

Neighbourhood Profile

PALM PARK EERSTE RIVER



BACKYARDING MATTERS

Enabling People, Place and Policy

12/2020

table of CONTENTS

04 | 1. **Executive Summary**

05 | 2. **Introduction**

- 2.1. Project Background
- 2.2. Project Objectives
- 2.3. Project Methodology
- 2.4. Project Narrative
- 2.5. Safeguarding
- 2.6. About the Neighbourhood Profile

08 | 3. **Participatory Data Collection**

- 3.1. Data Collection
- 3.2. Fieldwork sample survey in Palm Park, Eerste River

11 | 4. **About Palm Park - Contextual Analysis**

- 4.1. Historical Context & Development
- 4.2. Spatial Context & Urban Fabric
- 4.3. Social and Economic Context

16 | 5. **Landlords**

- 5.1. Landlord Tenure
- 5.2. Landlord Demographic Profiles
- 5.3. Landlord Economic Status
- 5.4. Typical Landlord

29 | 6. **Tenants**

- 6.1. Tenant Tenure
- 6.2. Tenant Demographic Profiles
- 6.3. Tenant Economic Status
- 6.4. Typical Tenant

36 | 7. **About the Social Nature of the Yard**

- 7.1. The Yard
- 7.2. Tenant / Landlord Relationship
- 7.3. Rental Agreement
- 7.4. Social Cohesion

45 | 8. **About the Neighbourhood**

- 8.1. Perception of the Neighbourhood
- 8.2. Push & Pull Factors
- 8.3. Commuting
- 8.4. Services

50 | 9. **Rental Structures**

- 9.1. Density & Infrastructure

61 | 10. **About the Informal Rental Market**

- 10.1. Rent
- 10.2. Market

63 | 11. **Salient Findings**

65 | 12. **References**



BACKYARD MATTERS
ENABLING PEOPLE, PLACE & POLICY

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

list of TABLES

10	[1] Sample sizes by tenure type	32	[23] Age range of tenants	47	[44] Push and pull factors
13	[2] Description of all erven uses in enumeration area (City of Cape Town, 2020)	32	[24] Average effective tenant and tenant household age	48	[45] Most common commuting locations & times *excl. students/learners
15	[3] Age Distribution of residents Source: Stats SA	32	[25] Tenant primary household language	49	[46] Access to electricity
16	[4] Landlord types (Scheba & Turok, 2020:10-15)	33	[26] Tenant nationality	50	[47] Households which selected access to electricity as a priority for area improvement
17	[5] Landlord households by tenure type	33	[27] Tenant household size	50	[48] Households not paying for electricity
19	[6] Landlord length of tenure	34	[28] Effective tenant highest education level achieved	50	[49] Household average monthly expenditure on electricity
20	[7] Effective landlord gender	35	[29] Effective tenant employment status	51	[50] Water supply access
20	[8] Effective landlord marital status by gender	36	[30] Tenant household members' employment status	51	[51] Households not paying for water
21	[9] Age range of landlords	36	[31] Tenant household income	51	[52] Household average monthly expenditure on water
21	[10] Average effective landlord and landlord household age	37	[32] Tenant household sources of income	51	[53] Household which selected access to water as a priority for area improvement
21	[11] Landlord primary household language	38	[33] Average household expenses by tenure type	53	[54] Access to sanitation services
21	[12] Nationality of effective landlords	41	[34] Tenant households reason for moving to Palm Park	53	[55] Households not paying for sanitation
22	[13] Landlord household size	42	[35] Payment method for rent or bond	53	[56] Household average monthly expenditure on sanitation
22	[14] Effective landlord highest education level achieved	42	[36] Number of households with a signed rental agreement	53	[57] Households which selected access to toilets as a priority for area improvement
24	[15] Effective landlord employment status	42	[37] Quality of relationship between tenants and landlords	54	[58] Comparison of structure type and building materials
25	[16] Landlord household residents' employment status	43	[38] Perception of the stability of the relationship	59	[59] Responsibility for maintenance of structures
25	[17] Landlord household income	44	[39] Agreement that people generally help each other out	61	[60] Average monthly rental paid by tenant households
26	[18] Landlord household sources of income	44	[40] Trust in other households on the yard	61	[61] Spread of rent
27	[19] Average household expenses by tenure type	45	[41] Top changes households would like to see in the area	62	[62] How tenants discovered the property by tenure type
30	[20] Tenant households by tenure type	46	[42] Perceptions of safety at home and in the area during either the day or night	62	[63] Ease in finding affordable rental opportunities
30	[21] Tenant length of tenure	46	[43] Perceptions of main crimes out of households		
31	[22] Effective tenant gender				

list of FIGURES

09

Figure 1

Boundary of enumeration area
Source: Enumeration Survey

11

Figure 2

Location of Palm Park, circled
in the City of Cape Town
(Stamen, 2020)

12

Figure 3

Social facilities and
transport infrastructure
(City of Cape Town, 2020)

13

Figure 4

Zoning scheme
(City of Cape Town, 2020)

14

Figure 5

A typical streetscape.
32 Mawson St. looking south
(Google Maps, 2020)

14

Figure 6

Bird's-eye view of backyards in
Palm Park
Source: Google Maps

54

Figure 7

Typical main house structures,
one instance with an extended
structure.

55

Figure 8

Typical backyard structures
made of timber panels

56

Figure 9

A backyard structure
constructed from brick
and cement

57

Figure 10

Aerial view of a typical
boarding house in Palm Park

58

Figure 11

Street view of
boarding house

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:

257 residential erven in the enumeration area were surveyed and altogether **900 residents** were 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.

The overwhelming majority of landlord households own the main house on the property and have been living in Palm Park for a fair amount of time with the majority of households moving to the area from the late **1980s**. The overall average of landlord household is about **four** people. Unemployment is fairly serious amongst landlord households. **Around 30% of household members are unemployed**. The landlords earning **less than R3,500 per month** indicated that they rely on rent for the overall household income.

Much like landlord households, tenant households have lived in Palm Park for many years, though most households from the 1990s onwards. Whereas landlord households averaged around **two to three members**, tenant households are, on average **three people**, though there is a fair spread of households **between one and four people**. Around **50%** of tenants are employed compared to **30%** of landlords.

The average rent for tenant households in Palm Park who do pay rent is around **R1,250 per month** with a range which varies

from as low as **R300** to as high as **R2,500 per month**. **90%** of all tenant households pay their rent in cash and less than **5%** of both tenant and landlord households say that they have a formal written rental agreement.

There is a trio of related factors which help to understand why households (both tenants and landlords) choose to live in Palm Park that are **primarily economic**. They want to have better living conditions, access affordable rental and to be safe. Push factors could be considered; economic, households would move to improve their livelihoods through better employment.

These observations hold true for Palm Park where, across the board, the main house secures refuse, water, sanitation and electricity from the municipality and provides these services in turn to the backyarders. Very few, if any, backyarders access services independently. Wood structures are standard and fairly ubiquitous. **65%** of backyard structures are made out of wood and about **20%** of backyard structures are constructed from brick and cement. At least one example of a boarding house was confirmed at Palm Park and there are potentially a few more which would seem to follow a similar typology.

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

INTRODUCTION

Project Background

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

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

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

The following insights and arguments motivate for the project:

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

Project Objectives

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

Project Methodology

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

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

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

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

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

Project Narrative

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

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

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

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

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

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

Safeguarding

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

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

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

About the Neighbourhood Profile

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

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

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

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

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

PARTICIPATORY DATA COLLECTION

Data Collection

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

Consultation and training

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

Fieldwork sample surveys

- An extensive survey was designed to capture data on the main research areas. The surveys were conducted during level three of the lockdown (11 to 18 July 2020).
- Before fieldwork began, the fieldworkers went door-to-door and a community meeting was held to ensure that as many residents as possible were aware that the enumeration was taking place and what it was for. This preparation assisted greatly in helping to ensure the actual enumeration went smoothly.
- Over a few days, field workers surveyed as many households in the area as they could access. This included information about each household living on the erf and additional information about each person in the household.
- In general a central location was designated as a headquarters during the process that could be used for daily briefing, queries and an assembly point should any incident occur. Each day, target erf numbers were identified and field workers conducted surveys in pairs and maintained contact regarding their movement with supervisors via whatsapp.
- Particular concerns arose regarding gang activity. Field workers were mostly drawn from the area and were able to navigate the neighbourhood, but were advised to enter the nearest house to avoid

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

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

Data analysis

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

Focus group discussions

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

Fieldwork sample survey in Palm Park, Eerste River

Boundary



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

The enumeration area includes most of **Palm Park in Eerste River**, following Kleinvei Road on the western boundary and Melton Road on the eastern.

The northern boundary follows the line of Muller Street and the southern follows Lacus Street. The enumeration area forms an arrow.

Sample size

112 of the 576 residential erven in the enumeration area surveyed:

257 households surveyed **99** landlord households across tenure types:

111 effective landlords **158** backyarder households / tenants living in rooms in the main house **189** effective tenants¹

just under **900** residents surveyed:

495 tenants living in backyarder or main house tenant households

404 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	31	35	69
Backyard owners	46	80	144
Backyard tenants	67	0	247
Backyard residents	14	17	35
Total	158	189	495
LANDLORD households			
Landlord owners	95	105	388
Landlord tenants	4	6	16
Landlord residents	0	0	0
Backyard landlords	0	0	0
Total	99	111	404
Grand Total	257	300	899

Table 1: Sample sizes by tenure type.

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

ABOUT PALM PARK - CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Historical Context and Development

Location

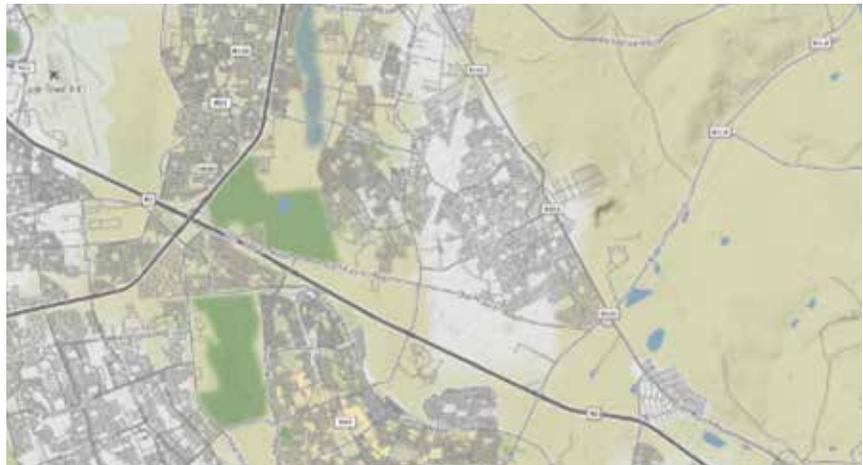


Figure 2: Location of Palm Park, circled, in the City of Cape Town (Stamen, 2020).

Palm Park is located at the periphery of the city. It is, literally, the last suburb before the urban sprawl opens up to undeveloped rural farmlands. However, this is only relevant when measured by the location of the city centre, which is some 30km away.

Despite its location, Eerste River could be considered centrally located insofar as it sits at the centre of a number of dormitory and commuter suburbs and a small town in adjacent municipalities offering a broad range of work opportunities (from domestic work to industrial and clerical work and farm work).

The airport is only about 10km to the west, with the city centre of Bellville to the north and the wealthy suburbs of Somerset West and the town of Stellenbosch within commuting distance.

Historical development

Eerste River was rural farmland for much of the 20th Century and was only developed consistently as a suburb from around the 1980s onwards. New erfes were sold into the private market and many of the first owners, who were at the time primarily Coloured Afrikaans speaking households, would

have bought land and built their own homes; or bought basic housing off-plan from small-scale developers who purchased and developed blocks. More recently, considering the large parcels of land available, the state has built large numbers of public housing in and around Eerste River.

Spatial Context & Urban Fabric

Connectivity

Palm Park is located right next to a main railway line connecting the suburb with both the city centre, routed through Bellville, Stellenbosch and Paarl - providing residents with lots of opportunities for a diverse range of work. In better days, the commutes would have been long, but relatively uncomplicated, though trains have now become unreliable and dangerous.

The suburb is situated just above the N2 highway, which makes it accessible by car, though you would be hard-pressed to claim that the highway services or add values to transport options in Eerste River. It is the main trunk road for taxis and buses to the city centre. Other road transport connects Eerste River with the north and south east.

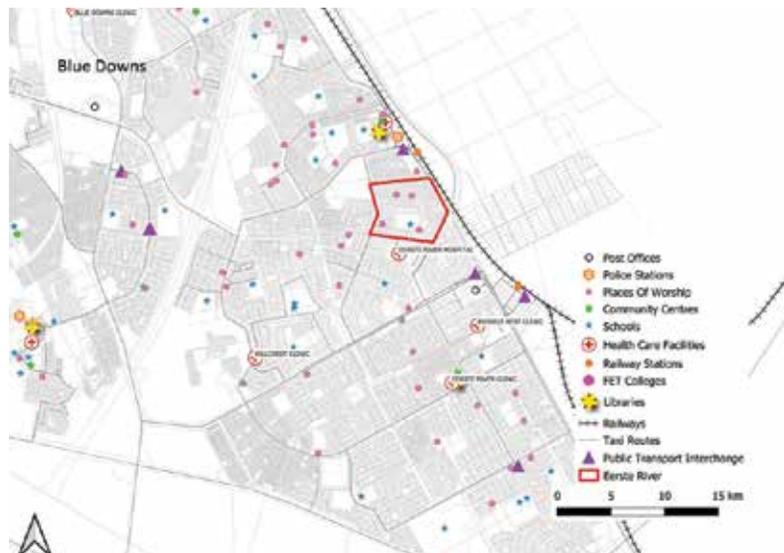


Figure 3: Social facilities and transport infrastructure (City of Cape Town, 2020).

Social facilities

While Palm Park itself only has schools and parks, the area as a whole has a number of public facilities including a public district hospital and a number of clinics as well as a police station and a few community halls.

Land use and zoning



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

Apart from the obvious exceptions (such as parks/school premises), which are zoned for community use, the remainder, are zoned as residential. The surrounding land is zoned almost entirely residential too, though over Van Riebeeck Road, it is mostly rural agricultural zoning, broken up regularly by various elements of urban sprawl including quarries, gated communities and other homesteads.

Of the 591 erven in Palm Park, 576 are primarily residential.

ERVEN	
Residential erven	576
Parks, fields and open space	6
Schools and Pre-Primaries	1
Churches and community facilities	8
	591

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

All of the residential erven 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. While it is possible to build up to the boundary, a maximum floor coverage of 75% of the erf is permissible. Second and third dwellings must be constructed in a style that is similar to the architecture of the main dwelling house and is subject to certification that capacity is available on the service networks (City of Cape Town, 2015:112).

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

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

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

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

Urban fabric

Streetscape

Were it not for extensive backyarding, Palm Park might be considered a single dwelling suburb. It is almost uniformly single storey homes built to the front of fairly large erf²s as was common

in the second half of the 20th Century. It has a sense of sprawl without any obvious landmarks or environmental focus points apart from the local parks and school.

Broad streets with grassy verges are largely arranged in grids, broken up periodically by small closes.

There is a clear contrast between housing to the north, which is smaller, constructed simply and situated on smaller erf²s, and some of the larger properties to the south, which have some basic architectural flourishes. There is a significantly amount of infilling of land, not just with backyard structures, but with boundary walls and covered car parking areas and courtyards with a mixture of extensions.



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

Growth in backyarding

As can be seen, backyarding is fairly ubiquitous in Palm Park. The number of backyard structures has increased substantially over the last 15 years or so. An aerial desktop analysis reveals only **32** wooden backyard structures in 2005 compared to roughly **360** in 2020 - that's a ten-fold increase.



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

²A floor factor is used to calculate the maximum floor space of buildings permissible. It is the maximum floor space as a proportion of the net erf area. For example, an erf 200m² in size with a floor factor 1 may have up to 200m² of floorspace across storeys subject to coverage and height limitations. High floor factors can be used to encourage density in some land uses.

Land values in Palm Park:

(City of Cape Town, 2018)

properties in the north:

R340,000

properties in the south:

R850,000

Social and Economic Context

Official census data from 2011 is only available at the subplace level for Palm Park, which includes an area about the same size as that which was enumerated to the north up to Raymond Ackerman Avenue. This date should be seen as indicative.

Gender and Age

51% were female and 49% were male. The population is distributed across age groups and is largely youthful, with nearly 60% of residents under 30 years of age. Palm Park is a stable community that is attracting younger tenants in search of better opportunities.

Total population:

5406

living in

1,201

households

AGE DISTRIBUTION									
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+
No.	1032	1026	1024	705	834	532	180	49	20
%	19.17%	18.99%	18.85%	13.05%	15.44%	9.85%	3.34%	0.91%	0.38%

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

Race and language

Nearly 85% of the population identifies as Coloured with around 10% identifying as Black African. The majority, around 80% speak Afrikaans as a first language, with 10% speaking English and 6% speaking isiXhosa (Stats SA, 2011). This is not unexpected given its history and such highly segregated neighbourhoods are not uncommon across the City of Cape Town.

±40%

unemployed people with:

10%

discouraged/unemployed people

Employment and household income

Apart from those who do not have any income, annual household incomes do range from less than R5,000 a year to a couple of cases where households are earning around R2,5m, but these are outliers. About 80% of households are earning less than R307,600 a year, which equates to about R25,000 per month (Stats SA 2011). The salaries in the enumerated area; however, demonstrate that the average is much lower.

LANDLORDS

Landlord Tenure

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

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

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

LANDLORD TYPES

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

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

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

The most visible indicator of the nature of landlording is the typology of backyard structures. In Palm Park, around 82% of backyarder households are living in timber, plastic or metal structures with around 17% (22 households) living in structures made of brick and cement. The typology will be explored in some detail later. It would appear that the majority of landlord households are renting backyard structures on a subsistence basis, though the fair number of brick and cement structures

might indicate that more and more landlords are investing in backyard structures.

There were a few examples of entrepreneurial landlords, where the property had been entirely renovated into double storey structures that are rented out. The survey was not able to capture the details of landlord households who do not reside on the property.

Landlord tenure types

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

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

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLDS TENURE TYPE	
General Definition	Common expression in Palm Park
<p>Landlord residents Landlord households which have some other kind of tenure and rent out room and/or structure and space in the yard.</p>	<p>For example, some landlord households may have inherited their homes from parents, but never transferred formal titles. 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. This was not found in Palm Park as most tenures were strictly ownership or rental.</p>
<p>Landlord landlords Landlords who own and rent the main house and/or structure and space in the yard and live in a structure in the yard themselves.</p>	<p>Mostly in order to make extra income, but it may be that an elderly parent has moved out back to allow a child or relation to live in the main house.</p> <p>There were no backyard landlords surveyed in Palm Park. All of the landlords who lived on the property were staying in the main house.</p>

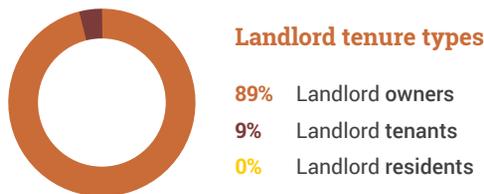


Table 5: Landlord households by tenure type.

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

Only 4 landlord households rent the main house themselves and sublet rooms and the yard to backyarders. None were living in the backyard themselves. There is fairly consistent pattern here of landlord households living in the main house and renting rooms, yard space or backyard structures to tenants.

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

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

In Palm Park, 13% of landlord household members (53 out of 404) consider themselves to be tenants. These are possibly 'hidden' tenants in landlord households - most often boarders, adult singles, couples and elderly members of landlord households who pay rent of some kind, but consider themselves to be part of the household or extended household.

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

Length of tenure

It stands to reason then that most landlord households have been living in Palm Park for a fair amount of time. The earliest households moved to Palm Park in the 1960s but the majority of households moved to the area from the late 1980s. This seems to have tapered off and by the early 2010s very few households were moving to the area. This may be because landlord households were fairly stable and there were less churn in houses being sold; because there were few open plots of land available to build housing; or because the value of property has made it more expensive to buy established homes.

When asked directly, only 28 out of 404 (around 7%) 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	Tenant	Total	%
1960s	3		3	3.03%
1970s	2		2	2.02%
1980s	13		13	13.13%
1990s	47		47	47.47%
2000s	20	3	23	23.23%
2010s	10	1	11	11.11%
2020s	0		0	0%

Table 6: Landlord length of tenure.

Landlord Demographic Profiles

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

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

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

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

landlord may not represent how the relationship is managed. This is most obvious in the case where a multi-generational household lives in rooms and backyard structures. Rent does not necessarily accrue to any one individual but payment is made in kind towards overall household costs or pooled.

- It is also possible for rent to accrue to multiple households in a property who all consider themselves to be landlords of sorts. For example,

where a boarder pays towards rent to a backyarder tenant.

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

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

While there are 99 landlord households, there are 111 effective landlords; in 12 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.

Gender⁴

Gender in landlord households is not evenly split. Across all 404 members, there are 54% women (and girls) and 46% men.

When it comes to effective landlords, this is reversed. Nearly 60% of landlords are men, compared to 40% who are women.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD GENDER				
	Owner	Tenant	Total	%
Women	45	2	47	42.34%
Men	60	4	64	57.66%
	105	6	111	100%

Table 7: Effective landlord gender.

There is an interesting divergence between male and female landlords when it comes to marital status. The majority of female landlords are widows (nearly 50%) with only around 20% being married. However, the majority of men landlords are married (nearly 80%). This may indicate that landlord households are fairly traditional with more men being considered the head of the households where a couple is married, with women taking over the role once their husband has died.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD MARITAL STATUS BY GENDER			
	Women	Men	Total
Cohabiting / living together as partners	2	2	4
Divorced / Separated	3	4	7
Married	49	9	58
Never Married	5	9	14
Widow / Widower	5	23	28
	64	47	111

Table 8: Effective landlord marital status by gender.

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

Age

50-59 yrs

predominant landlord age

Table 9 demonstrates that ages range widely from landlords in their 20s through to landlords nearing 90.

The average age for all members across landlord households is 35 years old, which makes sense when you factor in youth and children.

Language and nationality

The vast majority, (about 90%), of landlord households speak Afrikaans as primary language with the remainder speaking English, save for two households who speak isiXhosa.

The vast majority, (about 98%), of effective landlords are South African citizens and this is the same for households in general.

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

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD AGE RANGE				
	Owner	Tenant	Total	%
20-29	1		1	0.90%
30-39	5		5	4.50%
40-49	16	3	19	17.12%
50-59	43	3	46	41.44%
60-69	27		27	23.32%
70-79	12		12	10.81%
80-89	1		1	0.90%
	105	6	111	100%

Table 9: Age range of landlords.

LANDLORD / LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD AGE			
	Owner	Tenant	Total
Landlords	57	50	56
Landlord households	35	34	35
	46	42	46

Table 10: Average effective landlord and landlord household age.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD PRIMARY LANGUAGE			
	Owner	Tenant	Total
Afrikaans	84	2	86
English	9	2	11
IsiXhosa	2		2
	95	4	99

Table 11: Landlord primary household language.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD NATIONALITY				
	Owner	Tenant	Total	%
Non South African		1	1	0.90%
Prefer not to answer		1	1	0.90%
South African	105	4	109	98.20%
	105	6	111	100%

Table 12: Nationality of effective landlords.

Household size

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

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD SIZE				
Household Size	Owner	Tenant	Total	%
1	3		3	3.03%
2	15	1	16	16.16%
3	31	1	32	32.32%
4	10		10	10.10%
5	15	1	16	16.16%
6	11	1	12	12.12%
7	4		4	4.04%
8	3		3	3.03%
9	1		1	1.01%
10	2		2	2.02%
	95	4	99	100%

Table 13: Landlord household size.

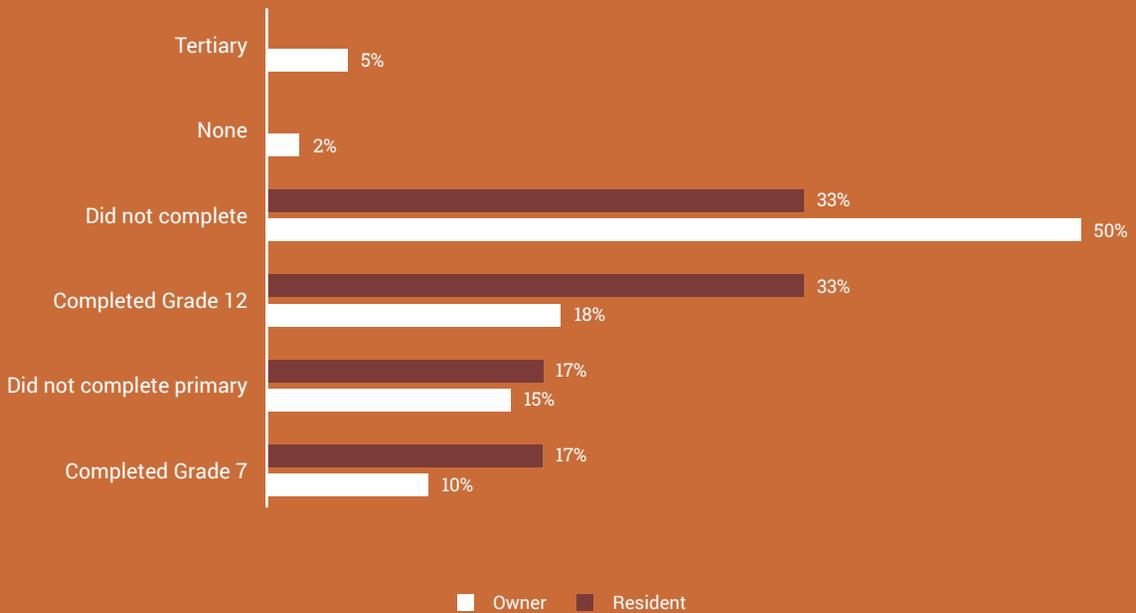
Education

The level of formal education amongst landlords is low and extremely variable. A fair number, (around 25%), did not complete primary education at all. Of the remainder, almost everyone left school during secondary school with only about 20% finishing matric. Five landlords (around 5%) went on to secure a tertiary qualification.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD EDUCATION			
	Owner	Tenant	Total
Don't know	1		1
None	1		1
Grade 2	2		2
Grade 3	2		2
Grade 4	2		2
Grade 5	3		3
Grade 6	7	1	8
Grade 7	10	1	11
Grade 8	15		15
Grade 9	8		8
Grade 10	20	1	21
Grade 11	10	1	11
Grade 12	19	2	21
Part / Full tertiary	5		5
	105	6	111

Table 14: Effective Landlord highest education level achieved.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD EDUCATION				
	Owner	Tenant	Total	%
Completed Grade 7	10	1	11	10%
Did not complete primary	16	1	17	15%
Completed Grade 12	19	2	21	19%
Did not complete	53	2	55	50%
None	2		2	2%
Tertiary	5		5	5%
	105	6	111	100%



Landlord Economic Status

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

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

Employment

This is partly confirmed in the case of Palm Park. **Unemployment is fairly serious amongst landlord households.** Around 30% of household members are unemployed, rising to 38% amongst actual landlords. Only around 13% of landlords are retired. A similar figure, around 40% of landlords are employed.

EFFECTIVE LANDLORD EMPLOYMENT				
	Owner	Tenant	Total	%
Other	1		1	0.90%
Self-employed	3	1	4	3.60%
Home keeper	8		8	7.21%
Retired	14		14	12.61%
Employed	38	3	41	36.94%
Unemployed	41	2	43	38.74%
	105	6	111	100%

Table 15: Effective landlord employment status.

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD RESIDENTS EMPLOYMENT				
	Owner	Tenant	Total	%
Self-employed	4	2	6	1.49%
Tertiary student	7		7	1.73%
Pre-school	10	1	11	2.72%
Home keeper	15		15	3.71%
Retired	21		21	5.20%
Other	31		31	7.67%
Learner at school	64	5	69	17.08%
Employed	107	4	111	27.48%
Unemployed	129	4	133	32.92%
	388	16	404	100%

Table 16: Landlord household residents' employment status.

Household income and source

A plurality, or **30%** of landlord households in Palm Park are earning predominantly **between R1501 and R3501**, but altogether around **75%** of households are earning somewhere **between R1,500 and R15,000 per month**. This compares well with income across the City of Cape Town, where the **average household income is roughly R4,775 per month** (Stats SA, 2011).

LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD INCOME		
	Total	%
R801 - R1,500	6	6.06%
R1,501 - R3,500	26	26.26%
R3,501 - R7,500	29	29.29%
R7,501 - R15,000	19	19.19%
R15,001 - R22,000	4	4.04%
Above R22,000	2	2.02%
	99	100%

Table 17: Landlord household income.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY SOURCE							
	Salary/ Job	Own Business	Rent	Grants	Other	Total	%
R801 - R1,500	1	0	5	0	0	6	5.71%
R1,501 - R3,500	5	0	18	7	0	30	28.57%
R3,501 - R7,500	23	0	13	1	1	38	36.19%
R7,501 - R15,000	17	0	6	1	0	24	22.86%
R15,001 - R22,000	4	0	1	0	0	5	4.76%
Above R22,000	2	0	0	0	0	2	1.90%
	52	0	43	9	1	105	100%

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

What is noticeable is how income in landlord households is primarily from either a salary or rent, with households earning **less than R3,500 per month** indicating that they rely more on rent than wealthier households. For example, **5 out of 6** households earning **between R801 and R1500 per month** also rely on rent.

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

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.

Rental income forms a necessary component of overall household income as a strategy to diversify 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**.

Disabilities and grants

Disabilities

19 members of landlord households report having a disability of some form, including 8 landlords. Very few landlords reported any form of disability. Only **one 57 year old woman landlord** considered herself to have a disability. Most respondents did not state the nature of the disability, but a fair number have either a walking or hearing disability. However, only

11 people overall and 2 landlords are receiving a disability grant.

54 members and about 2 landlords receive a child support grant; and 48 members with about 37 landlords receive a state pension.

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 21. As expected, food and groceries takes up **20% or a fifth** of all expenditure, followed closely by bond payments and healthcare insurance costs.

Services such as electricity, water, refuse, rates and sanitation combined account for **15%** of expenditure.

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 Palm Park is centrally located and most landlords work within 5km of their homes.

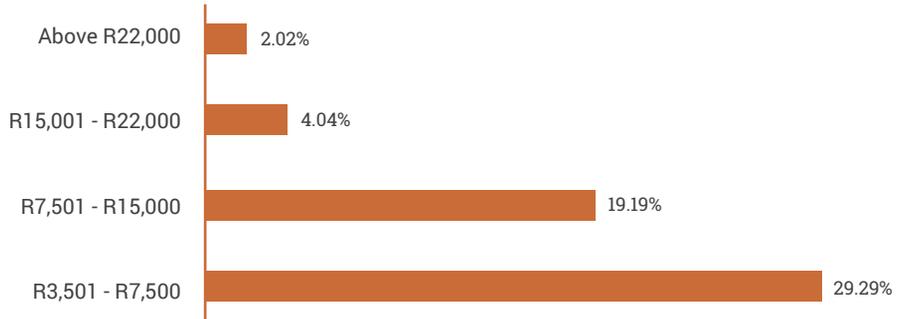
Stated expenditure confirms that money spent on maintenance is negligible - accounting for only **2%** of expenditure at around **R140 per month**.

It is also because many of the backyarders own their own structures and are responsible for maintenance themselves. The particular timber structures that are ubiquitous in Palm Park are quite robust and don't require much maintenance.

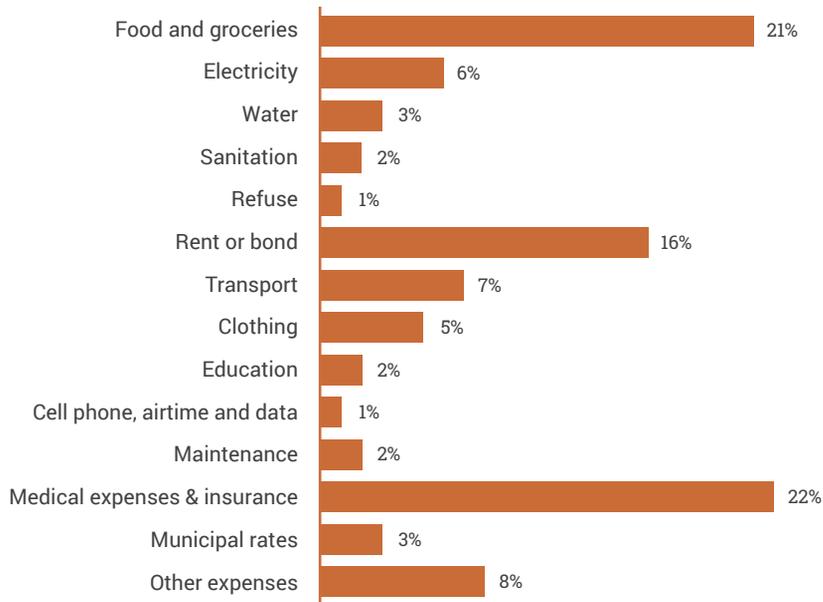
LANDLORD HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES				
	Owner	Tenant	Total	%
Food & groceries	1901	1500	1882	21%
Electricity	561	400	555	6%
Water	291	300	291	3%
Sanitation	144	129	143	2%
Refuse	104	0	104	1%
Rent or bond	1386	0	1388	16%
Transport	634	700	636	7%
Clothing	440	0	440	5%
Education	167	125	156	2%
Cell phone, airtime & data	89	119	90	1%
Maintenance	139	0	139	2%
Medical expenses & insurance	1836	0	1936	22%
Municipal rates	301	0	301	3%
Other expenses	713	0	713	8%
	8803	3273	8774	100%

Table 19: Average household expenses by tenure type.

Landlord household income



Landlord household expenditure



Typical Landlord

A typical landlord in Palm Park, then, might be a **married man around 57 years old** who finished Secondary school or left in their senior years. He bought property in the area in the 1990s and now lives with a wife and a small family renting to between two and three other households. The households speaks Afrikaans at home. He may be unemployed or earning a salary of **between R1,500 and R3,500 per month**, which is supplemented by rental income. He may not have a disability himself, but grown-up children may be benefiting from a child support grant. He is probably still paying off a bond and otherwise spends money on basic services and food... if he is employed he's likely to have some kind of health insurance.

TENANTS

Tenant Tenure

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

158

tenant households enumerated:

31

occupy rooms in the main house

127

occupy structures in the yard

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 20.

About a **third or 46** tenant households own structure and rent space in the yard. Despite the lack of expenditure on maintenance, there is clearly surplus income available amongst landlord households to be able to provide structures for tenants to rent. Between a **third and half** of tenant households, (about **67** households), rent the structure itself. **Altogether these two tenure types account for around 70% of tenant all households**. A fair amount are resident households live in the backyard, but are not necessarily paying rent (likely to be extended family members). About **one-fifth** of tenant households, a surprisingly large number, are renting rooms in the main house.

Tenant tenure types

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

Table 20: Tenant households by tenure type.



Tenant tenure types

- 29%** Backyard owners
- 42%** Backyard tenants
- 9%** Backyard residents
- 20%** Main house tenants

LENGTH OF TENURE						
	Resident	Owner	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
1950s		2	1		3	1.91%
1960s	1	1			2	1.27%
1970s		1			1	0.64%
1980s		1	2	4	7	4.46%
1990s	5	8	15	11	39	28.84%
2000s	4	10	14	3	31	19.75%
2010s	3	19	34	11	67	42.68%
2020s	1	3	1	2	7	4.46%

Table 21: Tenant length of tenure.

Length of tenure

Much like landlord households, tenant households have lived in Palm Park for many years, though most households from the 1990s onwards. Tenant households surveyed date their tenure as far back as the

1950s, which is a considerably long time. It is noticeable that the number of households has increased steadily in the last few decades, with double the number establishing themselves here in the 2010s compared to previous 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.

Tenant Demographic Profiles

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

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

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

Gender

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

Tenants are more likely to be a man where they are the head of the household. However, when it comes to residents and main house tenants - the gender are more in proportion.

EFFECTIVE TENANT GENDER						
	Resident	Owner	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Women	8	19	35	19	81	42.86%
Men	9	38	45	16	108	57.14%
	17	57	80	35	189	100%

Table 22: Effective tenant gender.

Only about a third of tenants are married - more than half have never been married or are living with a partner, but are not married. Compared to landlord households this is significant. It could be because tenants are, in general, younger, or it could point to more systemic causes - for example if tenants are migrant households or newly arrived for work in the surrounding areas.

Age

The age range of tenants is between **20 and 89 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.

The average age for tenants is **38 years**, which is nearly two decades younger than the equivalent average for landlords. It's understandable that the average of **25** is lower when you include all members of tenant households.

Language and nationality

As with landlord households, tenant households overwhelmingly speak Afrikaans as a primary language, though there are a few that speak English.

Much like with landlords, the vast majority, (**about 98%**), of tenants are South African citizens.

This is not an area where immigrants are living in any great numbers though it must be said that immigrant households are less likely to agree to be surveyed.

EFFECTIVE TENANT AGE RANGE						
	Resident	Owner	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total;	%
20 - 29	5	11	18	17	51	26.98%
30 - 39	5	23	25	10	63	33.33%
40 - 49	3	18	20	5	46	24.34%
50 - 59	3	3	10	3	19	10.05%
60 - 69	1	1	7		9	4.76%
70 - 79					0	0%
80 - 89		1			1	0.53%
	17	57	80	35	189	100%

Table 23: Age range of tenants.

EFFECTIVE TENANT AND TENANT HOUSEHOLD AVERAGE AGE					
	Resident	Owner	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Tenant	39	38	40	33	38
Tenant households	29	25	25	22	25
	34	32	33	27	31

Table 24: Average effective tenant and tenant household age.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD PRIMARY LANGUAGE					
	Resident	Owner	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Afrikaans	11	39	56	26	132
English	2	6	9	4	21
IsiXhosa	1	1	1	1	4
	14	46	66	31	157

Table 25: Tenant primary household language.

EFFECTIVE TENANT NATIONALITY						
	Resident	Owner	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Non South African		1	2	1	4	2.12%
South African	17	56	78	34	185	97.88%
	17	57	80	35	189	100%

Table 26: Nationality of tenants.

Household size

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

This was confirmed by the survey. Whereas landlord households averaged around **two to three** members, tenants households are, on average **three people**, though there is a fair spread of households between **one and four people**, with more than 20% above **five** people.

Backyard structures are accordingly, large enough to fit these household sizes.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD SIZE						
Household Size	Resident	Owner	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
1	6	11	9	11	37	23.42%
2	1	11	7	8	27	17.09%
3	4	6	12	6	28	17.72%
4	1	7	21	6	35	22.15%
5	1	5	9		15	9.49%
6	1	2	5		8	5.06%
7		4	3		7	4.43%
8			1		1	0.63%
	14	46	67	31	158	100%

Table 27: Tenant household size.

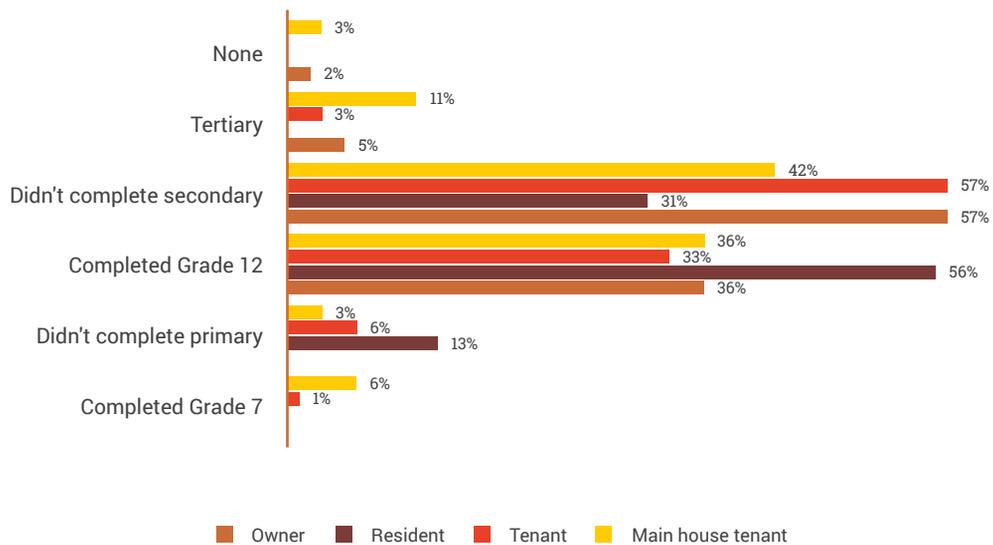
Education

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

Whereas most landlords left school in primary or secondary school, 70% of tenants left school between grade 10 and 12 with the plurality (nearly 40%) leaving in Grade 12. Though much like landlords, tenants mostly did not study further - only 5% attained a tertiary or part of a tertiary qualification.

EFFECTIVE TENANT EDUCATION					
	Resident	Owner	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Don't know			1		1
None	1				1
Grade 3			1		1
Grade 4	1		2	1	4
Grade 5					
Grade 6	1		2		3
Grade 7			1	2	3
Grade 8	1	7	11	2	21
Grade 9	2	8	6	1	17
Grade 10	2	9	16	5	32
Grade 11		9	12	7	28
Grade 12	9	21	26	13	69
Part of tertiary			1	2	3
Tertiary		3	1	2	6
	17	57	80	35	189

Table 28: 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

Tenants are more likely to be employed than landlords. Around 50% of tenants are employed compared to 30% of landlords. Unemployment is roughly the same at around 40%. Only two tenants 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						
	Resi- dent	Owner	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Self-employed				1	1	0.53%
Home keeper	1		1		2	1.06%
Other		3	1		4	2.12%
Retired			2		2	1.06%
Tertiary student		1		1	2	1.06%
Looking for work	1	1	5		7	3.70%
Unemployed	12	20	30	13	75	39.68%
Employed	3	32	41	20	96	50.79%
	17	57	80	35	189	100%

Table 29: Effective employment status.

The proportions of unemployed people, when looking at all members of tenant households, are slightly less, at around 30%. It's unclear why 60 tenants selected 'other as an option - a significant number.

When you consider that tenant households members are distributed across all ages, it is clear that unemployment is chronic in Palm Park and backyarding needs to be viewed as a strategy for getting by under these circumstances.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT						
	Resident	Owner	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total	%
Self-employed				1	1	0.20%
Retired			4		4	0.81%
Looking for work	1	1	5		7	1.41%
Tertiary student	1	1	5	1	8	1.62%
Home keeper	1	4	7	2	14	2.83%
Pre-school	1	10	10	3	24	4.85%
Other	2	24	24	12	62	12.53%
Learner at school	6	26	60	12	104	21.01%
Employed	7	41	60	23	131	26.46%
Unemployed	16	37	72	15	140	28.28%
	35	144	247	69	495	100%

Table 30: Tenant household members employment status.

Household income and source

Tenant households are not necessarily earning more than landlord households, in fact, many more are likely to be poorer.

Whereas no landlord house declared that they had no income, there are a significant number of tenant households (around 30%) declaring no income during a month.

A slightly higher proportion (34%) are earning between R3,501 and R7,500 per month. Altogether most tenant households (65%) are earning predominantly between R1,501 and R3,501.

Of those tenant households declaring an income, the vast majority is through salaried work with around 10% declaring grants as an income source.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD INCOME		
	Total	%
No income	43	27%
R1 - R400	1	1%
R401 - R800	1	1%
R801 - R1,500	4	3%
R1,501 - R3,500	19	12%
R3,501 - R7,500	34	22%
R7,501 - R15,000	12	8%
R15,001 - R22,000	2	1%
	158	100%

Table 31: Tenant household income.

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.

TENANT HOUSEHOLDS SOURCE OF INCOME		
	Number of Households	%
Salary / Job	97	82.91%
Own business	1	0.85%
Rent	1	0.85%
Grants	12	10.26%
Other	6	5.13%
	117	100%

Table 32: Tenant household sources of income
(more than one options can be selected).

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 Palm Park. 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 or rent their structures is much higher than residents 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.

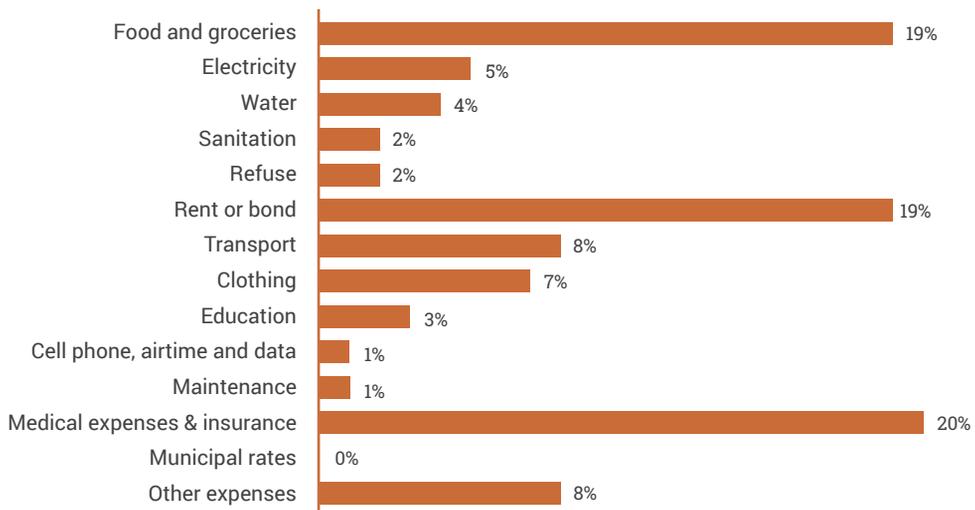
Once again, tenant household are spending **about a fifth** of their household income on food and groceries.

Electricity is still extremely high and it's interesting to note that tenants are aware of and pay electricity directly. At 5%, tenants spend slightly less on electricity than landlords.

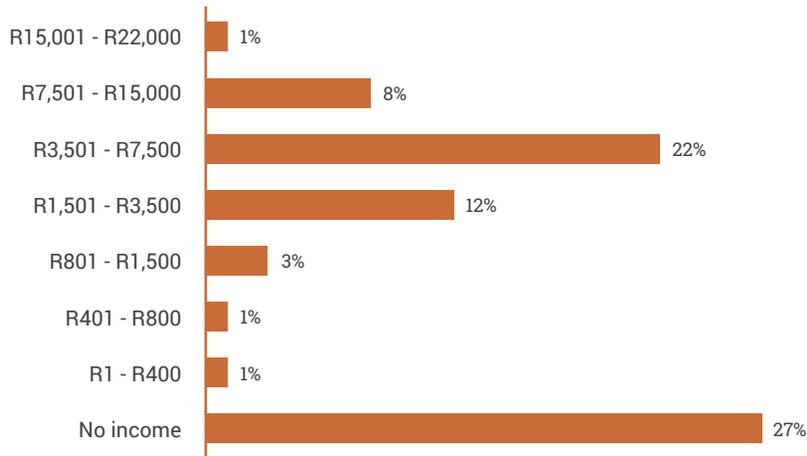
Cost for transport are, much like tenant households, much lower than expected, sitting at 8% of expenditure.

AVERAGE TENANT HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE					
	Owner	Resident	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
Food and groceries	843	1299	1257	1360	1263
Electricity	280	316	377	250	332
Water	500	280	279		296
Sanitation	117	150	150	188	152
Refuse	122	70	100		102
Rent or bond		1113	1222	1454	1247
Transport	667	617	504	484	541
Clothing	650	438	533	499	497
Education		225	175	200	193
Cell phone, airtime & data	45	92	76	104	84
Maintenance		100	90		95
Medical expenses & insurance		1275	1500		1371
Municipal rates					
Other expenses	250	525	571	1100	565
	3472	6500	6834	5639	6740

Table 33: Average household expenses by tenure type.



Tenant household income



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

Typical Tenant

The typical tenant lives in a structure in the backyard that they constructed themselves. They are likely to be an **Afrikaans speaking man in their 40s** who is not married, but lives with a partner or a number of others. He probably left school at or before Grade 12, but has managed to find work, though he could also be unemployed right now. If he is working, the total household is probably earning around **R3,500 per month**. This means he spends about a **third** of his income on rent and a **fifth** on food.

ABOUT THE SOCIAL NATURE OF THE YARD

The Yard

1-5

Number of **structures on each erf.**

2-3

Number of **structures.**

3-21

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

10

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.

What we do know is that only 37% of households stated that they moved to Palm Park to be closer to family. When you consider that only

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).

23% of households have always lived in the area and only 3% stated that they were 'returning home', a picture starts to emerge of people moving into the area for a range of economic reasons. **Other reason for moving to the areas which resonate include:** finding better employment (38%); better living conditions (55%); affordable rental (43%) and safety (47%).

However, when asked how tenants came to hear about the opportunity for renting, nearly 80% said that it was through family and around 20% stated that it was via friends or word of mouth.

So, these observations seem to be contradictory and it likely that many households do use their social networks to access rental housing, but its clear that the primary reason for renting in Eerste River is the opportunities it provides due to its central location to work, albeit on the periphery of the city.

TENANT HOUSEHOLD'S REASON FOR MOVING TO PALM PARK		
	Responses	%
Always lived here	59	23%
Better employment opportunities	98	38%
To be closer to family	95	37%
Better living conditions	141	55%
Affordable renting	110	43%
Seeking good public facilities	62	24%
Closer to public transport	66	26%
Safety reasons	120	47%
Returning home	7	3%
Other reason	6	2%

Table 34: 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 (**nearly 90%**), who responded to this question, pay their rent in cash, which is what you might expect in an informal rental arrangement. The remainder pay by EFT, debit order and a few via banking apps.

Nearly **95%** of both landlord and tenant 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 having formal lease agreements, the relationships are deemed as good and stable.

About **96%** of both landlord and tenant households stated that relations between them was friendly or very friendly. That's comprehensive and we must assume that **informal rental arrangements are working for the majority of households, insofar as they are not leading to conflict or deterioration of relationships.**

RENT OR BOND PAYMENT METHOD				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Cash	78	12	23	113
EFT	1	6	0	7
Debit Order	0	5	0	5
Bank App	0	2	1	3
Other	0	2	0	2
	79	27	24	130

Table 35: Payment method for rent or bond.

RENTAL AGREEMENT				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
No	119	92	30	241
Yes	8	7	1	16
	127	99	31	257

Table 36: Number of households with a signed rental agreement.

QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIP				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Difficult	2		1	3
Very difficult	2	1		3
It doesn't matter	2	2		4
Friendly	55	51	16	122
Very friendly	66	45	14	125
	127	99	31	257

Table 37: Quality of the relationship between tenants and landlords.

A similar figure, just less than 95% 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. The exact factors as to why households deem the arrangement to be stable is unclear as is the factors which might destabilise the arrangement.

STABILITY OF ARRANGEMENT				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Unstable	1	2		3
Not sure	3	1	1	5
Very unstable	4	3		7
Very stable	52	30	8	90
Stable	67	63	22	152
	127	99	31	257

Table 38: 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 Palm Park, landlords and tenants have a good working relationship in general. The vast majority (89%) 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. Less than 3% stated that they never or seldom trust other households.

HELPING EACH OTHER OUT				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Never	1			1
Seldom	3	2		5
Mostly always	5	3	1	9
Sometimes	8	5	1	14
Always	110	89	29	228
	127	99	31	257

Table 39: Agreement that people generally help each other out.

TRUST				
	Backyarder households	Landlord households	Main house tenants	Total
Never	3			3
Seldom	2		2	4
Mostly always	9	4	1	14
Sometimes	11	6	1	18
Always	102	89	27	218
	127	99	31	257

Table 40: 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 Palm Park, some issues were not perceived to be a problem at all and these are noteworthy in their own right. Despite the density of dwellings on properties, few have fears of house fires.

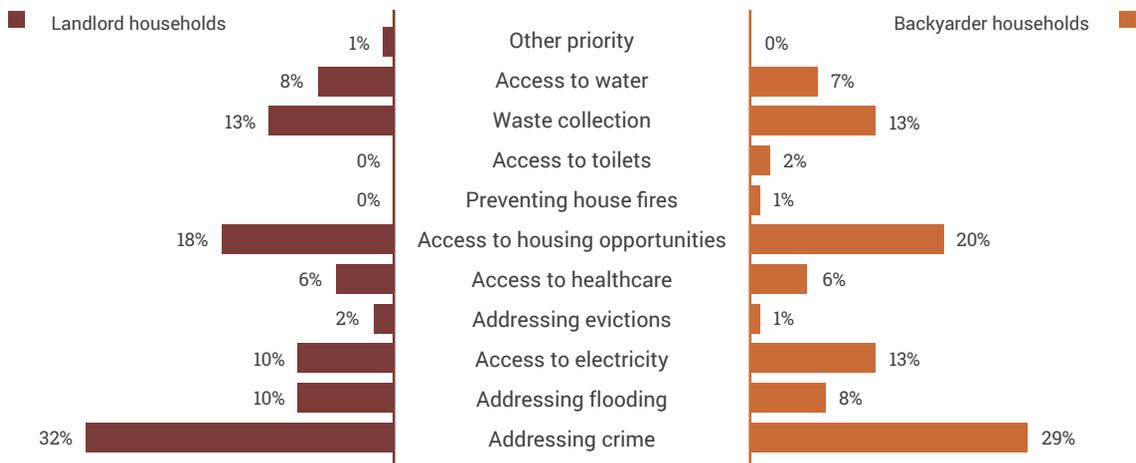
Confirming what households have said about the nature of the rental agreement, only 5% would like to see changes related to addressing evictions.

With regards to basic services, access to toilets figures were low (only 3%) though waste collection

figured quite high with 40% of respondents seeking change. This could be a local issues - perhaps refuse collection is unreliable. About 20-30% would like to see changes in access to water and 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.

In terms of public services, less than 20% of households highlighted access to healthcare, but a majority (nearly 60%) would like to see changes in access to housing, despite the stability of backyarding. This might be because tenants (and some tenant landlords) still hope to access improved quality

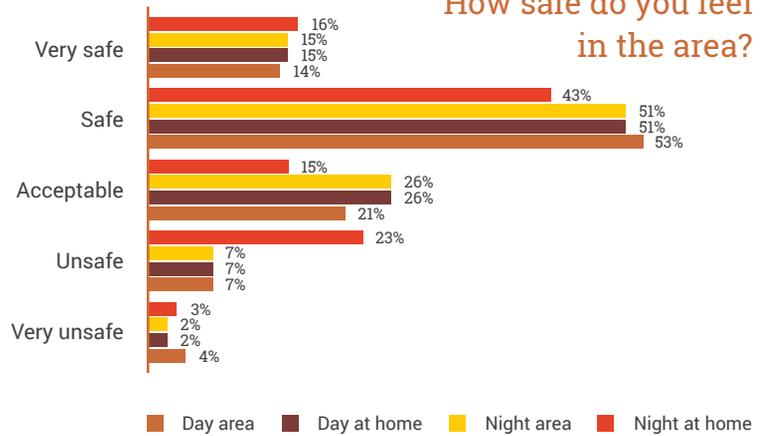
Most important changes



of housing or public housing opportunities at some point. Especially because the state is building public houses in nearby suburbs. Many tenants do gather together around housing issues - in particular to lobby for greater access to local housing projects. No doubt families would like to move into their own home or own property.

But by far, the biggest issues is crime. 90% of households would like to see a change in how crime is addressed. It's not uncommon for perception of crime to be high on the list in the City of Cape Town, but this is particularly significant.

How safe do you feel in the area?



Safety

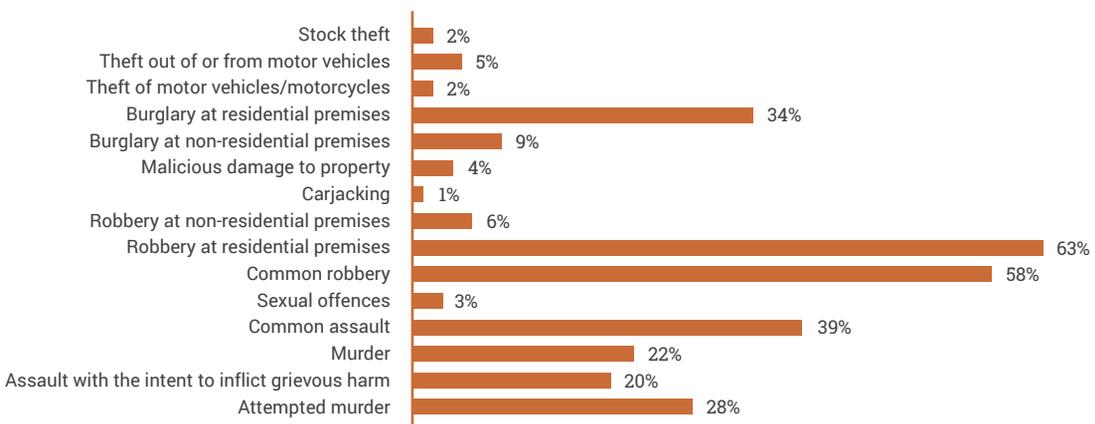
Despite crime being perceived as an issue, Palm Park is generally viewed as a safe neighbourhood by all households, both during the day and the night. While on 15% felt very safe in the homes and outside during the day and night, and addition 40% - 50% felt safe.

Around 20% of households did not feel safe, particularly at night, though this proportion drops to less than 10% during the day.

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.

When asked what crimes are most prevalent in the 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 explain why households (both tenants and landlords) choose to live in Palm Park (primarily economic):

- Better living conditions (55%)
- Access to affordable rentals (42%)
- Safety (46%)

These are supported, to a slightly lesser extent, by the fact that households want to be closer to family and have access to better employment

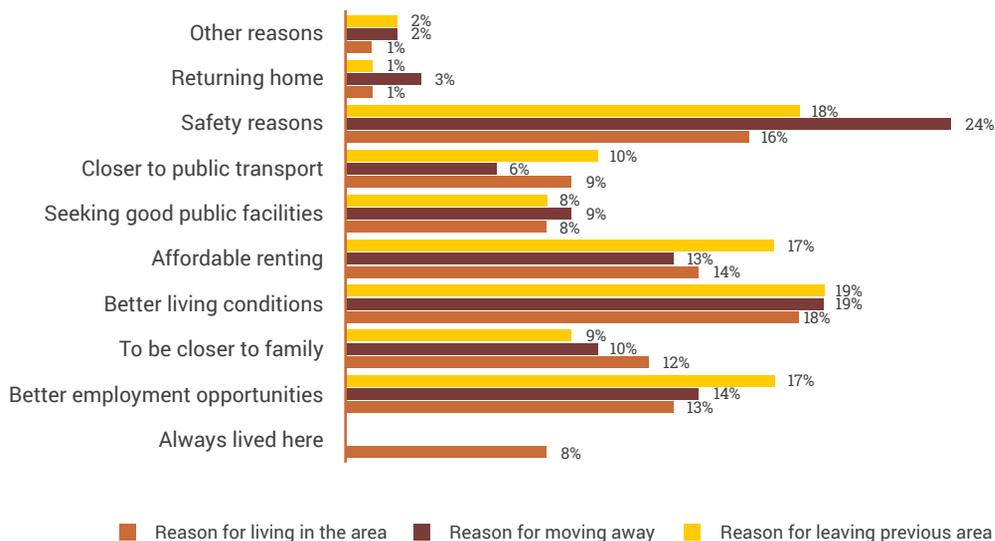
opportunities (around 37%). Public transport and facilities don't feature as highly

Push factors

The main factors which might encourage households to move away could all be considered economic, though slightly less pronounced.

Affordable rental becomes much less of an issue. Safety remains very high - around 65% of households state that if they could be safer they would move – that's very comprehensive.

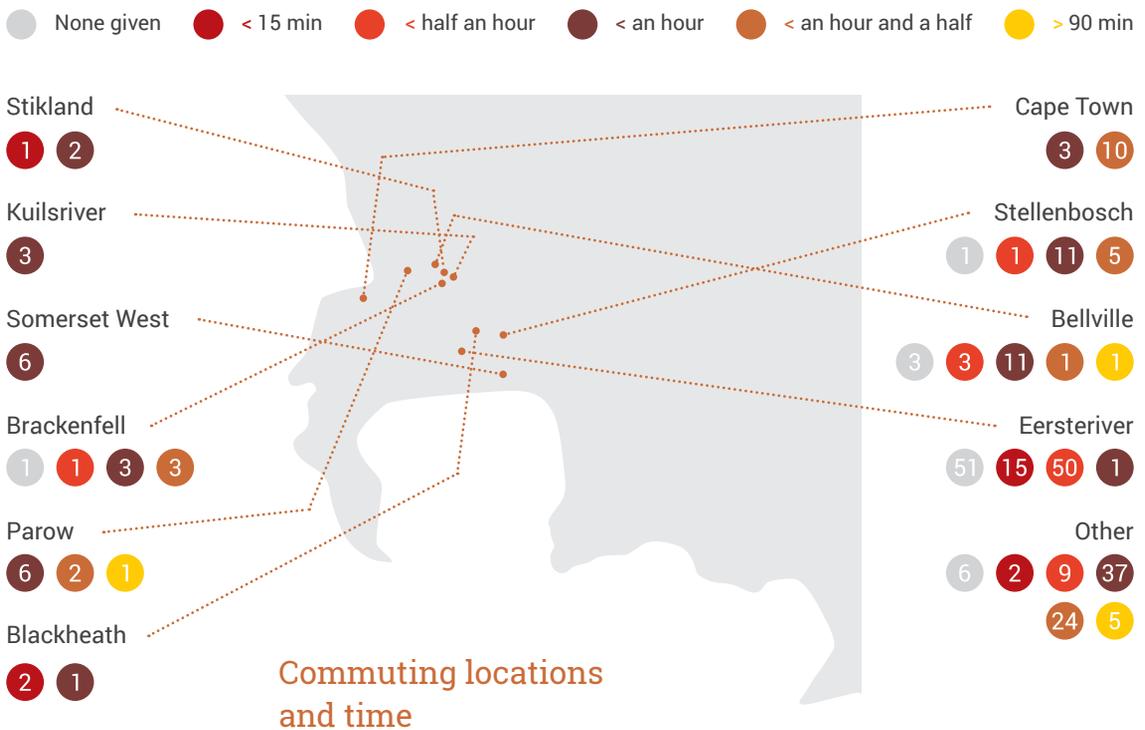
Pull and Push factors



Commuting

Palm Park is well-located and 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 of living in Palm Park, there is no real

evidence to suggest that households are moving here specifically for the location. The table below highlights the most common commuting locations where at least five members surveyed commute there. Most household members are commuting within Eerste River and to Stellenbosch and Bellville.



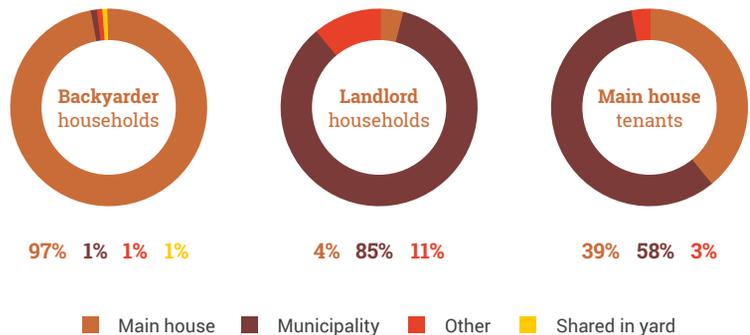
Services

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 Palm Park where, across the board, the main house secures refuse, water, sanitation and electricity from the municipality and provides these services in turn to the backyarders. Very few, if any, backyarders access services independently.



Access to electricity

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

It is clear that some respondents were confused when answering this question. Main house tenants almost certainly access electricity in the main house directly supplied by the municipality. So asking them to choose resulted in many opting for one or the other. The majority of respondents buy electricity through one pre-paid meter

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

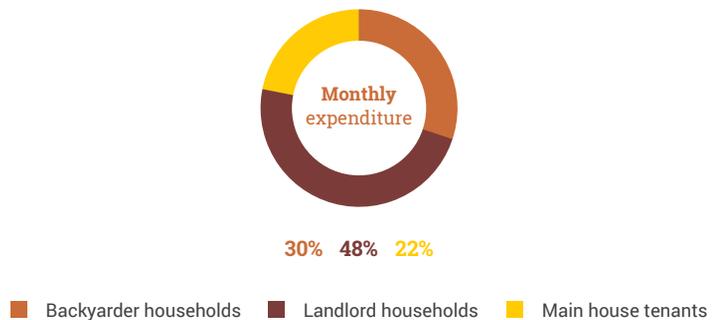
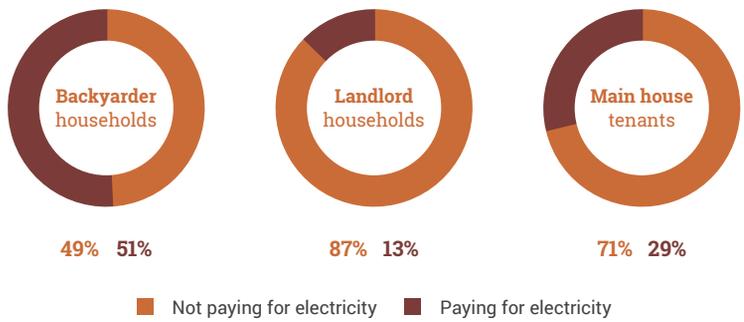
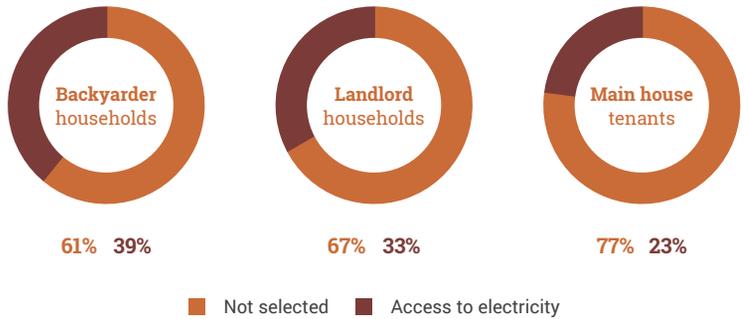
It is interesting to note that 40% of backyard tenant households selected electricity as an area compared to 30% of landlord households. Overall the figure is 30%, which could indicate that there is a fairly consistent number of households that would like to see electricity service improved. Considering that most households do have access to electricity in one form or another, we can presume that households are concerned about the cost of electricity, the availability of electricity (considering the informal arrangements), or the specific arrangements between landlords and tenants which may not be perceived as optimal.

When asked, a number of households, (**nearly 40%**), stated that they are not paying for electricity at all. However, when looking at tenant and landlord households it is clear that main house and backyarder tenants are less likely to not be paying for electricity compared to landlord households, though a fair amount still do. Considering that most houses have prepaid meters, this is not a case of payment avoidance and probably represents the different arrangements that are in place.

The simple explanation is that in some cases the landlord pays for electricity and charge tenants as part of the rent. In other cases tenants pay towards electricity directly by paying a share or purchasing units directly.

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

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 who pay towards electricity are paying a higher cost per unit and are inadvertently paying towards rates for the property, which is traditionally for the landlord's



account. This might account for the high cost of electricity in some instances.

In general, landlords are paying more for electricity than backyarder or main house tenants at around R550 per month. The average for main house tenants is only R250 and for backyarder tenants it is around R340. When you consider that the unit price is determined by usage, based on an assumption that there is one household on the property, and that there is more than one household on each property, it would seem that households across the board are paying a higher rate per unit.

Access to water

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

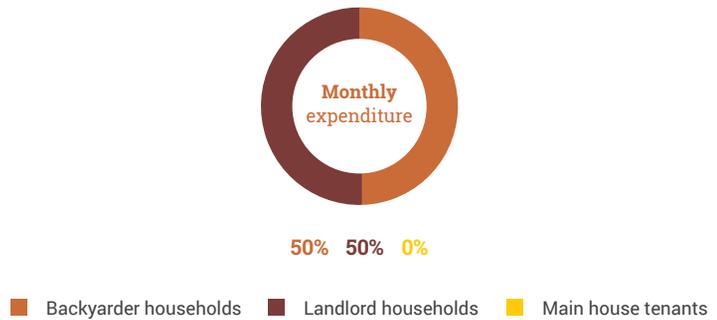
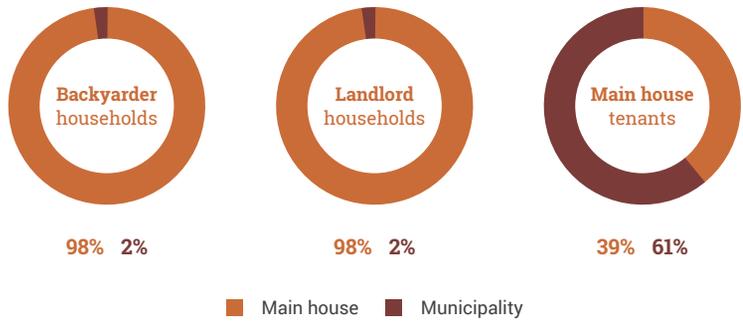
As such most backyard houses access water through the supply in the main house, who in turn are accessing water through the municipal mains connection. There was similar confusion here for main house tenants who, as with electricity, access municipal water in the main house and so were likely to select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

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

Some households share a washing machine.

The number of households not paying for access to water is higher in Palm Park than for electricity.

Most households report that they do not pay for water. In fact, only 20% of households across the board are paying for electricity. No main house tenants pay for



water and about **10%** of tenant households pay for water.

Clearly tenant households are generally not paying for water directly. 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. Amongst landlord households about **40%** are paying for water.

In many households, the City of Cape Town have installed water meters which has 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.

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 more water and so devise strategies to get by on the

350 litres no matter the number of households on the property. Households fill buckets or reuse water etc. This may even be a limiting factor on the ability of landlords to secure more tenants.

The average cost for water is remarkably consistent across tenant and landlord households - around R300 a 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. However, considering that only 10% of tenant households pay for water, we can't make much of this and it could be explained in a number of ways - for example, these tenants might be extended family members who contribute to the overall water bill, or they could be charge directly for water costs rather than this being included in the rent.

When asked, however, about 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 issue.

Sanitation

All households report that they have access to a flushing toilet of some kind and altogether the vast majority, around 97% state that this is in the main house connected to the municipal sewer system.

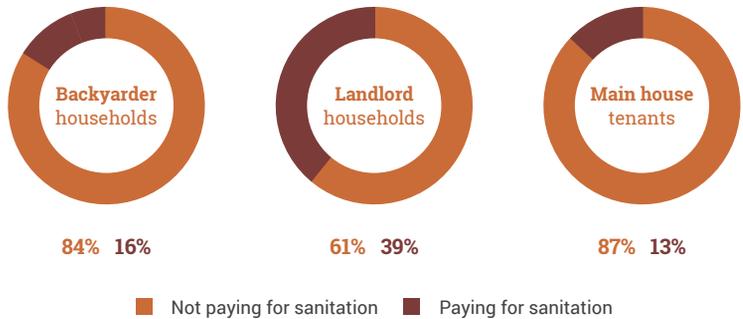
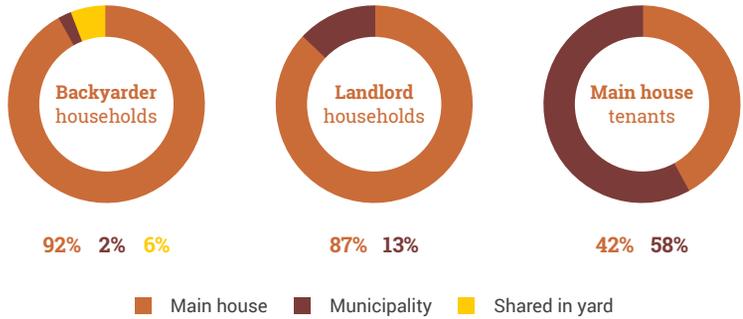
Most landlords are forced to open their homes to tenant households to use the bathroom, but some may have arrangements where tenants empty buckets into the toilet rather than use the toilet itself.

About **8** backyard households state that they use a shared toilet in the yard. This is most likely a toilet constructed by landlords for tenants connected to the main sewer line. It could be that some landlords are upgrading the backyard structures and this could indicate a small shift towards more formal landlord relations; or this could be a convenience to avoid sharing the facilities in the main house.

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.

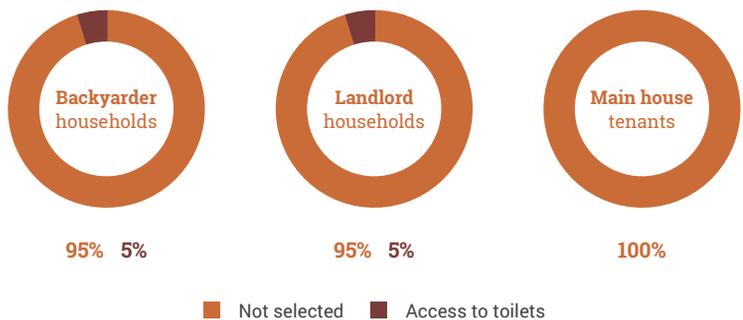
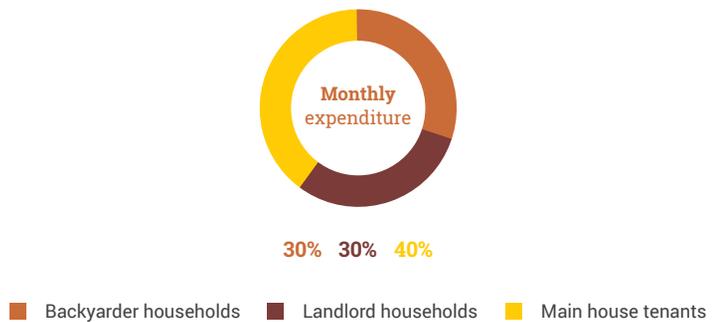
Nevertheless, for those households that are paying for sanitation, the average expenditure is fairly low - under R200 across the board.

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



Refuse and other services

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



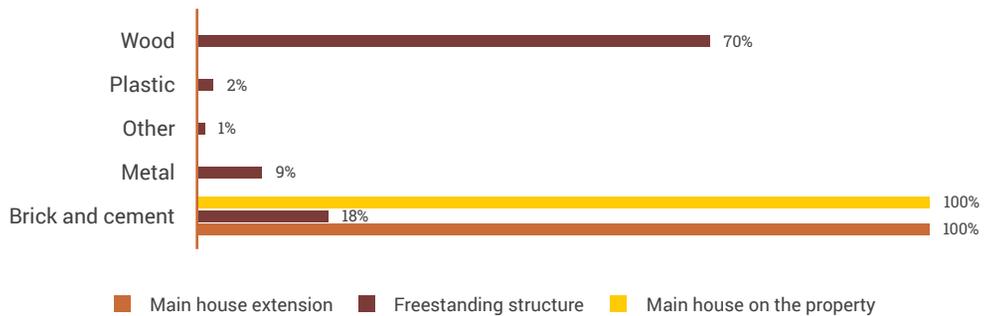
RENTAL STRUCTURES

Across the 112 residential properties enumerated, there were 257 households counted in total, of which 123, or roughly half, were living in the main house on the property (including main house tenants and landlords households).

On average there are **two to three** structures per property, though this number might range from between **one** (just the main house) to as many as **five** structures. **134** households had structures in the yard. Of these, **six** are extensions to the main house and 125 are freestanding.

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. Around **23 (10%)** backyard structures are constructed from brick and cement. 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 200m² up to over 450m². However, most are around 300m². Erfs to the north of the enumeration area along Muller street tend to be smaller, while those to the south are larger, nearing 450m².



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

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

Many of the houses have been renovated and extended, though not all have separate households

living in the extensions. Residents have built extra rooms or constructed small compounds with a number of buildings.

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

Backyard structures

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

The enumeration in Palm Park mirrors these findings almost completely. Over **90%** of backyard structures are freestanding and **65%** of backyard structures are made out of wood. Wood is standard and fairly ubiquitous. It's unclear why most houses are made from wood, though the most obvious answer is because it is cheaper and easy to construct. However, it may also be because backyarders see the housing as temporary in nature.

Most structures are single rooms or larger rooms divided with a partition into separate areas. Some have kitchen or

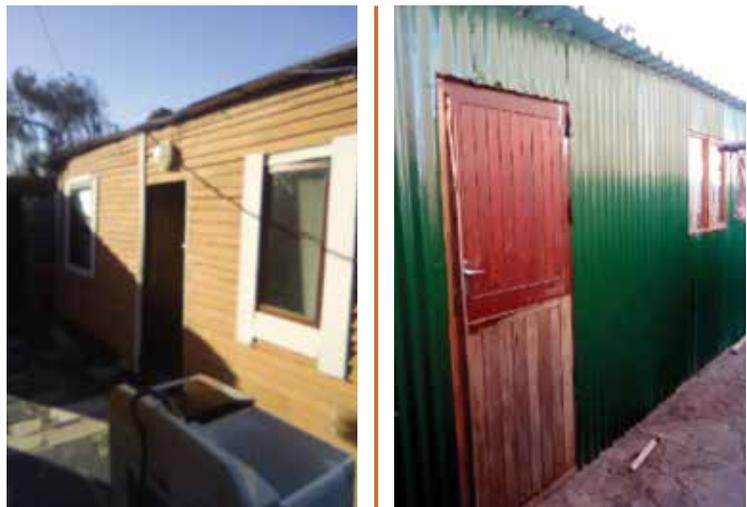


Figure 8: Typical backyard structures made of timber panels.

sitting rooms. Sizes of structures range from between 15m² and 30m². 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).

A fair number of backyard structures are constructed from brick and cement - about 20% altogether on the houses that were enumerated. It is hard to interpret this comprehensively. It may indicate a trend towards homeowner landlordism or it may be inter-generational households formalising different structures for members of the household.



Figure 9: A backyard structure constructed from brick and cement.

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).

At least one example of a boarding house was confirmed at Palm Park 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 landlords themselves.

The property in question has at least two different electrical connections - one for each floor though all households shared the municipal water supply and were limited to **350l per day**. Additional water was supplemented through use of a rain tank.



Figure 10: Aerial view of a typical boarding house in Palm Park.



Figure 11: 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.

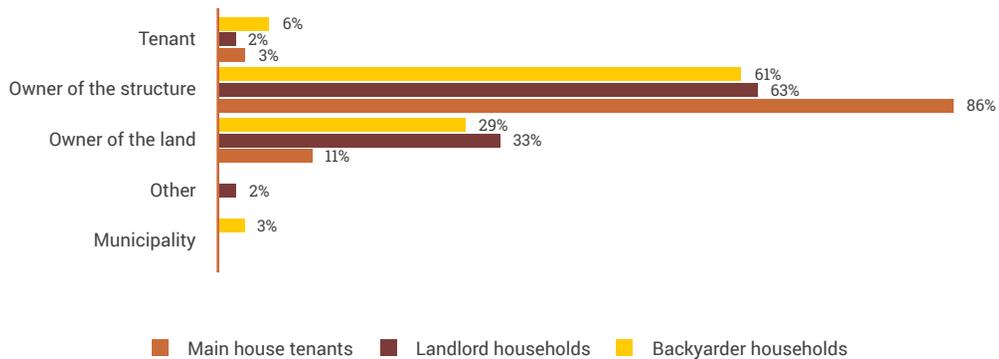
As stated above, neither landlords nor tenants are spending significant monthly expenditure on maintenance. What is most likely is that each property has come to their own arrangement depending on the relationship between households, the nature

of the tenure and rental agreement and the infrastructure that is in place. In general, whoever owns the structure is responsible for maintenance of the structure.

Where a toilet is shared between different members of an extended family or where the cost of services is split its 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-distance, it's likely that the expectation is that the landlord will maintain the property.

Maintenance of structures



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 Palm Park.

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 Palm Park as it ultimately comes down to the specific carrying capacity of the main sewer lines for the suburb. However, a few points are worth noting.

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

In addition, **GR1 allows for 35 dwellings per hectare**. The City of Cape Town's densification policy seeks to ensure that a minimum of **25 dwellings per hectare (du/ha)** is achieved across the metro, but allows for between **80 and 300 net du/ha** in areas set aside for public housing depending on the typology (City of Cape Town, 2012).

A rudimentary assessment demonstrates that the enumerated area of Palm Park is **27.6 hectares**, excluding the public parks, schools and fields. Across the **576** residential erven we might expect around **1728**

structures (following the average of 3 per property) but there could be as few as **1490** (which was counted manually from an aerial photo). This gives a net density of only **54 du/ha** which is higher than the zoning schemes allows for (GR1) but is still at the lower end of what is desirable in terms of density.

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.

ABOUT THE INFORMAL RENTAL MARKET

Rent

The average rent for tenant households in Palm Park who do pay rent, is around **R1,250 per month**. Backyard tenants who own their own structure pay on average less. This makes sense when you consider that the tenants have paid for the structure. Tenants staying in the main house pay on average more. This makes sense because of the relatively better accommodation in brick and cement buildings.

It may be more useful to look at the range of rents paid, which vary from **as low as R300 to as high as R2,500 per month**. Given the variation, it begs the question what factors are considered when determining rent. This may include the income of the tenant, the quality of the structure, the relationship with the landlord household and the number of people living in the structure. Some rentals include services while others do not.

TENANT HOUSEHOLDS AVERAGE MONTHLY RENT	
Backyarder - Owner	1113
Backyarder - Resident	
Backyarder - Tenant	1222
Main House - Tenant	1454
	1247

Table 60: Average monthly rental paid by tenant households.

RENT					
Rent Paid	Resident	Owner	Tenant	Main House Tenant	Total
< 500		1	8	1	10
501 - 1000		15	16	6	37
1001 - 1500		7	15	7	29
1501 - 2000		3	9	7	19
2001 - 2500			2	2	4
None/didn't respond	14	20	17	8	59
	14	46	67	31	158

Table 61: Spread of rent.

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.

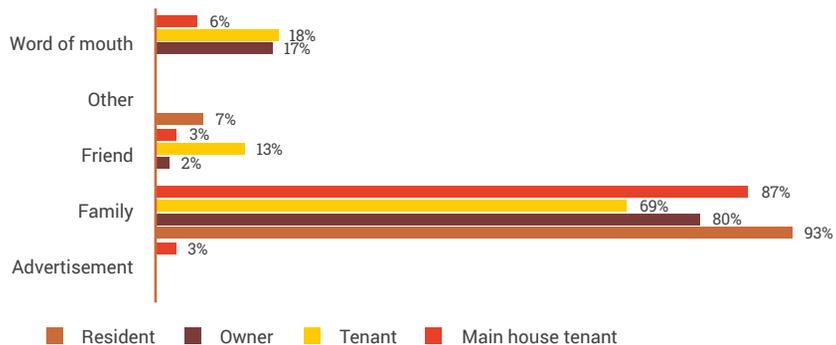
For example, table 61 illustrates that around a third of tenant households may not be paying rent at all⁵. This includes 20 backyard tenants who own their structure and 17 backyard tenants as well as 8 main house tenants. This may indicate that many residents are actually occupying the land rent-free despite considering themselves tenants. It could also mean that they only pay rent periodically, pay towards services rather than rent or pay in kind.

If this proves true, it might support an argument that backyarding in Palm Park for many households is only partly a demonstration of social solidarity in addition to an economic transaction.

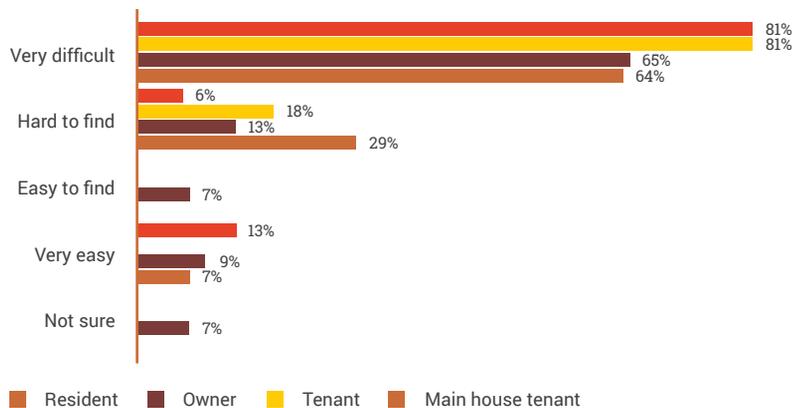
This position is supported by another variable. As stated previously, when asked how tenants found out about properties, the vast majority stated that this was through family members.

Either way, tenant households generally find affordable rental opportunities to be very difficult or hard to find.

Finding out about the property



Finding affordable rental opportunities



⁵It'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

Palm Park is a stable work-class community situated on the periphery of the city that is attracting younger tenants in search of better opportunities.

The overwhelming majority of landlord households own the main house on the property and have been living in Palm Park for a fair amount of time with the majority of households moving to the area from the late 1980s.

Nearly 60% of landlords are men, though the majority of women landlords are widows. It's a fairly homogeneous community: almost every landlord household here is South African and speaks Afrikaans at home. Households can range from **one to ten** people, the overall average is closer to **four** people.

50-59 yrs average landlord age

The level of formal education amongst landlords is low and extremely variable. A fair number, (**around 25%**), did not complete primary education at all.

Unemployment is fairly serious amongst landlord households.

30% unemployed household members

38% unemployed landlords

Most landlords are earning **between R3501 and R7500 per month** from either a salary or from rent, with households earning **less than R3,500 per month**, indicating that they rely more on rent than wealthier households.

About **a third** of tenant households own their structures and rent space in the yard. Between **a third and half** of tenant households rent the structure itself. Altogether these two tenure types account for around **70%** of all tenant households.

A fair amount are resident households living in the backyard, but not necessarily paying rent. About **one-fifth** of tenant households, a surprisingly large number, are renting rooms in the main house.

Much like landlord households, tenant households have lived in Palm Park for many years, though most households from the **1990s** onwards. **Tenants are more likely to be men where they are the head of the household and only about a third of tenants are married.**

As with landlord households, tenant households are overwhelmingly South African and speak Afrikaans as a primary language, though there are a few that speak English.

30-39 yrs average tenant age

Tenant households are, in general, slightly better educated in terms of years of schooling and are more likely to be employed, though wages are roughly similar.

Rent account for about **20%** of monthly expenditure - about the same amount that households spend on groceries. Cost for transport are, much like landlord households, much lower than expected, sitting at **8%** of expenditure.

65% backyard structures made from wood

20% backyard structures made from brick and cement

At least one example of a boarding house was confirmed at Palm Park and there are potentially a few more which would seem to follow a similar typology. Neither landlords nor tenants are spending significant monthly expenditure on maintenance.

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

In Palm Park, landlords and tenants have a good working relationship in general. The vast majority of households reported that they always trust other households. Most tenants households pay their rent in cash and **95%** of households state that they do not have a written lease, but report that relations between them was friendly or very friendly and stable.

Evictions are rare and not an issue. 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.

By far, the biggest issue is crime.

90% of households would like to see crime addressed

Despite this, Palm Park is generally viewed as a safe neighbourhood by all households, both during the day and the night.

Households are primarily moving to Palm Park for economic reasons and 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.

The average rent for tenant households in Palm Park who do pay rent is around **R1,250 per month**, though around a third of tenant households may not be paying rent at all.

REFERENCES

Bank, L. 2007.

The rhythm of the yards: Urbanism, backyards and housing policy in South Africa, in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 25(2): 205-228.

Bickford Smith, V. 1990.

The Background to Apartheid in Cape Town: The Growth of Racism and Segregation from the Mineral Revolution to the 1930s, presented at a history workshop entitled Structure and experience in the making of apartheid at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Available at: <http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/7695/HWS-20.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>. (Accessed September 2020).

City of Cape Town. 2012.

City of Cape Town Densification Policy. Available at: https://www.westerncape.gov.za/assets/departments/transport-public-works/Documents/densification_policy_-_approved_on_29_february_2012.pdf. (Accessed September 2020).

City of Cape Town. 2015.

City of Cape Town Municipal Planning By-Law. Available at: http://resource.capetown.gov.za/documentcentre/Documents/Bylaws%20and%20policies/Municipal_Planning_Amendment_Bylaw_2019_Consolidated.pdf. (Accessed September 2020).

City of Cape Town. 2018.

General Valuation 2018. Available at: <http://web1.capetown.gov.za/web1/gv2018/SearchProperty>. (Accessed September 2020).

City of Cape Town. 2020.

Map Viewer. Available at: <https://citymaps.capetown.gov.za/EGISViewer/> (Accessed September 2020).

Gardner, D., and Rubin, M. 2016.

The 'other half' of the backlog: (Re)considering the role of backyarding in South Africa, in Cirolia, L.R., Görgens, T., van Donk, M., Smit, W., and Drimie, S, ed., *Upgrading Informal settlements in South Africa: A partnership-based approach*. UCT Press: Cape Town, p77-95.

Gardner, D., and Rubin, M. 2013.

Developing Responses to Backyarding. Johannesburg: South African Local Government Agency.

Gilbert, A., Mabin, A., and Watson, V. 1997.

Low income rental housing: Are South African cities different?. *Environment and Urbanization*, 9(1), p133-148.

Google, 2020.

Google Maps. Available at: <https://goo.gl/maps/rHUvq3cP7iHaWx4y8>. (Accessed September 2020).

Govender, T., Barnes, J.M., and Pieper, C.H. 2011.

The impact of densification by means of informal shacks in the backyards of low-cost houses on the environment and service delivery in Cape Town, South Africa. *Environmental Health Insights*, 5: 23-52.

Hamann, C., Mkhize, T., and Gotz, G. 2018.
Backyard and informal dwellings (2001-20016), Gauteng City Region Observatory Map of the Month. Johannesburg: GCRO.

Lategan, L.G. 2013.
The backyard rental sector in South Africa's Western Cape: An exploration of the informal backyard rental sector in South Africa's Western Cape Province. Paper presented at the 49th ISOCARP Congress 2013.

Lategan, L.G., and Cilliers, E.J. 2013.
South Africa's informal backyard rental sector: Linkages with smart growth and sustainability. In *The Sustainable City VIII* (Vol. 1, pp. 303-314). Southampton, UK: Wit Press.

Lemanski, C. 2009.
Augmented Informality: South Africa's backyard dwellings as a by-product of formal housing policies. *Habitat International*, 33, 472-484.

McGaffin, R., Spiropoulous, J., and Boyle, L. 2018.
Micro-developers in South Africa: a Case Study of micro-property developers in Delft South and Ilitha Park. *Urban Forum*. Available at: <https://www.springerprofessional.de/en/micro-developers-in-south-africa-a-case-study-of-micro-property-/16215238>. (Accessed 26 June).

Property24. 2020.
Maitland Garden Village Property Trends and Statistics. Available at: <https://www.property24.com/cape-town/maitland-garden-village/property-trends/9119>. (Accessed September 2020).

Scheba, A., and Turok, I. 2019.
Informal rental housing in the South: dynamic but neglected. *Environment and Urbanization*.

Stamen maps. 2020.
Available at: http://maps.stamen.com/m2i/image/20200908/terrain_cVP1V-H_rCQ. (Accessed September 2020).

Stats SA. 2011.
Census Data: sub place data for Maitland Garden Village. Available at: <https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/199041023>. (Accessed September 2020).

Stats SA. 2016.
Community Survey. Available at: <https://wazimap.co.za/profiles/municipality-CPT-city-of-cape-town/>. (Accessed September 2020).

Turok, I. 2020.
Links between SA housing policy and the economy. *New Agenda* (76): 42-46.

Turok, I. and Borel-Saladin, J. 2015.
Backyard Shacks, Informality and the Urban Housing Crisis in South Africa: Stopgap or Prototype Solution. *Housing Studies*.

Tshangana, A. 2014.
Local Government Position on Municipal Responses to Backyarders and Backyard Dwellings. South African Local Government Association (SALGA).



+27 (0)21 448 7886 | dag@dag.org.za

101 Lower Main Road, Observatory, Cape Town, 7925

www.dag.org.za