAGE TENANT HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Food and groceries	1253	1151	1263	1489	1250
Electricity	296	241	368	368	322
Water	229	230	157	256	195
Sanitation	250	70	93	125	102
Refuse	75	0	86	77	83
Rent or bond	745	0	757	971	769
Transport	623	915	616	601	669
Clothing	402	300	342	256	347
Education	74	0	183	0	121
Cell phone, airtime & data	116	61	110	75	101
Maintenance	99	70	125	150	111
Medical expenses & insurance	185	450	642	3000	738
Municipal rates	0	0	120	150	135
Other expenses	575	400	448	346	483
	4922	3888	5309	7864	5427

Table 37: Average household expenses by tenure type.



Tenant household income



Typical Tenant

A typical tenant in Lost City is a South African Afrikaans speaking man who is nearly 40 years old. He rents a structure in the yard with his family and he's probably married. They arrived in the areas in the 2010s. He's more than likely working though the total household income is probably under R3,500 per month, though it could be higher.

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.**

2-3

Average number of **structures.**

1-2

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, over two-third (69%) of tenant households stated that they chose to live in Lost City to be closer to family. A similar figure stated that it was because of the affordable rental. Other more economic issues like better employment or access to public services and transport didn't really figure (which makes sense given the peripheral location). It is clear that tenants are benefiting from living in an area near to family where they can access affordable rental housing.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD REASON FOR LIVING IN LOST CITY		
	Responses	%
Always lived here	59	45%
Better employment opportunities	23	18%
To be closer to family	91	69%
Better living conditions	47	36%
Affordable renting	86	66%
Seeking good public facilities	9	7%
Closer to public transport	26	20%
Safety reasons	32	24%
Returning home	5	4%
Other reason	0	0%

Table 38: Tenant households reason for moving to Lost City (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 tenants households who responded to this question, **(88 out of 131 or about 67% of all tenant households)** pay their rent in cash, which is what you might expect in an informal rental arrangement.

Some landlord households **(33 out of 101 or about 32% 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 Pick n Pay or Shoprite.

Rental agreements and evictions

Around **15%** 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 **18%** of all tenant households **(23 out of 131)** thought that evictions needed to be addressed. This is very low and might indicate that despite the

RENT OR BOND PAYMENT METHOD				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Cash	82	33	6	121
EFT	0	1	0	1
Debit Order	0	4	1	5
Bank App	1	0	0	1
Pick n Pay	1	8	0	9
Shoprite	1	14	0	15
Other	1	1	0	2

Table 39: Payment method for rent or bond.

RENTAL AGREEMENT				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
No	105	84	9	198
Yes	15	17	2	34
	120	101	11	232

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

QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIP				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Very difficult	2	4	1	7
Difficult	5	2	1	8
It doesn't matter	7	9		16
Friendly	53	29	5	87
Very friendly	53	57	4	114
	120	101	11	232

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

informality of agreements, the relationship 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 86% of both landlord and tenant households stated that relations between them was friendly or very friendly. While this is the majority, there are some households which disagree and find the relationship to be somewhat difficult.

A slightly lower figure of 82% stated that the arrangement was stable. While this is not comprehensive, it is still remarkably high and may demonstrate why backyarding is the preferred choice for most households, compared to living in informal settlements or in formal rental housing.

STABILITY OF ARRANGEMENT				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Not sure	3	6		9
Very unstable	7	5	1	13
Unstable	5	10	3	18
Very stable	49	31	3	83
Stable	56	49	4	109
	120	101	11	232

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 relationship 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 Lost City, 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. Less than 10% state that they never or seldom trust other households.

HELPING EACH OTHER OUT				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Never	5	3		8
Seldom	4	3	1	8
Sometimes	9	3		12
Mostly always	7	7	3	17
Always	95	85	7	187
	120	101	11	232

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

TRUST				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Never	6	3	1	10
Seldom	7	3	1	11
Sometimes	6	6		12
Mostly always	13	11	3	27
Always	88	78	6	172
	120	101	11	232

Table 44: Trust in other households on the yard.

ABOUT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Perceptions of the Neighbourhood

Changes

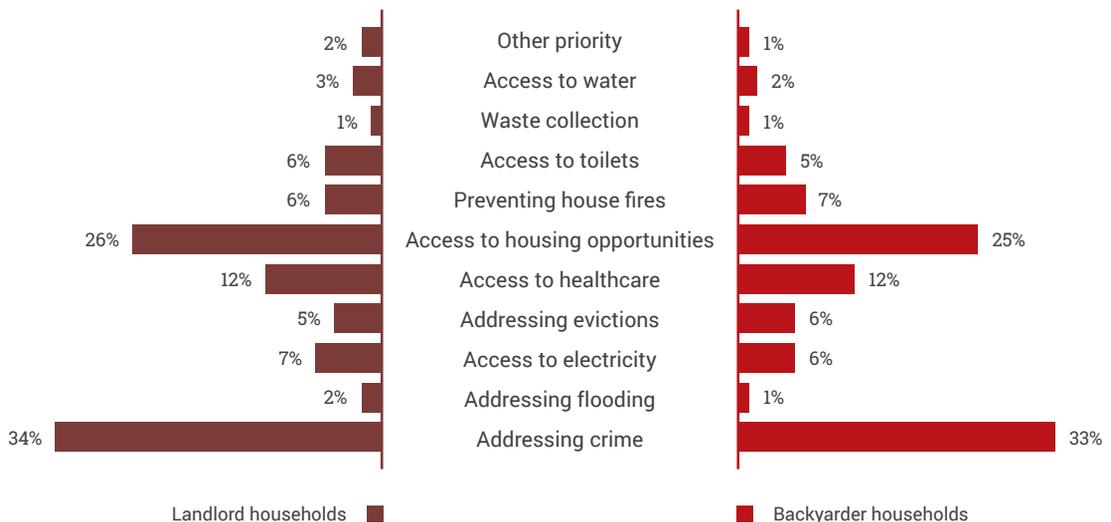
Basic services

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 10% of households. Electricity did feature slightly higher with 20% 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 20% of households.

Most important changes

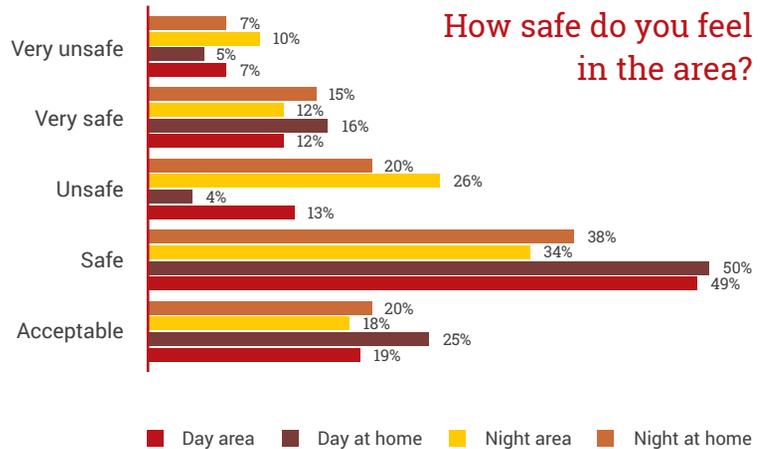


Public services

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 Lost City on the face of it

But by far, the **biggest issues is crime**. 98% 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.

How safe do you feel in the area?



Safety

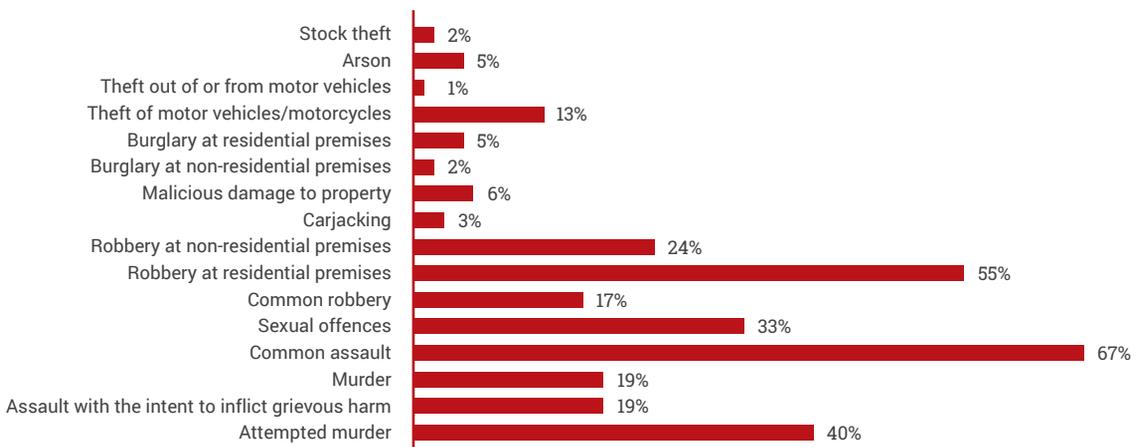
At night between 37% (perception of safety in the area) and 27% (perception of safety at home) felt unsafe or very unsafe, though these figures are lower during the day.

Still 45% feel safe or very safe in the area at night, and just over 50% felt safe or very safe at home in the night.

However, 60% of households feel very safe or very safe in the area during the day and slightly more felt safe or very safe in their home during the day.

These are not overwhelming figures - clearly safety is an issue in Lost City

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

Unlike other areas, very few tenant and landlord households declare that they have always live in the area - about just more than a third responded in this way.

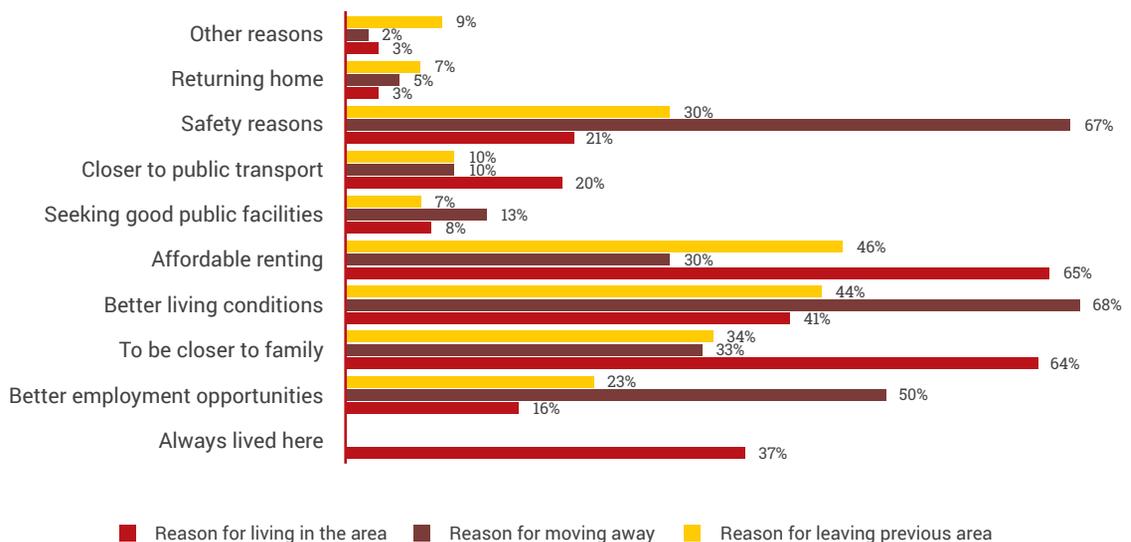
The most obvious pull factors are being closer to family and finding affordable rental housing. Households left their previous areas for similar reasons - in the hope of having better living conditions.

Push factors

With the distinction of safety (68% of households) - push factors are primarily economic:

50% of households would move for better employment opportunities and 68% would move for better living conditions - these are related. Very few households participated in the survey question with regard to why they left their previous area - and perhaps this is because only half of households came from previous areas.

Pull and Push factors

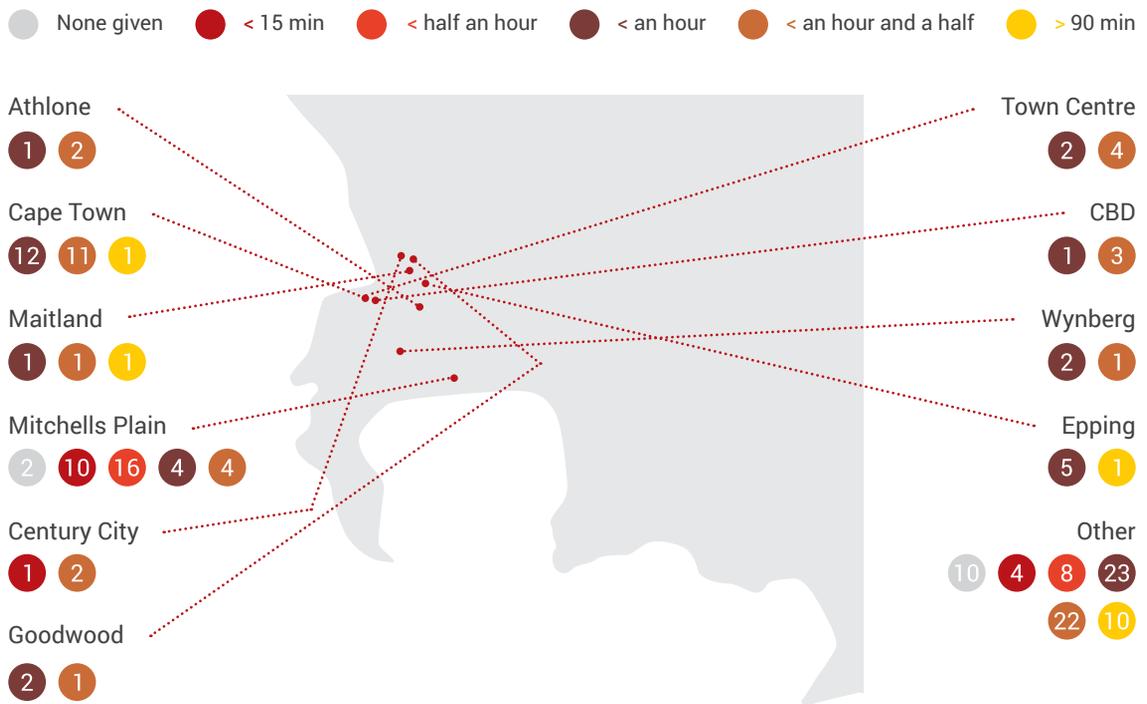


Commuting

Lost City is not very well-located. When learners and student are removed, most workers are travelling between an hour to and hour and a half. Most local travel is under half an hour. Bearing

in mind that most residents surveyed were unemployed, workers are commuting across the city, with Mitchells Plain, the city centre and Epping being more frequent commutes.

Commuting locations and time



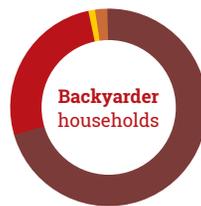
Services

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 Lost City 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. Very few, if any, backyarders access services independently.



71% 27% 1% 2%

71% 27% 1% 2%

91% 9%

■ Municipality ■ Main house ■ Other ■ Shared in yard ■ Neighbour

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

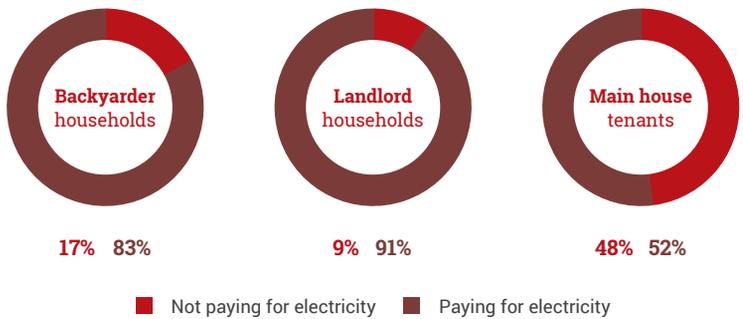
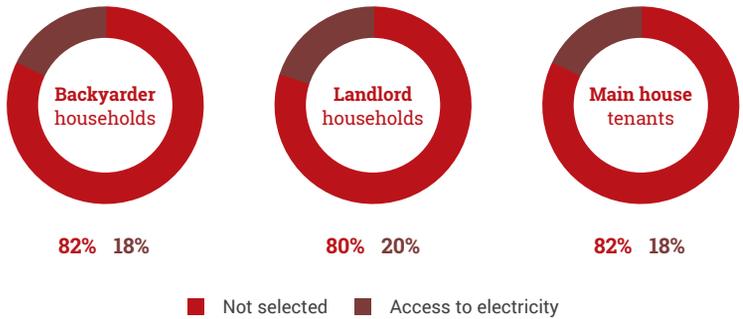
of respondents buy electricity through one pre-paid meter installed in the main house. It is unclear how households are sharing the costs and it's likely that there are a variety of mechanisms being used - for example, paying landlord a set fee, taking turns, or splitting the costs.

It is interesting to note that around 18 - 20% 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 13%, stated that they are not paying for electricity at all. It's clear that electricity costs are shared between backyarder and landlord households.

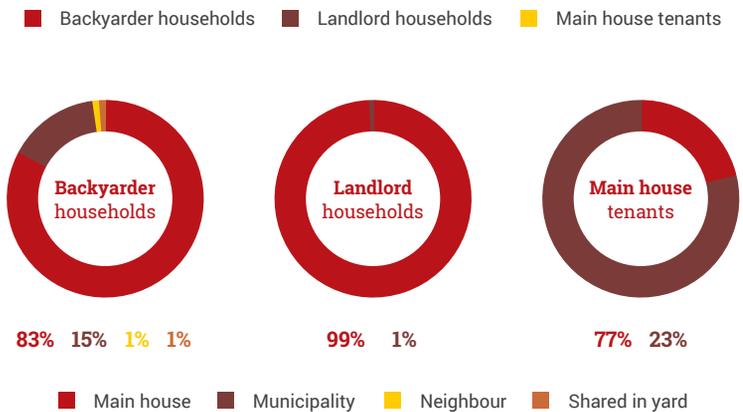
What is clear, from the above, is that electricity is a major cost for both landlord and tenant households comprising around 6 - 7% of all expenditure.

However, in general, landlords are paying more for electricity than backyarder or main house tenants at around R435 per month. The average for main house tenants is only R370 and for backyarder tenants it is around R320. 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 Lost City and it is unlikely the City of Cape Town would agree to install such for informal backyard households on private land that is not subdivided.

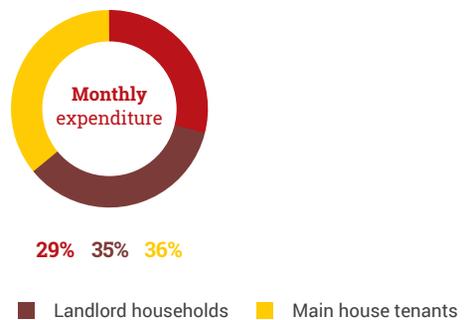
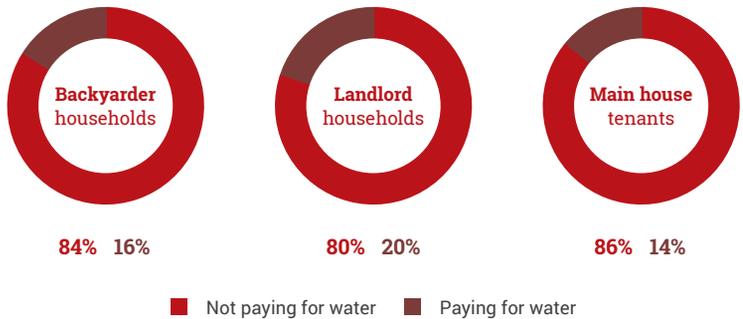


As such most backyard houses access water through the supply in the main house, who in turn are accessing water through the municipal mains connection. There was similar confusion here for main house tenants who, as with electricity, access municipal water in the main house and so were lightly to select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

However, the actually myriad 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 Lost City than for electricity. However, unlike other similar areas in the city, households in Lost City are mostly paying for water. In fact about half of households pay for water.



Slightly more tenant household overall do not pay for water than landlord household and this could be because water is included in the rent.

The average cost for water amongst those who do pay is remarkably consistent across tenant and landlord households - **around R180**. At this stage it's unclear if there is consistency or clear patterns in how water is paid for. When asked; however, very few households identified water as an issue that requires improvement.

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.

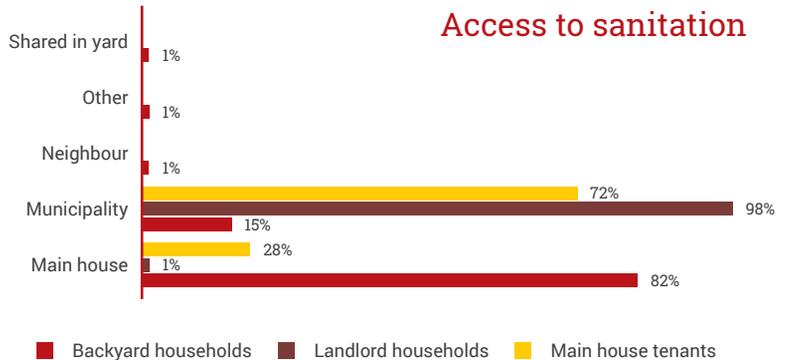
A few households use the neighbour's toilet or a shared toilet in the backyard.

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 majority of households report that they do not pay for sanitation. However, much like with water costs, a higher proportion of tenants and landlord households are paying for sanitation compared to other areas.

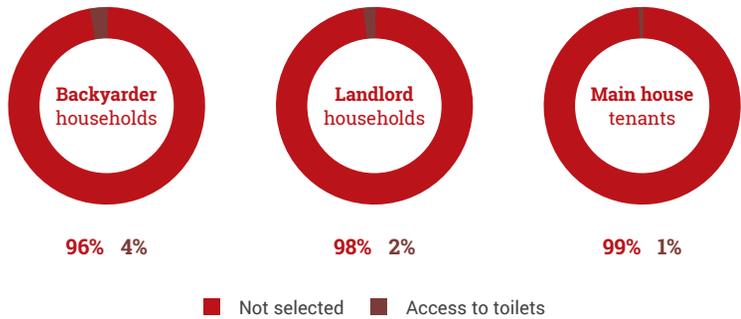
Nevertheless, for those households that are paying for sanitation, the average expenditure is fairly low - under R125.

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

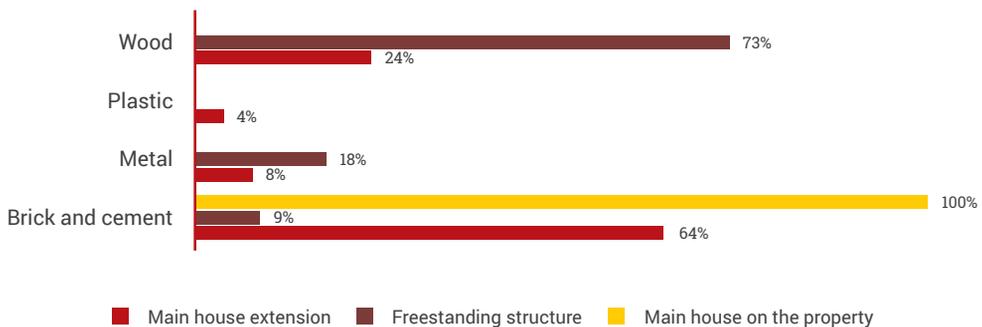
Households combine their refuse and it is collected by the municipality. A tiny minority pay for extras like satellite TV.

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 Lost City, a fair number of other structures are also made from brick and cement.

Structure type and building material



Main houses

Erf sizes are fairly consistently demarcated at around 200m² though due to the unique cul de sac arrangement, they are often not uniform in shape.

While not all houses across the area are the same, many streets or clusters have clearly been built by a similar developer with similar plans. Most main houses are brick and cement two to three bedroom homes with a small lounge and kitchen.

Many of the houses have been renovated and extended, though not all have separate households living in the extensions.

Residents have built extra rooms or constructed small compounds with a number of buildings.

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



Figure 7: Typical main house structures. In the one instance with an extended structure.

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).

Around 75% of backyard structures are freestanding and 63% of backyard structures are made out of wood. Wood is standard and fairly ubiquitous. It's unclear why most houses are made from wood though the most obvious answer is because it is cheaper and easy to construct. However, it may also be because backyarders see the housing as temporary in nature.

Most structures are single rooms or larger rooms divided with a partition into separate areas. Some have a kitchen or sitting rooms. 24 backyard structures in total were made of brick and cement - around 20% of all backyard households. The remainder are largely informal structures made of metal or wood.



Figure 8: Typical backyard structures made of timber panels, but there are also examples of metal and brick and cement structures, pictured above.

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				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Owner of the structure	85	58	7	150
Owner of the land	17	72	4	93
Tenant	17	10	1	28
Municipality	0	1	1	2
Dependant	2	0	0	2
Resident	6	1	1	8
Other	0	1	0	1

Table 64: Responsibility for 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 Lost City 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 three, including the main house. This is, on average, exactly 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 Lost City is **7,82 hectares** excluding the public parks, schools and fields. Across the **245 residential erven** we might expect around **735 structures** (following the average of 3 per property) but there could be as few as **469** (which was counted manually from an aerial photo). This gives a **net density of only 83 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 Lost City who do pay rent is around **R850 per month**. Main house tenants pay slightly more - around **R1100 per month**.

It may be more useful to look at the range of rents paid, which vary from as low as **R300** to as high as **R2,500 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	816
Backyarder - Resident	
Backyarder - Tenant	823
Main House - Tenant	1117
	842

Table 65: Average monthly rental paid by tenant households.

RENT					
Rent Paid	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
< 500	11		15	1	27
501 - 1000	21		25	3	49
1001 - 1500	5		3	2	10
1501 - 2000		3	9	7	19
2001 - 2500			4	1	5
	37	0	47	7	91

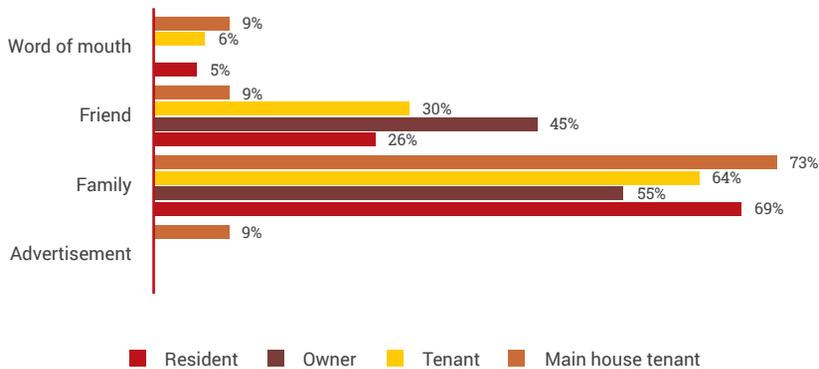
Table 66: Spread of rent.

Market

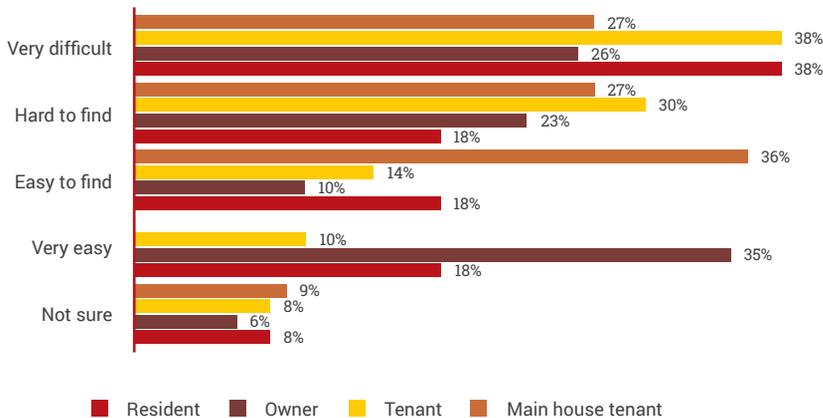
Most tenants staying in the main house are paying somewhere **between a few hundred Rand per month to R1,500**. Backyard tenants and backyard owners follow a similar pattern with the majority paying **between R500 and R1000**.

When asked how tenants found out about the property, the vast majority stated that this was through **family members**. On average, most tenants found it hard or very difficult to find affordable rental opportunities in Lost City.

Finding out about the property



Finding affordable rental opportunities



SALIENT FINDINGS

232 of the 245 residential erven in the enumeration area surveyed:

101 landlord households across various tenure types with:

125 effective landlords identified

120 backyarder households

11 tenants living in rooms in the main house

166 effective tenants¹ identified

838 residents interviewed:

406 tenants living in backyards

42 tenants living in the main house

390 members of landlord households

99 landlord households enumerated, majority of which owned the main house:

04 landlord households rent the main house and sublet rooms/yard

None were living in the backyard themselves.

50-59 yrs

average landlord age

However, ages range widely from landlords in their 20s through to landlords nearing 80.

60% Afrikaans landlords with the remainder speaking English.

96% effective landlords who are South African citizens (generally the same for households)

Most landlord households moved to Lost City in the 1990s, with the number tapering off in the 2000s and 2010s.

Landlord households can range from one to ten people, though most household are between three and four people and the overall average is closer to four people.

Unemployment is very serious amongst all residents living in landlord households:

52% unemployed effective landlords looking for work

25% employed/self-employed effective landlords

By far, the biggest issue in Lost City is crime. Percentage of households who would like to see a change in how crime is addressed:

98%

Most households have a combined income of somewhere **between R800 and R7,500 per month** with **60%** of households earning **between R1,500 and R7,500 per month**. A significant number of people receive a grant of some form or another in landlord households.

Altogether there were **131 tenant households enumerated**. Only **11 households**, (or **less than 10%**), were living as tenants in the main house. Most tenants are either staying in structures provided by the landlord (**50 out of 131 or 38%**) or own their own structures (**39 out of 131 or 29%**). There is a surprisingly large number of tenants households living under other tenure arrangements - **31 households** in total.

Much like landlord households, tenant households only really began arriving in Lost City in the 1990s. Amongst tenants, a slightly majority identify as men where they are the head of the household.

30-39 yrs average tenant age

The age range of tenants is between **18 and 85 years old**, with a plurality of tenants in their 30s.

As with landlord households, many tenant households speak Afrikaans. However, in Lost City in particular, there are almost as many English-speaking households as Afrikaans.

42% English speaking households

55% Afrikaans speaking households

97% tenants who are South African citizens (similar to the landlords)

Whereas landlords households averaged four members, tenants households are, on average around three people.

Tenant households are, in general, slightly better educated in terms of years of schooling. **80%** left during secondary school with just under **20%** completing matric. Roughly the same number of tenants are employed or self-employed compared those who are unemployed or looking for work (around **45%** in both cases). Just under **50%** of all residents living in tenant households receive a grant of one kind or another. The average rent for tenant households in Lost City who do pay rent is around **R850 per month**. Main house tenants pay slightly more - around **R1100 per month**.

Most tenants households pay their rent in cash, which is what you might expect in an informal rental arrangement. Around **15%** of both tenant and landlord households say that they have a formal written rental agreement. Despite this, when asked directly what they would change in the community, only **18%** of all tenant households thought that evictions needed to be addressed.

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