

Neighbourhood Profile

# MAITLAND GARDEN VILLAGE



## **BACKYARDING MATTERS**

Enabling People, Place and Policy

12/2020

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**BACKYARD MATTERS**  
ENABLING PEOPLE, PLACE & POLICY

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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:

66 of the residential erven in Maitland Garden Village were enumerated and altogether there were just under 300 residents interviewed. In general, the survey discovered multiple forms of tenure and a 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.

It stands to reason then that most landlord households have been living in Maitland Garden Village for a considerable amount of time. At least one household first moved to Maitland Garden Village in 1931. Landlord households can range from 1-8 people, the overall average is closer to 3 people. Amongst effective landlords themselves, around half or 52% are unemployed or looking for work. The majority earn between R800 and R7,500 from a range of sources, but predominantly from salaries and pensions.

Much like landlord households, tenant households have lived in Maitland Garden Village for many years. While some of the elderly residents in landlord households arrived/were born in the suburb in the 1930s, tenant households surveyed date their tenure as far back as the 1950s. Whereas landlord households averaged around three members, tenant households are mostly pairs living together. This is understandable given how small backyard structures are and the difficulty of raising a larger family in a single room. Tenant households earn anywhere between R1,500 and R15,000 per month.

The average rent for tenant households who do pay rent is just over R1,000 per month with a range from as low as R200 to R2500 per month. 80% of all tenant households pay their rent in cash and less than 20% of both tenant and landlord households say that they have a formal written rental agreement.

There is a trio of related factors that explain why households (tenants and landlords) choose to live in Maitland Garden Village. Secondly, many households wanted to be closer to family and this supports the first factor. Push factors could be considered economic, households would move to improve their livelihoods through better employment.

Across the board the main house secures refuse, water, sanitation and electricity from the municipality and provides these services in turn to the backyarders. Very few, if any, backyarders access services independently. The vast majority of main houses, as would be expected, are made from brick and cement. In contrast, most backyard structures are constructed from wood with a few from other materials. While there were some freestanding structures constructed from brick and cement in Maitland Garden Village, these were few and far between and the general trend towards upgrading structures and shifting towards more formal rental housing was not observed. At least one example of a boarding house was confirmed at Maitland Garden Village and there are potentially a few more which would seem to follow a similar typology.

This document, along with the 7 other neighbourhood profiles will inform further synthesis and understanding of the backyarding sector.

# INTRODUCTION

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## 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

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## 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 Maitland Garden Village

## Boundary



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

The enumeration area follows what could be considered the boundary of the historical village from Alexandra Road in the east to Mawson

Street in the west; and from Perseverance Road in the South to the tip of Beatty Avenue to the north.

## Sample size

**66** of the 236 residential erven in the enumeration area surveyed:

**103** backyard structures      **36** landlord households across tenure types:  
**40** effective landlords      **90** backyarder households / tenants living in rooms in the main house      **91** effective tenants<sup>1</sup>

just under  
**300** residents surveyed:

**181** tenants living in backyarder or main house tenant households  
**112** 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	8	8	11
Backyard owners	45	47	90
Backyard tenants	35	34 <sup>2</sup>	74
Backyard residents	2	2	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>181</b>
LANDLORD households			
Landlord owners	21	23	57
Landlord tenants	7	7	17
Landlord residents	8	10	38
Backyard landlords	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>112</b>
	<b>126</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>293</b>

Table 1: Sample sizes by tenure type.

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

# ABOUT MAITLAND GV - CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

## Historical Context and Development

Firstly, the neighbourhood profile illustrates the context, by providing a summary of some of the key demographic, social, economic, and housing trends in particular neighbourhoods. Secondly, each profile maps the backyarding phenomenon within that specific neighbourhood in particular. Through the various neighbourhood profiles, the backyarding phenomenon is interrogated within different contexts, with the intention of unfolding recurrent and specific challenges and possibilities.

**It is important to note that this study aims to gain a better understanding of the informal rental market and to explore ways of inquiring it, rather than mapping each neighbourhood in its entirety.**



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

### Location

Maitland Garden Village is centrally located within **6km** of the city centre along the banks of the Swart River. Despite this, it remains a discrete and isolated residential area that is poorly integrated. The area is bordered to the west by open wetlands and the M5 highway and to the east by Ndabeni, which is entirely zoned for industry, and the railway line. The north and south have both historically been used by various state institutions, including for psychiatric healthcare and housing. This isolation, however, gives Maitland Garden Village a unique character and helps to maintain a sense of identity, cohesion and community.

## Historical development

Maitland Garden Village was established in the **1920s** as a segregated public housing scheme, built predominantly for Coloured municipal workers by the then City of Cape Town Council. (Bickford Smith, 1990).

Much like the suburb of Pinelands to the south east, which was intended for White residents, the design was influenced by the garden city town planning movement, which was popular during this period. The original white-painted Council rental houses and large gardens were iconic for the time and to a large extent remain defining.

The Methodists established a church here in **1926** together with a local primary school, which quickly became the heart of the community. The small church still stands today, though the school has long since moved to its present location. The local football field was always the centre of village life and the community was well-known for its teams.

Maitland Garden Village is renown for having a cohesive sense of community amongst residents and many households are related and have lived in the area for generations. Until recently, residents celebrated Village Day in the first week of October every year when the whole village would come together to take part in activities.

In **1969**, Maitland Garden Village was designated for Whites under the Group Areas Act and residents were threatened with potential forced removals, but this decision was subsequently reversed in **1982**, in no small part due to a decades long struggle lead by village women who were determined to resist displacement.

In the 1990s many of the long-term tenants were given the opportunity to purchase the old Council housing at a nominal amount, which has transformed the sense of security for many families. As families have grown many households have established structures in the backyards to accommodate everyone.

Today, its location makes it a target for property speculators. Development within and around the much discussed Two River Urban Park offers both opportunities for work and dignified housing and the risk of displacement due to rising land values. However, Maitland Garden Village is for now, a relatively stable community. Property is rarely sold or rented on the open market.

## Spatial Context & Urban Fabric

### Connectivity

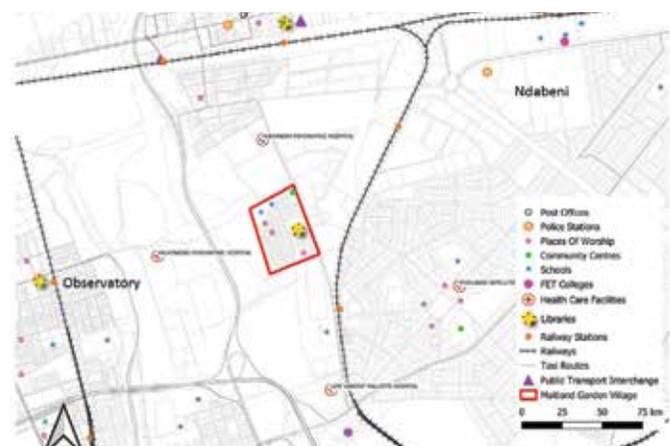


Figure 3: Social facilities and transport infrastructure (City of Cape Town, 2020).

Maitland Garden Village is centrally located, but not directly on any main transport routes. Public transport is available within walking distance. It is situated about **2km** from a major interchange network that connects the suburb to the rest of the city. The main entrance is via Alexandra Road, which runs roughly north to Maitland and south to Pinelands and the N2 highway interchange, where it is possible to connect with the M5 highway to both northern and southern areas and the N2 to the city centre or the south east.

Pinelands train station (**800m** to the south) is about **10 min** on foot with lines running south to Retreat and Mitchells Plain and north to the city centre via Woodstock, though trains are often unreliable and dangerous.

No buses or taxis service Maitland Garden Village directly, but can be obtained in Maitland itself about **15 - 20 mins** walk north where routes along Voortrekker road run west to the city centre and east to Goodwood and Bellville.

Some residents walk across the footbridge to Observatory and Salt River. A road connection is currently proposed just to the north of Maitland Garden Village connecting Berkeley Road to Liesbeek Way.

About **60%** of residents make daily commutes to suburbs within a **5km** radius, with **40%** being for work and the remainder for school and other activities. A further **10%** of residents commute to the city centre.

## Social facilities

Maitland Garden Village Primary School has been newly renovated and takes pride of place in the north-west corner of the suburb next to Village Tods, a spacious pre-primary school. The hall here can be rented out for functions. High School learners must commute.

The suburb is dominated by the football field or village green at the centre, though it is surrounded by a fence. A small Council owned community centre is located on the corner of Alexandra and Beatty Avenue, which can be rented for use. Both facilities require permission to be granted, which frustrates residents because this has to be obtained from the Council at Maitland Town Hall. As a result they are not used as often as they could be despite the great need.

There are three churches including a New Apostolic Church on Mawson Road and the original Methodist Church on Discovery Avenue. The Anglican Church on Haig Avenue was raised by a fire in **2018**. Alexandra Cottages is also a small assisted-living facility managed by the City of Cape Town with **19** units for people who are over **60** years old.

The nearest police station is located in Ndabeni or Maitland. While the private Vincent Pallotti Hospital is only around **1km** away, most residents access healthcare via the City of Cape Town clinic in Maitland or cross over the river to attend Grootte Schuur public hospital.

## Land use and zoning



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

Apart from the obvious exceptions (football fields and the school premises), which are zoned for community use, the remainder, (including all parks and church grounds), are zoned as **residential**. The surrounding land is zoned almost entirely for industrial, community, and utility use. Interestingly, the open land to the west, which used to be a municipal dump (that caught fire and burned for many years) is currently used as a publicly owned gold driving range, but has been zoned as residential because it had previously been designated as suitable for public housing. There are no immediate plans to develop this land.

Of the 252 erven in Maitland Garden village, 236 are primarily residential.

ERVEN	
Residential erven	236
Parks, fields and open space	6
Schools and Pre-Primaries	2
Churches and community facilities	8
	<b>252</b>

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

All of the residential erfs are zoned as either Single Residential 1 or General 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.<sup>3</sup> While it is possible to build up to the boundary, a maximum floor coverage of 75% of

the erf is permissible. Second and third dwellings must be constructed in a style that is similar to the architecture of the main dwelling house and is subject to certification that capacity is available on the service networks (City of Cape Town, 2015:112).

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

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

## Urban fabric

### Streetscape



Figure 5: A typical streetscape. 32 Mawson Street looking south (Google Maps, 2020).

Despite its central location, Maitland Garden Village has a sense of space and openness with broad views of the flanks of Devil's Peak. The streets are arranged in a loose grid surrounding the central field.

<sup>3</sup>A 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 200m<sup>2</sup> in size with a floor factor 1 may have up to 200m<sup>2</sup> of floorspace across storeys subject to coverage and height limitations. High floor factors can be used to encourage density in some land uses.

Streets are on average 6m wide with around 2.5m pavements either side. The original semi-detached Council houses define the urban fabric stretching across two plots at a time. They are generally set back at least 6m from the road with a little path leading through well maintained gardens or paved parking. Each street has one or two makeshift spaza shops.

## Growth in backyarding



Figure 6: Bird's-eye view of backyards in Maitland Garden Village. Source: Google Maps.

As can be seen in Figure 6, backyarding is ubiquitous in Maitland Garden Village. In fact, the number of backyard structures has increased substantially over the last 15 years or so. An aerial desktop analysis reveals only 84 backyard structures in 2004 compared to 305 in 2020. That's an increase of 221 structures.<sup>4</sup> Not all of these are necessarily occupied by different households, but most households do have backyard structures.

## Land values in Maitland Garden Village:

**R500,000 - R720,000**

City of Cape Town, 2018

Very few houses are bought and sold. Only 15 houses have been sold since 2011 (Property24, 2020).

## Social and Economic Context

Official census data from 2011 is only available at the subplace level for Maitland Garden Village, which includes institutional housing for psychiatric patients at Alexandra area north of where the enumeration took place for this neighbourhood profile.

<sup>4</sup>Analysis done using Google Earth Pro imagery.

**Total population:**  
**1834**  
living in  
**363**  
households

## Gender and Age

52% were female and 48% were male. The population is distributed remarkably evenly across age groups, with between 5% - 8% of the local population at every half-decade up to 60 years old, then tapering off. This supports the perception that Maitland Garden Village is a stable community consisting of strong inter-generational families and networks (Stats SA, 2011). This is demographically similar to the City of Cape Town as a whole (Stats SA, 2016).

AGE DISTRIBUTION									
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+
<b>No.</b>	278	278	290	267	245	197	142	81	55
<b>%</b>	15.17%	15.17%	15.82%	14.57%	13.3%	10.75%	7.75%	4.42%	3%

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

## Race and language

Nearly 90% of the population identifies as Coloured with only 5% - 6% identifying as Black African or White, and 1% or less identifying as any other race group. The majority, around 70% speak Afrikaans as a first language, with 29% speaking English and less than half a per cent (less than 10 people) speaking any other language (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

**32%**  
unemployed  
people with:  
**10%**  
discouraged/  
unemployed  
people

\*remainder considered not economically active or not applicable.

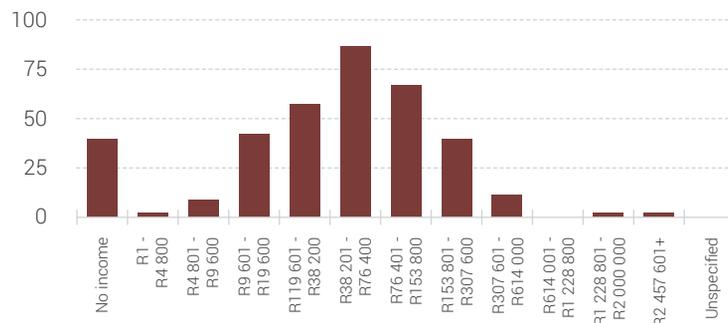


Figure 7: Income distribution (Stats SA, 2011).

Annual household incomes range from less than R5,000 per year to over R2,5m, but these are outliers. About 75% of households are earning less than R153,800 per year, which equates to about R12,800 per month (Stats SA 2011).

In theory at least 40% of households are earning less than R3,500 per month and might qualify for a state-subsidised BNG home.

# 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
<b>Subsistence landlords</b>	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.
<b>Homeowner landlords</b>	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
<b>Entrepreneurial landlords</b>	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 Maitland Garden Village, nearly 90% of all backyarder households are living in timber structures with only around 7% (6 households) living in structures made of brick and cement. A tiny minority (3 households) are made from metal. The typology will be explored in more detail in Section 7. It would appear that the

vast majority of landlord households are renting backyard structures on a subsistence basis.

There was at least one example of an entrepreneurial landlord, where the property had been entirely renovated and rented. The survey was not able to capture the details of landlord households who do not reside on the property and further research needs to be done in this regard.

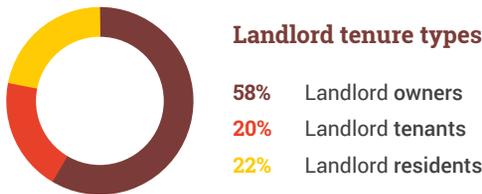
## Landlord tenure types

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 Maitland Garden Village
<b>Landlord owners</b> Landlord households which own the property and live in the main house. They rent out rooms and/or structures and space in the yard.	Most property owners in Maitland Garden Village bought the property from the City Council at some stage in the last three decades; or inherited the property from someone who did. This does not necessarily mean that the household has formal but the household considers themselves to be owners.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLDS TENURE TYPE	
General Definition	Common expression in Maitland Garden Village
<p><b>Landlord tenants</b> 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 Maitland Garden Village still rent from the City Council but others rent from owners of the property.
<p><b>Landlord residents</b> Landlord households which have some other kind of tenure and rent out room and/or structure and space in the yard.</p>	For example, some landlord households may have inherited their homes from parents but never transferred formal title. Others may be occupying municipal properties without paying rent or living in property where the owner is absent or a relative who isn't interested in taking occupation.
<p><b>Landlord landlords</b> 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>	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. There were no backyard landlords surveyed in Maitland Garden Village.

Table 5: Landlord households by tenure type.



The overwhelming majority of landlord households own the house. This makes sense in Maitland Garden Village, where long-standing tenants were able to purchase their homes from the City Council. A small number rent the main house themselves and sublet rooms and the yard to backyarders; or reside in the main house, but are not necessarily tenants or owners.

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.
- 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 (the tenant doesn't sublet themselves).

In Maitland Garden Village 27% of landlord household members (20 out of 72) 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. 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 invisible. This in large part comes down to how respondents considered what a household is, which is always a subjective determination.

## Length of tenure

It stands to reason then that most landlord households have been living in Maitland Garden Village for a considerable amount of time. At least one household first moved to Maitland Garden Village in 1931, but the remainder are spread fairly evenly throughout the decades. It's not possible at this stage to determine when the properties were bought and how many of the households have

benefited from a public housing subsidy, though it is public knowledge that households were able to purchase their homes from the Council.

When asked directly, only 4 people living in landlord households stated that they had benefited from a housing subsidy with the remainder indicating that they had not or did not respond.

LENGTH OF TENURE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
1930s		1		1	2.63%
1940s	2	1		3	7.89%
1950s	4		1	5	13.16%
1960s	4			4	10.53%
1970s	4	3	1	8	21.05%
1980s	3	2	2	8	21.05%
1990s	2	1	1	4	10.53%
2000s	1		1	2	5.26%
2010s		1	1	2	5.26%
2020s	1			1	2.63%

Table 6: Landlord length of tenure.

## Landlord Demographic Profiles

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

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

Determining the demographic profile of landlords is problematic. The survey did not ask specifically who the effective landlord is in each household. While this might have been helpful, it may not necessarily have been accurate because:

- 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 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, a title is held technically by 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 36 landlord households, there are 40 effective landlords; because, in a few households, there were two members who both considered themselves to be joint-heads (due to being married). In these instances we have included them both as landlords.

## Gender<sup>5</sup>

While gender in landlord households is evenly split, overall, **two thirds of the landlords were women**. This correlates very well with the literature. This could be because the majority of households are headed by women or because women are actively managing the property. Women landlords are not necessarily unmarried or single. In fact, 60% of landlords are married or were married and are now widows or widowers.

It would be worthwhile exploring in more detail why women are the majority in Maitland Garden Village.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD GENDER					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Women	15	7	5	27	67.50%
Men	8	3	2	13	37.50%
	23	10	7	40	100%

Table 7: Effective landlord gender.

## Age

### 50-59 yrs predominant landlord age

Table 8 demonstrates that ages range widely from landlords in their 20s through to landlords nearing 90 in Maitland Garden Village.

The average age for all members across landlord households is 44 years old, which is a little unexpected and probably due to the fact that most households are intergenerational and there are a large number of adult children living in the same house.

<sup>5</sup>Respondents were provided with the opportunity to select additional gender identities.

## Language and nationality

The majority, (about 60%), of landlord households speak Afrikaans as primary language with the remainder speaking English, save for one household which spoke another language.

The vast majority, (about 90%), of people in landlord households are South African citizens.

It would seem then that Maitland Garden Village is fairly homogeneous 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 Maitland Garden Village was historically a Coloured suburb and has remained so.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD AGE RANGE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
20-29	2			2	5.13%
30-39	2		2	4	10.26%
40-49	3	2	1	6	15.38%
50-59	3	4		7	17.95%
60-69	9	2	1	12	30.77%
70-79	5	2	1	8	20.51%

Table 8: Age range of landlords.

LANDLORD / LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD AVERAGE AGE				
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total
Landlords	59	58	49	57
Landlord households	47	39	43	44
	53	48	46	50

Table 9: Average effective landlord and landlord household age.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD PRIMARY LANGUAGE				
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total
Afrikaans	12	4	4	20
English	9	3	3	15
Other		1		1
	21	8	7	36

Table 10: Landlord primary household language.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD NATIONALITY					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Non South African	1	1	2	4	10%
South African	22	9	5	36	90%
	23	10	7	40	100%

Table 11: Nationality of effective landlords.

## Household size

Landlord households can range from **1 to 8** people, though most household are between **1 and 5** people and the overall average is closer to **3** people. When you consider that the average number of people staying on the property is around **9** people, it becomes clear that there are many more people living on properties in backyarder households than in landlord houses. In fact there are three times as many. This makes sense in Maitland Garden Village because the yards are large and the main houses are relatively small in comparison.

## Education

The level of formal education amongst landlords is very low. **Only around 10% of landlords finished Grade 12 and none have studied further. In fact, about 80% left school before Grade 10.** When you take into account the average age of landlords, this is not unusual considering the discrimination most landlords would have experienced under the Apartheid regime.

Opportunities to finish school and to study further would have been rare. Maitland Garden Village is historically a working-class suburb and most landlords might have left school early to start working.

Very few landlords reported any form of disability. Only one 57 year old woman landlord considered herself to have a disability.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD SIZE					
Household Size	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
1	4		2	6	16.67%
2	5	1	2	8	22.22%
3	8		2	10	27.78%
4	1	4		5	13.89%
5	3	1	1	5	13.89%
7		1		1	2.78%
8		1		1	2.78%
	21	8	7	36	100%

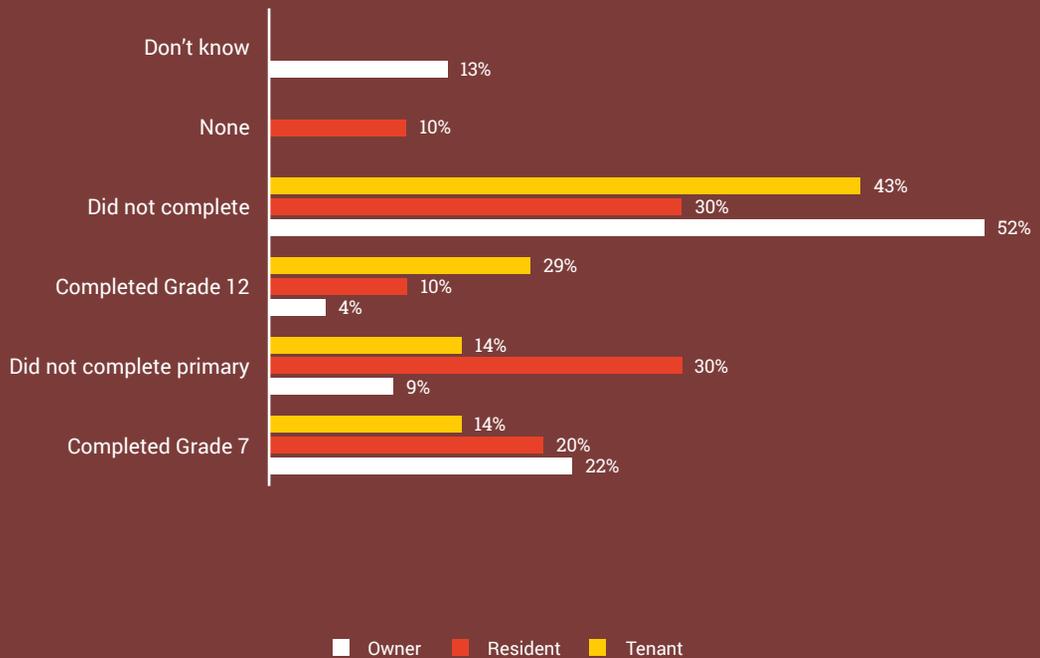
Table 12: Landlord household size.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD EDUCATION				
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total
Don't know	3			3
None		1		1
Grade 3		1		1
Grade 5	1	1		2
Grade 6	1	1	1	3
Grade 7	5	2	1	8
Grade 8	4	1	1	6
Grade 9	4	1	1	6
Grade 10	4	1	1	6
Grade 12	1	1	2	4
	23	10	7	40

Table 13: Effective Landlord highest education level achieved.

It would be worthwhile exploring further how experiences of education and work-life fold into landlording as an economic strategy and how it has impact on their ability to manage the rental accommodation.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD EDUCATION					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Completed Grade 7	5	2	1	8	20%
Did not complete primary	2	3	1	6	15%
Completed Grade 12	1	1	2	4	10%
Did not complete	12	3	3	18	45%
None		1		1	3%
Don't know	3			3	8%
	<b>23</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>100%</b>



## 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

About a third of landlords in Maitland Garden Village are retired and this is particularly true for Landlords who own the property. These are almost certainly long-standing residents who have lived in the property for many years and who bought the property from the City Council or inherited it. Nearly as many landlords overall are employed or self-employed.

Only about a quarter of landlords were unemployed or looking for work. This is significant because it would seem to debunk unemployment as a defining characteristic of subsistence landlords in this suburb. This rises to about a third when considering landlord households as a whole.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD EMPLOYMENT					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Looking for work	1	1	1	3	7.50%
Self-employed		1	2	3	7.50%
Unemployed	3	2	1	6	15%
Home keeper	3	2	1	6	15%
Employed	5	2	1	8	20%
Retired	11	2	1	14	35%
	23	10	7	40	100%

Table 14: Effective landlord employment status.

Positioning unemployment as directly related to landlording oversimplifies matters somewhat. It would seem that most landlord households don't rely on one salary alone for subsistence but on the combined incomes of whoever may be working at the time in the household or receiving other forms of income such as pensions or grants. Indeed, many landlords are employed.

In this regard, rental income forms a necessary component of overall household income as a strategy to diversifying sources of income 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.

## Household income and source

Just under half of landlord households in Maitland Garden Village have a household income of between **R1,500 and R3,500 per month**. Around **80%** have a household income between **R800 and R7,500**. 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 income for landlord households is from different sources. Most households

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD RESIDENTS EMPLOYMENT					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Tertiary Student	3			3	0.77%
Self-employed	7			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 15: Landlord household residents' employment status.

INCOME SOURCE							
	Salary/ Job	Own Business	Rent	Grants	Other	Total	%
R401-R800	1	0	0	1	0	2	5.13%
R801 - R1,500	2	0	0	6	0	8	20.51%
R1,501 - R3,500	7	0	1	9	1	18	46.15%
R3,501 - R7,500	3	1	0	2	0	6	15.38%
R7,501 - R15,000	4	0	0	0	0	4	10.26%
R15,001 - R22,000	1	0	0	0	0	1	2.56%
	18	1	1	18	1	39	100%

Table 16: Landlord household sources of income (more than one option can be selected).

are accessing income through both salaried jobs and through grants, including pensions.

What isn't clear in this picture is how many different people are contributing to the income and how these different sources dovetail with landlording

as an income-generating activity because almost none of the landlord household indicated that they are receiving income through rent. Its unlikely that they are not receiving some form of rental and this requires further research.

## Disabilities and grants

### Disabilities

Only four members of landlord households in total indicate that they have any kind of disability. Of these, two have difficulty walking and one has a mental difficulty. Interestingly, even though only four people stated that they had a disability, around 7 access a disability grant.

Around 32 residents in landlord households are receiving either a child support/older person's grant.

Amongst actual landlords 16 are receiving an older person's grant and 2 a child support grant. Most of the pensioners are owners.

These numbers don't quite correlate with the income sources that households indicated in the household survey and this could be due to how the question was interpreted or because people were not aware of the details regarding personal income in the household.

## Expenditure

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

Of those households who did respond, the breakdown of average expenditure is listed in table 17. As expected food and groceries takes up around a third of household income. What is surprising is the large expenditure on electricity each month.

This could be because of the high cost of energy in the City of Cape Town, or because landlord households are paying directly for electricity for all households on the property. This needs to be explored further.

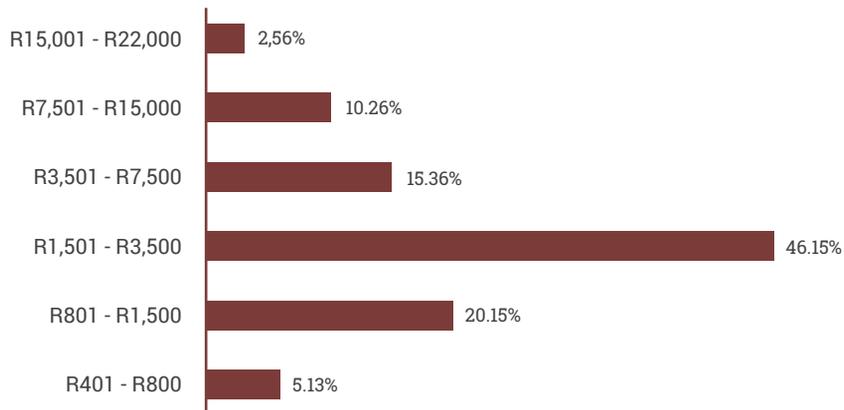
Expenditure on bond payments are relatively low. Presumably this is because most owners have paid

off the households - but even in the case of landlord tenants, the average rental for the house is very low and this needs to be explored further.

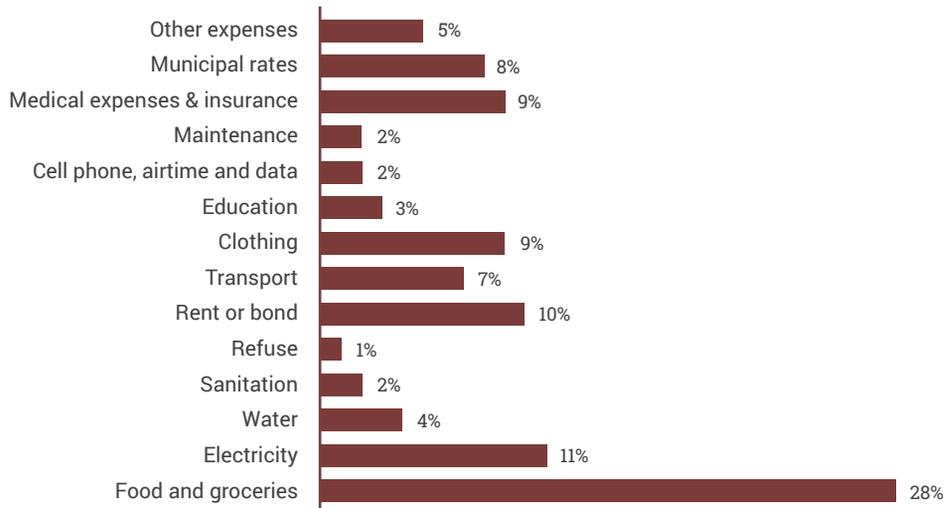
Transport costs in other households across the city can be considerable, but for most landlord households it is less than 7% per month. This might be because Maitland Garden Village is quite centrally located and most landlords work within 5km of home.

Landlords are spending very little money each month on maintenance and many of the backyarders own their own structures and are responsible for maintenance themselves. The

## 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.

particular timber structures that are ubiquitous in Maitland Garden Village are quite robust and don't require much maintenance.

What is interesting here is that the average expenditure of around R6800 in landlord households does not correlate at all with the average monthly income, which is much lower. Many respondents did not give comprehensive responses when asked about household expenditure. This is a notoriously unreliable question, simply because many households don't know exactly what they spend month to month, their expenditure is not necessarily consistent each month, and because different members may cover costs directly.

It would be worthwhile to explore income and expenditure in some detail with a few focus households to better understand the dynamics.

AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Total	%
Food & groceries	1908	1925	2025	1955	28%
Electricity	740	760	700	739	11%
Water	272	186	267	266	4%
Sanitation	133	76	150	129	2%
Refuse	60	60		60	1%
Rent or bond	743	525	800	712	10%
Transport	457	900	217	484	7%
Clothing	660		400	600	9%
Education	158	225		175	3%
Cell phone, airtime & data	121	187	200	145	2%
Maintenance	188	150	100	164	2%
Medical expenses & insurance	717	200		588	9%
Municipal rates	516			585	8%
Other expenses	367	275	200	345	5%
	<b>7040</b>	<b>5469</b>	<b>5059</b>	<b>6843</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 17: Average household expenses by tenure type.

## Typical Landlord

A typical landlord in Maitland Garden Village, then, might be a **married woman around 50 - 59 years old who left school before Grade 10 to work**. She lives with a husband or partner and a grown child or elderly parent and rents to two or three other households living in the second room or backyard. She is almost certainly an Afrikaans speaking South African. She is living in a household earning somewhere between **R1,500 and R3,500 per month**. She may not have a disability herself, but it is likely someone in the family is accessing a grant. She spends at least a third of the household income on food and groceries and is not paying a bond, but does pay up to **10%** of her income on electricity and a further **10%** on rates.

# 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 18.

The table breaks down all **90** tenant households surveyed by tenure type. About half of all the tenant households surveyed own the structure in the yard and the second most common tenure were households renting the structure itself. Altogether these two tenure types account for nearly **90%** of all households.

The remainder included tenants living in rooms in the main households a few 'resident' households living in the backyard, but not paying rent. These are likely to be extended family members, but this needs to be explored further. In some instances tenant households include a boarder who pays towards the rent for the room or the structure and who is not necessarily captured as a separate household.

## Tenant tenure types

TENANT HOUSEHOLDS TENURE TYPE	
General Definition	Common expression in Maitland Garden Village
<p><b>Backyard owners</b>                      Tenant households which own their own structure and rent space in the yard from the landlord.</p>	<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>
<p><b>Backyard tenants</b>                      Tenant households which rent both the structure and the space in the yard.</p>	<p>This can be a temporary structure or a more permanent brick and cement structure.</p>
<p><b>Backyard residents</b>                      Households which live in a structure in the yard under some other form tenure.</p>	<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>
<p><b>Main house tenants</b>                      Tenants which rent a room or rooms in the main house directly from the landlord.</p>	<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.</p>

Table 18: Tenant households by tenure type.

The dominance of tenant ownership of structures is noteworthy. This could be because, despite owning the land, landlords do not have enough income to be able to erect structures themselves. This logic presupposes that landlords would build structures if they had the income and this is not necessarily the case. It's equally likely that landlords are responding to specific request for space and are accommodating backyarders on the condition that they establish and maintain their own structures.

If landlords were entirely driven by maximising rental from backyarders we would expect each backyard to be at capacity, but this is not the case.



### Tenant tenure types

- 50%** Backyard owners
- 39%** Backyard tenants
- 2%** Backyard residents
- 9%** Main house tenants

## Length of tenure

Much like landlord households, tenant households have lived in Maitland Garden Village for many years. While some of the elderly residents in landlord households arrived (or were born) in the suburb in the **1930s**, tenant households surveyed date their tenure as far back as the **1950s**, which is still a considerably long time. However, it is noticeable that the number of households has increased steadily in the last few decades. This may be due to a number of reasons. For example, children who grew up in the area may have remained and established their own households in the backyards or moved into other houses in the area.

LENGTH OF TENURE						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
1950s			1		1	<b>1.11%</b>
1960s	2		2	2	6	<b>6.67%</b>
1970s	6		2		8	<b>8.89%</b>
1980s	10		1		11	<b>12.22%</b>
1990s	5	1	4	1	11	<b>12.22%</b>
2000s	7	1	15	1	24	<b>26.67%</b>
2010s	15		10	3	28	<b>31.11%</b>
2020s				1	1	<b>1.11%</b>

Table 19: Tenant length of tenure.

When asked directly, only **1** person living in a tenant household stated that they had benefited from a housing subsidy with the remainder indicating that they had not or did not respond.

## Tenant Demographic Profiles

Where possible, we have used the demographic profile of the head of the household or the person who owns the structures, which assumes that they are primarily responsible for the rental agreement and paying rent for the household.

Some households deem two people to the joint heads and in these instances we have included the details for both. Accordingly, there were **91** effective tenants enumerated.

## Gender

**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).

In the survey tenants might easily be a man or a woman as both are equally represented. This is significant insofar as landlord households are mostly headed by women. It is hard to decipher why this may be the case, beyond the presumption that it is equally hard for men and women to find decent affordable housing in the city.

But it also points to the historical context of Maitland Garden Village being an established suburb where families have lived for generations - and not a dormitory or commuter area where you might expect to see more younger men etc. Around 60% of tenants are married or have been married before. This is not particularly noteworthy.

EFFECTIVE TENANT GENDER						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Women	18	1	23	5	47	51.65%
Men	29	1	11	3	44	48.35%
	47	2	34	8	91	100%

Table 20: Effective tenant gender.

EFFECTIVE TENANT AGE RANGE						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
20 - 29	6		5	1	12	13.19%
30 - 39	13		10	3	26	28.57%
40 - 49	14	1	9	2	26	28.57%
50 - 59	10	1	7	1	19	20.88%
60 - 69	4		2	1	7	7.69%
70 - 79			1		1	1.10%

Table 21: Age range of tenants.

## Age

The age range of tenants is between 20 and 77 years old. That is extremely broad and would indicate that tenant households at every stage of life are renting backyard structures, presumably for different reasons.

### 40-49 yrs predominant tenant age

The average age for tenants is nearly a decade younger than the equivalent average for landlords. Tenants are, in general, younger, but not by much.

It's understandable that the average is even lower when you include all members of tenant households. Significantly, only eight members of tenant households were aged under 19 years. This could be because most households do not yet have children and the backyard is seen as a place to live before you have a family. This really needs to be explored in much more detail to understand the dynamics.

## Language and nationality

There is an interesting inversion regarding language. Whereas most landlord households speak Afrikaans as a primary language, most tenant households indicated that they speak English. This is not to say that Afrikaans isn't spoken. Indeed 40% of tenant households speak Afrikaans.

It's unlikely that more English speaking tenant households have moved into the area. It's more likely that younger generations are increasingly speaking English as their primary language due to its prominence as the most common language of the state in post-apartheid South Africa and almost certainly because of the dominance of English in domestic and international popular culture.

EFFECTIVE TENANT AND TENANT HOUSEHOLD AVERAGE AGE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Tenant	43	48	43	41	43
Tenant households	40	27	38	38	39
	42	37	41	39	41

Table 22: Average effective tenant and tenant household age.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD PRIMARY LANGUAGE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Afrikaans	24		12	1	37
English	21	2	22	7	52
IsiXhosa			1		1
	45	2	35	8	90

Table 23: Tenant primary household language.

EFFECTIVE TENANT NATIONALITY						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Non-South African	1		1	1	3	3.30%
Prefer not to answer			1		1	1.10%
South African	46	2	32	7	87	95.60%
	47	2	34	8	91	100%

Table 24: Nationality of tenants.

Much like with landlord households, the vast majority, or about 95%, of tenant households are South African citizens. This is not an area where immigrants are living in any great numbers though it must be said that immigrant households are less likely to agree to be enumerated.

## 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 landlord households averaged around **three** members, tenant households are mostly pairs living together.

This is understandable given how small backyard structures are and the difficulty of raising a larger family in a single room.

If most households are only two people then who is comprising a household in the most cases?

TENANT HOUSEHOLD SIZE						
Household Size	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
1	9		11	5	25	<b>27.78%</b>
2	28	1	15	3	47	<b>52.22%</b>
3	7		4		11	<b>12.22%</b>
4	1	1	4		6	<b>6.67%</b>
5			1		1	<b>1.11%</b>
	<b>45</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 25: Tenant household size.

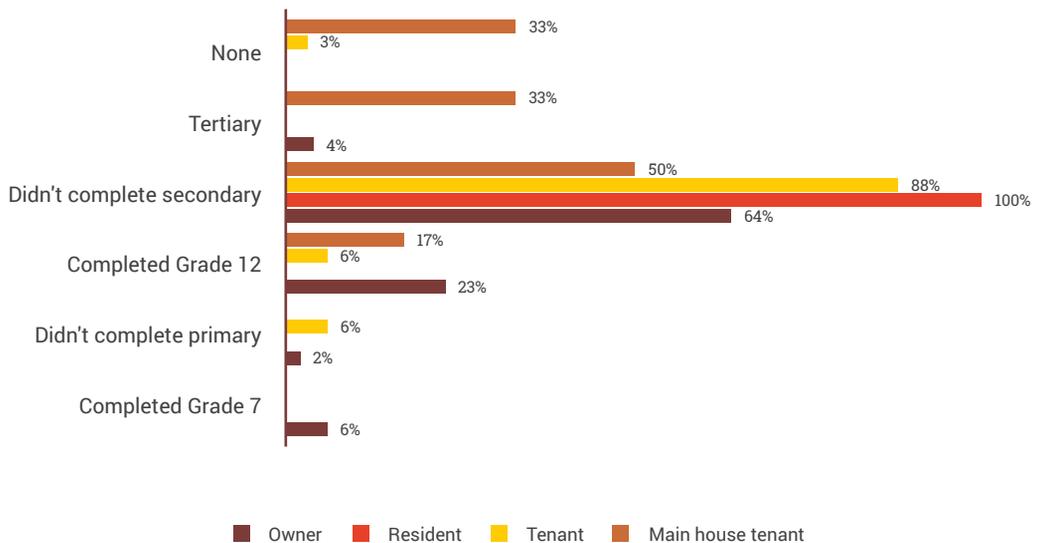
## Education

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

Whereas most landlords left school in early secondary school, 80% of tenants left school between grade 9 and 12 with the majority leaving in Grade 10. 15% of tenants finished grade 12.

EFFECTIVE TENANT EDUCATION					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
None			1	2	3
Grade 5	1		1		2
Grade 6			1		1
Grade 7	3				3
Grade 8	5		3		8
Grade 9	7		6		13
Grade 10	13	2	14	3	32
Grade 11	5		6		11
Grade 12	11		2	1	14
Part of tertiary	1				1
Tertiary	1			2	3
	47	2	34	8	91

Table 26: 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

While most landlords were employed or retired and very few proportionally unemployed, the situation is very different for tenants. More than half are employed and a quarter are unemployed, while only a small fraction are retired. This generally follows the fact that tenants are younger, but it might also be related to the fact that tenants must work to pay rent and other expenses, whereas landlords are able to live off returns from renting property.

EFFECTIVE TENANT EMPLOYMENT						
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Retired	1		1		2	2.20%
Home keeper	3		1		4	4.40%
Self-employed	2	1	1		4	4.40%
Retired	4		4		8	8.79%
Home keeper	7		14	2	23	25.27%
Self-employed	30	1	13	6	50	54.95%
	47	2	34	8	91	100%

Table 27: Effective employment status.

The proportions when looking at all members of tenant households are similar, though when you include members who are actively looking for work, the number of people who are not employed is substantial - nearing 35%. The people are not just young, but distributed across all ages.

Unemployment is chronic in Maitland Garden Village 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	%
Pre-school		1			1	0.55%
Tertiary student	1		1		2	1.10%
Retired	3		1		4	2.21%
Home keeper	6		1		7	3.87%
Self-employed	3	1	3		7	3.87%
Learner at school	2	1	5		8	4.42%
Looking for work	8		11	1	20	11.05%
Unemployed	16		25	2	43	23.76%
Employed	51	3	27	8	89	49.17%
	90	6	74	11	181	100%

Table 28: Tenant household members employment status.

## Household income & source

There is no doubt that tenant households are earning, on average, more than landlord households and are more reliant on salaried work than landlords.

Tenants households earn anywhere between R1,500 per month and R15,000 per month.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY SOURCE						
	Salary / Job	Own Business	Rent	Grants	Other	%
R401 - R800	2	0	0	0	3	5.62%
R801 - R1,500	3	1	0	1	1	6.74%
R1,501 - R3,500	18	0	2	3	2	28.09%
R3,501 - R7,500	20	0	0	6	0	29.21%
R7,501 - R15,000	14	0	0	1	1	17.98%
R15,001 - R22,000	2	0	0	0	0	2.25%
	63	2	3	11	10	100%

Table 29: Tenant household sources of income (more than one options can be selected).

## Disabilities and grants

Three members of tenant households in total indicated they had a disability. One has a **mental difficulty**. One has a **walking difficulty**.

## Expenditure

The average household expenditure amongst tenant households is very similar to landlord households. That is worth pausing on and must demonstrate something critical about the nature of backyard renting in Maitland Garden Village.

**Despite the relative wealth afforded by ownership of property, households have a similar overall income. This might indicate that landlording is not necessarily a profit-making venture which helps landlords to improve their quality of life.**

Expenditure amongst tenants who own their structures is much higher and it's likely that these tenants are earning more and that ownership of a structure is a marker for slightly higher income. They are also paying more in rent than tenants. It is also possible that a few tenants with high medical bills have skewed the average expenses. If these are reduced then the average expenditure is still slightly higher, but less pronounced.

**Once again, tenant household are spending about a third of their household income on food and groceries.**

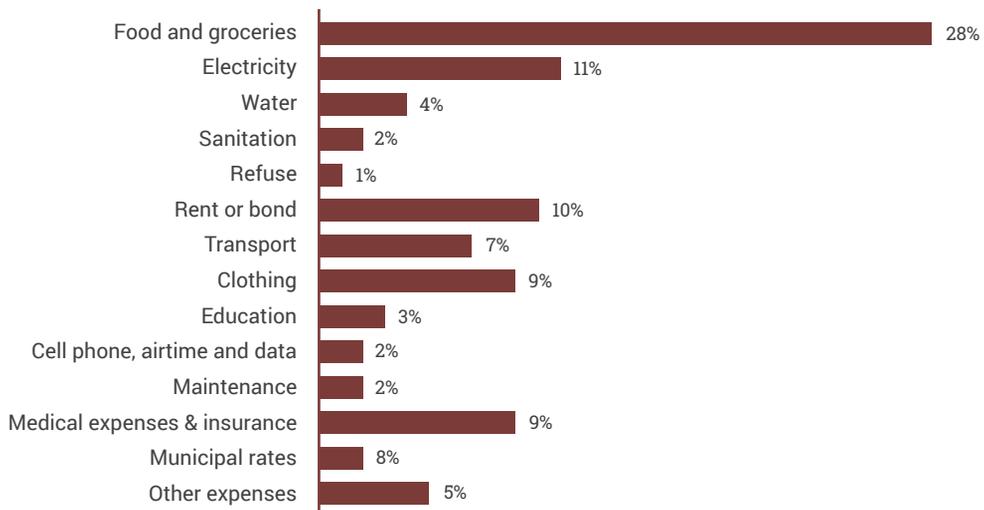
Electricity is still extremely high and it's interesting to note that tenants are aware of and pay electricity directly. Spending **10%** of your income on energy is significant.

The average rent that tenants are paying is around **R700 per month** - surprisingly in this sample, tenants who own their own structures are paying slightly more in rent. This might indicate that rent is not necessarily determined by the structure and could be determined by the simple fact of occupation or the amount of space taken up in the yard. This needs further investigation.

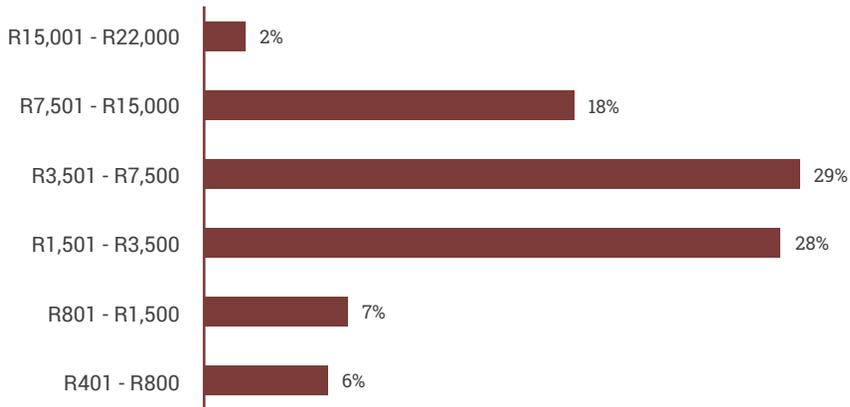
Cost for transport are, much like tenant households, much lower than expected, sitting at **7%** of expenditure.

AVERAGE TENANT HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Food and groceries	1841	2500	1244	1286	1955
Electricity	595	600	539	388	739
Water	297	250	259	325	266
Sanitation	154		148		129
Refuse	50		40		60
Rent or bond	1073	1750	873	917	712
Transport	498	650	366	340	484
Clothing	479		415	467	600
Education	159		156	150	175
Cell phone, airtime & data	157		142	138	145
Maintenance	200		150	133	164
Medical expenses & insurance	1716	300	850	4733	588
Municipal rates	1000			300	585
Other expenses	436			1400	345
	<b>8654</b>	<b>6050</b>	<b>5180</b>	<b>10576</b>	<b>6843</b>

Table 30: Average household expenses by tenure type.



### Tenant household income



## Typical Tenant

The typical tenant lives in a structure in the backyard that they constructed themselves. They could be a male or female, probably 40 - 49 years old, and are married and living with a partner, child or parent only. They left school before Grade 12, but have managed to find work, though many are unemployed or looking for work. They speak English at home and are probably working in Maitland, earning around R6,000 per month.

# ABOUT THE SOCIAL NATURE OF THE YARD

## The Yard

### 1-10

Number of **structures on each erf.**

### 3

Average number of **structures.**

### 2-19

Number of **people living on each erf.**

### 9

Average number of **people living on each erf.**

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

## 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).

What we do know is that a considerable number of tenant households stated that they moved to Maitland Garden Village to return home or be closer to family.

Similarly, when asked how tenants came to hear about the opportunity for renting, nearly 95% said that it was through family or word of mouth.

While neither of these points are conclusive, they do indicate that backyarding in Maitland Garden Village is primarily a function of social relations between extended family members. Landlords are mostly renting to family or through recommendations. It's entirely likely that backyarding offers opportunities to mitigate the vulnerabilities that households with low incomes may face through opportunities for shared communal life and social solidarity (e.g. shared meals, rent forgiveness or flexibility, shared expenditure and housework).

TENANT HOUSEHOLD'S REASON FOR MOVING TO MGCV		
	Responses	%
Better employment opportunities	55	21%
To be closer to family	18	7%
Better living conditions	58	22%
Affordable renting	14	5%
Seeking good public facilities	32	12%
Closer to public transport	9	3%
Safety reasons	13	5%
Returning home	62	23%
Other reason	1	0%
Better employment opportunities	2	1%
	<b>264</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 31: Tenant households reason for moving to Palm Park (percent out of all tenant households).

## Rental Agreement

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

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

Most tenant households pay their rent in cash, which is what you might expect in an informal rental arrangement.

80% of households state that they do not have a written lease and that the rental agreement is informal.

The enumeration did not directly ask respondents about the threat of eviction, but the survey does demonstrate that at the moment, despite an overwhelming majority not have formal lease agreements, the relationships are deemed as good and stable.

Nearly 90% of both landlord and tenant households stated that relations between them was friendly or very friendly. That's comprehensive and somewhat unusual.

RENT OR BOND PAYMENT METHOD				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Other			1	1
Spar		1		1
Shoprite		4		4
Pick n Pay		7		7
Cash	41	8	4	53
	41	20	5	66

Table 32: Payment method for rent or bond.

RENTAL AGREEMENT				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
No	72	23	7	102
Yes	10	13	1	24
	82	36	8	126

Table 33: Number of households with a signed rental agreement.

QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIP				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Very difficult	2			2
Difficult	2		3	5
It doesn't matter	5	2		7
Very friendly	12	6	1	19
Friendly	61	28	4	93
	82	36	8	126

Table 34: Quality of the relationship between tenants and landlords.

A similar figure, just less than 90% of households, stated that the arrangement was stable. This is remarkable and may demonstrate why backyarding is the preferred choice for most households, compared to living in informal settlements or in formal rental housing. But it would be worthwhile to better understand why arrangement is seen as stable and what factors contribute to this assessment.

STABILITY OF ARRANGEMENT				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Not sure	3	1		4
Unstable	2	2	1	5
Very unstable	6		1	7
Very stable	7	7	1	15
Stable	64	26	5	95
	82	36	8	126

Table 35: 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 Maitland Garden Village, landlords and tenants have a good working relationship in general. The vast majority stated that households on the property always help each other out and this is entirely expected in situations where households live in close proximity.

Likewise, the vast majority of households reported that they always trust other households.

HELPING EACH OTHER OUT				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Never	3			3
Mostly always	1	3		4
Seldom	5	3	2	10
Sometimes	14	4	3	21
Always	59	26	3	88
	<b>82</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>126</b>

Table 36: Agreement that people generally help each other out.

TRUST				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Never	3			3
Mostly always	3	4		7
Seldom	7	1	2	10
Sometimes	11	6	4	21
Always	58	25	2	85
	<b>82</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>126</b>

Table 37: Trust in other households on the yard.

# ABOUT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

## Perceptions of the Neighbourhood

### Changes

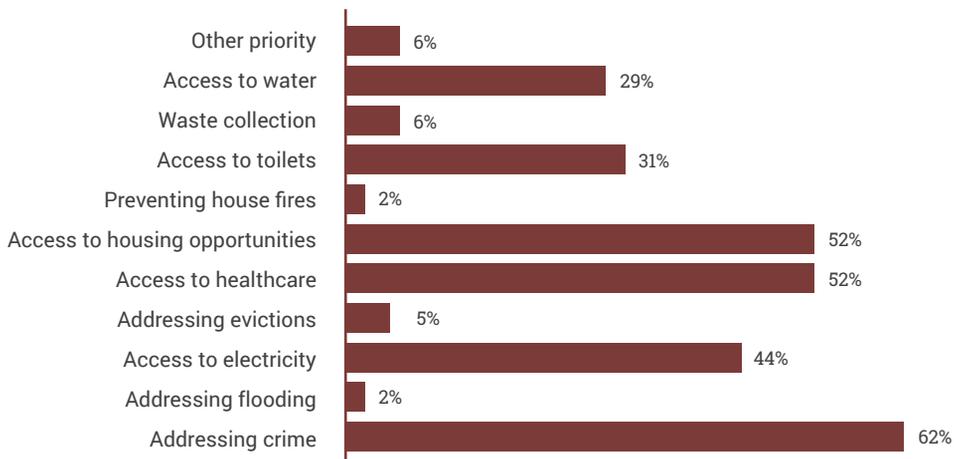
When asked what changes respondents would like to see in Maitland Garden Village, some issues were not perceived to be a problem at all and these are noteworthy in their own right. For example, despite being close to the Black River, flooding is not a concern. Despite the density of dwellings, few have fears of house fires. A few respondents did mention drugs as an issue.

Only 5% of households cited evictions as an issue, which reaffirms the sense of stability in the rental market here.

With regards to basic services, waste collection was not perceived to be a problem at all. Between a quarter and a third of households would like to see changes in **access to electricity, water and toilets** with slightly more taking issue with electricity. It's clear that most households do have some form of access, so it may be that households would like to see a change in the **quality or degree** of access.

Nearly half of households would like to see a **change in how crime is address as well as a change in access to healthcare and housing opportunities**. It's not uncommon for perception of crime to be high on the list in the City of Cape Town.

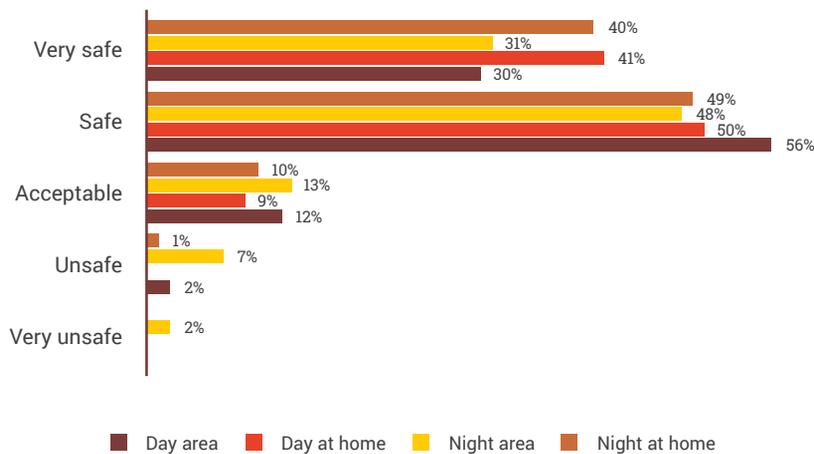
### Most important changes



It is surprising that access to healthcare is a problem, when you consider that Groote Schuur hospital is less than 3 km away. This needs further investigation because it may be that particular healthcare needs are not being addressed, such as access to a GP etc.

Access to housing still features, despite the stability of backyarding. This might be because tenants (and some tenant landlords) still hope to access improved quality of housing or public housing opportunities at some point. No doubt families would like to move into their own home or own property. **It would be worthwhile to explore the aspirations of backyarders in this regard.**

### How safe do you feel in the area?



### Safety

Despite crime being perceived as an issue, Maitland Garden Village is generally viewed as a safe neighbourhood by all households; both during the day and the night.

In fact, about a third of respondents felt the area was very safe. This is not unexpected. Houses mostly face onto the street with few low walls so residents are able to monitor the public space. There are often people around and the community is small enough to be familiar with who lives in the area and who doesn't. It's remarkable that households feel this safe in the area and this is possibly unusual in the City of Cape Town.

Slightly more felt very safe inside their homes. This is interesting too, when you consider that most homes are not very secure in and of themselves.

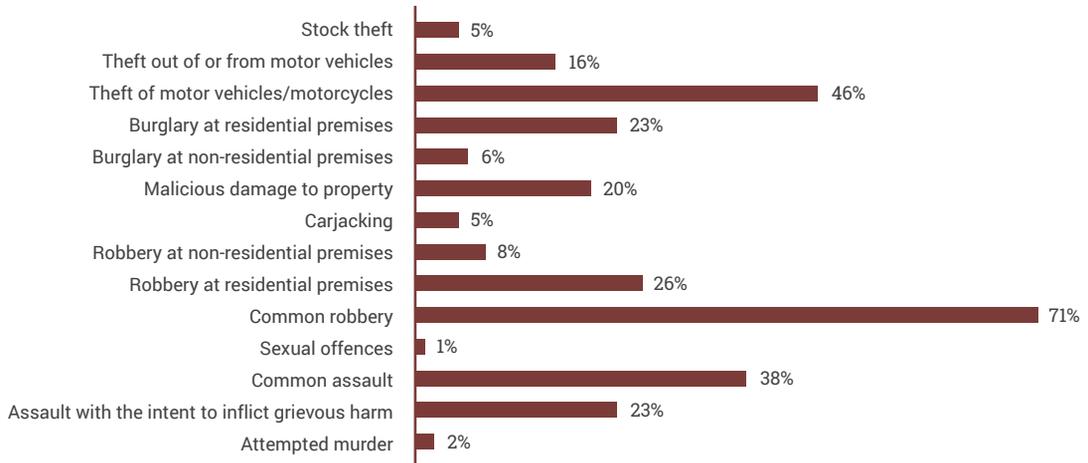
**It would be worthwhile asking what makes backyarders and landlord household feel safe?**

This might be for any number of reasons. For example, because of the sense of security living amongst so many people, or because parents are able to leave their children in the care of other adults, or because households are living with extended family.

As this question was asked at the household level, we are not able to break it down by gender or age and it would be worthwhile exploring how safety is perceived by different members of the household.

When asked what crimes are most prevalent in the area, robbery and assault featured highest.

## 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

There is a trio of related factors that help to understand why households (both tenants and landlords) choose to live in Maitland Garden Village.

Firstly, many households stated that they have always lived here and this correlates with the fact that many families have lived in the area for generations. This is not unexpected, especially

when you consider that many backyarders might be family members who grew up on the property.

Secondly, many households wanted to be closer to family and this supports the first factor. The benefits of being around family features big in the decisions that households are making.

Lastly, households mentioned safety reasons. To a lesser extent households stated that affordable

housing was a factor. No major factors stand out as to why households may have left previous areas and perhaps this is because most households have a long-standing association with Maitland Garden Village in some way.

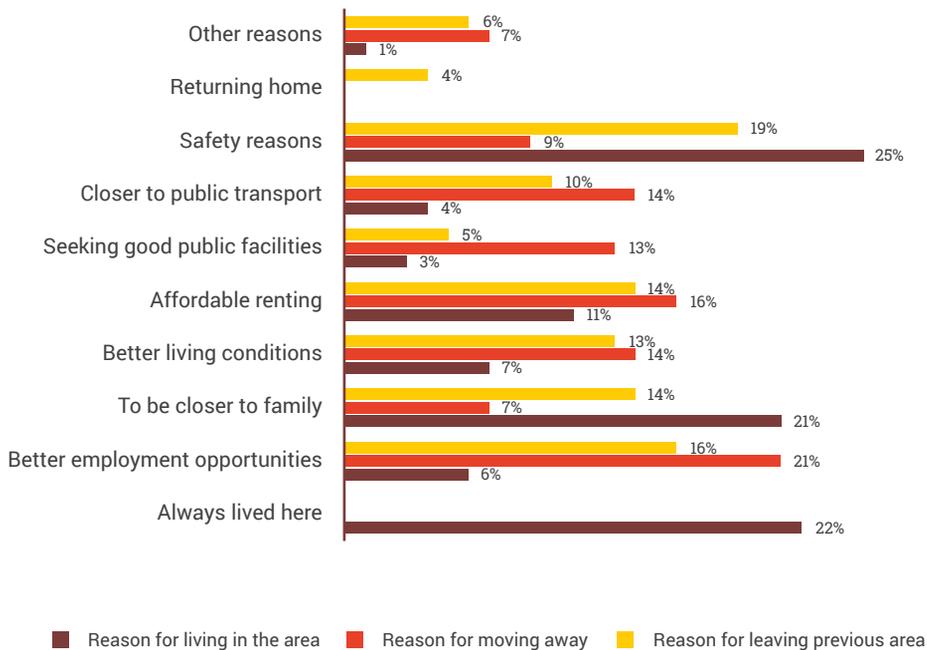
It's clear that households stay or move here because they know people and know the area and feel safe and secure. Households are not really moving here for economic reasons or for its location per se.

### Push factors

The main factors which might encourage households to move away could all be considered economic. Households would want to move away for better employment opportunities and a

better quality of life with affordable rent and good commutes. You get the perception that households would only move away if it would lead to a step up in their circumstances.

### Pull and Push factors



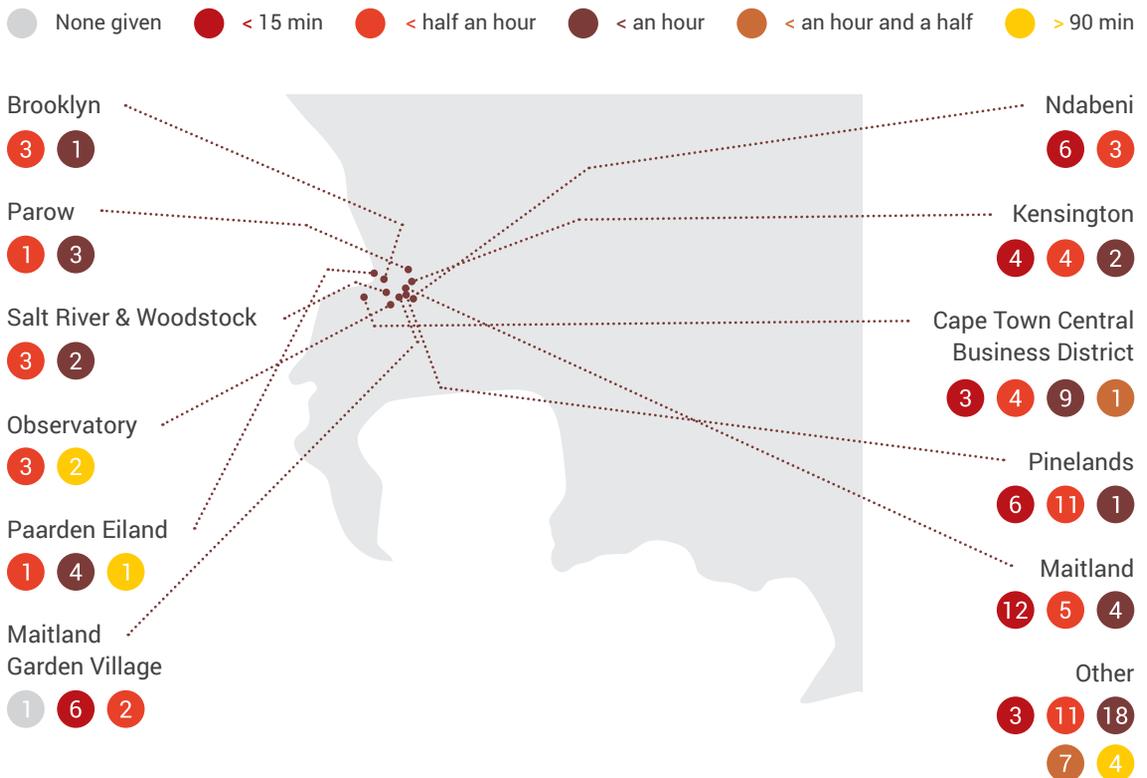
## Commuting

Maitland Garden Village is well-located and while household members commute across the city, the vast majority work or go to school locally with a commute of under 5km.

As a result most household members spend less than an hour commuting. Despite this obvious

benefit of living in Maitland Garden Village, there is no real evidence to suggest that households are moving here specifically for the location. Table 42 highlights the most common commuting locations, where at least three members surveyed commute there. Most household members are commuting to Maitland, Pinelands and the City Centre.

### 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 Maitland Garden Village 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. However, the survey did not explore the exact nature of how services are provided and under what arrangement and this requires further exploration.

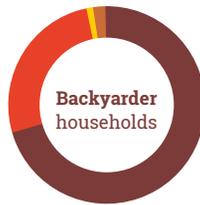
## Access to electricity

Electricity is supplied through homemade connections from the main house. The majority 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 40% of households selected access to electricity as an issue which would improve the area.

This needs further exploration to interpret, considering that most households already do have access to electricity in one form or another. It might mean that households would like to access electricity in more formal ways in their own structures or be able to access more electricity.

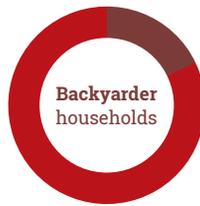
When asked, a number of households stated that they are not paying for electricity at all. This needs to be explored further. What is clear, from the discussion above, is that electricity is a major cost for both landlord and tenant households comprising around 10% of all expenditure.



■ Main house ■ Municipality



■ Not selected ■ Access to electricity



■ Not paying for electricity ■ Paying for electricity



■ Backyarder households ■ Landlord households ■ Main house tenants

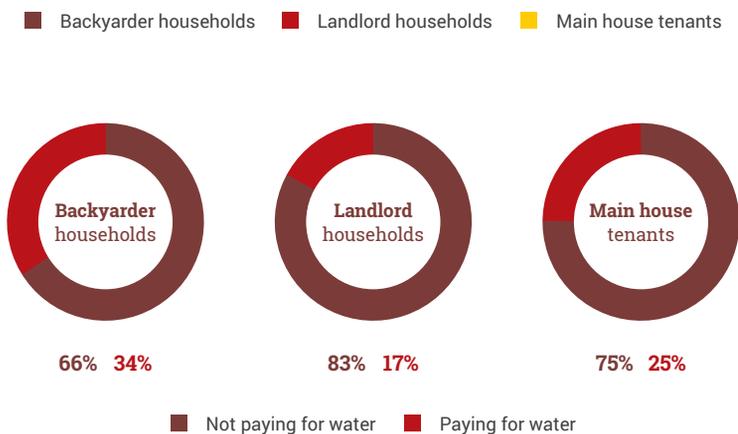
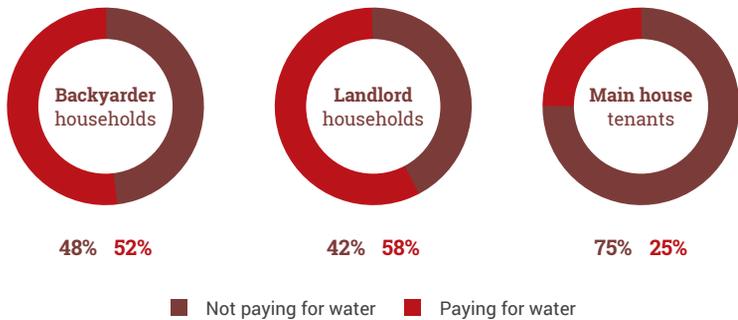
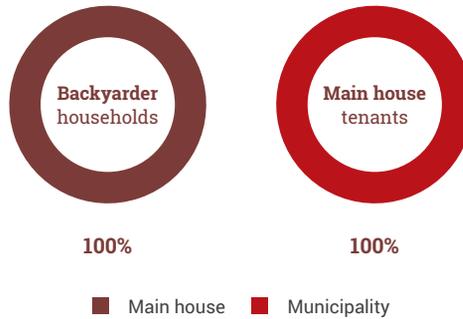
Indicatively, it was observed that landlords may be in arrears on municipal bills for services and the City of Cape Town has begun to dock electricity which is purchased through meters. This makes electricity a proxy expenditure for rates and might mean that tenants are paying towards rates for the property through their payments towards expensive electricity, which is traditionally for the landlord's account. This might account for the high cost of electricity in some instances.

## Access to water

Very few of the properties, if any, have installed separate mains access and water meters for backyard households in Maitland Garden Village 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. However, the actually myriad of ways that connections can happen has not been captured. Some tenant households may be using buckets filled up in shared taps or in the main house. Some landlords have installed connections into extensions and backyard structures.

Some households share a washing machine.



The number of households not paying for access to water is higher in Maitland Garden Village than for electricity - nearly half of households report that they do not pay for water. This may be because, in the case of tenants, water is included in the rent. In many cases, however, the landlord household themselves do not pay for water.

In many households, the City of Cape Town has installed water meters which limited the supply of water to 350 litres a day of free water. In theory this is a limit per household and the amount of free water can be increased where it can be provided that multiple households stay on the property. However, in practice this is very hard to do and can be denied where landlords are in arrears or unable to prove how many households reside on the property in a way which the municipality recognised - which is often the case where backyarders have informal agreements. Some landlords are unwilling to engage the municipality to increase the water allowance or to change back to an uncapped meter for fear of being liable for much greater water bills without being able to get tenants to pay for what they use. So the limitation is a frustration but it keeps expenditure under control.

What has been observed is that households are unable to access further water and so devise strategies to get by on the 350 litres no matter the number of

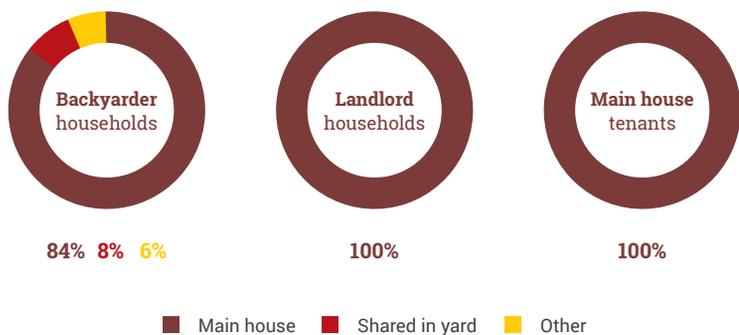
households on the property. Households fill buckets or reuse water etc. This may even be a limiting factor on the ability of landlords to secure more tenants. Either way the issues that have arisen with regard to accessing water and the strategies that tenants and landlords are using would be worth exploring in more detail.

The average cost for water is remarkably consistent across tenant and landlord households - around R300 per month. This begs the question how landlord and tenant households are making decision about who pays for water and how. At this stage it's unclear if there is consistency or clear patterns in how water is paid for.

When asked, however, only slightly more than a quarter of households identified water as an issue that requires improvement. It is hard to deduce why this is the case considering the limited amount of water available. Perhaps, unlike electricity, it is not costing households as much money and is a physical burden rather than a financial burden. But one would expect access to water to be a much greater issues.

## Sanitation

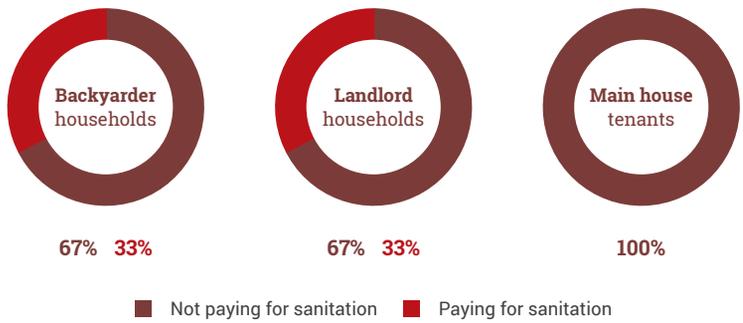
All households report that they have access to a flushing toilet. At the time that the main houses were built, bathrooms were not usually included inside the house and tended to be constructed at the back, which has in fact been better for backyarding as all households can access a shared toilet more easily without having to come inside the main house itself.



■ Main house ■ Shared in yard ■ Other

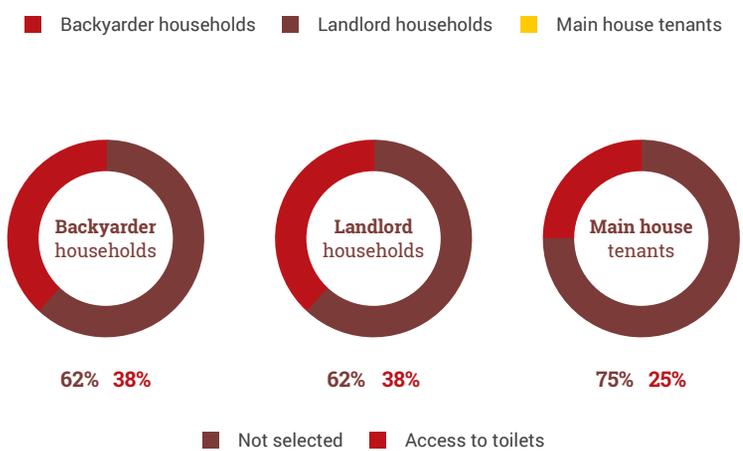
Many households report that they do not pay for sanitation, which is not unexpected considering that the City of Cape Town bills property owners for sanitation as a proportion of water expenditure and considering that water is restricted, sanitation charges are likely to be free or minimal. It's unlikely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

Sanitation does not seem to be an area that most households are concerned about in terms of services.



## 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

66

residential properties enumerated:

**126** structures

**44** main houses

**82** structures in the yard

**6** extensions to the main house

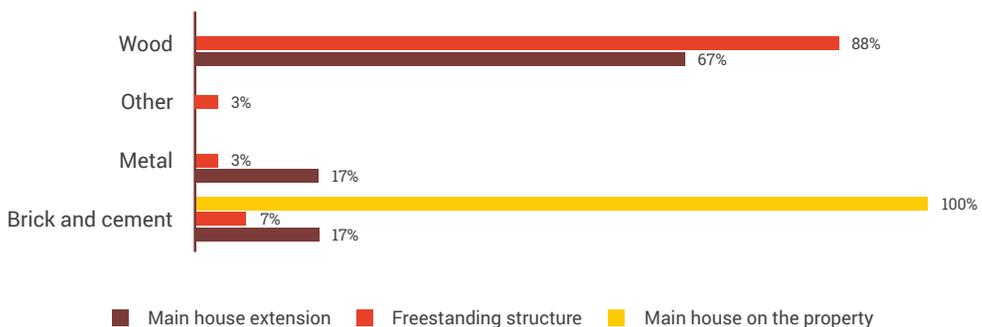
**76** freestanding structures

## Rental structures

On average there are 3 structures per property, though this number might range from between 1 (just the main house) to as many as 10 structures. The vast majority of main houses, as would be expected, are made from brick and cement. In contrast, the vast majority of backyard structures are constructed from wood with a few from other materials. Only five backyard structures are constructed from brick and cement.

Considering the categories of landlord affirmed by Scheba and Turok (2020), this supports the notion that backyarding in Maitland Garden Village is mostly at a subsistence level. Neither landlords nor backyard tenant are investing substantially in upgrading the structures.

### Structure type and building material



## Main houses

Erf sizes are not consistently demarcated when it comes to size and can range from as small as 230m<sup>2</sup> up to over 400m<sup>2</sup>. However, most are around 250m<sup>2</sup>. Erfs are largely uniform and elongated with a narrow 10m edge facing the road and a 30m boundary stretching back.

The erfs have been intentionally enlarged to allow for gardens in the front and back of the houses. This is unusually generous for public housing built for Coloured poor and working class families in the 1920s - the plots are nearly three times bigger than what you might have found across the river in Salt River, Woodstock and District Six. Despite the generous plot sizes, the original houses were fairly small at around 50m<sup>2</sup>, consisting of a central kitchen and two bedrooms.

Many retain the original red or green corrugated roofs and most now include additional rooms that have been added in the front or back. A few have been demolished or renovated into double storey homes.

In general, backyard structures have been built behind the main houses up against the boundary fence with a small courtyard or passage left for light. Access is normally provided through the main house or along an alleyway at the side of the main house.



Figure 8: Typical main house structures. In both instances with porches filled in to expand the original building.

## 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).



Figure 9: Typical backyard structures made of timber panels.

The enumeration in Maitland Garden Village mirrors these findings almost completely. **90%** of backyard structures are freestanding and **87%** of backyard structures are made out of wood. Wood is standard and 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. This needs to be explored further.

Most structures are single rooms or larger rooms divided with a partition into separate areas. Some have kitchen or sitting rooms. Sizes of structures range from between **15m<sup>2</sup>** and **30m<sup>2</sup>**. There are exceptions and examples of larger structures or more households living in a structure.

## Other typologies

### Micro-flats

Scheba and Turok present the development of micro-flats in their study of Blue Downs in Cape Town, stating that, ‘...the prospect of higher landlord incomes has contributed to the diversification and upgrading of backyard structures’ (2020:15) and that they are, ‘steadily replacing shacks’ (2020:12).

They describe micro-flats as, ‘a small freestanding block or blocks of rental units next to the original house, usually containing two to six rooms, depending on whether the unit has one or two storeys’ and these include, ‘shared bathing facilities outside, or apartment-style rooms with an en-suite shower and toilet. Each room has a door, window, artificial light and at least one socket for electricity, which is paid for separately (via a prepaid meter) or collectively by all tenants’ (Scheba and Turok, 2020:12).

Tshangana concurs with this development describing what she calls ‘Type 2’ structures, which are, ‘Self-contained units... having private access to basic services such as toilet and basin’ (2014:7).



Figure 10: A backyard structure constructed from brick & cement.



Figure 11: Example of 2 erfes with compounds constructed predominantly from brick & cement.

While there were some freestanding structures constructed from brick and cement in Maitland Garden Village, these were few and far between and the general trend towards upgrading structures and shifting towards more formal rental housing was not observed. This may indicate that entrepreneurial

landlordism is not prevalent in these areas yet. Some properties have built substantial compounds made of brick and cement and these require further investigation to identify if these are rental properties or households maximising the use of space on their erfes or a combination.

## Boarding houses

Scheba and Turok (2020) present a third boarding house typology with multiple rental rooms, usually of two storeys. In these instances, the landlord demolishes the original house to build a completely new rental structure with four to six rooms per floor: 'Some units are self-contained with one bedroom, a small kitchenette and a toilet/shower. Other rooms share bathrooms on each floor and sometimes a kitchen or living area... Some plots are almost completely built over, leaving little open space for recreation or clotheslines' (2020:15).



Figure 12: Aerial view of a typical boarding house in Maitland Garden Village.

At least one example of a boarding house was confirmed at Maitland Garden Village and there are potentially a few more which would seem to follow a similar typology. These are generally multiple discrete households each living in a room and sharing bathrooms and kitchens.

As the landlord may not be living on the property, it is harder to survey the landlord themselves. These properties would need to be explored further.



Figure 13: Street view of boarding house.

## 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. Similarly this survey did not survey who exactly is responsible for the maintenance of structures and services and 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.

Where a toilet is shared between different members of an extended family or where the cost of services is split, it is likely that maintenance duties and costs are shared too, especially where tenants are not paying rent or are paying low rent.

However, where landlords have built structures and are renting at more of an arms-length, it's likely that the expectation is that the landlord will maintain the property.

## Health and safety

**When it comes to subsistence landlords, Scheba and Turok state that: 'The makeshift character of backyard shacks exposes residents to serious risks of fire, flooding, electrocution and indoor pollution from the lack of ventilation' (2020:12). Similarly, Tshangana states that, 'In some cases, where multiple informal units occupy one plot or a single unit is over-crowded, it can increase the risk of communicable disease and social ills' (2014:8).**

There was no evidence in the survey to deny or confirm this assertion for Maitland Garden Village.

## 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 Maitland Garden Village 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.

Firstly, 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 scheme allows. It is 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 Maitland Garden Village is **8,84 hectares** excluding the public parks, schools and fields. Across the **236 residential erven** we might expect around **708 structures** (following the average of **3 per**

**property**) but there could be as few as **575** (which was counted manually from an aerial photo). This gives a net density of only **80 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 Maitland Garden Village who do pay rent is just over **R1,000 per month**. Strangely, backyard tenants who own their structure pay on average around **R200** more per month than those who rent their structure (this needs to be investigated further). This is not an entirely reliable figure as one or two tenant households can alter the average significantly. Backyard residents by definition do not pay rent, so the two households indicating they pay rent of around **R1750** are outliers and need to be investigated further to confirm their tenure.

It may be more useful to look at the range of rents paid. Amongst those households that do pay rent many more are paying between **R1000 and R2000** than the average would indicate. 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

AVERAGE MONTHLY RENT	
Backyarder - Owner	1073
Backyarder - Resident	1750
Backyarder - Tenant	873
Main House - Tenant	917
	<b>1043</b>

Table 56: Average monthly rental paid.

RENT					
Rent Paid	Backyarder Owner	Backyarder Resident	Backyarder Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
200	1				1
250				1	1
300			1		1
400	1				1
500	6		3		9
600			1		1
700			1		1
750	1				1
800	2				2
1000	7		4	1	12
1200	2				2
1300	1				1
1500	2	1		1	4
1600	1				1
1800	1				1
2000	1	1			2
2500	2		1		3
-	17		24	5	46
	<b>45</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>90</b>

Table 57: Spread of rent.

household and the number of people living in the structure. Some rentals include services while others do not. Overall, this requires further investigation to determine how price in this rental market functions.

## Market

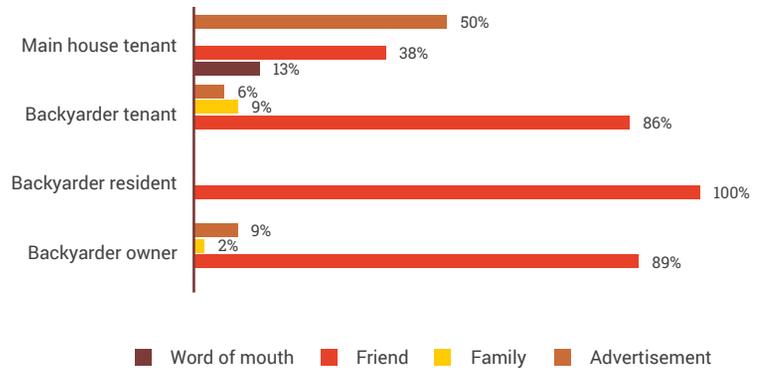
There are initial indications that the assumption that this is primarily a market, may not be entirely true or that it is a specific market with particular characteristics.

For example, the table 57 illustrates that just over half of tenant households may not be paying rent at all. This includes 17 backyard tenants who own their structure and 24 backyard tenants. This may indicate that many residents are actually occupying the land rent-free despite considering themselves tenants.

If this proves true, it might support an argument that backyarding in Maitland Garden Village for many households is primarily a **demonstration of social solidarity** rather than an economic transaction.

This position is supported by another variable. As stated previously, when asked how

## Finding out about the property



FINDING AFFORDABLE RENTAL OPPORTUNITIES					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Not sure	3		1		4
Very easy	5		3		8
Very difficult	7	1	3	2	13
Hard to find	14	1	11	3	29
Easy to find	16		17	3	36
	45	2	35	8	90

Table 59: Ease in finding affordable rental opportunities.

tenants found out about property the vast majority stated that this was through family members.

Either way, tenant households are roughly split on whether finding affordable rental housing is easy or hard to find. For some its easy or very easy and for others its hard or very difficult. There must be certain factors which influences why particular households hold these views and insight into what might assist. This would benefit from further investigation.

<sup>6</sup>It's possible that many households are paying rent but did not give a figure when asked. If these tenants do indeed pay no rent, then this would call into question the tenure categorisation of tenant households and there should be many more tenants who are considered backyard residents or occupiers.

# SALIENT FINDINGS

Maitland Garden Village is a well-established and tight-knit working-class community where almost everybody knows everybody else. Many households are related and have lived in the area for generations. It is relatively stable and not many people are buying or selling property. This is a coloured working-class area which successfully defended from forced removals that and remains remarkably homogeneous.

The suburb is **centrally located geographically** and public transport is available within walking distance, but remains a somewhat discrete and isolated residential area. It is dominated by a central football field and mostly wide, single storey homes built as Council stock in the **1920s**. Zoned **SR1**, the scheme allows for densification up to **three** dwellings. And though most properties are not compliant with the scheme, backyarding is ubiquitous and growing year on year.

**66**, or roughly a quarter, out of all **236** residential erven were enumerated. **103** backyard structures were counted with the number of structures on each erf ranging from **one to ten** with an average of about **three**.

The vast majority of landlord households own their house and are renting backyard structures on a subsistence basis. This makes sense in Maitland Garden Village, where long-standing tenants were able to purchase their homes from the City Council. It stands to reason then that most landlord households have been living in Maitland Garden Village for a considerable amount of time.

Two thirds of the landlords were women and a majority speak Afrikaans as a primary language.

**50-59 yrs** average landlord age

**10%** of landlords **finished Grade 12 and none studied further**

About a **third** of landlords are retired and about a **quarter** of landlords were unemployed or looking for work. The majority earn between **R800 and R7,500** from a range of sources, but predominantly from salaries and pensions. **Rental forms part of a strategy of getting by.**

About **half** of all the tenant households surveyed own the structure in the yard and the rest rent. Much like landlord households, tenant households have lived in Maitland Garden Village for many years.

Tenants might easily be a man or a woman as both are equally represented. Whereas most landlord households speak Afrikaans as a primary language, most tenant households indicated that they speak English, have slightly smaller households and are slightly younger, though the age range of tenants is **between 20 and 77 years old**. Tenant households are, in general, better educated in terms of years of schooling.

**While most landlords were employed or retired and very few proportionally were unemployed, the situation is very different for tenants.**

**More than half** are employed and a **quarter** are unemployed, while only a small fraction are retired. There is no doubt that tenant households are

earning, on average, more than landlord households and are more reliant on salaried work than landlords. Tenants households earn anywhere between **R1,500 and R15,000 per month**.

Landlords and tenants have a good working relationship in general. **80%** of households do not have a written lease and the rental agreement is informal. Despite this, evictions are low and the relationships are deemed good and stable.

The vast majority of main houses are made from brick and cement. In contrast, the vast majority of backyard structures are constructed from wood, with a few from other materials. While there were some freestanding structures constructed from brick and cement, these were few and far between and the general trend towards upgrading structures and shifting towards more formal rental housing was not observed. At least one example of a boarding house was confirmed and there are potentially a few more which would seem to follow a similar typology.

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. Electricity is supplied through homemade connections from the main house. The majority buy electricity through one pre-paid meter installed in the main house through various arrangements and this forms a substantial amount of monthly expenditure. Most backyard houses access water through the supply in the main house, who in turn are accessing water through the municipal mains connection. On many properties, the City of Cape Town has installed water meters with limited water supply (**350 litres a day of free water**). What has been observed is that households

are unable to access more water and so devise strategies to get by on the 350 litres no matter the number of households on the property.

All households report that they have access to a flushing toilet. At the time that the main houses were built, bathrooms were not usually included inside the house and tended to be constructed at the back, which has in fact been better for backyarding as all households can access a shared toilet more easily. Households combine their refuse and it is collected by the municipality.

Despite crime being perceived as an issue, **Maitland Garden Village is generally viewed as a safe neighbourhood** by all households both during the day and the night. While household members commute across the city, the vast majority work or go to school locally and their commute is under **5km**. As a result most household members spend less than an hour commuting. Despite this obvious benefit, there is no real evidence to suggest that households are moving here specifically for the location.

Amongst those households that do pay rent many more are paying in the range between **R1000 and R2000**. Rent is varied across tenure types and within tenure types between households and it would seem that many households do not pay rent. The rental market demonstrates social dynamics (it is essentially a social practice). The majority of landlord households are not renting backyard structures on the open market as such - they are first and foremost providing homes for family/extended relations; and secondly to others in the community. The payment of rent is necessary and critical, but the economic transaction may not necessarily be the dominant or only logic driving the increase in backyarding.

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+27 (0)21 448 7886 | [dag@dag.org.za](mailto:dag@dag.org.za)

101 Lower Main Road, Observatory, Cape Town, 7925

[www.dag.org.za](http://www.dag.org.za)