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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 Philippi. 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 Philippi, the following informants provided the information on the area: the ward councilors; a representative of the integrated Serviced Land Project (iSLP); members of local NPO; a former representative of the Joe Gqabi Interchange; local school representatives; an activist in the Thabo Mbeki informal settlement area; a housing activist; a member of the ward development forum (WDF); an entrepreneur at the Philippi Fresh Produce Market, and an activist from the Klipfontein area. 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 Philippi 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 second section is a photograph album of the area which the researchers took during their time spent in Philippi. While this document is by no means supposed to represent all the issues that Philippi 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 Philippi.

Section 1: Description of the Philippi East neighbourhood

One can approach Philippi through airport industria – an adjacent industrial node. You then pass through Nyanga and its resounding informality. After crossing Lansdowne Rd, one enters Philippi proper – or at least one entry point into it. Philippi is an enormous area, bounded by Lansdowne Rd in the north, and the railway line in the South. It is made up of some 7 wards and multiple neighbourhoods therein. We were working in Philippi East – a broad catch phrase for areas east of New Eisleben Rd, and East of Stock Rd up until Mandalay (an adjacent suburb). New Eisleben and Stock Rd are large arterial roads that run north (from Lansdowne) south to the train line and Mitchell's Plain.

Stock Road and its adjacent enclaves were where we spent most of our time. I will describe moving down Stock Road on a given morning to give a sense of the multiple types of 'communities' and neighbourhoods living side by side in greater Philippi East. Entering Stock Rd from Lansdowne in the North is the main entry to the Philippi industrial area, which has seen various waves of investment and disinvestment over the last 30 years. Now, some factories and warehouses remain, in various states of dilapidation, without informal traders doing business along their street fronts. In the morning you can watch these traders setting up their carts and tables each day or women carefully spreading clothes out on the ground to sell.

Adjacent to these factories and warehouses along Stock Rd is the stark 'concentration camp' of the Temporary Relocation Area (TRA), with its rolling barbed wire and its zinc houses – zinc roofs, zinc walls. All grey. Outside of this camp, at the Stock Road/Sheffield Way traffic lights, are beautiful mosaic-ed flower beds on either side, a foreground to the Golden Arrow Bus depot on the right. The other side of the crossroads is flanked by two huge pieces of open land. The left hand square is ringed by houses on either side – it seems to be one of those de/retention ponds – a low lying area that is created as a catchment for excess runoff in the wet season. It is an iridescent shade of green after the recent first rains. The other vacant plot opposite is part of the City owned block, Port Jackson growth not blocking the overbearing blue of the Philippi Fresh Produce Market behind, and behind that the impressive Joe Gqabi interchange, the road rising to crest the bridge over the railway line into Mitchell's Plain.

At the next lights, the face brick Philippi East police station dominates one corner, the interchange opposite, and we take a right and swing into the vehicle testing centre (adjacent to the transport interchange). At this hour on a Tuesday morning, the traffic department is doing a much better business than the interchange, where only a few buses remain quietly slumbering after another hectic long April weekend. It is hard to imagine that this place comes to life on the weekend or in the evenings when the long distance buses make their way to the Eastern Cape, but I am assured that it does become more lively.

Opposite is the Fresh Produce Market: a very well secured premises just behind/in front of the Joe Gqabi interchange depending on where you're coming from. It has three buildings one behind the other, all joined by their cream walls and royal blue roofs. The City's branding is all over it. At the front building are various sliding metal doors which indicate different rental and retails spaces – it is 9:30am and only one of these is open, with fruit and vegetables spilling out from this onto the pavement. About 5 men are sitting around this area, packing some onions in bags, etc. and when we approach, they offer us various goods to buy.

Behind Joe Gqabi is a newly established Gap housing village, its pink double storey townhouses unusual in this setting. Opposite Joe Gqabi, one can enter Lower Crossroads – one of the most established residential parts of Philippi East. Going down Phumlani Road into the neighbourhood, one passes the face brick police station, the clinic and the library. After this, the houses start. These were all part of the iSLP (integrated Serviced Land Project) development of the 1990s – small serviced plots, followed up small houses, some more formal than others. This area is relatively well established and not seemingly overcrowded: backyards and frontyards have been built, gardens established, etc. Along the Eastern boundary of the area is some vacant land, maybe along an abandoned train line or something, before you see Mandalay's higher income housing stock on the Khayelitsha side.

Leaving Lower Crossroads, you cross an informal dirt road which divides the iSLP neighbourhood from the next. A distinctive class line is crossed. In the adjacent neighbourhood Luzuko, the plots and houses were much bigger – we hear that this area was built for civil servants. The households are distinctively better off, with cars parked in the drive and formal extensions to the houses.

At the top of Luzuko, you turn left onto Sheffield – right would take you to Khayelitsha. On the right of this road some new warehouse type structures are going up in between this road and the highway. Adjacent to this is an informal settlement. We go through the lights with

Symphony Way, and then take a left down the sandy dirt track through the Klipfontein Mission land. Later I realise this may be the reason for the naming of Klipfontein Road – an important artery linking this neighbourhood to the mountain. There are tall gum trees here, and lots of land in amongst some small semi-abandoned looking factories and self-built houses. The grass is green and long. We have entered another space. On the left, a mission church and school form a compound of cream walls and red roofs. At the end of the cul-de-sac is a small tin house, like something from an old Victorian mining town, neatly painted, with a waist high picket fence and dahlias the size of my face growing in the bed alongside it. From the church compound, heading “regs” [right] and then “straight af” another dirt track, a whole street emerges – cottages of various ages and self-building phases are generously spaced across large plots where people are gardening, doing home business and drying massive amounts of laundry. Klipfontein is like a rural outpost in the middle of this urban neighbourhood.

Philippi is like that: a large, diverse area with all sorts of housing types, businesses, population groups (although predominantly Xhosa). The formal and the informal exist side by side, indeed, they stare each other mercilessly in the face. The few developments, outside of housing, are very visible and large: the transport interchange, the Shoprite centre, the Philippi East police station, etc. But these are all 'big picture' public spaces, and not always clearly worked into the existing fabric of Philippi everyday life. People still sit on the street corners without jobs. The politics of these developments is not evident on the surface – our time in Philippi speaking to various key stakeholders did much to illuminate the underlying tensions and currents that often hold up inclusive and participatory development processes here.

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

Service delivery – basic services, housing and infrastructure

Service delivery is a burning issue in South Africa particularly, but not specifically, for poor communities. From the interviews conducted in the Philippi East area, poor service delivery was echoed by most participants as one of the problems that they are currently facing. When talking about service delivery, people mentioned services like electricity, lack of housing or poorly built houses with problems such as leaking during the rainy season, as well as a lack of public infrastructure.

Intertwined with poor service delivery was the lack of accountability of local officials, particularly the councillors, to their constituencies. Some communities had never seen some of their councillors, and when they complain, the councillors turned a deaf ear. Key informants staying in both informal settlements and those in brick houses complained about this and poor services. Land was also an important part of these discussions – contestations over land ownership are central to the Klipfontein struggle; as well as to the needs of informal settlement re-development, as mentioned by one local ward councillor (29 April 2009) and housing shortages in developed areas, as another ward’s councillor noted (29 April 2009).

Infrastructural development

The government has invested in some very visible infrastructure in the Philippi East area (the iSLP developments, the Symphony Way extension, the Fresh Produce Market, Joe Gqabi interchange, the Old Cement Factory redevelopment, Vuyuseka Sports Complex, Better Life RDP housing village, etc.). However these investments were generally seen to have come from the top down rather than from the grassroots level. Officials did not give themselves enough time to invite people's suggestions about what should be the priorities in terms of infrastructural development. Even in situations where they did allow room for participation they did not take people's inputs into consideration. People are generally only 'consulted' (or presented to) at the implementation phase – not the planning phase. As a result, some of these developments are no longer used for their primary intended purpose but rather used for something which they were never planned for e.g. the Fresh Produce Market and the Vuyuseka sports centre. Also there is an element of promising the sand and delivering soil when it comes to these developments. Most developments didn't meet the expectations that are often created when these infrastructure plans are presented to people, again, such as the Joe Gqabi station, and the fruit and veg market.

It was also interesting to learn that most of the investments here were built during the time when South Africa was bidding for the Olympic Games. Officials took advantage of that to bring about infrastructural development in their area. It was also said that local leaders used their political affiliation to the ANC at the time to persuade those in power to bring those developments to the area of Philippi e.g. the sport centre.

The effects of personnel change in officials on service delivery and accountability

Both officials and other community leaders note that the chopping and changing of politicians, and their officials, affects service delivery and development. They maintain that when a new administration comes into office, the plans of the previous regime become irrelevant. A ward councillor (29 April 2009) raised another important issue: political leaders and officials usually only start finalising their plans towards the end of the 5-year term, and then he/she must leave office for someone else. This cycle repeats itself, and as a result nothing will ever get done: people just plan and never get to see their plans being put into practice.

Overall, it is understood by many residents of Philippi, and especially the residents of the TRA, that local officials elected to offices of power are not delivering the services that people expect from them. Above that, they are not communicating well with their constituencies, who are often left in the dark, not knowing what is up the officials' sleeves when it comes to services. This has meant that people who are not official representatives or local authorities, but who have the resources (either emotional, relational or material) are approached or sometimes volunteer themselves to serve people. This often means taking people's grievances forward to relevant institutions or people. Some like a local housing activist (28 April 2009) act more as researchers and lawyers for the community while others, like a resident with an administrative job (29 April 2009) uses the resources through his day job to call relevant institutions when certain services are not rendered because people come to him to report these problems. This shows that the local officials are not available when people need them most. However, it would

not be fair to put all local elected representatives under one umbrella. There are some officials who are really passionate about doing a good job.

Political dynamics and civil society

The civic movement which historically was very strong in South Africa is dying out in Philippi. According to some leaders, this is due to the fact that these structures have tended to be used for politics, meaning that civic organisations under the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) are used as yet another ANC platform. In some areas, there are active street committees, although named differently as residents' associations, neighbourhood watches, etc. but they still play the traditional street committee role. In other areas however, these have died out. Perhaps the emergence of ward committees has made the role of street committee less clear, although the staff at a local NGO generally see a low level of community mobilisation in the area (20 May 2009). There is political tolerance in this area. People are said to still support the ANC predominantly although their leaders have since joined COPE. Those who joined COPE were recalled in 2008, and went on to contest bi-elections which they won. It is important to note that the ANC did not contest these elections (candidates weren't submitted in time), and as a result, the voter turnout was very low. However, many claim that there are high levels of abuse of political power by some leaders in the wider area. They use their position to intimidate those who question them.

Strategies of negotiation and their effectiveness

South Africa has a long history of protest where people used protest as a way of expressing their dissatisfaction with officials. In this study, service delivery was an issue for all the participants, except for perhaps the officials who should be delivering services themselves. These community leaders are complaining about services, and as a result, the Stock Road housing community, and at a few junctures the TRA and Klipfontein area, have organised protests and marches. However, the organised use of protest has declined since the emergence of democracy in Philippi East: the protest strategy is not the most popular employed here in this area of Philippi.

There are different and innovative strategies that were employed. Perhaps the most outstanding of these is the one described by a housing activist (28 April 2009) as "political prostitution", where you are not loyal to only one party, but chop and change between these political organisations as they speak to the needs of your community. There are also some public platforms which are used in Philippi East, such as community meetings, etc. (although an NGO notes that communication about these and the actual quality of participation is poor). In terms of engagement with local government officials (who are supposed to go to communities, engage them and report from the corridors of power), this has yielded few results in most communities where we spoke to leaders. People continue to complain about services, but their submissions tend to be received with little response. For instance, officials were told that building a stadium in a wetland was a bad idea, but officials still continued with it irregardless.

Business and economic development in the area

Business in this area has not followed the government pace in terms of investment in the area. The industries and businesses that are here do not sufficiently meet people's needs. In terms of retail, there are no big malls or shopping centres: people must go to Mitchell's Plain for these

services. The one Shoprite that is there is certainly not enough judging by the long queues we saw in that shop. Even the business area that is there has not done much in terms of pushing frontiers of poverty in the area because it is said that most who are working there are not necessarily coming from Philippi but other places. Even the business forum is only there to discuss narrow issues that concern their businesses. If that is the case it is rather very difficult to expect them to uplift the community or at least make joint effort to help out during times of needs.

There is also not enough contribution by the government in boosting local entrepreneurs. They are left to do it alone, or with the help of NGOs. Even in cases where the officials could help, for instance in Joe Gqabi, where hawkers need permits, officials drag their feet in assisting people. Even at the Fruit & Veg market most people left because the rent was too high and it is difficult to attract customers.

Unemployment is thus high, with few avenues for formal sector work. With little support for informal (outside of patchy interventions which may only reach those with a certain level of access and resources anyway), livelihoods are tenuous. Of course, there is a diversity of income groups around Philippi East: those in the Stock Road housing are much more financially stable than those in Lower Crossroads, who again are better off than those in the backyards, the TRAs and informal settlements. But economic development, especially in terms of the vision for Philippi as a south-east hub with its positioning relative to the airport, etc. remains a pipe dream.

Social composition and integration

Getting at these questions of social make-up and dynamics was difficult here: people were wary, in light of the one year anniversary of 2008's xenophobic attacks, of responding to any questions about outsiders. The area is largely Xhosa speaking, with people born both in town and migrants from the Eastern Cape. There is a relatively small coloured community in Klipfontein. The new Stock Rd housing development is mixed. There are some foreigners also renting in the area. However, inclusion seems fraught in light of so few resources: getting a piece of the pie seems to be determined not only by political networks, but also by length of residence in the area: a community worker (14 May 2009) spoke of how the 'recent' TRA residents have not been included in any Lower Crossroads meetings for this reason. Each area is quite parochial in its outlook, concerned about developments up to its borders, and not outside of that, which makes sense with so little to go around, as members from a local NGO explained (20 May 2009). Young people are particularly disenfranchised in all of this.

Challenges faced by Philippi East

Philippi is currently not on the map when it comes to development. A member of a local NGO (20 May 2009) explained this very efficiently: "Philippi has fallen off the map from a provincial and local government agenda". She explained that, for example, it is not a presidential node for urban renewal like its neighbours Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha. However, it is very strategically positioned, through its location next to the airport, its proximity to horticultural land and the city – all of which have made the land there valuable. However, it faces issues of density, crowding, housing shortages, etc. that are not being addressed quickly enough for people's needs.

The other challenge that the area is facing is that there is no single person in provincial government (which may change now that the DA is in power, but this was the case when an ANC led government was in power). Local politicians seem to think that lack of representation is the reason why development in their area is not fast coming. At a micro scale, the lack of facilities in many areas is said to lead to child delinquency. Youngsters go to liquor-stores and entertain themselves with music there. Also, the lack of crèches is a challenge and in future, schools will be overcrowded and the population is growing very fast. Developers need to try to catch up now or it will be too late.

Conclusion

To its credit, government has tried a variety of things in terms of development in the area, although the infrastructure they developed does not seem to be the kind that people really needed. Service delivery is poor and lack of accountability amongst leaders is prevalent. People have tried to find ways to negotiate for better living by trying new strategies of expressing their grievances but some still maintain the traditional protest as a way to express their grievances. Business has not played its role in developing the place and providing services required and expected from them. With the DA-led government it is not clear at the moment which direction is going to be taken. Also nationally there is an expected shift of focus with the Zuma administration just assuming office. It is difficult to guess what will future hold for the place.

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

City documents

City of Cape Town Census 2001

This document gives the most recent census level data on the wider Philippi area: 94% black and 91% Xhosa speaking; 43% between the ages of 18-34; approx. 80% unmatriculated; about 50% employed, and then largely within trade work and elementary occupations earning less than R1600 a month. While 35% live in a stand alone brick structure, some 53% live in shacks, either stand alone or in backyards. As such, most dwellings are occupied rent-free. 51% rely on electricity, while some 45% use paraffin for lighting. Only 8% have water within the dwelling. The sanitation stats also include 16% who use a bucket system and 24% who have no sanitation facilities whatsoever. Local authorities remove refuse for some 71% at that time. Overall, Philippi is a poor as well as largely informal area, although services have been extended to both formal and informal households.

Socio-Economic Profile for Ward 35. 2006. City of Cape Town.

Produced for every ward, this document explains which neighbourhoods are included in Ward 35, and then shares 2001 stats on those particular areas. What is most useful about this document is its review of current and past economic and human development projects and programmes, which in this area include skills development training, informal trade support, developing businesses at Joe Gqabi and the Eisleben Bus Park. The land zonings are also shared: 8% of this ward is zoned as commercial land and 20% of it as industrial. There is also a list of

services in the area: notably, basic service provision seems much higher in this area than in Philippi as a whole [compare to the previous document]. Interestingly, Province has not been recently active in the ward according to this document.

City of Cape Town area press releases.

2003/01/30: this article talks about the remedial work that the CTCHC plans to do on their stock, including that in Philippi East.

2003/09/16: this article marks the opening of the Joe Gqabi interchange

2004/03/19: this article talks about the city-wide public works programme that is being launched, with Philippi as one of the 10 areas targeted as “where many of the City's poorest of the poor reside”.

2004/03/31: this article marks the opening of the Philippi East library

2005/11/30 & 2005/12/05 & 2005/12/07: these articles mark the reaching of the halfway mark of the Philippi Fresh Produce market, as well as some detail on its *raison d'etre*.

2006/11/08: this article marks the final opening of the Philippi Fresh Produce Market

2007/06/04: this article talks about where the grant-in-aid monies went, an organisation in Philippi being one of those

2007/10/24: this article marks the opening of a newly completed stretch of road between the N2 and Stellenbosch Arterial called Symphony Way.

Media

Newspaper articles (not all, just the most recent ones)

2009/04/14: Lindsay Dentlinger. Decision on Philippi housing stalled. *Cape Argus*.

This article explains how some of Philippi is under consideration as a space of serious mixed use development (residential, business, industrial), to the detriment of the farming done in the area. This is a point of tension, as there is a massive need for housing and economic opportunities in the area, but farming is one of the latter, as well as a breadbasket for other parts of the city. These tensions over land use surface at various points within the Philippi narrative.

Philippi East: Centre of the Cape Metro South East – investment opportunities.

This document is unfortunately undated – it is unclear when it was produced (I think somewhere in the mid-1990s). However, this very interesting document provides an argument for why Philippi East should be considered one of the new major business development nodes, and why people should invest accordingly (they also list who has already invested in industrial and commercial activities there). They also make mention of the Wetton-Lansdowne-Philippi Corridor development.

Academic texts

Adlard, G. 2008. An introduction to Philippi. Draft 1, 4/11/08. University of Cape Town.

This is a very rich and detailed document compiled about the history (social, economic, political) of all the various neighbourhoods within Philippi from the 1800s on. I will not summarise it here, as it is a summary of a short (relatively) but complicated history itself. However, it demonstrates

the contestations (sometimes violent, other times not) over Philippi (which have their roots in Crossroads) in terms of land, housing, service delivery, leadership, participation, etc. See pg. 7 for details on Philippi East's genesis particularly. Interestingly, these contestations have not disappeared, they just surface in (sometimes) different ways. It is particularly useful for introducing the various stakeholders and role players who inhabit this complex geography. Most specifically, and in line with Adlard's experience, the document considers the history of the iSLP projects, of which Lower Crossroads is one of the foremost, and an important part of our case study.

Quote from pg. 10:

"Philippi East

The settlement of Philippi East had got off to an inauspicious start, with the creation of two temporary refuges - the transit camp and Lower Crossroads. The residents of Lower Crossroads found it impossible to return to Crossroads and stayed where they were, eventually acquiring houses with consolidation subsidies provided in terms of national housing policy. The residents of the transit camp also stayed in Philippi, waiting in vain for a chance to return to Crossroads and eventually being last in the queue for houses in Philippi East. The contestation about the development of Philippi East was so intense that it was not possible to do anything more than clear and level the balance of the site (a 5 month contract) between March 1994 and July 1996. The problem was that the two resident communities had the power to disrupt anything on site, and they were divided politically into ANC, SANCO and PAC groups. The ANC and SANCO factions reflected those in Crossroads between Nongwe's ANC branch and the more democratic SANCO groups. The PAC was strong in the transit camp. SANCO and the PAC were generally pro-development, provided that their people received a fair share of the jobs on offer, but the ANC group rejected the national housing policy, wanting more than was on offer. So the project, with the ability to deliver more than 4 000 houses, stood still for two years, waiting for better times.

In July 1996 the parties agreed to work together, and their representatives sat down with the consultants of each of the proposed phases to discuss planning issues and the kinds of options that existed. The major beneficiary groups for Phases 2-4 (to the east of Stock Road) were to be from the transit camp, Browns Farm and Langa. A fourth phase was in area "K" of Philippi, which is presented here separately. The intention was to design and service the townships and then to build houses for the beneficiaries. However a resolution by the City of Cape Town in 1997 halting construction of "RDP houses" by the Province in Weltevreden Valley (see above) applied also to Philippi East, and so as a first step the project delivered only serviced sites; in the second step sites were each equipped with a toilet pan and standpipe just before the beneficiary arrived and re-erected his/her shack at the back of the shack and sheltered the toilet; then in the third step the beneficiary chose a house type and contractor from a small show village, which was then constructed, completing the full value of the subsidy. By this means the housing contracts were between the beneficiary and contractor, with the Province providing only oversight and subsidy administration.

The Philippi East housing programme provided 4 535 single residential units and 969 double-storey medium density houses. The single residential erf sizes were a relatively large 150 sq. metres but the dwellings were a small 18 sq.m. because the cost of creating serviced sites with a toilet was so high (R12 000), leaving only R5 200 to pay for the dwelling. The medium density erf sizes were 87 sq.m., and provided a 28 sq.m. dwelling (18 sq.m. ground floor and a 10 sq.m. timber deck). They housed the residents of the original transit camp, who had waited in vain to return to Crossroads.

Outstanding features of the Philippi East development are the imaginatively designed schools, which have become a popular tourist attraction. Unfortunately the hospital which was planned for Stock Road was never built, because of a change of regional strategy by the Provincial Department of Health, so residents must find health care either in Crossroads or Browns Farm.” (pg. 10).

Also included in our Philippi East sample was the Klipfontein area, which Adlard describes as follows:

“The Klipfontein Community Trust

In January 1993 there were 125 dwellings on the Mission’s land. However, an aerial photograph taken in May 1996 showed 1 003 dwellings, which, within the next two years grew to 1 268. Something clearly had to be done to prevent further invasion and to at least preserve some value for the congregation. In May 1998 the land was transferred to the newly-formed Klipfontein Communal Property Trust (with 776 members), which had been established in order to create a formal residential township, with a first phase of 518 dwellings using “institutional housing subsidies” from the State, and an industrial component on Lansdowne Road. However, it then transpired that in terms of national environmental legislation the Trust’s land is within the airport’s noise zone and therefore no residential development may be approved. The Province has assisted the Trust to gain access to land in Nooiensfontein, Kuils River, with a plan for the Trust to sell the Klipfontein property to help finance the new homes. However, some members of the community have no wish to move, and it was reported in 2006 that 15% of the land at Klipfontein can be used for residential purposes. At that time the Community Organisation Resource Centre (CORC) was endeavouring, on behalf of the Methodist Church, to facilitate a solution between the factions, with the help of a mediator. It reports having established a steering committee of the rival factions.” (pg. 11).

The additional history on Philippi East K and the Old Cement Factory is also useful.

Ismail, S. 2005. To describe and analyse the learning process within a community based housing project in Philippi. University of Cape Town. [abstract]

This article is interested in one particular site in Philippi, Victoria Mxenge and its community mobilisations around housing. With the help of an NGO, the community was able to build

houses and related infrastructure. Ismail examines the successes of these mobilisations in residents' securing housing and services.

Willoughby, S.W. 2002. The Development of Higher Density Low-income housing in the Cape Metropolitan Area: A Case Study of Philippi East. MA, Geography, University of the Western Cape.

This thesis looks at the Philippi East area, and “assess[es] the viability of developing higher-density low-income housing” (pg. 32) in that area in light of various planning and policy strategies. There are some useful details on Philippi East particularly in terms of land use and mapping. With 590 hectares of land and its strategic geographical location along the N2 and close to the airport, the author notes that Philippi East makes sense as the 4th node of development (the others being Cape Town, Bellville and Wynberg/Claremont) in the CMC's 1996 MSDF (pg. 35) as well as other planning strategies. He then goes on to outline these various planning frameworks that are relevant at this historical juncture to the development of Philippi East: the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) (pg. 35-6); the Metro South-East Structure Plan (MSEP) (pg. 36-7); the Structure Plan Proposals for Philippi East (pg. 37); the Lansdowne-Wetton-Philippi Corridor plan (pg. 37); the Municipal Spatial Development Framework – which does not really include Philippi East explicitly (pg. 37); and the Philippi East/Airport Node Evaluation (pg. 38). “All of the above-mentioned planning frameworks and initiatives for Philippi East identify and acknowledge that the area has the potential for development.” (pg. 35) – these plan to achieve this through a sustained 5-10 year public investment strategy, but the author notes, include few concrete recommendations (pg. 38). All of this is really useful in explaining the historical hold of Philippi East over the imagination of current development as well as the sustainable business community. One is also curious about what happened to that sustained public investment plan, as well as the other strategies laid out in them.

The author is most interested in land use planning within these documents, and their relationship to the situation in Philippi East, around transport corridors and formal housing development especially. He outlines the major land developments that took place between 1988 (from 10% development) to 1996 where another 27% was developed. Some 46% of his study area is under residential use, while 18% is under industrial (pg. 39). There are still 8833 informal dwellings in the Philippi East area at the time of writing, meaning that some 59% of structures were still informal (pg. 39).

In terms of land ownership, the City of Cape Town and the Provincial Government opened some 27% of the land, while 61% was owned by unknown private land holders and National Portland Cement, and 12% by the Methodist Church (pg. 47). 55% of the area is zoned for industrial use, and only 25% for residential (pg. 47). In terms of demographics, in 1998 there were some 16,600 people in Philippi East making up 1524 households earning on average R1324 per month, and with 43% economically active (pg. 47) – making them “the poorest people in the CMA” (pg. 96).

So overall, Philippi East is still predominantly informal (with very high densities attached) and with some formal housing built in the iSLP areas, but with very low, and unsustainable densities (pg. 50). The author argues for greater access to land (releasing it from private ownership), more appropriate densities and better access to finance (pg. 51-52). For “Within the context of the CMA, Philippi East is a valuable asset. Within its boundaries there is strategic vacant land with

huge potential for development that could benefit the entire metropolitan region” (pg. 65) – what is needed first is “an accelerated land release programme” and re-zoning (pg. 98).

Ollis, D.J. 2000. Beneficiary Participation in Subsidy-based housing development: a comparative case study analysis of three housing projects in the Cape Metropolitan Area. MPhil, Environmental and Geographical Science, University of Cape Town.

This thesis looks at three case studies, of which Philippi East is one. It has some useful background on the area (pg. 29), as well as descriptions of the iSLP phases 2-4 adjacent to Lower Crossroads. It focuses specifically on the housing element of these iSLP processes. These phases were greenfields sites, developed to accommodate people living in informal areas from around the area, in Brown's Farm and Old Crossroads, but also further afield in Gugulethu, Langa, etc. (however, the author notes that these were all Xhosa residents who shared a similar history of coming to the city, and had faced similar challenges in keeping hold of their tenuous claims to the city (pg. 30). Some 3,800 serviced sites were planned, as well as 4 schools, a library, community hall, sports field and hospital (pg. 30) (all of which except the last were implemented). The thesis is most interested in the participation and implementation of the housing component specifically, and interviews a variety of local decision makers as well as local residents. He explains that top structure development was very constrained by the subsidy amount (especially in comparison to the other two case studies) (pg. 34). He also looks into the structures that guided the development process – the housing committee, the project management, the RDP forums, the street committees, etc. (pg. 31, 50) (it is interesting to think about what has happened to these structures in the last decade). The author's main findings around the Philippi East case are that there have been a diversity of responses to the housing situation created there (pg. 60); there is a lack of information and awareness around the options and responsibilities involved in land and home ownership (pg. 62); there were tensions over representation in the committee, particular across generational and gender lines (pg. 63); that there were tensions with the project management team (pg. 65); and that people would have preferred a less top-down, PHP process than a developer-driven one (pg. 64, 65).

Tait, A. Gough, D., Ferreira, A., Hendricks, M., McGaffin, R. & Trumplemann, A. 1999. 'Providing for Integrated Functional Cities in South Africa: the Wetton-Lansdowne-Philippi Corridor Programme'. In *Urban Forum*, 10(2):275-283.

This article discusses one of the policy documents that Willoughby (2002) mentions. The Corridor is a planning tool: “ an example of a comprehensive inter-governmental programme... driven by a municipality, that tackles head-on the difficulties associated with shifting resources and energies to the upliftment of poor, marginalised areas, driven by the intention to encourage economic investment into these areas” (pg. 275).

This Corridor runs some 15km long and 3km wide between the Wetton and Lansdowne Roads from Wynberg to Philippi, catching in its gambit some 400,000 people – 38% of the City's population. “This area is presently unsustainable”, in terms of infrastructure, employment opportunities, transport networks and integration with the rest of the metro (pg. 276). The Corridor seeks to address these various aspects through involving many role players over a long period of time (pg. 277), through a complex participation strategy (pg. 278). However, this participation has been complicated, and is still not endorsed/bought into by all the relevant parties (pg. 278). A main tension that the development process is grappling with is municipal

transformation, and tensions between elected bodies (like the Council) and unelected ones (like RDP forums) (pg. 280).

Section 2: Photograph Album of Philippi



Lower Crossroads Community Hall



Lower Crossroads Housing



Philippi Fresh Produce Market



Detention Pond Collecting Water



Stock Road and Symphony Way Mosaic, outside the TRA



Vacant Land opposite Mandalay



Klipfontein Homestead