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Introduction

This project aimed to explore the social, economic and political changes which have occurred over the last fifteen years in several areas in Cape Town, including Brooklyn. To do this, interviews were conducted over a three week period. The researchers were supplied with some initial contacts in the area by the research coordinator, and from there the snowballing technique was used to acquire more informants. The people interviewed by the researchers represented a diverse spectrum of interests and roles within the community. For Brooklyn, the following informants provided the information on the area: two local shop-owners, one South African and one foreign national; local church leaders; a social worker; a retired air force base pilot; the ward councillor; a librarian; a local real estate agent; a member of the Ratepayers' Association; and a resident who works at a local school. This document is organised into three sections: first, a brief description of the area is given, through information from the informants as well as from the researchers' perceptions from their time spent in the area. Second, an analysis of the key issues in Brooklyn is explored. This is organised into two parts; the first looks at the key themes which emerged in the interviews with the key informants, while the second part looks at the themes covered in the literature regarding the area. The third section is a photograph album of the area which the researchers took during their time spent in Brooklyn. While this document is by no means supposed to represent all the issues that Brooklyn faces, nor the many opinions present in the neighbourhood, the key informants show a diverse spectrum of interests and roles within the community, and thus provided useful insight into the key issues in Brooklyn.

Section 1: Description of the Brooklyn neighbourhood

Boundaries

In carrying out the case research for the Brooklyn neighborhood, it soon became clear that in speaking of Brooklyn we have to include the Ysterplaat as well as Rugby areas. Across the Brooklyn area stretching towards Milnerton is the major Koeberg Road, which is used to make the distinction between the Ysterplaat area and the rest of Brooklyn. The area on the Air Force Base side of Koeberg Road is now known as Ysterplaat (though historically it was called Brooklyn and is still considered part of Brooklyn both by the residents and the municipality). There are fewer residential houses on the Ysterplaat side, with most of the land area taken up by the Air Force Base. One respondent described Brooklyn as stretching from Section Road to Boundary Road. The area that accommodates the new library and clinic, as well as Albow Gardens, which are council-owned blocks of flats are seen as the boundary between Brooklyn/Ysterplaat and Rugby. Commercial activities seem to take place on the Brooklyn, or Paarden Eiland side of Koeberg Road. There are various types of businesses here, owned by South Africans and foreign nationals.

Changes

Housing, Services and Infrastructure

Brooklyn is described as a low-income residential area, where low-cost housing was built in the 1920's and 1930's by the Cape Town City council for poor white people (Bickford-Smith,

2001). As you drive around the Brooklyn/Ysterplaat area it is clear that most of the houses are old with some in need of repair and maintenance, an aspect noted by most of the interview respondents. A number of residents have however made efforts to renovate these houses (most which were built pre-1994, though we were unable to determine the exact period). There are however a number of newer looking and well-maintained blocks of flats, some of which are owned and run by Communicare, a social housing group. Except for a few private developments (with the Palm Springs apartment block being one of the most recent), there have been no major public housing developments in Brooklyn in the last 15 years. There are also quite a few 'for sale' signs on properties in the area, particularly on the houses along the residential side of Koeberg Road (Ysterplaat side). A few of the interview respondents indicated that the number of people selling had increased in the last few years, for a number of different reasons which include older persons selling up and moving in with family or into old age homes, people failing to keep up with bond payments as well as people upgrading to 'better' areas. There is reportedly an increasing number of investors buying property in the area in order to let it. These investors are also turning single dwelling units into multiple units so they can maximize on the income they make. There have also been a few applications for the setting up of guest houses. A number of house owners also rent out rooms in their houses, as well as put up multiple Wendy Houses in their backyards. As a result overcrowding is reported to be an increasing problem.

The composition of the area has changed over the years from being predominantly white in the 1980s to now a mix of whites, coloureds and blacks (mainly immigrants from other African countries). The ending of the Group Areas Act opened up the area to the moving in of others races (though respondents describe the area as always been a "grey" area, where racial control was not as strict as in other areas). This saw the moving in of a number of coloured residents from the Cape Flats. The area does not seem to have attracted many black South Africans, with the few in the area identified as the live-in girlfriends of the migrants from other African countries who have become a large part of the community, not only living there but running businesses along the Koeberg road stretch. The building of a Mosque in the area 5 years ago is said to have also attracted a number of Muslim families into the area. All the interview respondents indicated that there were no racial clusters in the area, with the different groups living alternately on the same streets or in the same block of flats, though a few blocks of flats were identified as now being predominantly occupied by migrant families. As a result of the Communicare housing, a large proportion of the areas' residents are older persons. Most discussions around services, infrastructure and social changes made reference to the pensioners, particularly with reference to the increase in crime, and consequent decrease in levels of safety and security in the area.

Just over the Koeberg Road interchange as you enter Brooklyn are newer businesses such as a KIA motors outlet (a chain-owned vehicle outlet) as well as other motor industry related business. These are followed by older shop buildings occupied by a variety of individually owned businesses, mainly small grocery stores, second hand furniture shops, pawn shops, and several shops run by immigrants which offer combined services usually in the form of hair dressing, internet and printing, cell phone repairs and even tailoring, all in one shop space. Some of the shop spaces are currently unoccupied as businesses have had to close, while other have been taken over for use as churches by the migrant community (we noted three signs for churches along the Koeberg Road retail stretch). One shop-owner who has been working on the stretch for over 8 years indicated that it was now difficult to find shop owners

who had been on the stretch for long periods, with shop occupancy changing every few months. This was because business is poor and rentals are high. In addition, the break-ins discouraged any long term investment. In addition to there being no major grocery and other chain stores in the area (which forces locals to do their shopping in other neighbouring areas, such as Sable Square in Milnerton and Canal Walk in Century City), there are no banks in the area, only a few ATMs enclosed within store areas.

Another change that has occurred in the area is the moving of the Council library from the Martin Adams Hall to a new, bigger site close to Albow Gardens. Although previously a small clinic operated from Albow Gardens and a Day Hospital operated from Justin Street, these have now been combined at the same site as the Council library, with the moving of the day hospital being the more recent development. This re-location of the day hospital has however not been welcomed by all, particularly the elderly who now have to travel longer distances to get to the hospital. It was alluded to by informants that the municipality did not consult with the community before this move was made. The postal service centre which was operating in the area was closed about four years ago. The major gripes that the community representatives have with municipality and local government are around issues of consultation around developments, with Brooklyn being viewed as a target by 'greedy' developers, as well as falling victim to the municipality's perceived leniency toward property owners who are subdividing property without regard for municipal laws.

Security and Social Issues

Security is of high concern in the area as demonstrated by the burglar bars which are prominent in homes and shops, cages over shop counters and even in the schools. In addition to the increase in crime rates, mainly in the form of muggings and break-ins other major changes noted in the area, were the issues of drugs and an increasing presence of drug-related gangs. Although the gangs in the area are not as visible as in other areas of Cape Town, they have set up drug houses in the area, with particular streets (Justin Street, Loanda Street, Koala Street, and Kings Street) being noted as particularly notorious. There was no agreement on how long this issue has been a problem in the area, with some respondents blaming it on drug lords moving from Cape Flats to escape competition and Police surveillance, while others blamed the increasing drug problems on the increasing number of migrants, often described by the generic term, 'the Nigerians'. The population in the Brooklyn area is deemed too small to warrant having its own Police Station. The area is therefore divided between the neighbouring Milnerton and Maitland areas, with the Maitland Station covering up to Justin Street and the Milnerton Station covering from Justin Street onwards. Community Police Forums operate for both ends.

Council Matters

Brooklyn/Ysterplaat/Rugby fall under Blaauwberg (Sub-Council B). There are however no municipal or local council offices in the area, with the nearest being in Milnerton. Residents pay their rates in the local supermarket and have to travel to Milnerton for other council services. There is not much interaction between the ordinary local residents and the ward representative, with many pointing out that they are not aware of what she does for the area even though she has been councillor in the area for a long period. There is no visible political activity in the area and the few community organisations that do exist in the area

that interact with the state and government do not have large membership or participation from the local community. Local social and economic initiatives are also not supported.

Section 2, part 1: Main Themes Emerging from Interviews Conducted in Brooklyn

There were five main themes that seemed to stand out in each interview conducted. First and foremost was the issue of crime, specifically drugs and gangsterism. Secondly, issues of integration, or the lack thereof came to the fore. Thirdly, infrastructure and services were discussed in detail. Fourth, urban decay seemed to be prevalent to the interviews.

Crime

When asked about the issues that the Brooklyn area faces, every interviewee mentioned crime. Most were not only concerned about the levels of drug abuse in Brooklyn; but also the amount of people who use drugs, and the fact that there are several drug lords living in the area. Most of the interviewees had a good idea of who the drug lords were, and mentioned that in some ways this made them feel safe. As one participant said, “you know who you can swear at and who you can’t” (a Brooklyn resident, 28 April 2009). The interviewees also mentioned that having a drug lord in your area means that there is less of a chance that there will be a turf war in the area, as gangs in Brooklyn are primarily drug related, and so once there is a drug lord in your neighbourhood, then another drug lord and consequently gang, would be unlikely to enter the area.

In terms of gangsters, many acknowledged that there are offshoots of the 28’s, Hard Livings, The Firm and the Americans living in Brooklyn. They feel that they have come here because there are fewer gangsters in the area, and so there are fewer turf wars. Most gang members are thought to come from the Cape Flats, although ‘the Nigerians’ are also considered to be some of the more predominant drug sellers in the area. Many people mentioned the fact that drugs are sold to children and children were used to move them around, which is frowned upon by the community. A common theme running through the interviews was the fact that parents who are addicted to drugs use their children to either fetch the drugs for them, or to steal goods for them to sell in order to pay for their habit.

Prostitution was also mentioned in many of the interviews. This is seen as a problem in the area, and one that is fuelled by drug addiction. Many women in the area seem to resort to prostitution as a source of income and in order to pay for their drugs. Koeberg road is seen as the ideal place for prostitution, as it is a busy road and there are many side roads leading off it. It is believed that local prostitutes have their own corners, which is considered their turf. The sex work happening on the Koeberg Road stretch, is not limited to the Brooklyn/ Rugby area, but continues towards Milnerton.

Muggings and break-ins are also a common occurrence in the area. Several respondents mentioned how it was no longer safe to walk after dark in the area and that there was a period when it was not even safe to walk around during the day. Pensioners are targeted as

they come from collecting their pensions, no matter how small these might be. Goods stolen, which range from cell phones to household goods, are pawned to finance drug habits.

Integration

All of the interviewees felt that the area was racially mixed, and that this was not a problem. Many gave examples using the incidents of xenophobia that affected Cape Town last year, to say that absolutely nothing had happened in Brooklyn, whereas further away, in places such as Phoenix, the foreign nationals had had to leave the area. While the people we spoke to seemed quite proud of this, they seemed to think that while the area is desegregated, it is not integrated. Two of the interviewees understood this lack of integration to be the driving force behind many of the foreign nationals entering the area. As a local church representative explained, "integration is what marginalises the community from the new entrants, whereas here, because there is no integration, it is open... so that here there is no buddy system that keeps everyone else out" (4 May 2009). Some participants spoke of the understanding as tolerance, rather than acceptance, whereas others understood it to be apathy, rather than tolerance.

Everyone seemed aware of the different people in the area, yet no one was vehemently against them. It was clear however, that many had prejudices. Nigerians were particularly misunderstood, and seemed to have the label of 'criminal' permanently attached. "Nigerian" seemed to be the generic name for foreign nationals. One Nigerian mentioned how continued police harassment was driving the few Nigerians in the area out to other areas.

Despite the prejudices against the 'Nigerians' and foreign nationals more generally, they were deemed to be more likely to pay rent frequently, and hence are chosen by the Brooklyn locals as preferable tenants. This preference was often linked to their willingness to live in overcrowded conditions in order to be able to make payments more regularly than black South Africans. Another recurring theme with regard to the foreign nationals was that they are willing to work hard, and for less money than South Africans.

Services and Infrastructure

In terms of services and infrastructure, Brooklyn has access to running water and electricity, so these were not problems experienced in the area. However, there are more structural problems, such as the fact that the area does not have its own police station. This was a point of contention in almost every interview, and everyone understood that Brooklyn was serviced by Maitland Police station up until Justin Road, and that Milnerton served the remainder. Some participants acknowledged that they believed the police, or at least some members of the police to be corrupt. This was reflected in comments such as "you don't know who they're affiliated with" (a Brooklyn resident, 28 April 2009), and that the "drug dealers walk hand in hand with the police" (a local shop owner, 25 April 2009). This suggests that the police are not well trusted in the area.

There appear to be enough schools in the area, as children from other areas also come to schools in Brooklyn, because they are seen to be better than those in other areas. The schools are well integrated, and there are no arguments or fights regarding race or nationality. Some attributed this to the different generations, who have different understandings of race.

Children, according to many of the Brooklyn residents we spoke to do not see colour. A local government representative (7 May 2009) mentioned that that the schools are operating beyond their capacity, with overcrowded classes, and that the schools could do with some repairs but the schools were not receiving the input they needed from the education department.

In terms of retail facilities, everybody we spoke to complained that there were not enough retail facilities in Brooklyn, as there isn't a proper supermarket in the area. Many believed that the shops in the area cater for the very poor, as they stock goods that are at the lower end of the range. This means that most residents have to travel to do their shopping. Many people go to Centre Point in Milnerton, and either go there using public transport or private cars. When queried about Northgate Island, many people said that it wasn't built with Brooklyn residents in mind, but rather for the traffic moving to Century City or other shopping destinations. Many interviewees felt that something more appropriate for the Brooklyn residents could have been built there.

In terms of clinics and hospitals, there are enough in Brooklyn, although the day clinic, which was located in Justin Road, has been moved to a spot next to the library, which is near Albow Gardens, almost in Rugby. While it is a larger clinic than it was before, it is far less convenient for the clinic visitors, many of whom are from the Communicare homes. Whereas these people could walk to the clinic before, they now have to take the bus or a taxi.

In terms of recreational facilities, the interviewees were divided; some stated that there is absolutely nothing for them to do, particularly for teenagers. Others argued that there were things to do in Brooklyn, you just had to look for them. With regard to entertainment, there is no cinema, mall or decent restaurants in the Brooklyn area. However, there is a community hall which can be booked and used, and there is the Bayview Sports Complex, which can be used by the community too. For the younger children, there are many parks which have been cleaned up to a certain extent. While many participants felt that they would not let their children play there unattended, it is safe if they are watched by a parent.

There have however been no major new developments specifically in the area for the last 20 years. There are no new housing projects, most of the houses and other buildings are old and the area only receives off-shoots of larger city projects such as the new interchange that will pass through the area.

Lack of Government Interaction

One of the very clear themes that we discovered when we were talking to the Brooklyn residents was the lack of interaction that they had with government. This was even clearer when people seemed confused about what we were asking them. Most people automatically referred to the DA and the lack of competition that they have in the area, and the fact that the area is quiet in terms of political strife. Brooklyn was described by a local librarian as the "forgotten child" (24 April 2009) because of the lack of interaction with government.

Many people noted that they had never seen the ward councillor in the area, or if they had, it was only during campaign time when she came to hand out fliers. In terms of access to government, it seemed that most people were unsure of how to access government. Because there is no government or council office in the area, it makes it even more difficult for everyday

people to access them. The ward councillor noted, however, that because Brooklyn is one of the more fortunate areas on her agenda, the area may be neglected from time to time (7 May 2009). She maintained, however, that the people of Brooklyn know where to get hold of her if they need to. A member of the Ratepayers' Association also maintained that the councillor does her best for the area with what she has, and that if people made the effort to help, rather than simply complain, they would reap the rewards (28 April 2009). The councillor considers the Ratepayers' Association and the ward committee as one channel residents have to contact the government. She also feels that everyone has access to her phone number if they need her.

Because of this lack of interaction with government that is felt by so many in Brooklyn, there is little to no government intervention in the area. This has resulted in urban decay, the fifth theme that arose during interviews.

Urban Decay

Urban decay is considered a large problem in Brooklyn, and many respondents noted that properties are not maintained. This is because people in the area do not have the money, or indeed in some places, the inclination to tidy up the front of their properties or shops. This was supposed to be addressed by the Integrated Development Plan and the Urban Renewal Strategy, however, neither of these has managed to do it. The councillor however, maintains that Brooklyn is next on her list for this, and that this will mean tax incentives for tidy and clean shop fronts, amongst other things (7 May 2009).

A foreign national shop owner who was interviewed stated that Brooklyn "is like a location" (25 April 2009), in the sense that there is litter and it is decayed and seems developed in a piecemeal fashion. A local church leader also considered Brooklyn to be a bit of a mess, and he proposed the greening of the pavements and verges as a way to improve the area aesthetically (4 May 2009). He proposed putting the school children to work through environmental education programmes in order to clean up the neighbourhood and teach children about the environment and issues of conservation in a practical way.

Section 2, part 2: Overview of Literature available about Brooklyn

There were very few documents to be found on Brooklyn. When we approached the local library, thinking that if we would find documents about Brooklyn anywhere, they would be here, the librarian informed us that prior students had stolen them, and that they had absolutely nothing to give us. This turned out to be a recurring theme, and it seems that very little research has been conducted in Brooklyn. We phoned the editor of a local paper, and he mentioned that there was "precious little" about Brooklyn. Another interviewee informed us that the Urban Renewal Strategy document, which was compiled in 2000, is the most comprehensive document on the Brooklyn area, and that "that was the first time someone actually showed an interest in Brooklyn". The documents that were available are explained below.

Urban Renewal Strategy: A Strategy for the renewal of three suburbs in the Blaauwberg Municipal area: Rugby, Brooklyn and Ysterplaat. Prepared on behalf of: Department of Planning and Economic Development, Blaauwberg Municipality by TV3, Taylor, Van Rensburg, Van Derspuy. Architects and Planners. Somerset West, Cape Town. June 2000.

This is by far the most comprehensive document that is relevant to Brooklyn. It gives demographic, economic, social and environmental profiles of the areas. These will be discussed below.

Economic Environment

This section outlines the employment, characteristics of the economy, nature and scope of the Industrial/manufacturing sector in the area, and the nature and scope of the retail sector. The article estimates that the population of the study area is approximately 34 000, of which 19% is in Brooklyn. It states that in 1996, 50% of the population in the corridor were economically active, while in Brooklyn this was 39%. This is attributed to the “substantial inflow of large families with children per household”. It stated too that in Brooklyn, 5% of the population was looking for jobs. Brooklyn has a far higher percentage of pensioners than average. This can be due to the many Communitaire houses and flats that were traditionally for the elderly.

With regards to the nature of work that people do in Brooklyn, the URS states that 37% of the population employed work in the retail and office sectors. 18% of the employed in Brooklyn work in the Manufacturing sector, probably because of the close proximity to Paarden Eiland, Maitland and Montague Gardens. 22% of Brooklyn’s workforce works in Community Services, such as the Defence Force and other government authorities. This is likely to the presence of the Ysterplaat Air force base in the Brooklyn area. In Brooklyn, 10% of the employed work in the Transport and Communication Sector. Overall, employment has increased from 1991 to 1996. There is also a general shift away from the manufacturing sector towards more capital intensive industries.

In terms of the nature and scope of the manufacturing area, the closest manufacturing areas for Brooklyn are Paarden Eiland, Metro Industrial, Killarney gardens and Montague Gardens. Most of the firms in Paarden Eiland and Metro Industrial are engaged in the electrical and electronics industry. There is a small amount of metal and steel industries in the Killarney Gardens and Metro Industrial areas. There are also several food and beverage industries in Montague Gardens and Killarney Gardens areas. The study suggests that there are few furniture industry shops in these areas, although there is a growing tendency towards it. There are many marine related industries, such as container storage and ship repair docks. There is a large representation of transport equipment related industry. There are some paper and printing firms, as well as service providers such as doctors.

In terms of the scope of the retail and office sector, there are several shopping centres within 5 km of the study area. These include Milnerton Centre, Centre Point, Milnerton Mall, Cambridge Centre, Shoprite and Pick ‘n Pay, banks and cash withdrawal facilities, estate agents, offices, restaurants, cinemas, optometrists and medical practitioners, filling stations and so on. Century City is a large area of retail and office space. The study states that the residents in the area are serviced by individual shops located on Koeberg Road. These shops include antique furniture, bric-a-brac, second-hand furniture, pawn shops, household appliances, clothes and second-hand cars. There are also some national chain store outlets, such as a small Shoprite and a furniture

outlet. Medical practitioners, a crèche, motor cycles and new and second hand vehicles can also be found in the area. There are also convenience stores, such as a hardware shop, small supermarkets, such as the 7Eleven, cafes, fish and chips shops, hairdressers/barbers, butcheries and liquor stores. There are some entertainment stores too, such as video shops, games and arcades, bars and a pub. There are also some informal traders.

The report suggests a way forward for urban renewal to take place with regard to the economic environment. It suggests that a work force needs to be generated from inside the area; local demand needs to be optimised; linkages to the area with surrounding areas of production and demand must be created; as well as the need to provide supportive business and industrial development on existing vacant land.

Education and Training

The 2000 Urban Renewal Strategy reports that according all three of the schools in the area, Buren High, Ysterplaat Junior Primary and Ysterplaat Primary, “are up to capacity and cannot take in more learners”. It also notes that non-payment of school fees is an issue because of the poor economic circumstances of parents. To deficit in school fees is made worse by decreasing subsidies from the Provincial Department of Education. The schools also face the problem of high staff turn over. Household size in the area is reported to be growing; the report recommended the building of more schools to meet the growing demand.

Sport and Recreation

The report lists the facilities that service the area, which include sports fields and halls.

Health

In terms of the provision of health facilities, the report documents the combination of the clinic to the library (which happened in 2001), designed to treat more patients and replacing small clinic at Albow Gardens. The Good Hope Day Hospital, is said to be the largest provider of services to adults and the elderly. The document also discusses the Brooklyn Chest Hospital and the future proposed plans for it at that time.

Social Services

The section on Social Services begins by giving some background to Rugby, Brooklyn and Ysterplaat area, pointing out that the socio-economic conditions of the residents “result from the historical nature and scope of the provision of a variety of social facilities and services” with housing being key. It gives the history of how the area was established, “as a housing area for the poorer segments of the white population group in Cape Town”, with descendants of these families, still staying in the area to date, “often in similar or worse socio-economic conditions” (Taylor, Van Rensburg, Van Derspuys, 2000:4.17). The report documents the type of social and welfare services available in the community. It identifies the ACVV (Afrikaans Christian Women’s Organisation) and Communicare as the two major social service providers, who work individually. The services include, “individual counselling”, “prevention and treatment of social dysfunctions amongst the aged and within families”, as well as dealing with the “consequence and human reaction to unemployment, family problems as well as child care and abuse”. Although there is provision of group related activities for different groups, lack of interest from the community is cited as a reason for low success rates. The report also lists the Brooklyn and Zorgvliet Service Centres, which service the elderly, together with Ysterplaat Old Age home, providing them with daily food and transport services to

doctors and shopping areas. These depend mainly on private sector funding and small government subsidies. The limited involvement of the businesses and industries in the surrounding areas (Paarden Eiland, Metro Industrial and Montague Gardens) as well as the Koeberg road businesses, in the social serving of the area is also noted.

The high unemployment rate, the high number of people who are not comically active and those that are dependent (on grants and charity) is attributed to the poor educational levels and little marketable job experience which limit employment opportunities, as well as large group of old aged people living in the area who rely solely on old age government pensions. Those that are employed commute to and from work opportunities which are located in industrial areas of Montague and Killarney Gardens, Paarden Eiland, Metro Industrial and Maitland. Drawing from the 1996 these employed are estimated to be 40% of the people in the area, with over 50% unemployed. The report also gives figures for those dependent on one income as well income levels during that time period.

Safety and security

This is discussed in terms of statistics regarding crime rates in the Rugby, Brooklyn and Ysterplaat area. The highlighted issues include, the “increasing illegal availability of drugs, and the growing presence of gangsterism” (Taylor, Van Rensburg, Van Derspuy, 2000:4.22). It is also noted that “more and more business premises are being vacated as the high crime rate scare away potential customers” (Taylor, Van Rensburg, Van Derspuy, 2000:4.22). Prices for degraded products are high and as a result the residents of the area go to other places to do their shopping. The report indicates that the area “is serviced by 2 remote Police Stations”, Maitland and Milnerton, one which is 4 km and the other 2 km away. The population size of the area is said to be too small to warrant the provision of a separate police station (Taylor, Van Rensburg, Van Derspuy, 2000:4.22).

The crime statistics indicate an increase, and the nature of the crimes include mugging, pick pocketing and bag snatching, theft from motor vehicles and break ins (business and residential premises) which are not limited to night time. Other activities are illegal drugs and shebeens, vagrancy and gang related shootings. The authors of the report note that “there is a limited definition of public safety and the community is fixed on their conventional definition of policing activities”, and suggest that the “focus should be extended to include safety services such as traffic and security, fire safety, municipal law enforcement” (Taylor, Van Rensburg, Van Derspuy, 2000:4.22).

City of Cape Town Census, 2001, Brooklyn

This document, from Statistics South Africa, gives an overview of the Brooklyn area. In terms of ethnic groups in the area, 7.54% of the population is black African, 32.96% is coloured, 0.96% is Indian/Asian, and 58.56% is white. These results are not in keeping with what our interviewees have told us, in sense that they feel that the white population is less than the Black African and coloured. These numbers also do not tell us what percentage of the black African is South African, as opposed to foreign immigrants, which from our interviews is in excess of the local black population. In terms of age, there are high percentages of the 18-34 and 35-54 age groups (27.37% and 25.21% respectively). 13.61% of the overall population is residents over 65 years of

age. This relatively high percentage can be attributed to the many Communicare homes and flats.

In terms of education, the greatest percentage (27.86%) has been schooled up to between grade 8 and grade 11. 27.86% has grade 12 level of schooling. Very few (1.05%) had a bachelor's degree. 3.57% of the population have had no schooling at all.

In terms of language, the predominant language is English, and then Afrikaans (66.63% and 28.05% respectively).

85.12% of the economically active population of Brooklyn is employed. 14.92% of the economically active population is unemployed. This is a lower number than our participants estimated, although this may have changed over the last 8 years. The greatest percentage of the population is employed in clerk work, which is followed by service workers and then craft workers. 60.72% of the population in Brooklyn earn between R1601 and R6400 a month.

The predominant housing structure is a house or brick structure on a separate stand or yard, which is closely followed by a flat in a block of flats. 51.61% of the population rent their homes. 24.76% own their homes, but are not yet fully paid off.

Economic and Human Development Department

This document outlines the socio-economic profile of Ward 55's area (Brooklyn, Maitland, Milnerton, Rugby, Salt River, Sanddrift, Ysterplaat), yielding similar statistics as those above. The document also outlines the businesses, in terms of how many are formally registered (1991), and how many employees are employed formally (45 267). It also gives an overview of the services offered in the area, such as 11 schools, 2 libraries, 7 taxi terminals, 2 bus terminals, 6 railway stations and 3 clinics.

Brooklyn Library

This document outlines the new library in Brooklyn. It gives the history of the Brooklyn library, how it has been in existence since 1954. It describes the style of the new library design. It also details when the new library opened its doors (in November 2000). The article details too the library stock, as well as the activities that are hosted by the library.

TygerBurger (Newspaper Articles)

There were a few articles regarding Brooklyn in the media in the library, although these were related to 1998 only. One, entitled "Koeberg Road to be scrutinised in new study" (16 September 1998) describes how Koeberg Road was to be studied with regard to the character of the road and to implement a management strategy for the road. The article explains the scope of the study, and the funding for it.

Another article relates to a centre for street children and refugees that was proposed by the St Vincent de Paul Society. It explains a recent application made for the council land, and the feasibility of the land in relation to the two other sites that have been earmarked for the development.

Minutes from a Council Meeting regarding the Community Centre for the Scalabrini Fathers

These minutes give the background to the decision that the council supported the sale of the land to the Scalabrini fathers for the Society of St Vincent de Paul to construct and operate a workshop training and rehabilitation centre for school children, with certain conditions. It details the proposal for the development plan. The minutes go on to state the recommended action towards securing the erf.

Proposed Development of Erf 157650 Brooklyn, Cape Town

This document outlines the context of Brooklyn within the regional context. It is a proposal for a mini-storage facility on a piece of vacant land. It details the traffic impacts, the operational times, the security and maintenance of the property and so on. It also gives a motivation for the mini-storage facility.

Zoarvlei Environmental Management Plan – Executive Summary Oct 1999

This gives the outline of the management plan for the Zoarvlei wetland which lies between Brooklyn and Paarden Eiland. It describes the ecological components of the wetland. It presents the key findings of the report, which are organised into the terrestrial environment, Aquatic Environment and the Social Environment. There are also some recommended baseline surveys which should be conducted. It outlines the key management actions, such as securing land ownership, establishing conservation status, alien vegetation clearing, policing of the area and so on. It also states that species should be monitored. The document also had some interesting maps, which we copied. The most relevant maps were the suggested use zones and boundaries, the current ownership and zoning, and the current usage of the area.

Communicare Brochures

We picked up two Communicare brochures from their offices. These pertain to the current time (2009) and detail the profile of Communicare, as well as what their housing stock is, how it is managed, and the new projects that Communicare is busy with. It also explains gap housing, and what Communicare plans to do to provide gap housing. The second brochure explains the scope of the services, such as allocation and maintenance of units, supportive social services, service centre provision, and provision of home-based care and so on. The brochure also outlines the various complexes in different areas. The flats in Brooklyn are Boom Flats, Goedehoop Flats, Zorgvliet Flats, Drommedaris Flats and Reyger Court. There are also family houses and old age cottages in Ysterplaat.

More recent press cuttings

During our time in Brooklyn, we kept an eye on the local paper, the TableTalk for any information regarding Brooklyn. One article, entitled “‘Mad Max’ woman throws Gorilla at bakkie thieves” is about a woman whose husband’s car was stolen, and her actions to get the car back from the thieves.

Some Functional Aspects of Cape Town, by Peter Scott (1954) in *Economic Geography* 30(4) 347-363.

This is an academic article from 1954 which explains Cape Town at that time. In terms of Brooklyn, the article states that the area dates from the post-Boer War boom, and states that the ethnic distribution is “mainly European in Brooklyn” (Scott, 1954: 352). It also explains the nature of the low-grade housing in Brooklyn, and that it was built since 1930, and that mainly unskilled and semi-skilled workers lived.

City Partners with Nedbank in another affordable housing project (www.capetown.gov.za)

This document discusses how the City of Cape Town has partnered with Nedbank to provide gap housing in the Max Street area of Brooklyn. The article states that 180 bachelor and one bedroom sectional units will be built. Three other development sites have been allocated by the city – Wetton, Ottery and Silvertown.

Let's Talk, Communicare, Issue 1, 2008

According to its editor the *Let's Talk, Communicare*, Issue 1 of 2008 is “the first edition of the new revamped newsletter for Communicare tenants” (Fisher, 2008:1). The newsletter reports on how Communicare (which in 2008 had been in existence for 78 years) had set up decentralized offices in the areas where it has housing one of which is Brooklyn. Communicare describes itself as committed to providing “effective and efficient social housing and sustainable human settlements”. The new areas offices which are designed to be more accessible to tenants are described. Housed at the office include housing assistants, housing liaison officers, social workers, service centre and administrators. The Brooklyn area office manages an average of 918 social rental units, consisting of families, Older persons and people with special needs. In describing the move into the Brooklyn Offices, the Area Office Manager pointed out that they were “mindful of the fact that many of the units need maintenance to make them habitable”. The newsletter also reports on the community development services, the new housing developments, and the recent community development activities held in the different Cape Town areas it operates. There is also a quick Did You Know? Section which describes Communicare as “the oldest social housing institution in South Africa” established in 1929 Fisher, 2008:2). It provides social rental housing for households earning between R1 500-R7 500 and ownership housing for those with incomes between R5 500-R15 000. There is also a short blurb saluting one of the volunteers in the Brooklyn area who provides nursing services, such as changing of dressing to tenants in the area.

Resident's Association Brooklyn, Ysterplaat and Rugby. Chairman's Report. June 2005 to June 2006.

The report is one of the yearly reports produced by the area's Rate Payers Association, documenting its activities over the year. The report begins by reporting on the committee's size (16 active members) as well as the regularity of its meetings and also documents the efforts that have been made in relation to increasing the associations representation and participation in different activities which included have a representative on the Zoarvlei Management Advisory Committee. The chairperson's reports also gives some background to how the association was started in 1997 and the road it has travelled, this includes the history

of the municipal reshuffle which first put the area under the City of Cape Town, Sub- Council E (central Cape), then the Sub- Council B (Blaauwberg). The channels and the individuals through whom the association is represented in the Ward Council are also described. A special thank you is given to the ward councillor for her efforts on the areas behalf. Membership is reported to have gone down to 26 in 2005/6, out of a total of about 2 800 households in the area. The also documents the land-swap deal for the loss of 16 Communicare houses that were demolished at the Princess Alice/Section Road intersection, which happened to allow for the Brookrail development (linked to Northgate Island shopping Complex), land which the association feels Communicare should compensate the community for. It also documents the closing of the local postal outlet and as a result locals have to collect parcels and registered letters from Maitland.

The chair also gives an update on the developments on the 354 flats development (on Wemyss street, which on completion is the Palm Springs block of flats). She sites the concerns around the development which include access issues as well as refuse disposal and collection. Another issue documented in the report is the issues of the local community having their access to the sea cut off by the municipality and developers. Other association concerns reported on include the issue of traffic hazards in the area, the illegal parking of trailers and rigs in the area and the lack of response from the ward council offices. There is also concern over dense subdivision of land (on Diep Street) where new units are to be built, which the association feels will introduce “density out of keeping with the surrounding free standing properties” .

The approval of the rezoning of parts of Koeberg road, on the Rugby side which the association was opposing is also reported on as well as the concern over garage dwellings and fire hazards. A section is also devoted to discussing the gaps in house shop policy, as house shops becomes an increasing phenomena in the area, as well as concerns around the issue of littering and dumping the area. There is also a report on the proceeding of the most recent updates from the Police forum informing residents on the new strategies and the contact information for services. The report makes an interesting read on the community activities and concerns.

Resident's Association Brooklyn, Ysterplaat and Rugby. Chairman's Report. Annual General Meeting 2008.

This is a more recent report from the Rate Payers Association, prepared by a different chairperson. In the introductory paragraph, the Chair points out that in spite of the small membership numbers (30 members including 9 businesses), the “Association performs an important function by protecting the communities rights and interests as well their properties from unscrupulous developers and greater urban density” (Rate Payers' Association, 2008:1). The report then goes on to discuss the applications submitted during the last year for proposals ranging from sectional title schemes, rezoning, temporary land departures, subdivisions, house shops, guest houses, crèche's and after-care facilities. It also lists the Associations activities in the last year included its registering as interested and affected parties in respect to the Eskom Nuclear Power Station and the Koeberg Interchange Upgrade. The committees on which the association is represented and the recent activities are also listed. The report concludes with a few words on the way forward and thanks and goodbye to a stepping down chair and founding member.

Section 3: Photograph Album of Brooklyn



Martin Adams Hall, now owned by Communicare. Communicare offices are located inside.



One of the shops in Brooklyn, located on the corner of Fenwick and Koeberg Roads



The Koeberg Road shops, with Devil's Peak in the background



The new Library and Day Clinic building, located at the Rugby end of Brooklyn



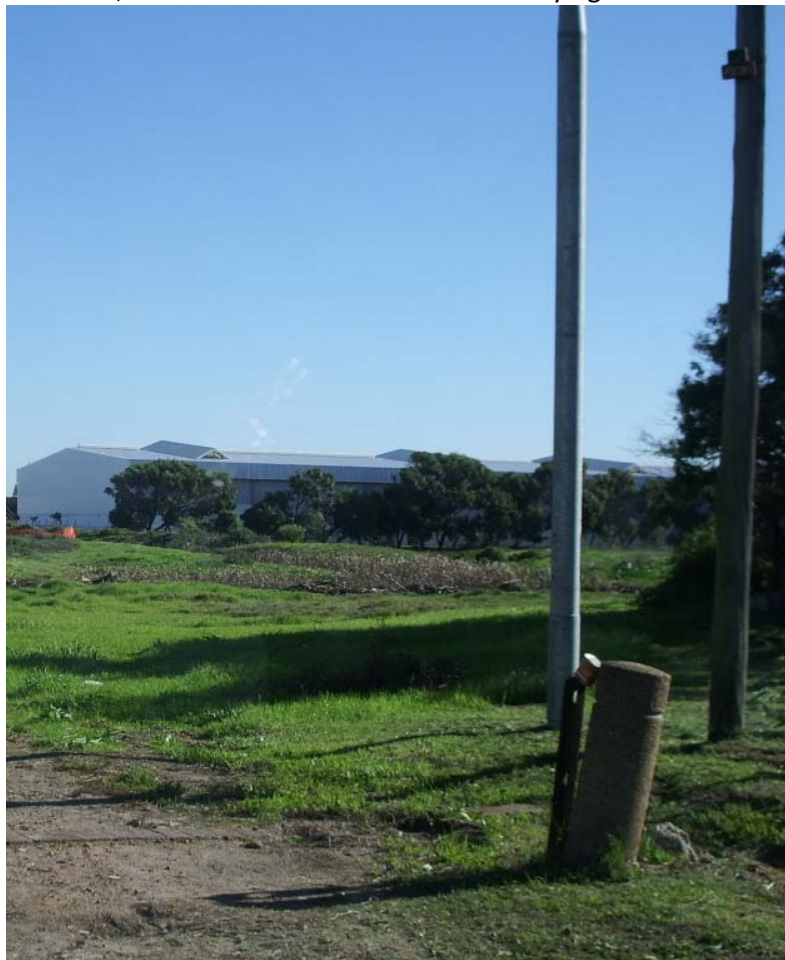
One of the Communicare blocks of flats, Drommedaris



Palm Springs, a new apartment block in Wemys Street



Zoarvlei, the wetland that a local church is trying to rehabilitate



Zoarvlei, with Paarden Eiland Industrial area in the background



The entrance to Northgate Island, the new shopping development on the outskirts of Brooklyn, just off the Koeberg Interchange