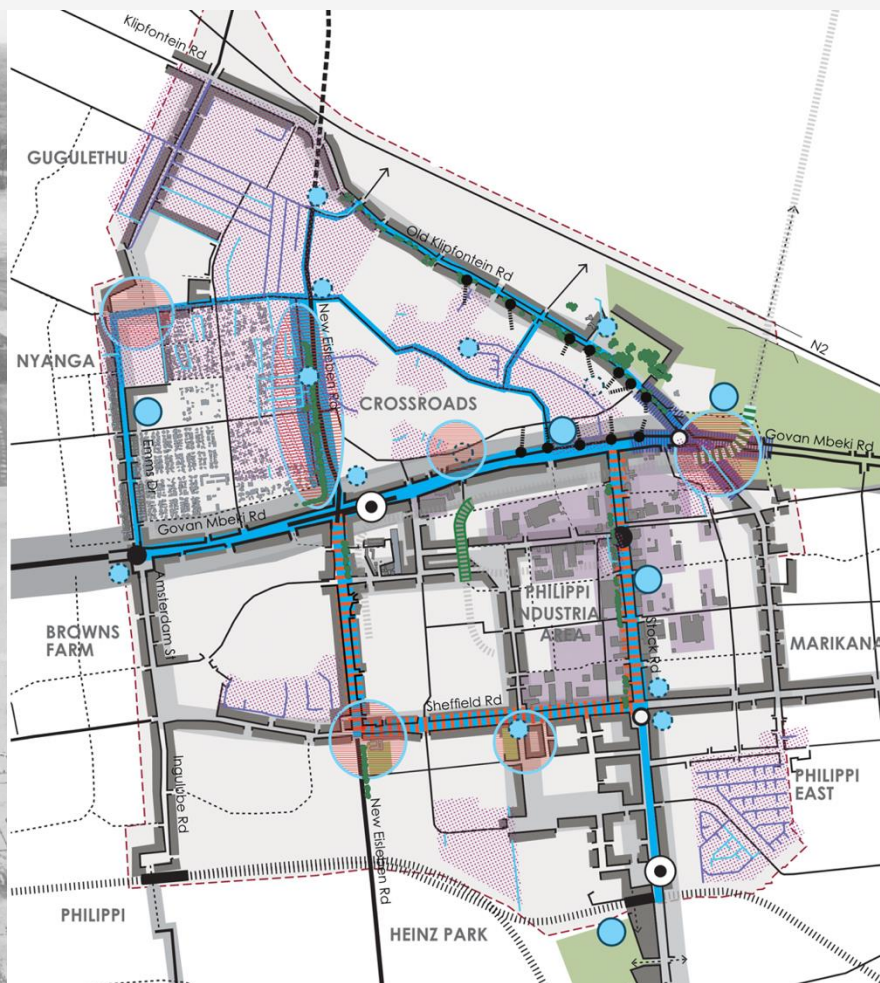




PHILIPPI OPPORTUNITY AREA

HERITAGE STUDY

INVESTIGATION INTO HERITAGE, CULTURE, IDENTITY AND OTHER PLACE-MAKING
INFORMANTS AND INDICATORS IN THE PHILIPPI OPPORTUNITY AREA CATALYTIC PRECINCT

Final report August 2021

CONTACT

Urban Catalytic Investment City of Cape Town

Lorraine Nzimande
Gideon Brand
Frank Cumming

email

lorraine.nzimande@capetown.gov.za
gideon.brand@capetown.gov.za
frank.cumming@capetown.gov.za

visit

Civic Centre
12 Hertzog Boulevard
Cape Town

www.capetown.gov.za



CITY OF CAPE TOWN
ISIXEKO SASEKAPA
STAD KAAPSTAD

PROFESSIONAL TEAM

Infinity Environmental jeremy@infinityenv.co.za

ACO Associates tim.hart@aco-associates.com

Bridget O'Donoghue bodonoghue@telkomsa.net

Josette Cole josette.mandlovu@gmail.com

Gapp Architects and Urban Designers bobby@ctn.gapp.net

www.infinityenv.co.za



Bridget O'Donoghue

 **Infinity**
Environmental

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful thanks are extended to all those who recounted their histories and experiences in interviews and at the community workshop:

N. Mapika, S. Mayeye, T. Cuba, T., Ntlabakanye, N. Mfunda, N. Rhocolo, B. Mafilika, M. Sikani, N. Gxowa, S. Nkabi, P. Poni, J. Dyantyi, A. Kama, N. Maponye, S. Gadi, S. Sojada, N. Dyanasi, N. Januwari, K Mnemi, T. Matwa, M Naki, Cllr L. Zondani, E. Hewu, N. Chele, M. Mpokela, Z. Ngqukuva, N. Fetyana, P. Buhlungu, V. Mahlakahlaka, the late Cllr N. Bolitye, J. Adam, as well as the staff of Beautiful Gate.

REPORT DETAILS

Issue 3, Final Report

11 August 2021

Draft issued for client comment 19 June 2021

Citation: Philippi Opportunity Area Heritage Study, 2021. Report by Infinity Environmental and associated heritage specialists for the City of Cape Town: Urban Catalytic Investment.

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	3
	Background and purpose	3
	Terms of reference	3
	Structure of this Report	4
	Study Area	4
2	Historical Overview	5
	Timeline	5
	Early history	6
	19 th and early 20 th century	7
	20 th Century history	14
3	Significant places and Heritage Inventory	32
	Places protected under section 34	34
	Requirements of section 38	35
	Places of cultural significance	35
	Considerations for exemption	36
	Process for exemption	39
4	Street and Place Names	40
5	Urban Design	41
	Introduction	41
	Urban Design Indicators	43
	Projects	48
6	Conclusion and Next Steps	60
	Principles for implementation	62
	Elements of a process for implementation ...	63

Annexures

- 1: Oral Histories
- 2: Heritage Inventory
- 3: Stakeholder Report

Tables and Figures

Table 1. Examples of heritage resources in the project area	33
Table 2. Criteria for retention of hostel buildings in a redevelopment context.....	38
Table 3. Street names.....	40
Figure 1. Location and study area map	4
Figure 2. Guelke's map of the Cape Colony	6
Figure 3. 1901 topocadastral and schematic	8
Figure 4. 1901 Cape Division map	9
Figure 5. c1938 topocadastral and schematic	11
Figure 6. 1944 NGI aerial and schematic	13
Figure 7. 1940 topocadastral	14
Figure 8. The Eiselen Line in 1955	15
Figure 9. 1960 NGI aerial and schematic	18
Figure 10. Squatter settlements in 1976.	19
Figure 11. 1983 aerial and schematic	25
Figure 12. The Crossroads Complex in 1985	26
Figure 13. Map of informal settlements 1989	28
Figure 14. 1992 aerial and schematic	29
Figure 15. Marikana informal settlement i	30
Figure 16. Development of the study area 1901 to 1992	31
Figure 17. Proposed grading	34
Figure 18. Areas for possible exemption	38
Figure 19. Street naming issues	40
Figure 20. Philippi Opportunity Area Framework	41

Figure 21. Urban Design Informants: Remnants from the Past	43
Figure 22. Urban Design Informants: Living Culture and Character	45
Figure 23. Synthesis of Key Spatial Informants	47
Figure 24. Alignment of the Proposed POA Memory and Living Culture Walk	48
Figure 25. Public Space upgrades	51
Figure 26 Primary Heritage Public Spaces	52
Figure 27: Historic Structure Elements	53
Figure 28. Trading and Market streets	55
Figure 29 Character building Precincts	56
Figure 30: Stock Road Initiation Support	57
Figure 31. Recommended locations for the Street Naming Project	58
Figure 32. Examples of the possible treatment for the special street signs	59
Figure 33. POA Heritage and Culture Conceptual Framework	60
Photograph 1. Coal was supplied by rail	12
Photograph 2. The Cement Factory	12
Photograph 3. Pass offences	20
Photograph 4. Sizamile School	21
Photograph 5. Ballroom dancing.....	21
Photograph 6. Class at Noxolo School	21
Photograph 7. A metal suitcase maker	22
Photograph 8. "Save Crossroads" petition.....	22
Photograph 9. <i>Imfuduso</i> at the Space Theatre	23
Photograph 10. Occupying the land	24
Photograph 11. Woman fleeing The Fires, 27	
Photograph 12. Street Names/Street Signs Projects in New Crossroads	59

1 Introduction

Background and purpose

Cape Town is the oldest city in South Africa. With a culturally diverse population and surrounded by the natural and spiritual beauty of its mountains and seas, it is a city that contains multiple narratives of courage, resilience, dispossession, displacement, or the sense of loss, pain, and trauma that follows in the wake of the destruction and reconfiguration of place across time. Some narratives are more well-known than others, like the District Six removals that scattered its former residents across the city, forever scarring the city's urban landscape. Others are not well-known. They are either "hidden", "lost", forgotten, disavowed, or lie buried in the living memories of city residents, surfacing only when opportunities arise to share stories about life as experienced, as remembered. The story of the Crossroads-Philippi area is one of these lesser-known Cape Town narratives.

The City of Cape Town has prioritised the Philippi Opportunity Area, comprising Crossroads, the eastern parts of Nyanga, and Philippi East, for catalytic projects focusing on transit-oriented development and urban upgrading. The area has a rich history and culture and includes places with many layers of noteworthy events. These could contribute to a renewed sense of place and of identity if heritage can be celebrated and incorporated into public realm improvements and urban upgrading.

A heritage study has been undertaken to record the history of the place, to identify heritage resources as described above, and to provide a basis for planning public investment.

Terms of reference

A multidisciplinary study of the heritage of the study area has been conducted by a team comprising:

- **Tim Hart** | Archaeologist and historian, heritage practitioner
- **Bobby Gould-Pratt** | Urban designer and architect
- **Josette Cole** | Social historian, community development/heritage practitioner, activist
- **Bridget O'Donoghue** | Architect and heritage practitioner
- **Jeremy Rose** | Project coordinator and GIS specialist
- **Anathi Manyakanyaka** | Stakeholder engagement

The study took place between March and June 2021 and comprised four strands of work:

- Documentary, spatial, and archival review
- Oral histories
- A survey of the built environment
- Urban design analysis and synthesis

These strands were supported by engagement with local stakeholders and councillors. A project management team (PMT) structure was established by the City and met monthly to review progress and guide the professional team.

Structure of this Report

This report is structured as follows:

Section 1 introduces the study and provides context and background.

Section 2 is a historical overview of the study area, drawing on documentary sources, maps and imagery, and oral histories.

Section 3 describes places and precincts with heritage or cultural importance.

Section 4 reflects on street and place naming.

Section 5 presents urban design opportunities, indicators, and projects for implementation.

Section 6 outlines conclusions and considerations for implementation.

Annexures to the report include transcripts of oral history interviews and the community workshop; maps of proposed heritage gradings, and a report on stakeholder engagement.

Study Area

The study area is shown in Figure 1. The Philippi Opportunity Area is situated in Cape Town's southeast, south of the N2 highway and north of the Central passenger rail line. The western boundary begins at the Borchers Quarry interchange on the N2 and follows Ntlangano and Emms Road south through Nyanga, crossing Govan Mbeki Road to take in Amsterdam and Ingulube Roads and the Philippi rail station. The eastern boundary includes parts of Lower Crossroads, Marikana informal settlement, and the Klipfontein Mission.

Major east-west routes in the area are the N2, Govan Mbeki Road and Sheffield Road, while New Eisleben Road, Emms Road, and Stock Road run north-south. Neighbourhoods included in the study area are Crossroads, the western part of Lower Crossroads, Marcus Garvey and Betterlife / Phola Park, the eastern part of Browns Farm, and the eastern part of Nyanga. The Philippi East industrial area and western part of the Marikana informal settlement are also included.

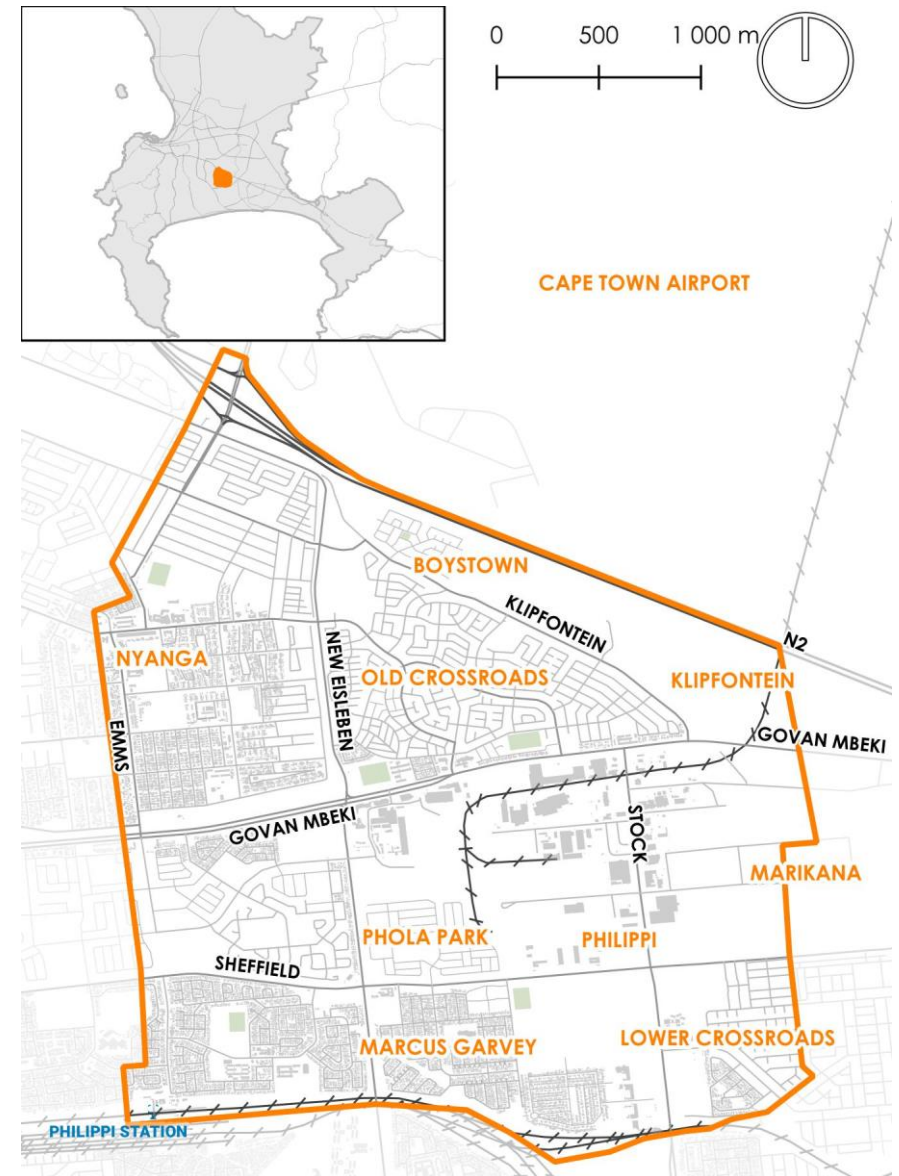
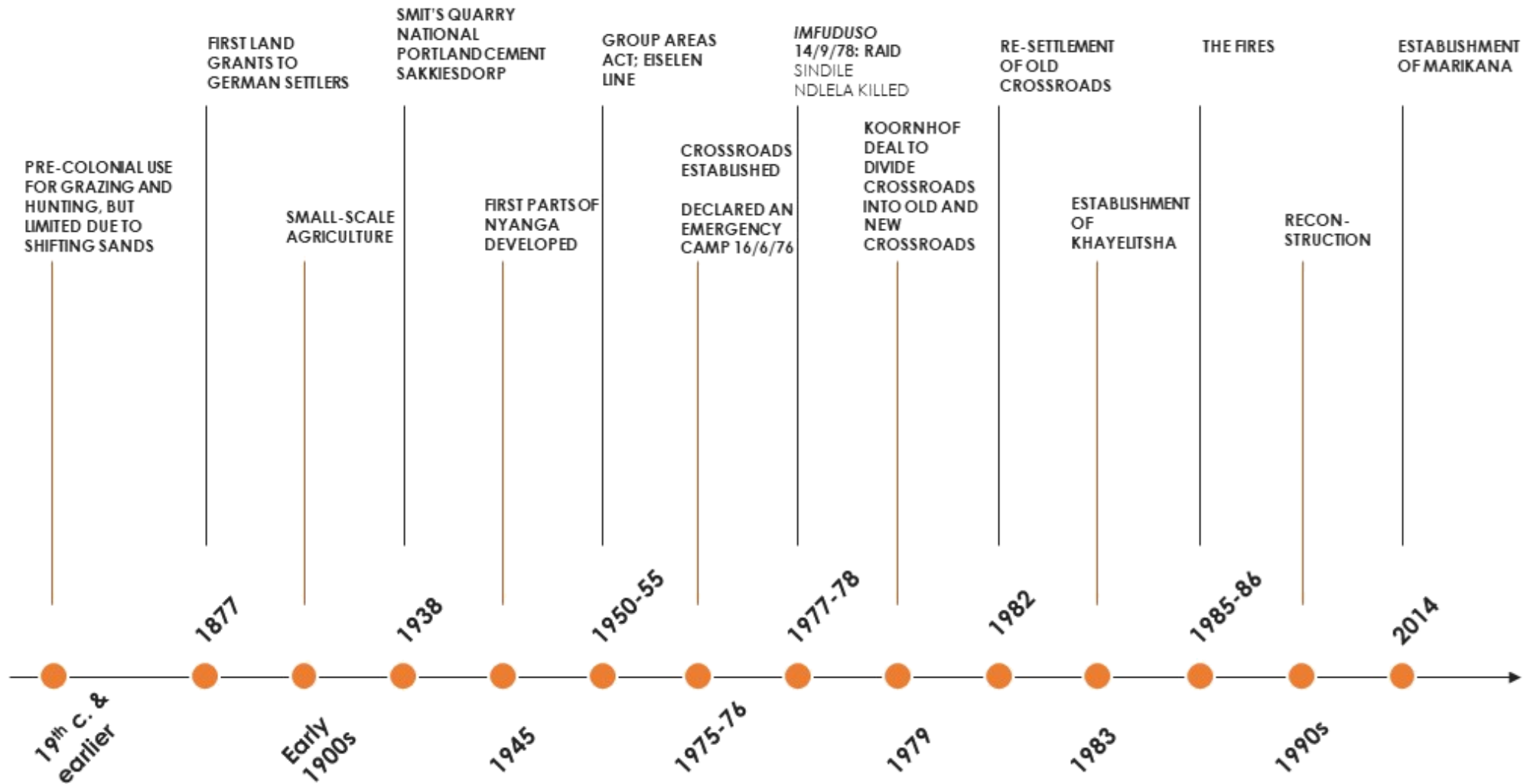


Figure 1. Location and study area map

2 Historical Overview

Timeline



Early history

Located on the sandy soils of the Cape Flats, the area's history stretches back to pre-colonial times when the area was moderately used as the hunting and grazing lands of indigenous people who were struggling with poor grazing opportunities in the better areas of the Cape Peninsula, especially once taken over by the VOC (Dutch East India Company).

The sandy and alternately wet and dry conditions of the Cape Flats were far from ideal, yet from time to time the area was used by indigenous people. Archaeological sites are scarce in the area, which points to a low population, yet from time to time during the historic period the Goringhaicona and Goriqua who were permanent residents of the Peninsula ventured forth to escape the VOC or competition with other transhumant groups. Every summer, a powerful group from the West Coast, the Cochoqua, ventured south with livestock as the Peninsula had good water supplies. It is possible that the transhumant Khoekhoe groups used springs found in the subject area as a source of fresh water and a base from which to graze their cattle in the great expanse of the arid Cape Flats both during pre-colonial times and during the VOC period.

No prehistoric archaeological or palaeontological sites have been observed in the study area. Although they may have existed here the likelihood of such material being displaced by dense development is high. Factors which have led to the paucity of sites of this nature are probably related to marshy conditions which prevailed during pre-colonial times not providing suitable habitation sites for the indigenous inhabitants of the area. The general location is far removed from the coastline which was a major source of food (shellfish, marine animals) and occupation was therefore likely to be closer to the coast at least during the Late Stone Age. The need for level ground for cultivation has led to an extensive ongoing process

of dune levelling and infilling of wetlands. Where this has taken place there is little chance of any archaeological material being preserved.

Descendants of the transhumant Khoekhoen are known to have settled on the Klipfontein Mission Station, established by the then Wesleyan (Methodist) Church in the early 19th century. The study area and surrounds, forming part of the sandy Cape Flats, appears to have been largely avoided by early colonial farmers due to its inhospitable terrain and remote location. Limited farming activities did, however, occur in the vicinity, and in the early 18th century some of the dune areas were used for grazing by free burghers.

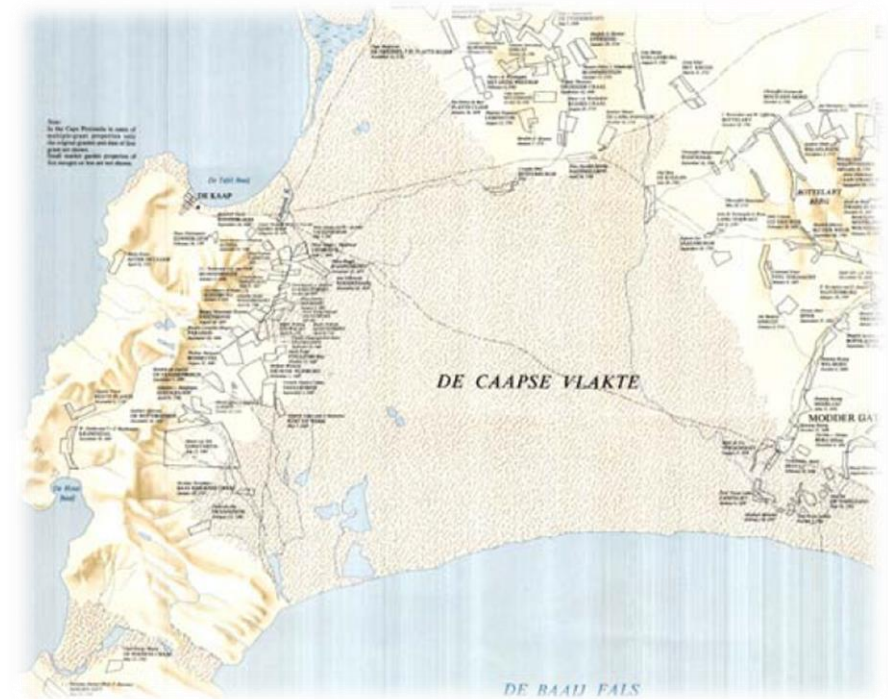


Figure 2. Guelke's map of the Cape Colony showing the freehold land granted 1657-1750. The study area is below the label 'De Caapse Vlake'.

During the VOC period portions of the south-western Cape Flats, including Vaderlandsche Riet Valley in what is now Philippi, formed part of the VOC's 'thatch and woodland', reserved for its exclusive harvesting of firewood and thatching reed. The VOC also made use of the grazing in its area for its own herds of draught animals. The broader Cape Flats was used by burghers for the collection of firewood and for limited grazing.

By at least 1750 a direct route from the Cape settlement to the Hottentots Holland Kloof ran across the Cape Flats. This route, in part along the extension of Klipfontein Rd, ran through the later Duinefontein farm just to the north of Nyanga, and from there more or less followed the general alignment of the later N2 and Old Main Rd. This was an alternative to the old Cape waggon road (later Voortrekker Rd) located on firmer terrain along the longer route skirting the northern perimeter of the Cape Flats, but in parts it was not so much a track as a general route across shifting dune belts. Firewood harvesting and grazing on these fragile soils had created denuded areas throughout the Flats by the 19th century.

19th and early 20th century

The Cape Flats remained relatively undesirable for farming and residential land as long as better land was still available closer to the Peninsula settlements. One of the first freehold grants in the broader area around parts of Philippi and Nyanga was of a 3 Morgen property (later Manenberg Estate) granted in 1800 in what is now Sand Industria to the south and west of Manenberg. Other early grants in what is now Philippi were of Vaderlandsche Riet Valley (1813), Jan Bestbier's Dam (1814), and Job's Vlei (1814). All the early grants were made around permanent or seasonal pools or dams. This enabled a year-round supply of water for livestock as well as making possible the limited cultivation of vegetables. Later early grants include Joseph de Kok's Kraal and Pampoene Kraal (now Mitchell's Plain) and

Montagu's Gift (southern portion of Philippi and the suburb of Grassy Park) both in 1844, and Duinefontein in 1845.

In 1876 land in the sandy but water-rich area was subdivided for farming lots by the Cape Colonial Government and German immigrants were encouraged to settle in the area and produce fruit and vegetables. Before they settled on "Crown Land" in what was to become known as Philippi in the 1870s-1880s, there were "three to four" farmers in the area, including one at Vaderlandsche Rietvlei.

Grazing licences were no longer granted from this period onwards, in an effort to curb further erosion, and although a concerted effort was made to plant trees to stabilise the shifting sands prior to the arrival of the German settlers, John X Merriman was determined that the area would become the production source of fresh produce for the Cape, and the German market gardeners were expected to transform the sandy, waterlogged area into productive land with little to no help from the government.

Approximately the northern half of Nyanga (the area to the north of Terminus Rd (and extended)) formed part of the farm Duinefontein, which was granted jointly to three parties in perpetual quitrent in March 1845 (CQ 12-4). The easternmost portion of Duinefontein, approximately a quarter of the 1845 property, was split off in 1849 to create Klipfontein Farm (now partly Crossroads, N2 road reserve and Cape Town International airport grounds). Lots were laid out on what was then known as the 'Wynberg Flats/ Claremont Flats in the Field Cornetcy Downs No 1' from the late 1870s onwards (Figure 3 and Figure 4). This period also witnessed the arrival of the first group of 'Second wave' German immigrants to the Cape in 1877-8, followed by a second group in 1883. These immigrants had been recruited in Germany by a Cape Government impressed by the agricultural successes achieved by 'First wave' immigrants in the Eastern Cape.

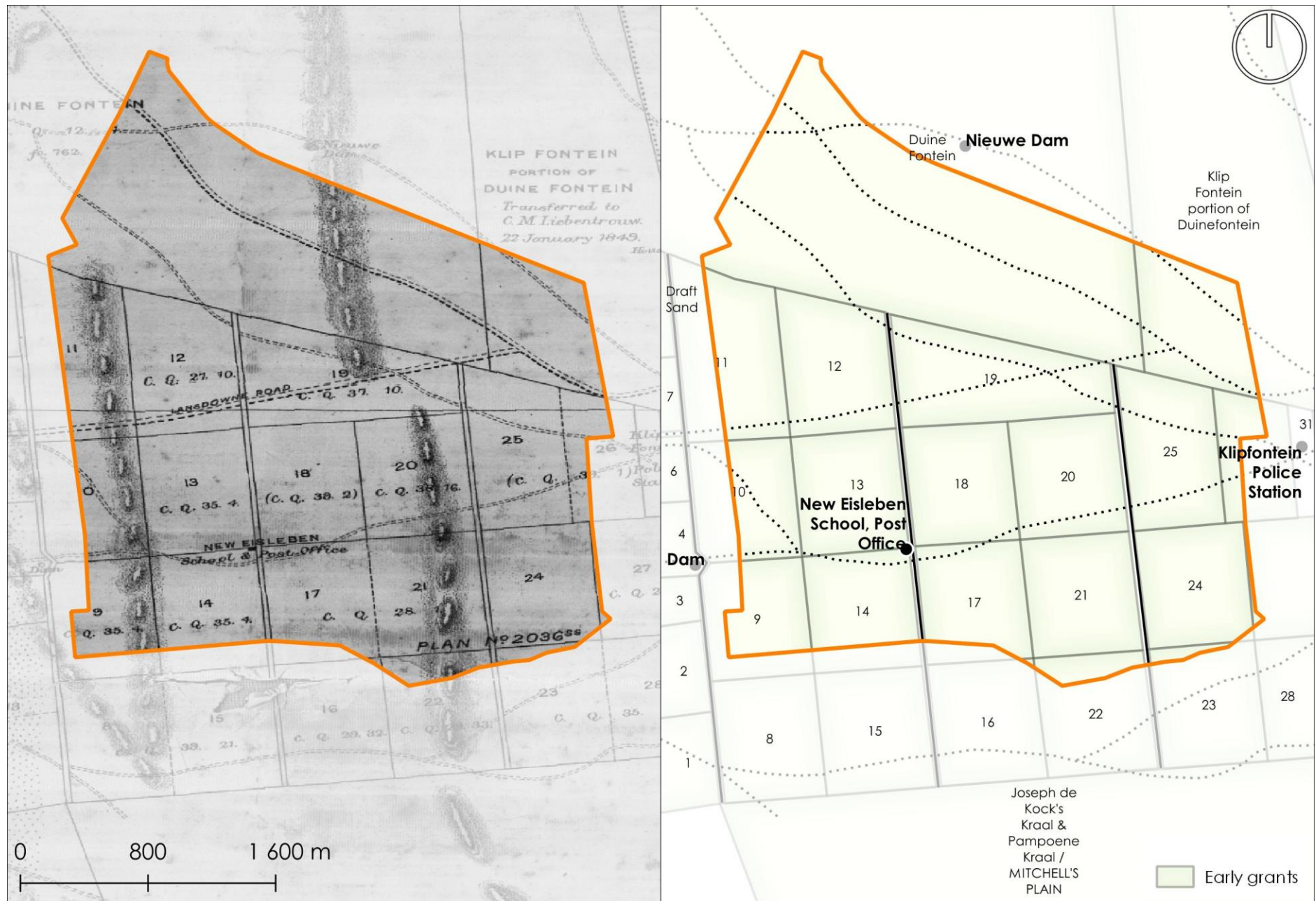


Figure 3. 1901 topocadastral map (left) and schematic (right)

While most of the 1877-8 immigrants were granted land in the Boland, many drifted to the Wynberg Flats, where a few Germans were already farming with vegetables for the Cape market for some time. The vast bulk of the 1883 group settled directly on the Cape Flats. Most of them came from the Lüneburger Heide region of Northern Germany, and were familiar with farming under conditions of poor, sandy soils and dealing with issues of waterlogging and nutrient-poor grazing. Within less than 2 decades these German immigrants had succeeded in establishing Cape Town's first major commercial horticultural area.

By 1880 a Mission Station and School were established on Klipfontein. The school was located at the terminus of a number of tracks from the west and north, including the original 'Klipfontein Rd' across the central portion of Duinefontein, past two farm houses, one each located at the 'Old' and 'New' dams. The entire western portion of Nyanga was covered by a large belt of drift sand which extended west into what is now Gugulethu, and further to the north. Lansdowne Rd (Govan Mbeki) was constructed along most of its current alignment sometime between 1880 and 1901, and the portion of New Eisleben Rd up to Terminus Rd was in place. A node was emerging at the 'crossroads' of Klipfontein and Lansdowne Roads. A German school and church had also been established along Lansdowne Rd, and the nascent German community was now known as Philippi. Soon the broader rural area became known as Philippi. This included Nyanga, Gugulethu, Crossroads and areas further to the north and east. Philippi did not fall into any urban municipality.

The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley and gold along the Reef in the late 19th century were the catalyst for the transition from an agrarian to an industrial economy that was accompanied by the establishment of new towns, a migrant labour system to supply labour to the mines and farms and, development of infrastructure to support the unfolding economic and urban growth. While South Africa's

urban landscape and population grew, the rural areas in the former Transkei Territories entered a slow social and economic decline. A major contributor to this was the fact that a large percentage of migrant labour workers in the urban towns were forced into wage labour through "hut" and "poll taxes" in the Transkei Territories with



Figure 4. 1901 Cape Division map of the study area, showing Duinefontein to the north and a number of small quitrent farms within the area as well as the development of Lansdowne Road and Klipfontein Road.

the passing of the Glen Grey Act in the mid-1880s¹. From the late 19th century onwards, a new phase of loss, dispossession, and change was set in motion, with ripple effects on Cape Town.

Cape Town's economy directly benefited as a major supplier of goods and services for people moving into mining and new urbanising areas. As the city grew, its population underwent a demographic shift, aligned with the arrival of immigrant artisans, traders, and migrant workers for the growing manufacturing, service, and construction industries, including a developing transport system (docks, roads, railways). By 1900, the estimated black African population living in Cape Town was around 10 000 people, most of them working in the construction industry. In the absence of adequate housing, many lived as lodgers or tenants in areas like Papendorp (Woodstock), District Six, or West London (Athlone).

Black South African (i.e. non-slave) men have been documented as working and living in huts on the foot of Devil's Peak in Cape Town as early as 1839. The first recorded reference to Black people living in the Philippi area dates to 1932. In that year the Black occupants of 26 shacks on the property of a Mr Gordon (later to become part of Nyanga) were evicted after Mr Gordon was given a choice by the authorities to either provide basic services to this community at his cost, or to have the people evicted. Mr Gordon was not the only property owner in this part of Philippi to rent out space for informal structures on their properties. With the post-World War One building boom witnessed by Cape Town, Nyanga and surrounds became an important source of building sand, and to a lesser extent lime and clay. By 1941 one of the largest operational sand quarrying

operations was located in the central portion of Nyanga, Smit's quarry. Brickfields were located near the intersection of Klipfontein and Duinefontein roads. Klipfontein Road was upgraded and realigned to its current alignment between 1938 and 1941. A cement factory was also constructed at the corner of Lansdowne and New Eisleben Roads between 1938 and 1941 (Photograph 2 and Photograph 1).

By at least 1938 a large, predominantly Black, informal area had come into existence to the east and north-east of Smit's quarry, while several informal structures were also located to the south of the main quarry. The settlement to the east of the quarry was known as 'Sakkiesdorp' by at least 1941. The term was common in the Western Cape around this time – there were also settlements named 'Sakkiesdorp' in Worcester, Ceres and Wellington – and referred to the treated sack clothing (hessian) used to cover the pole frames typically constituting some of the shacks of the era. The Cape Divisional Council (Divco) – responsible for the administration of areas outside municipal boundaries – attempted to evict the community in 1942, but was successfully opposed by the newly-formed Sakkiesdorp Vigilance Association.

By 1944 Sakkiesdorp covered an area of around 100 ha, and its 800 inhabitants accounted for 27% of Philippi's entire population. Most of the inhabitants were employed at the quarry, brickfields or Portland Cement factory in Lansdowne Rd. Conditions in Sakkiesdorp were appalling, and it was known as Cape Town's 'worst and largest pondokkie [shack] settlement'. In 1944 it was described by Divco's Medical Officer as 'a truly appalling state of affairs' and 'a menace

¹ The Glen Grey Act is an 1894 act of the parliament of the Cape Colony, instigated by the government of Prime Minister Cecil John Rhodes, which established a system of individual (rather than communal) land tenure, and

created a labour tax to force Xhosa men into employment on commercial farms or in industry. The Act was so named because, although it was later extended to a larger area, it initially applied only in the Glen Grey district.

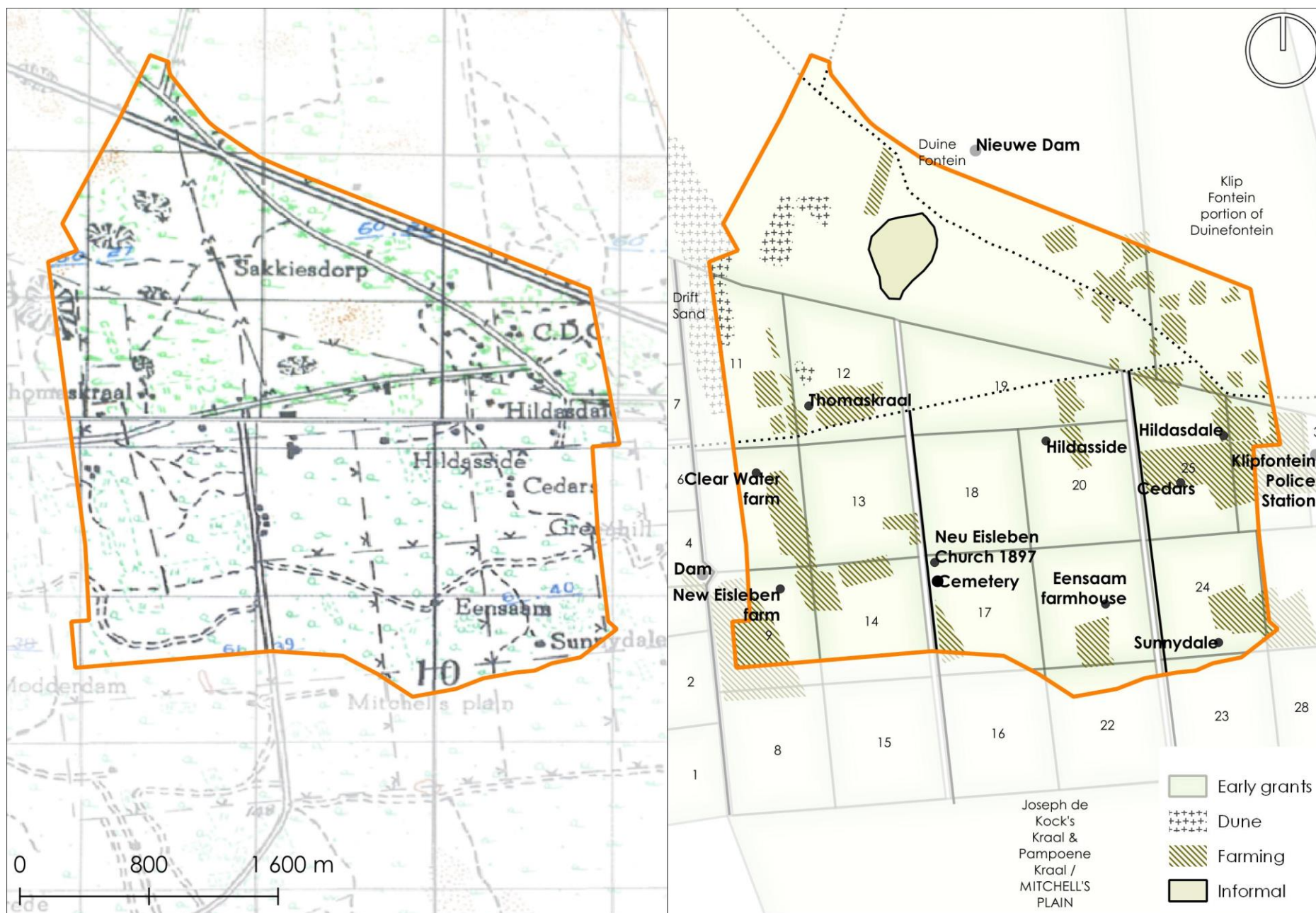


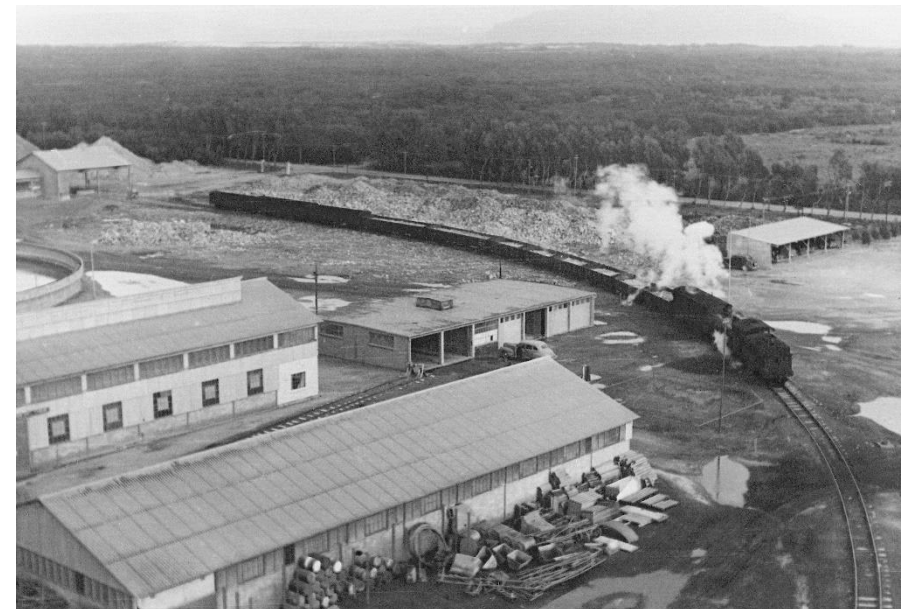
Figure 5. c1938 topocadastral map (left) and schematic (right)

to public health'. While Divco in the same year agreed to the erection of a community school by the residents, its key objective was to actually get rid of Sakkiesdorp by resettling the whole community in formal housing. Nyanga's location in relation to Sakkiesdorp was a key consideration in Divco's acquisition of the land in 1945 for establishing a 'Native location'.

Before considering the development of the study area since 1945, it is necessary to first take a step back and consider black settlers within the context of official policy regarding racial segregation, especially as applied to the Western Cape during the Apartheid-era.



Photograph 2. The Cement Factory on Neu Eisleben Road in the late 1940s or early 1950s. The Neu Eisleben church is visible at top left (courtesy E. Wessels)



Photograph 1. Coal was supplied by rail from Bellville (courtesy E. Wessels)



Figure 6. 1944 NGI aerial image (left) and schematic (right)

20th Century history

The template for a more segregated city, loss of a place and citizenship for black African residents was initiated in 1901, when hundreds who lived in the inner city were forcibly removed, for alleged “health reasons”, and resettled in an informal settlement area - Uitvlugt (Ndabeni). With the Act of Union of South Africa in 1910, black African property owners were stripped of their former right to vote and, in 1913, lost their right to own land outside of the Transkei Territories with the passing of the Land Act. The Urban Areas Act of 1923 tightened the noose, limiting the number and rights of South Africa's black African population in urban areas. From 1926 it was implemented by the then City Council who established a new township for the city's “legally” registered workers, Langa, in 1927.

During the 1930s, while still a largely agricultural area, signs of the industrial economy began moving into the Philippi area on the Cape Flats. This included some silica mining, needed for producing glass and the establishment of light industry like the cement factory (later Portland Cement) along Lansdowne Road. Those who worked on the farms, mines, and emerging industries lived in small informal settlements or, rudimentary housing on surrounding farms.

By the time the National Party came into power in 1948, there were an estimated 100 000 people living in informal settlements across the city. From then onwards the apartheid government went on the offensive to segregate space in Cape Town along racial lines and limit the city's black African population. With the passing of the Group Areas Act (1950) the city was divided into prescribed areas based on apartheid racial classifications, resulting in a sustained period of removals from the inner city to new housing developments across the Cape Flats, the most well-known being District Six, prescribed for “white” occupation in 1966.

Alongside this the noose tightened to limit the size of the city's black African population. From the 1930s the Union Government had started promoting the notion of the Western Cape as the natural ‘homeland’ of the ‘Cape Coloureds’. After the National Party took over government in 1948, this became official doctrine. The designation of the Cape, initially west of Knsyna (1955), as a Coloured Labour Preference Area made it extremely difficult for black Africans,



Figure 7. 1940 topocadastral map of the study area showing the major roads (New Eisleben, Lansdowne, and Klipfontein) and small settlements including Hildasside, the Cedards, and Eensaam within the study area.

especially women, to live or work in Cape Town (Figure 8). Those who qualified would be accommodated in what W Eiselen, the Secretary of Native Affairs and chief architect of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy, called “controlled squatter camps”. Employment opportunities for the region’s Black population were restricted to menial or physically demanding jobs in the agriculture, mining, construction and manufacturing industries. Also in 1955, Eiselen stated that the National Party’s long-term strategy would henceforth be to gradually phase out the presence of all Blacks in the Western Cape, initially focusing on families and the unemployed or unemployable (e.g. pensioners, handicapped), but eventually also single bachelor contract labourers.

Between 1955 and 1956 hundreds of black African women and men with a “legal” right to live and work in the city were relocated from informal settlements across the city to the newly established Nyanga Emergency Camp in Nyanga West, now Gugulethu. Those with no “legal” rights were endorsed out of the Cape to the already poverty-stricken rural areas of the Eastern Cape.

Nyanga was begrudgingly established, and cynically administered – more to serve the effective implementation of Apartheid policies and the labour requirements of the local economy than the needs and well-being of a community. In line with Apartheid-era policy for the Western Cape, Black people were officially considered only a ‘temporary presence’ in the Western Cape into the 1980s, and thus essentially undeserving of investment in terms of permanent housing, public infrastructure, etc. It would not be an understatement to say that in Nyanga the authorities conspired – albeit partially by indifference and inefficiency – to make life as unpleasant as possible in order to dissuade Black people from wanting to be permanently settled in Cape Town. In the thinking of the authorities, the better the conditions provided, the more reluctant Black families or migrant workers would be to move out of the Peninsula.

As Black labour was indispensable to some sectors in the Peninsula economy, the strategy envisaged limiting and controlling accommodation, and increasingly favouring single contract workers over families in the provision of accommodation. The residents of the ‘locations’ were supposed to pay for the administration and facilities and ‘services’, mainly through rentals. In the end-game, Black labour would eventually be completely replaced by Coloured labour, and

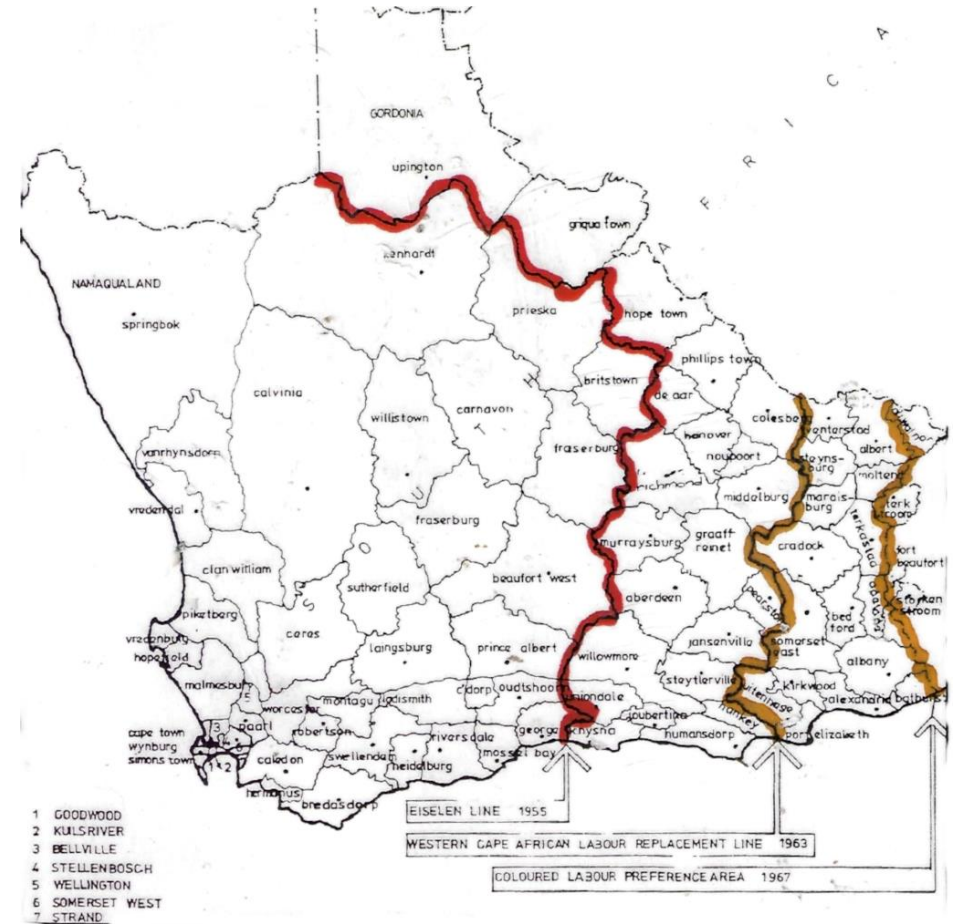


Figure 8. The Eiselen Line in 1955 (red) defined the eastern boundary of the Coloured Labour Preference Area. (Source: J Cole collection)

the need for migrant labour would disappear. Houses occupied by Black families would be given over to Coloured families, and transformed into Coloured areas. In practice things did not work out that way, as Black labour was always in great demand in, amongst others, the construction and quarrying sectors of the Cape Town economy, and the economies of the largely underdeveloped, overpopulated rural Homelands offered few employment opportunities to their 'citizens', so the Cape Town area was always going to attract employment seekers.

By 1959 an embargo was placed on the recruitment of any further Black labourers to the Peninsula, but this proved difficult to implement in the face of actual labour demand. In 1962 a freeze was put on the construction of any further housing in the Peninsula's 'Bantu locations'. In 1966 a policy was introduced which would have seen a freeze on the number of Black labourers in the Peninsula, followed by an annual decrease of 5%. Again, the policy foundered on the real needs of the local economy and also government's large infrastructure projects of the 1960s. It did however result in the preferential allocation of accommodation to legally married couples (which excluded couples married under customary law). By 1966 only lawfully married couples could register on the waiting lists for accommodation. The practice of sham marriages became widespread, not surprisingly translating into high divorce rates.

The Coloured Preference Policy was carried out in the context of the unfolding of Grand Apartheid policy. While discriminatory and segregationist legislation and policy predate Apartheid, Apartheid introduced a systematic and all-encompassing 'solution' to the 'Native question'. The basic premise was that the vast majority of Black people were to be stripped of their South African citizenship, and become citizens of the system of semi-autonomous 'Bantu Homelands' envisaged in terms of the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act, and which later gave rise to the Homelands of Transkei (1976-1994) and

Ciskei (1981-1994) in the old Cape Province. By 1970 all Black people in the Republic had to register as citizens of Homelands (as and when constituted). In parallel, the state pursued policies establishing and reinforcing the provision of segregated residential areas and separate amenities, and of formally classifying the population according to race. Key anchoring early legislation included the Population Registration Act (1950), the Group Areas Act (1950, superseded by acts of the same name in 1957 and 1966), the Blacks (Abolition of Passes and Documents) Co-ordination Act (1952) and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953).

The Population Registration Act required all people in South Africa to be identified and registered from birth as belonging to one of four distinct racial groups. The Group Areas Act provided for areas to be declared for the exclusive use of one specific race group. It became compulsory for people to live in areas according to their classification. Implementation of the Group Areas Act in Cape Town lagged until around 1957, with a spate of declarations issuing between 1957 and 1966. The Abolition of Passes and Documents Co-ordination Act effectively replaced the older 'dompas' laws of the different provinces with a uniform system of reference books required to be carried by all Black people throughout South Africa. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act provided for public facilities and transport to be reserved for specific race groups. As Black people were officially considered only a 'temporary presence' in the Western Cape, this policy effectively resulted in a failure to provide for their needs with regard to amenities and transport.

Implementation of this Grand Apartheid vision for Cape Town hinged on the effective implementation of a systematic programme of evictions in declared non-Black areas in the Peninsula, supplemented by the enforcement of effective 'influx control' measures. Influx control, a provision originally dating to the 1923 Native (Urban Areas) Act, essentially meant stricter control over the entry of Black people

into the Peninsula and their continued tenure therein. This included registration upon entry into the Peninsula at the Langa reception centre (and after 1960 also in Nyanga), and the ongoing submission of proof of gainful employment to remain eligible for residential status in the Peninsula. From 1965 onwards, contract workers whose contracts expired had to return to their 'Homelands' and successfully reapply for new contracts prior to being eligible for re-entry into the Western Cape.

The two key pieces of legislation in terms of which forced evictions were carried out, were the 1945 Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (as amended, 1952 and 1954), and the 1951 Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act empowered local authorities to destroy shacks and eradicate informal settlements and move evicted people to 'emergency camps' for temporary settlement and further processing, i.e., allocation of formal housing or endorsement out of the Peninsula. This constituted the main instrument enabling the physical demolition of shacks and informal areas later in the decade, and the establishment of the Nyanga Transit Camp (1956) and the Gugulethu Emergency Camp (1958).

The 1954 Amended Consolidation Act made formal provision for the establishment of 'Native locations' and the proclamation of certain areas where Black people may be forced to reside. All Black persons over the age of sixteen were required to carry reference books, and no Black person was to be allowed to stay in a non-location urban area longer than seventy-two hours unless they had permission to do so. The infamous Section 10, which governed who could stay in the urban areas, provided that only those who had been born in urban areas and had continuously lived there since, as well those who had worked and resided for a period of 10 years or longer, were eligible for continued residence in designated urban areas (contract labour excluded). The Act also broadened the powers of local authorities to order the removal of Black people deemed 'idle or undesirable',

even if otherwise legally present in an urban area. The Act also restricted and controlled the movement of Black people within the Peninsula. Thus, people resident in Nyanga and those in adjacent Gugulethu theoretically had to apply for permits to visit one another, as they were living in different 'Bantu jurisdictions'.

Segregation and the making of the apartheid city

In the early 1960s, despite political organisation and resistance against draconian apartheid laws and policies, political organisation was not tolerated. In the aftermath of the Sharpeville Massacre (March 1960), the apartheid government introduced a State of Emergency, banning many political organisations, and either banning or imprisoning their political leaders. The contradictions inherent in the political economy of apartheid became apparent in the second half of the 1960s. In the context of a booming economy between 1968 and 1974, the number of black African migrant workers grew by 56.3% in Cape Town, resulting in the limited implementation of influx control. Given a critical housing shortage, new pockets of "uncontrolled" informal settlements mushroomed across the city. By 1975 there were large black African informal settlements in Bellville South in and around the University of the Western Cape (Modderdam, Unibell, and Werkgenot) and Crossroads, a growing informal settlement located on land bordered by Klipfontein and Lansdowne Road.

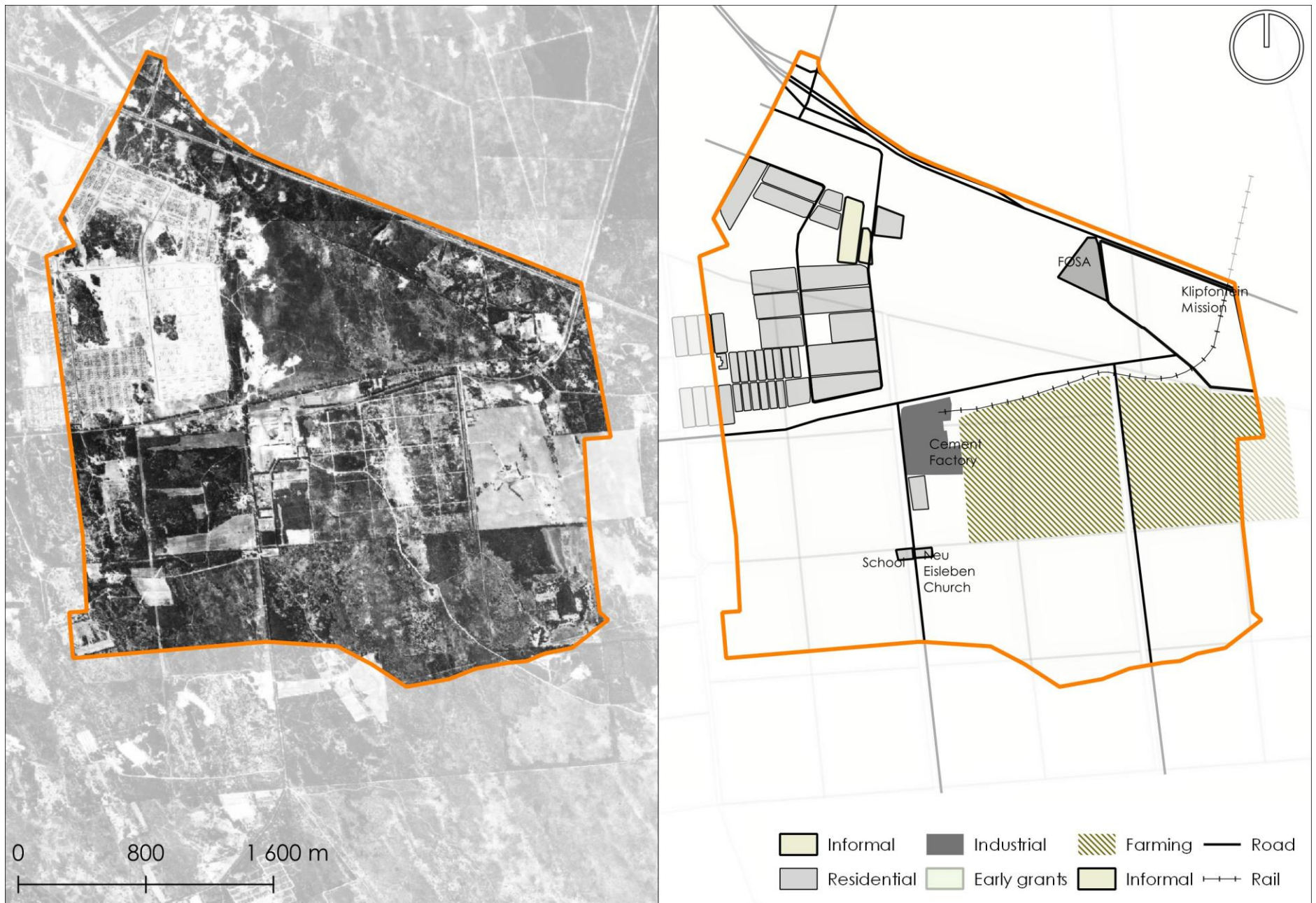


Figure 9. 1960 NGI aerial image (left) and schematic (right)

1970s-1980s: The struggle for the right to the city

The struggle for the right of black African people to live, work, and play in Cape Town took on new dimensions from the mid-1970s. Between 1973 and 1974, inspectors from the newly established Bantu Administration Boards (BAAB), established in 1972 to implement urban control over black African townships, visited many of the informal settlements to identify their black African residents. A number who lived in Brown's Farm were told to move onto vacant land where Klipfontein and Lansdowne Road converge – at the Crossroads.

Crossroads

“When the history of Philippi is traced back to the beginning, it goes all the way back to 1975, back to Crossroads”²

When people began to resettle at Crossroads, they were adamant that they were not moving to anywhere else. This determination was spearheaded by black African women, most of them with no rights under apartheid laws and policies to live or work in Cape Town. Some moved to the area from the migrant worker hostels in nearby Nyanga or, Langa. Others had been arrested or endorsed out of the city to the Eastern Cape during the 1960s. Many chose to come back to Cape Town, given growing poverty and harsh living conditions experienced in the rural areas, especially in the Transkei. Faced with ongoing raids and arrests, despite being promised basic services if they moved to Crossroads, the emerging leadership, led by the women of Crossroads, were at the forefront of seeking advice and support. In 1975 they approached the Black Sash's Advice Office, known for assisting people with pass law and influx control challenges.

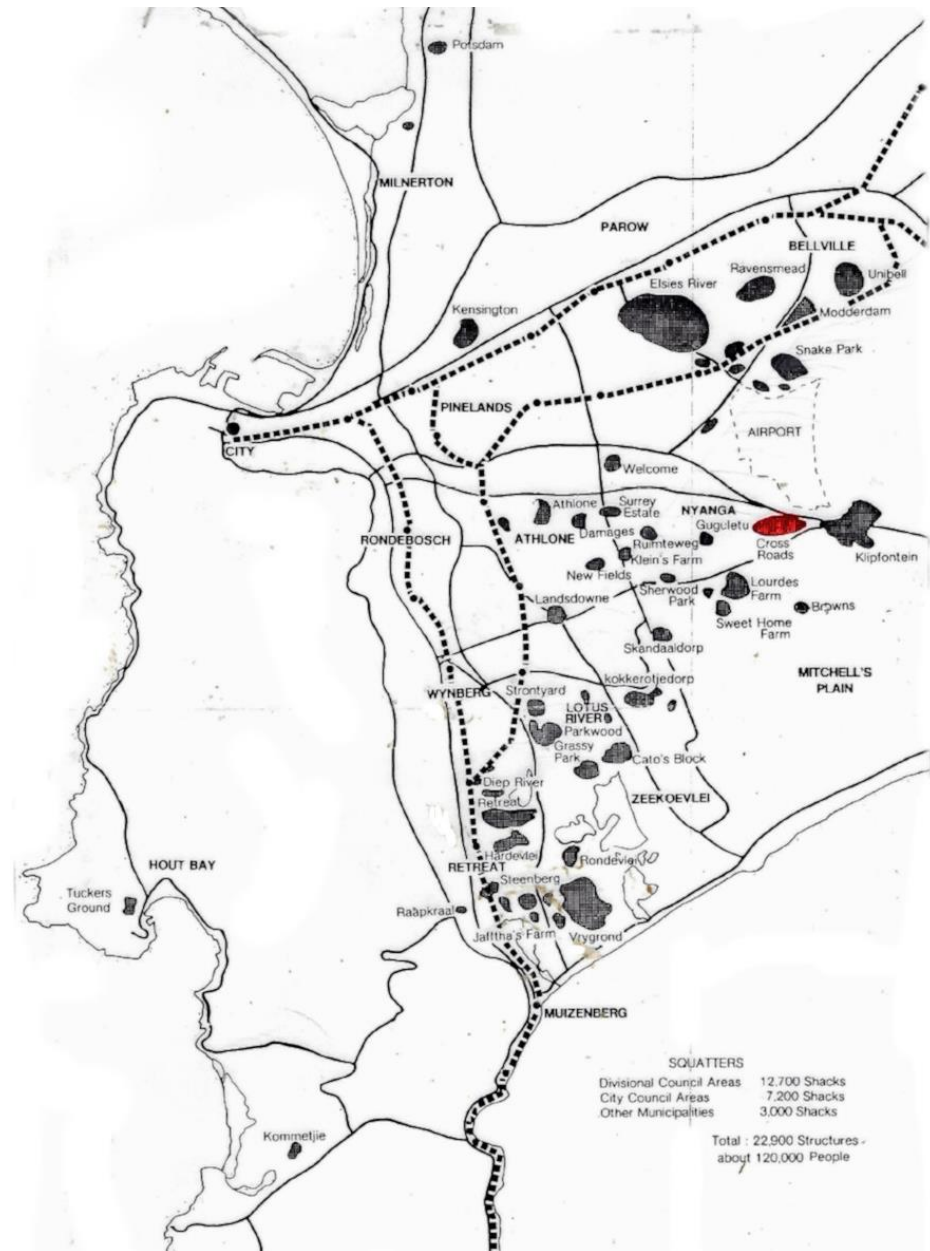


Figure 10. Squatter settlements in Cape Town in 1976. Crossroads is indicated in red (J. Cole Collection)

² Luvuyo Zondani, 15 May 2021, Heritage Workshop, Beautiful Gate, Philippi East

The indication that something had shifted in the minds and hearts of black African women in Cape Town is vividly captured by the veteran Black Sash Advice Office volunteer, Noel Robb:

In early 1975, for the first time we had women coming to us... Now in the first place, we didn't even know what Crossroads was...and the one thing we noticed was that these women were very independent. When we told them that they were illegally in the area they told us that in spite of this they were determined to stay. There was no question that they would obey the law. Now that was the first time that we had heard that. Until 1975 when you did everything you could to get permission for a woman to stay and you failed, she went. But the women of Crossroads were the first women to sit in our office and say... "We are not going".³

With the support of a legal team that took up their case, the lawyers used a different clause in the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, used by the Divisional Council who owned the land to evict the Crossroads community, applying for the area to be declared an Emergency Camp. Due to an inability of the Divisional Council to prove ownership of the land the Crossroads' lawyers won their case and, in June 1976, in the shadow of the Soweto uprisings, Crossroads was declared a legal Emergency Camp. Although it meant that residents could still be arrested for pass offences if they left the area (Photograph 3), it was a significant breakthrough in the struggle of black African men and women to the right to live and work in Cape Town. More significantly, it gave the early Crossroads residents time and space to consolidate the informal settlement and build a sense of place and belonging in Cape Town for the first time.



Photograph 3. Pass offences could still be enforced outside the Emergency Camp (J. Cole Collection)

By 1977, while the apartheid government was preparing a new offensive against black African people in the city, provoked by fears of widescale anti-apartheid resistance in the aftermath of the 1976 student protests in Johannesburg and Cape Town, the residents of Crossroads, led by a strong leadership, had transformed the place they called home into a well organised and serviced community. With the support of various churches and organisations, Crossroads was divided into four sections (1-4) with its own system of local administration (two Men's Committees (Noxolo and Sizamile), a

³ Quoted in J Cole (1987), Crossroads: The Politics of Reform and Repression 1976-1986 p13-14

Women's Committee, wardsmen, and headmen); two primary schools (also Noxolo and Sizamile - Photograph 4 and Photograph 6); a community hall (Noxolo); sports and recreation clubs; creches in all four sections; local choirs; musicians; and numerous churches. It also had a thriving informal local economy – spaza shops, watch repairs, mechanics, picture framing, anything you needed you could get in Crossroads. The Divisional Council provided taps around the main entrances and a mobile clinic serviced the area once a week. There is no doubt that if left to develop organically, Crossroads would have thrived. But, when the apartheid government brutally demolished the informal settlements in Bellville South (Modderdam, Unibell, and Wergenot) in the winter of 1977, it signalled that it was taking a hard line on Black African settlements outside of their control in the city. In February 1978, they announced that Crossroads would be next. The Crossroads community rose to the occasion.



Photograph 6. Class at Noxolo School in Crossroads (J. Cole Collection)



Photograph 4. Sizamile School, Crossroads (J. Cole Collection)



Photograph 5. Ballroom dancing at Noxolo Community Hall in 1978 (J. Cole Collection)



Photograph 7. A metal suitcase maker in Crossroads (J. Cole Collection)

Resistance and Solidarity – the “Save Crossroads” campaign

Between February and September, with women at the forefront, Crossroads re-invented the meaning of community mobilisation and social cohesion. There were mass meetings in Crossroads, public meetings across the city, regular press statements and briefings, and weekly strategy meetings at St Saviour’s Church in Claremont, attended by representatives from Crossroads, fieldworkers working in the community, the Crossroads’ lawyer, the Black Sash, ministers, and a range of active citizens from across Cape Town, all determined to avoid another removal. The activities in support of Crossroads included the mobilisation of students, petitions (Photograph 8), lobbying Progressive Party politicians like Van Zyl Slabbert and Helen Suzman and, as importantly, the establishment of a vast solidarity network with a range of overseas organisations, press, and anti-apartheid groups.

Not a day went by without media coverage on what was known as “the Crossroads struggle”. Crossroads became a national and international symbol of resistance to forced removals and apartheid. Things came to a head in September 1978, when the military and police colluded to organise a massive raid on Crossroads in the early hours of 14 September. With fires around all the entrances to Crossroads and residents stationed there, the police were held back. The only casualty was the shooting and death of Sindile Ndlela who was shot by a policeman at around 4am, after which the police withdrew. They returned at around 6am, moved into the area in and around the Noxolo School, and arrested a group of residents and supporters who faced them head on. News of the raid and arrests was already headline news in Washington and New York. The new South African President, PW Botha, changed tactics, deciding to use Crossroads as an opportunity to showcase his presidency as one



Photograph 8. “Save Crossroads” petition signatories (J. Cole Collection)

committed to reform. By the time he sent in his new Minister of Cooperation and Development, Piet Koornhof, to negotiate a way out of the impasse the women leaders were already highlighting their struggle in a one act play that they created called *Imfuduso* (Exodus) at the Space Theatre in Cape Town (Photograph 9).



Photograph 9. *Imfuduso* at the Space Theatre in 1978 (J. Cole Collection)

The Koornhof Deal – April 1979

From November 1978 to April 1979 the Crossroads' leadership (men and women) were locked into an intensive negotiations process. Eventually, despite the fact that not all of the leaders, residents, or their supporters trusted Koornhof, the end result was that his offer of a negotiated settlement "the Koornhof deal" – won the day. It called for the deconstruction of Crossroads into an upgraded area on the present site (Old Crossroads) and building of a new housing area a

few kms away on land situated between Gugulethu and Nyanga (New Crossroads). After 1979 things were never the same. By 1981 there were divisions between the Sizamile and Noxolo Committees, the more outspoken women leaders were increasingly marginalised, and apartheid officials for the first time in its history moved in and out of Old Crossroads.

Despite reservations, close to 1 800 households moved into the new houses in New Crossroads from October 1981. At the same time, residents facing evictions from the Langa hostels that were under renovation, took advantage of the gap presented by the Koornhof deal and invaded some vacant land on the Mahobe Road side of Old Crossroads, just behind Section 4. The land invasion marked a new phase in the struggle of black African people for the right to the city.

The making of the Crossroads Complex

Between 1981 and 1983, while internal divisions and power struggles dominated life in Old Crossroads and people were settling into a life in New Crossroads, the unoccupied land surrounding Old Crossroads was incrementally occupied by thousands of black African women and men in search of a place to stay in the city. During this period there were endless police raids, arrests, evictions, and deportations but these were met with fierce resistance. By the time the apartheid government announced in 1983 that it was planning to build a new area for "legal" black Africans to live (Khayelitsha), the informal settlements that had mushroomed around Old Crossroads (Nyanga Extension, Nyanga Bush, and Portland Cement), each with its own leadership, were already firmly entrenched.

This early 1980s struggle for the right to the city dovetailed with a growing anti-apartheid movement across South Africa, spearheaded by the United Democratic Front (UDF), launched in August 1983. One of its first campaigns in the Western Cape was the "Asiyi eKhayelitsha"



Photograph 10. Occupying the land (July 1981)

campaign – “we are not moving to Khayelitsha”. By the end of 1984 there were thousands living in and around Old Crossroads and, local government officials were openly admitting that influx control, as previously conceived, was no longer implementable in the Western Cape. It was defeated by the sheer will and determination of black African men and women, and those who stood in solidarity with them, for their right to live, work, and celebrate cultural life in the city – to belong. Faced with an increasingly militant and politicised anti-apartheid movement across the country and city of Cape Town, the apartheid government went on the offensive. Its biggest fear then, as it had been way back in the 1950s, was the emergence of “uncontrolled” pockets of black African informal settlements, especially those linked to wider the anti-apartheid movement, with suspected links to the external liberation movements.

Displacement and the re-shaping of space

Any appreciation of present-day Crossroads-Philippi area needs to understand the violent displacement of black Africans, social disruption, and trauma that accompanied it in and around the Crossroads Complex between 1985 and 1986. It unfolded against the backdrop of one of the most violent periods in South African history in which thousands of political leaders and anti-apartheid activists were arrested, detained, or killed across the country and shadow of a State of Emergency.

The displacement and re-shaping of space began in early 1985, when local government officials, led by Timo Bezuidenhout, offered the residents of informal settlements around Old Crossroads 18-month permits if they agreed to relocate to Site C in Khayelitsha. Only Nyanga Extension, under the leadership of Mali Hoza, agreed to move and, in April 1985, 12 000 people “voluntarily” relocated to Site C. Other smaller groups followed. By September 1985 there were an estimated 35 000 people living there. The majority refused to move to Khayelitsha.

From the perspective of the apartheid government, the area in and around Crossroads was viewed as a major security threat. From the perspective of the leaders in Old Crossroads, led by Johnson Ngxobongwana, the informal settlements were viewed as militant and occupying land earmarked for the planned upgrade of Old Crossroads. When these perspectives converged, the result was one of the most brutal and violent forced removals in Cape Town’s history, symbolised by what many refer to as “the fires” of 1986.

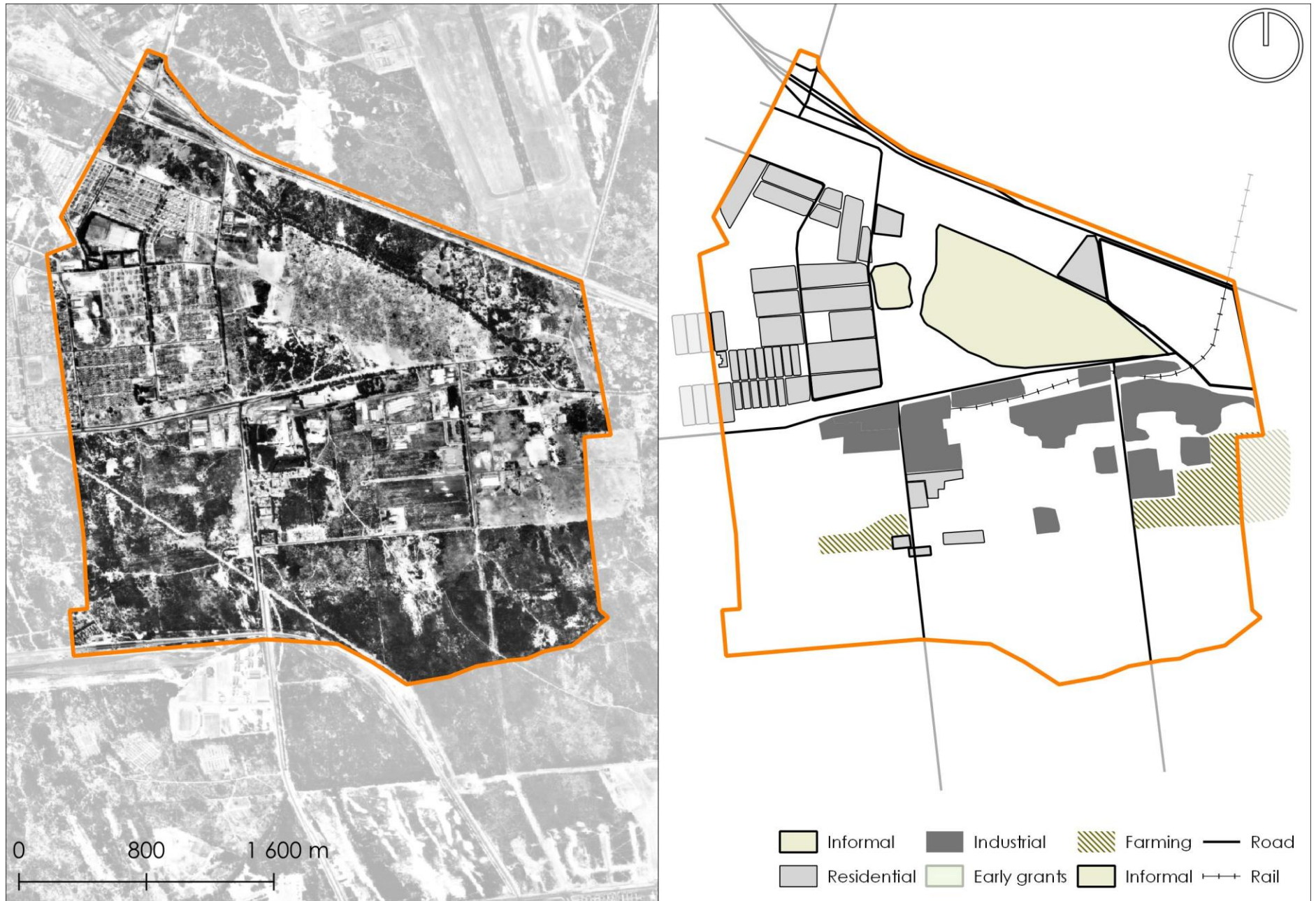


Figure 11. 1983 NGI aerial image (left) and schematic (right)

The destruction of the Crossroads Complex and nearby KTC

While it is beyond the scope of this study to describe in detail the complexity of events that led up to this event or, its aftermath, it remains a central part of the wider narrative that underpins present-day Crossroads-Philippi, including the making of Khayelitsha.

"Ngxobongwana was arrested because of the Asiyi eKhayelitsha' struggle. ...When he got out, he changed his tune to saying that comrades were not wanted in the community...⁴

Between May and June 1986, groups of men from Old Crossroads and Site C, wearing white headbands – "witdoeke" – and flanked by the police and army, moved across the settlements on the edge of old Crossroads. Starting with Portland Cement they systematically torched the area and attacked the residents who either fled or fought back. When news of the onslaught reached nearby Nyanga and Guguletu hundreds of militant youth from these areas joined into what turned into a running battle over a number of days between the armed "witdoeke", police, and residents from the settlements under attack. Once the Crossroads informal settlements were destroyed, the "witdoeke" moved on towards KTC (originally Kekaza Transit Camp, but better known by its acronym) in Gugulethu.

...in 1986 the fighting between the young people and the old people started, the Witdoek. They were shooting using rubber bullets and teargas choking the children as well and people's houses getting burnt. The fight even spread to KTC and we ran to go live Emaholweni..⁵

By mid-June 1986, the Crossroads Complex and KTC areas were devastated, and an estimated 70 000 people were displaced. Some sought refuge in nearby churches and the Zolani Centre in Nyanga. Others were scattered across the nearby black townships or moved onto vacant land in the Philippi area. A significant number had no option other than to move into Khayelitsha. The violence, social disruption, and trauma of this period emerged as central themes when former residents who experienced or witnessed these events shared their memories of this period at a recent workshop held at Beautiful Gate in Philippi East.

In its aftermath, social cohesion and political organisation was disrupted, replaced by political in-fighting within and between various local leaders – from Old Crossroads to Khayelitsha. New smaller pockets of informal settlements emerged in and around

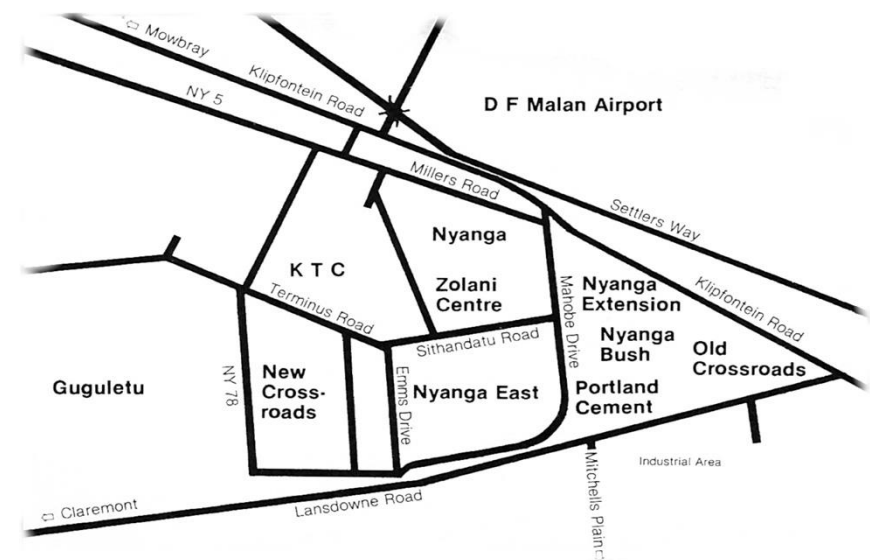


Figure 12. The Crossroads Complex in 1985 (J Cole (1987), Crossroads)

⁴ Patrick Poni, 15 May 2021, Heritage Workshop, Beautiful Gate, Philippi East

Nyanga, Guguletu, and Philippi as former residents of the Crossroads Complex and KTC began to rebuild a sense of place in the city. Inside Old Crossroads political rivalry between Nongwe and Ngxobongwana resulted in the ousting of Ngxobongwana from Old Crossroads in 1988 and, the eventual relocation, facilitated by Nongwe, of hundreds of families in Old Crossroads to a transit area in present-day Lower Crossroads in Philippi East.

...fighting took place between Ngxobongwana and Nongwe. This fight led to our houses being burnt. Those of us who lived in section 3 were skipped by both fighting parties in the fighting. We were sort of a bridge between the two. We were speculating that one day they will come burn our houses down if we do not pick a side and help that side. That is eventually what happened. They burnt our houses and we had to run away. My house was burnt on one side. While it was burning, we were trying to take out as many things as possible, but we could not manage to take everything. We then decided to move to a bush now called Phola Park⁶

In 1986, influx control policy was scrapped with the promulgation of the Abolition of Influx Control Act. This Act repealed 34 laws regarding the control of the movement of Black people, the removal of Blacks from land they occupied, and the control of informal settlements. In the same year, the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act restored South African citizenship to Black South Africans born prior to the establishment of the various 'Homelands', or otherwise legally residing in South Africa, but did not include those who did not meet these criteria – a matter only finally addressed by legislation passed from 1993 and culminating in the South African Citizenship Act (1995).

⁶ Nosipho Gxowa, 15 May 2021, Heritage Workshop, Beautiful Gate, Philippi East



Photograph 11. Woman fleeing during The Fires, 1986 (J. Cole Collection)

Freehold property rights in Black townships were introduced with the promulgation of the Black Communities Development Act in 1987, the first time since such was denied to Black people in 1938 (when the 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act came into effect).

Despite these reforms, the period 1985-1989 was characterized by a last-ditch defence of the Apartheid state. In mid-1985 a partial state of emergency was declared in the Eastern Cape and Pretoria–Witwatersrand–Vereeniging (now Gauteng), extended to the rest of the country in 1986, and in 1987 renewed for a further 2 years. Nyanga witnessed bitter and violent conflict between the resident and hostel sections of its population throughout the 1980s. Many residents in the Old Location also favoured maintaining law and order and co-operating with the authorities, leading to further polarization.

Deployment in township areas was to prove very unpopular amongst White SADF recruits doing their compulsory national service, and above all, brought home the realization to many Whites that Apartheid had all along effectively been a low-intensity civil war

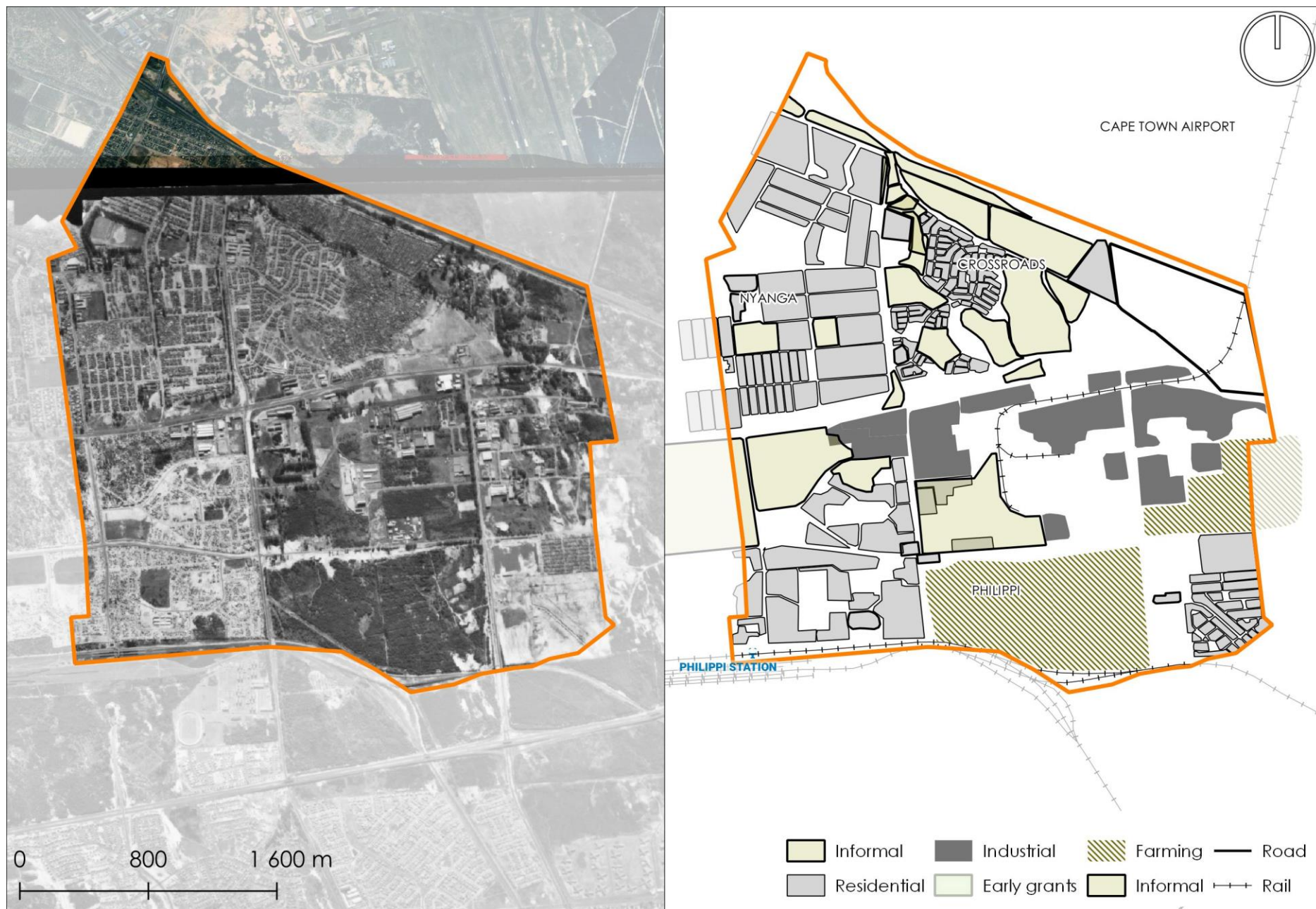


Figure 14. 1992 NGI aerial image (left) and schematic (right)

The pattern of informal settlement continued into the 1990s. Some families moved west of present-day Lower Crossroads to an area occupied by Rastafarians. The area was called Marcus Garvey by the Rastafarians who named it after the Jamaican political activist. They erected shacks and began to set up a community they called Lahlamlenze. The new residents of the clashed with the original occupiers of the land in a conflict which resulted in the expulsion of the Rastafarians from the area. When the democratic government came into power and parts of the area became formalised housing, the residents of Lahlamlenze changed the name of the area back to Marcus Garvey as a symbol of peace.⁷

This major construction and housing project was a major intervention, setting the template for future housing and community infrastructure in the Crossroads-Philippi area. And, by default rather than by design, the bricks and mortar laid obscured the multiple narratives of social agency, displacement, violence, and inter-generational trauma that lies behind present-day Crossroads and Philippi. As importantly, very few remnants or traces of the tangible and intangible markers of past social, political, economic, or cultural history survived.

And, areas like the Marikana informal settlement located

along Landsdowne Road/Govan Mbeki since the land was invaded in 2014, home to an estimated 20 000 people, symbolise the ongoing aspirations of black African people to find place and a sense of belonging in a still divided Cape Town (Figure 15).



Figure 15. Marikana informal settlement in July 2014 (above) and September 2014 (below) (Google Earth)

⁷ Oral history interview conducted with N. Mfunda, 28 April 2021



Figure 16. Development of the study area 1901 to 1992

3 Significant places and Heritage Inventory

The City of Cape Town's Heritage Resources Management guideline series (<https://bit.ly/CCT-HeritageResources>) states that the responsibility of heritage resources management is imposed on all local authorities in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act (NHRA) 25 of 1999. The NHRA is the overarching national law that provides the legal framework and tools for local authorities to carry out their heritage resources management responsibility to protect and manage our country's diverse and multicultural heritage resources. In addition to assigning certain heritage management functions to local authorities, the NHRA also empowers civil society to nurture and conserve their heritage resources.

Informed by the City's Environmental Strategy for the City of Cape Town (2017), the City's Heritage Resources Management Section aims to ensure that the rich and diverse cultural heritage of Cape Town is recognised, protected and conserved for future generations, in line with the obligations set by the NHRA.

Heritage resources celebrate our different roots, and form an integral part of our identity. Heritage includes cultural, as well as natural heritage resources inherited and valued by society. These can be any place, space or object that has cultural significance or special value to present communities, and should be protected for the benefit of future generations.

Heritage resources may be significant because of their cultural, aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value. A heritage resource may be considered significant because of any one or more of the preceding values, by different groups. Therefore, it is important that all these values are considered when assessing significance.

Among others, heritage resources may include:

- Places, buildings, structures and equipment of cultural significance;
- Places that are associated with oral traditions or living heritage;
- Historic settlements and/or townscapes;
- Landscapes and natural features of cultural significance;
- Geological sites of scientific or cultural importance;
- Archaeological and palaeontological sites;
- Graves and burial grounds; and
- Sites of significance relating to the history of slavery.

The NHRA has established a three-tier system for heritage resources management. Using a grading system, it distinguishes between at least the following three categories of heritage resources:

- **Grade I:** heritage resources that are so exceptional that they are considered to be of national significance. They are identified and managed by the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA).
- **Grade II:** heritage resources that have special qualities and are significant in a province or region. They are identified and managed by provincial heritage resources authorities (PHRAs). In the Western Cape, the PHRA is Heritage Western Cape (HWC).
- **Grade III:** heritage resources are categorised as 'all other heritage resources worthy of conservation'. The local authority (in this case, the City of Cape Town) is responsible for identifying and managing them. The CCT has grouped grade III heritage resources into A, B and C to assist with their respective management.
 - **Grade IIIa:** metropolitan or regional significance; high intrinsic significance or outstanding examples or representations of a typology, and may demonstrate a high degree of intactness.
 - **Grade IIIb:** neighbourhood/ suburb significance; considerable intrinsic significance, good examples or

representations of a typology, may have a relatively high degree of intactness

- **Grade IIIC:** Streetscape significance; examples of a typology characteristic of immediate area, may be somewhat altered.

Heritage resources can be "Graded", "Ungraded" or "Not Conservation Worthy" (NCW) as follows:

- **Graded:** The heritage authority has applied its mind in order to determine a grading for the resource or sufficient information is available to determine the grading.
- **Ungraded:** The heritage authority has not yet applied its mind in order to determine a grading for the resource or we do not, yet, have sufficient information to determine the grading.
- **Not Conservation Worthy:** The resource does not have enough heritage significance to be retained as part of the National Estate.

The City maintains a heritage inventory database of the graded local heritage resources within Cape Town's municipal boundaries. This inventory complies with the requirements of section 30(5) of the NHRA. The heritage inventory database is accessible to the public at <https://citymaps.capetown.gov.za/EGISViewer/>.

The recommended grading of heritage resources within the project area is a result of research, site visits and limited community interaction (refer to **Annexure 2: Grading map and list of identified sites**). In order to develop the identification and grading of the heritage resources within the project area, an interactive process is required with representatives of the local communities.

Table 1. Examples of heritage resources in the project area

Criteria for cultural value	Example of sites and buildings that are valued by the community
Spiritual	• Places of worship e.g. Churches, Mosques, burial sites and graveyards, worship sites
Social	• Sports fields • Route / roadway • Cemetery/burial sites • Sites to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage e.g. male initiation site • Retail area / shop
Architectural	• Examples of the different buildings from various development stages • Buildings / structure that are rare and unique
Aesthetic value	• Buildings, sites, objects, trees, sites that are valued for aesthetic reasons
Historic	• Historic event/s that can be linked to a site, buildings, route • Building • Objects (e.g. building's fittings, furniture) • Group of buildings e.g. initial development sections • Site of the historic / present cultural activities • Informal structures built by residents in the establishment of the areas • Documentation such as the local newspaper 'Nyanga News' and other personal and administrative documentation
Associational	• A building or structure to an important person/community group and/or an event
Landscape Features	• Mature tree/s, water course, wetland
Technical	• Object or structure that has technical value
Contextual value	• Sites and/or trees that provide value to the context (surroundings)

Places protected under section 34

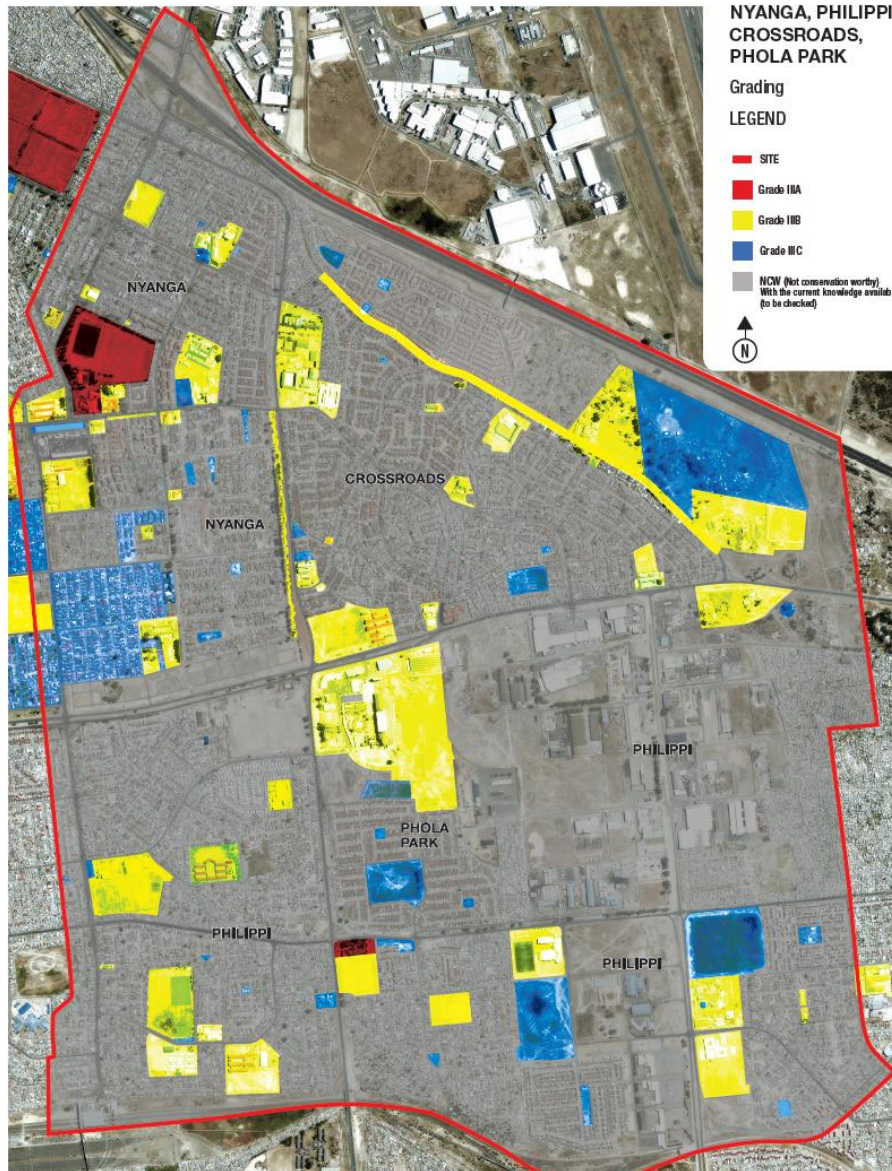


Figure 17. Proposed grading for the study area (See Annexure 2).

Buildings and structures are protected under section 34 of the Act when they reach 60 years of age, and alterations or demolitions require permission from the heritage resources authority. Structures within the study area that are older than 60 years (i.e. were constructed in 1961 or earlier) include the following (see Annexure 2 for details):

In Nyanga:

- Hlengisa Primary School on Hlathi Street
- Various residential buildings on Sakkiesdorp Crescent, Emms Drive, Hangana Street
- The African Methodist Episcopal Church on Emms Drive
- Buildings constructed as part of Nyanga Scheme 1, the Mau-Mau Scheme, the 1953 hostel development, the 1958 hostel development, and the 1958-1960 hostels developments
- The original Nyanga Bus Terminus building on Emms Drive
- Eucalyptus lane remnants on Mahobe Drive, Zwelishia Drive, and Emms Drive.

In Crossroads:

- Nine buildings, including the Duinendal farmhouse dated 1912, on erf 113170 (FOSA / Boys Town / Mfesane site)
- Four buildings in the Klipfontein mission settlement
- Eucalyptus lanes and tree groupings on Klipfontein Road, Mpungutye Street, and in the Klipfontein mission settlement.

In Philippi:

- The Cement Factory
- The Neu Eisleben Lutheran Church
- A converted dwelling at 149 Govan Mbeki Road (Philippi Junction)
- Eucalyptus lanes and tree groupings on Sheffield, Stock, Quebel, Govan Mbeki, and New Eisleben Roads.

Requirements of section 38

Heritage resources other than structures are to some extent protected by section 38 of the Act, which implements general requirements that the heritage resources authority be notified in advance of certain types of development, and gives it the authority to require an assessment of the heritage impacts prior to granting approval or otherwise for the development to proceed. Where a development also requires assessment of environmental impacts in terms of other legislation, the heritage resources authority ceases to be the decision-maker but must ensure its requirements are met in a heritage impact assessment to be considered by the relevant competent authority.

Development activities that require notification of the intent to develop include:

- Construction of a road, wall, powerline, pipeline, canal or other similar form of linear development or barrier exceeding 300m in length;
- the construction of a bridge or similar structure exceeding 50 m in length;
- any development or other activity which will change the character of a site—
 - (i) exceeding 5 000m² in extent; or
 - (ii) involving three or more existing erven or subdivisions thereof; or
 - (iii) involving three or more erven or divisions thereof which have been consolidated within the past five years; or
 - (iv) the costs of which will exceed a sum set in terms of regulations by SAHRA or a provincial heritage resources authority;
- the rezoning of a site exceeding 10 000m² in extent; or
- any other category of development provided for in regulations by SAHRA or a provincial heritage resources authority

Other forms of heritage resources including graves, artefacts, and archaeological or palaeontological sites, have similar protections under sections 32, 35, and 36 of the Act but are not relevant to the study area.

Places of cultural significance

Oral histories and interviews indicated that the Joe Gqabi Initiation site, located on farm CA693/10 (outside the study area south of Stock Road Station), is of cultural significance. The site receives support from the provincial Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport. Its continued use for traditional initiation practices is of importance to residents of the POA and surrounding areas.

Considerations for exemption

The City of Cape Town has identified the possibility of exempting areas from protections of the National Heritage Resources Act as a means to reduce regulatory uncertainty and promote (re)development in key precincts where fewer significant heritage resources exist. The Act provides for exemptions from both section 34 and section 38.

Section 34

As indicated above, section 34 requires permission to alter or demolish a structure older than 60 years. The section provides for exemption from this provision as follows:

34(3). The provincial heritage resources authority may at its discretion, by notice in the Provincial Gazette, make an exemption from the requirements of subsection (1) within a defined geographical area, or for certain defined categories of site within a defined geographical area, provided that it is satisfied that heritage resources falling into the defined area or category have been identified and are adequately provided for in terms of the provisions of Part 1 of this Chapter.

Exemptions in terms of section 34 may be made for a defined area or categories of site, by the provincial heritage resources authority on condition that heritage resources within the area have already been identified provided for in terms of sections 27 to 32 of the Act. That is, they have been declared as national or provincial heritage sites (section 27), designated as protected areas (section 28), listed on a heritage register (section 30), or designated as a heritage area (section 31). This implies that any heritage resources within an exemption area will require protection under one or more of these mechanisms. Exemption from the requirements of section 34 will therefore apply in practice only to those structures older than 60 years but which have not been identified as heritage resources. Section 34

permits the heritage resources authority (in this case Heritage Western Cape) to make an exemption at its own discretion, following a public participation process and notice in the provincial gazette.

Section 38

As indicated above, section 38 of the Act enables the heritage resources authority to require an assessment of heritage impacts of certain types of development, prior to granting approval. The section provides for exemption from this provision as follows:

38(9) The provincial heritage resources authority, with the approval of the MEC, may, by notice in the Provincial Gazette, exempt from the requirements of this section any place specified in the notice.

This implies that a 'place' or area may be exempted from the requirement to notify Heritage Western Cape of the intent to construct certain types of linear infrastructure; change the character of a site meeting certain thresholds, and rezoning a site greater than one hectare. Exemption in terms of section 38 requires the assent of the MEC (in the Western Cape, the MEC for Cultural Affairs and Sport) and does not require prior identification or protection of heritage resources within the area.

Analysis of exemption provisions

A number of distinctions may be drawn between the above provisions:

- Section 38 requires the approval of the MEC, while section 34 requires only the heritage resources authority to determine an exemption.
- Section 34 exemption is dependent on the prior identification and protection of heritage resources occurring within the area by one of the means set out in sections 27 to 31 – **declaration** as a national or provincial heritage site, **designation** as a protected

area or heritage area, or **listing** in a heritage register. Section 38 does not require such a prior protection of places.

- Section 38 (1) and (2) also makes provision for a process by which the heritage resources authority can determine that no adverse heritage impacts are anticipated, and that no approval is therefore required. This involves notification of the heritage resources authority of the nature, location and extent of the proposed development. Should the authority have reason to believe that heritage resources will be affected by the development, it will require a heritage impact assessment to be conducted. If not, the development may proceed without further action. Thus, if a development is unlikely to affect heritage resources a relatively simple process is already in place without a need for exemption in terms of section 38. Section 34 has no such process, requiring a permit for any alteration or demolition.
- An approval granted in terms of section 38 of the Act exempts the holder from compliance with all other protections (including section 34). Section 38 specifically requires, in the assessment of heritage impacts, that the impacts be considered 'relative to the sustainable social and economic benefits to be derived from the development.' Section 34 makes no such stipulation. In cases where the economic social and economic benefit of a development proposal must be weighed against the risk to heritage resources, it may therefore be more appropriate to assess its impacts in terms of section 38, rather than applying for a permit in terms of section 34. This is possible only where the development meets one or more of the criteria in section 38(1) as set out above.

Selection criteria for exemptions

Exemption from section 34 may have very limited application due to its necessary exclusion of declared or listed heritage resources within the exemption area. It is suggested that it be pursued only where the following criteria have been found applicable:

- The majority of structures within the proposed exemption area are over 60 years.
- The area has significant or catalytic redevelopment potential and there is a need to incentivise its redevelopment by lowering regulatory requirements.
- All or nearly all of the structures within the exemption area are neither worthy of conservation, nor are they declared as national or provincial heritage sites, nor listed on the heritage register.

Exemption from section 38 of the Act is not recommended, for the following reasons:

- In cases where a proposed development is unlikely to impact on heritage resources, a simple and low-cost process already exists in the notification of intent to develop and subsequent confirmation by Heritage Western Cape that no further assessment is required.
- Where a proposed development will impact on heritage resources and if an exemption from section 38 had been obtained, a permit is in any event likely to be required in terms of sections 34 or 35 of the Act which protect structures and archaeology (noting that a section 34 exemption for the same area would have excluded from its ambit any buildings older than 60 years and worthy of conservation). In such cases it is to the advantage of the applicant that the assessment be conducted in terms of section 38 which provides for the weighing up of social and economic benefits against impacts on heritage resources.

Possible exemption areas in the POA

Applying the criteria set out above to the study area, it is apparent that only Nyanga has a significant concentration of buildings over 60 years of age. This includes the Scheme 1 (1945-46), the Mau-Mau Scheme (1953), and the Zwelishia Drive hostels constructed in two phases in 1958 and 1958-1960 (Figure 18). Other parts of the study area have only individual and isolated structures over 60 years of age and would therefore not benefit from an exemption from section 34.

Only the areas along significant new public transport routes are expected to have significant or catalytic redevelopment potential in the short to medium term. Few of the structures are intrinsically worthy of conservation, nor are they declared as national or provincial heritage sites (although some areas have been recommended for Illic grading on the Cape Town heritage inventory). It is however recommended that should the Nyanga area be considered for exemption, a sample of the older built fabric should be retained and restored for heritage purposes. For the smaller (detached) hostels, the recommendation is to retain a grouping (approximately four units) and for row hostels, a single row can be retained. Possible criteria for selection of hostel buildings for retention are indicated in Table 2.

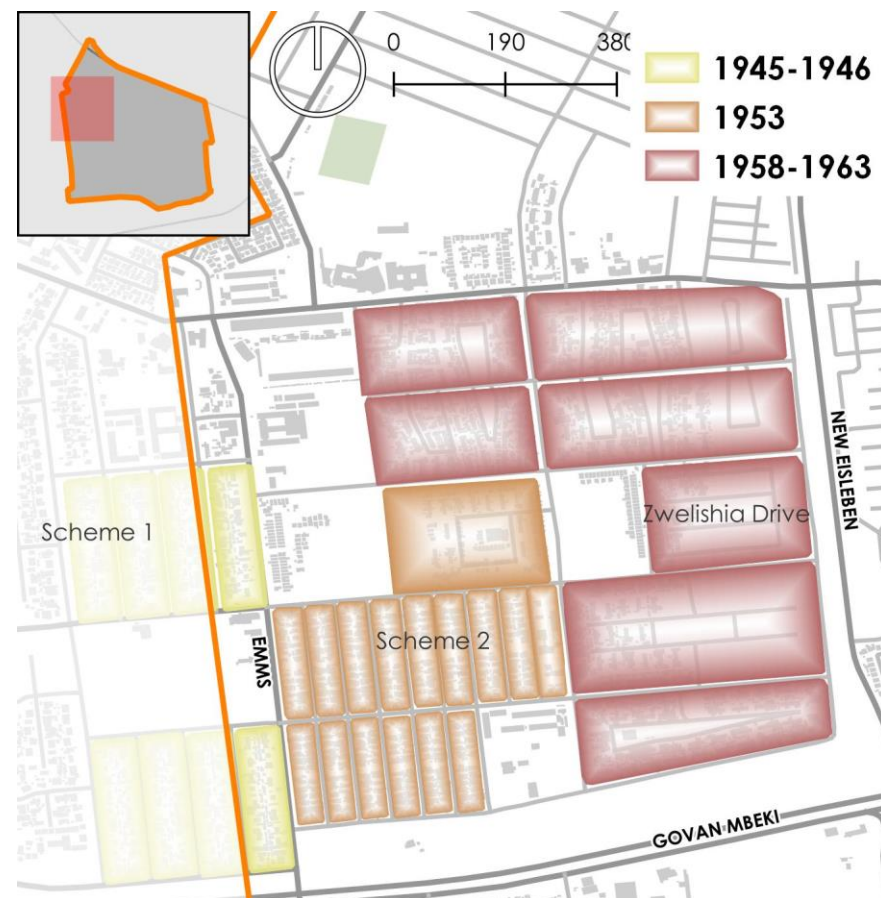


Figure 18. Areas for possible exemption

Table 2. Criteria for retention of hostel buildings in a redevelopment context

Criterion	Comment
Retain an example of a hostel design from each development phase.	Possible with community support and the identification of future use
Choice of the Hostel/s to be retained: the retained hostel should be located near a local node or on a major road.	If retention hostels are too far from major routes and nodes these buildings could be difficult to manage as heritage sites. Former hostel/s can become an important civic / community / retail use building on a well-used route.
Hostels for retention can be linked to important civic people, linked to an event i.e. additional heritage significance.	Information required from local communities
Building to be as intact as possible i.e. façade materials such as unpainted facebrick with steel windows	These fairly intact buildings exist in the study area

Process for exemption

The Act provides in section 5 that heritage resources must be managed in a way that acknowledges the right of affected communities to be consulted and to participate in their management. Because the exemption of sites from sections 34 and 38 curtails the need for future public participation, it is necessary to ensure that the exemption process itself makes provision for sufficient participation and consultation.

The City has previously made application to Heritage Western Cape to exempt the Parow Station Precinct from the provisions of sections 34 and 38 of the Act. The Council on 28 February 2020 exempted the precinct from these sections, with the latter dependent on approval from the MEC. The MEC subsequently indicated that the public participation process implemented for the proposed exemption was not compliant with the Promotion of Administrative Justice Act, 2000, because the participation was undertaken by the City of Cape Town rather than the heritage resources authority, and without the required delegation.

A proposed process for future exemption applications was developed by the City based on its experience with Parow, and includes the following key steps:

- Internal engagement on the boundaries of the area
- Heritage resource inventory compilation and motivation
- Submission to Heritage Western Cape, followed by site visits
- Public advertisement for 30 days
- Final submission to Heritage Western Cape for Council approval and gazetting

This process is broadly supported, provided the legal concerns in respect of delegation, PAJA-compliant participation, and MEC assent can be resolved in advance.

4 Street and Place Names

One aspect of heritage and identity in the study area relates to the naming of places and streets. Many streets in the study area – particularly in Nyanga and in Lower Crossroads – lack formal names entirely. Others are duplicated, leading to possible confusion. Figure 19 indicates the areas where this is most prevalent, with duplicated



Figure 19. Street naming issues - duplication and nameless streets

street names in orange and streets lacking names in red. The table below lists key duplications by suburb. This does not consider potentially problematic names or those which lack significance, such as the high frequency of 'number' names, often duplicated across languages.

The naming of places and neighbourhoods is equally important – official maps and planning frameworks do not necessarily relate to how places are locally named, with Lower Crossroads, Browns Farm, and Marcus Garvey all being lumped under 'Philippi'.

Table 3. Street names

Nyanga	
Bush	x 2 (and Hlathi, isiXhosa for Bush)
Miller	x 2
Ntlangano	x 3
Sakkiesdorp	x 3
16 streets without names	
Philippi	
Lower Crossroads	x 11
Nomyayi	x 2
Sikhwenene and Sikwenene	
8 streets without names	
Crossroads	
Gqoloma	x 2
Inggabe	x 2
Miller	(also in Nyanga)
Njwele	x 2
Ntlangano	(Also in Nyanga)
Ulwandle	x 2

5 Urban Design

Introduction

The Role of Heritage and Culture within the Public Environment

The value of integrating culture and heritage into public spaces in cities are twofold. Not only does it bring communities together, but also contributes towards strengthening local economies. As stated by Francesco Bandarin, UNESCO's Assistant Director-General for Culture at the Habitat III thematic meeting on Public Spaces:

*"Public Spaces serve as the **basic framework for the urban landscape** and reflect the **history and cultural diversity of urban societies**, while allowing for a **greater level of social diversity**. They also have an **economic dimension** and promote **development in communities and societies**."*

Underscoring the importance of cultural heritage, the UNESCO declaration states: "There is a need to **preserve the character and quality of existing historical public areas**, in order to promote **local identity and to transmit heritage to the future generations**; improve existing public areas in central and peripheral parts of the city, in order to upgrade their quality and foster the **sense of belonging of the communities**; design new public spaces in built areas and in new urban expansions, to increase the **quality of life of the inhabitants and strengthen social stability**". Public Spaces are defined as publicly owned places, or privately owned but designated for public use – they are accessible and enjoyed by all citizens for free.

Background: Philippi Opportunity Regeneration Framework

A missing aspect of the Philippi Opportunity Area (POA) Regeneration Framework was a lack of sufficient available information to give direction on the local cultural and heritage resources that could add value to the overall form of the public structure including streets, public squares, open spaces and public facility clusters. Information

on the specific cultural and heritage elements that should be considered for possible inclusion and memorialisation in future public space improvements was also limited.

Building on the growing recognition that integrating culture and heritage with the various proposed public environment upgrades identified in the POA Regeneration Framework will add significant value from both a placemaking, identity and economic perspective, the urban design focus of this study is to provide recommendations for possible projects that will support this. This will be based on the findings of the heritage assessments and stakeholder engagements where the key places and themes with cultural and heritage associations will be identified. The existing POA Regeneration Framework will form the basis for the identification and integration of projects and public space improvements that will support place-making, the promotion of identity, memory and belonging.



Figure 20. Philippi Opportunity Area Framework

A set of **guiding principles** were identified to support the completion of the POA Regeneration Framework. These guiding principles have also informed the review of the heritage studies to identify the relevant urban design informants and appropriate projects that will support place-making, the promotion of identity, memory and belonging within the public environment.

These include the following:

1. Support a Flexible and Responsive Design Approach

A responsive design approach that can accommodate multiple voices and ongoing inputs and additions over time as the nature of the overall project/programme is not fixed and is expected to evolve over time.

2. Be Inclusive, Representative and Participatory

- The role of the designer in the identification process of possible projects for implementation is to facilitate and enable, not to be impositionary or divisive;
- The process to achieve final outcomes is as important as the final outcome itself. A process that supports active participation and promotes co-design by the community is critical to avoid divisive outcomes; and
- Promote shared, representative and inclusive project processes and outcomes.

3. Integrate, Connect and Cluster

Support the POA spatial outcomes that relate to:

- Supporting links and connections between key destinations and nodes;
- Prioritisation of NMT and linkages that connect public and community facilities and amenities; and
- Support for the clustering of activities and public facilities in accessible and extroverted locations.

4. Design for Safety

Prioritise projects that:

- promote active, mixed use and vibrant streets and places;
- mitigate impacts of blank building facades, underutilised open spaces; and
- support passive surveillance onto streets and spaces.

5. Create a Sense of Place and Identity

- Prioritise elements that are unique to the POA and its communities; and
- Protect and enhance existing natural and built remnants from the past and
- Recognise both tangible and intangible elements of heritage and culture.

6. Robust, Resilient and Multifunctional

Prioritise projects that:

- Support the multifunctional use of spaces - not a dedicated use;
- Are designed to be robust and to consider long term management and maintenance requirements; and
- Promote local economic growth and support sustainable livelihood generation.

7. Complete at all Times

Phased implementation is anticipated therefore, the design process should ensure spaces are complete and will not rely on later phases of development to function optimally.

Urban Design Indicators

In starting to identify the relevant heritage and cultural informants, the analysis approach to confirm the relevant urban design indicators gives consideration to the following:

- The **evolving character of the POA**. Through its history it has been a place of constant change and flux, which is also currently occurring today. Therefore consideration should be given to understanding the past as well as how the area is currently changing;
- Due to the changing character of the POA, many physical remnants from the past no longer remain. Understanding history and culture in the POA therefore requires consideration of the **tangible** (physical informants) and the **intangible** (oral history-stories and memories)

The identified urban design informants consider the spatial and physical elements that reference the past, an understanding of the present with informants relating to living culture and character and future as well as an understanding of oral history.

Remnants from the Past

Very few physical structures and places from the past remain. The remaining traces that express the history and evolution of Philippi have been understood in relation to both the overall structure of the POA as well as remnants from the past activities and uses in the area. A differentiation of the remaining remnants into activities and land use has also been considered as a tool to describe the evolving character of the area from agricultural to industry and later to MU/residential, where an increase in community/social facilities occurred.

Key indicators relating to the **Spatial Structure** of the POA as indicated in the adjacent plan are as follows:



Figure 21. Urban Design Informants: Remnants from the Past

- The alignment and location of historic routes that informed the overall layout of the area. The alignment of the historic and existing structuring routes is indicated in the plan;
- The planting of Blue Gum Avenues along the major movement routes, which gave structure and legibility in the flat terrain of Philippi. The remaining sections of these tree avenues is indicated in the plan.
- The alignment of past rail infrastructure in the area which gave rise to the current industrial character of the Philippi Node in the POA
- The intersection of old Klipfontein and Govan Mbeki Roads, which relates to the location and naming of Crossroads
- The locations of the past entrances to the informal Crossroads settlement

Key indicators relating to remaining physical remnants that reflect **Past Activities and Land uses** in the area are listed below with corresponding numbering in the adjacent drawing. None of these facilities are in public ownership.

1. Remnants of Previous Farming/ Agricultural activities:

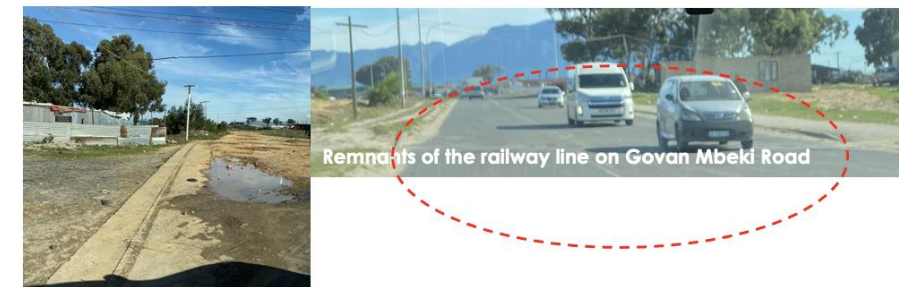
- Duinendal Farmstead buildings and open space (4)
- Klipfontein Mission buildings and open space (5)

2. Remnants of Previous Industry related activities:

- Cement Factory building- 1938 (Philippi Village) (1)
- Nyanga East Hostels -1940's (3) Protection of some of the hostel buildings provides a physical representation of the origins of the area and its links to apartheid history

3. Remnants of the first Community/ Civic/ Culture related activities:

- New Eisleben Lutheran Church building – 19c (iThemba Labanthu) (2)
- Duinendal/ Fosa Settlement -1950's/ Boys Town- 1970's (4)



Living Culture and Character

Key indicators relating to **Living Culture and Character** within the POA are listed below with corresponding numbering in the adjacent drawing.

Cultural activities representative of the local community include:

- The **Initiation Area** by the Stock Road Station (3.)
- An established and well used network of **Trading Streets** characterize Philippi, including:
 - Ingulube, Emms Drive & Amsterdam Roads
 - New Eisleben
 - Protea Road
 - Sheffield Road
 - 'Stock Road' (past)
- **A culture of Sport** with a focus on **soccer**. Philippi is known for its strong grassroots support for soccer. Existing soccer facilities include the Philippi Multipurpose Centre (4.) the iThemba Labantu sports fields (2.) and NUNU sports fields

Characterising elements and features include:

A characterising feature of the area is the **adaptive reuse** of historic buildings and complexes into mixed use community precincts. They are all privately run and managed which contributes significantly to their ongoing success in the area. These include:

- Philippi Village (Former Cement Factory) into a mixed-use precinct that includes a range of facilities including the Philippi library, UCT graduate business school, Retail Container Walk and PEDI offices (1.)
- iThemba Labantu Community Facility (Former Lutheran Church) (2.)

A distinct precinct of large warehouse buildings associated with **existing Industrial activities** occurs in the study area. Philippi is rapidly developing into a MU node, with an intensification of development. Protection of some notable existing industrial buildings will promote specific character and sense of place as well as leave evidence of the area's previous role as an industrial node in the City.



Figure 22. Urban Design Informants: Living Culture and Character



Adaptive Reuse- a pattern of historic buildings transitioning into multi-functional community facilities that are run by NPO's/ private sector



Living Culture

'Meat is our culture' (POA visioning workshop- Nov 2019)

Oral memory, stories and recollections

The following overarching themes that should be represented in the public environment are as follows:

A range of **struggle experiences** across the POA have been recalled, with Nyanga and Crossroads being spatial symbols of the struggle and resistance offered against the apartheid regime. Some locations can be identified, while others cannot be spatialised due to the urbanisation of the area. An emerging inventory of significant sites have started to materialise, but it is not complete. Further, extensive community engagement is required to confirm important memories and events relating to the local communities struggle experience as well as to confirm additional locations for memorialisation. Extensive engagement

is also required to reach consensus on places, events and people/ figures to be memorialised within the public environment. Key locations representative of the Struggle period confirmed to date include:

- **Govan Mbeki Road** has been identified as a significant location in relation to the struggle as it was the key entrance to Crossroads. It is referenced as a place of continuous resistance and uprising with many atrocities occurring along its length during the struggle years;
- The **entry points** to the **Old Crossroads** also have symbolic significance as these were the locations where large fires were erected to block access to the apartheid police, when the forced removals started;
- **Mahobe Drive** as a site of struggle events
- The intersection of **Old Klipfontein Road and Govan Mbeki Roads** as the location for the start of Crossroads

Old Crossroads as a self-sufficient community, where the resident community felt a strong sense of identity and belonging has emerged as a key element in the oral narratives. This sense of belonging was lost with the forced removals and subsequent formalisation of Old Crossroads. All of the important and significant places to the community living in Old Crossroads at the time have been lost.

Another emerging theme is the need to recognize and acknowledge the **place of origin** for communities living in the POA. Recognition of where people have originally come from, will contribute to establishing a sense of belonging and identity for communities trying to establish themselves in the POA.

Historically, the majority of communities living in the POA have come from the Eastern Cape, but the imprints of the early German settlers in the area is still evident with some of the streets linking back to German

towns (New Eisleben Road). Today, people from across Africa have come to make a better life for themselves and their families.

Synthesis of the Key Spatial Informants

A summary of the key spatial informants that should inform public environment improvements in the POA are summarised below and indicated in the drawing below:

- Philippi Village (Cement Factory) (1.)
- iThemba Labantu (Lutheran Church) (2.)
- Stock Road Initiation Site (3.)
- Duinendal Farmstead – FOSA settlement (4.)
- With consideration to be given to building on the adaptive reuse model and transition of remaining heritage buildings into multifunctional community related facilities identified in the POA
- Intersection of Old Klipfontein and Govan Mbeki Roads and the remnants of the Railway line (5.)
- Conserving a selection of hostel buildings in Nyanga East to represent the impact of apartheid planning policies and the treatment of people of colour (specific hostel structures to be confirmed) (6)
- Philippi Multipurpose Centre (7)
- Historic entry points into the Old Crossroads informal settlement
- Lansdowne Roads and Mahobe Drive as a routes of struggle conflict
- Alignment of the historic rail route with structuring E/W and N/S axis's in the POA core
- Alignment of portions of Daiza Rd with the historic Lansdowne/ Govan Mbeki Road
- Introduction/ reestablishment of 'Tree Avenues with structuring trees' along key routes (new & old)
- Reinforcing/strengthening ex. trading activities/streets in the POA as both an economic strength but as an expression of local culture
- Naming of unnamed streets and renaming of duplicate street names to promote identity & a sense of place



Figure 23. Synthesis of the Key Spatial Informants

Projects

The recommended projects to support placemaking, identity and belonging in the POA are discussed below. Proposals relate to:

- Celebrating the culture, and remembering the history and experiences of the communities living in the POA;
- Introducing and/or enhancing elements to promote a specific character that relate to both its past and present; and
- Processes to support belonging and identity.

The identified projects can be categorised into 4 key categories which include:

1. Memory and Living Culture Walk
2. Public Environment Interventions
 - Public Space Projects
 - Remembering the Historic Structure of Philippi
 - Trading and Market Streets
 - Character Precincts
3. Street Naming Project
4. Stock Road Initiation Reserve

1. Memory and Living Culture Walk

The introduction of a **'Memory and Living Culture Walk'** as the overarching heritage and culture project for the POA is proposed. This relates to the need to provide a flexible mechanism to accommodate ongoing community inputs and contributions over time and the ability to spatially document and/or memorialise events in actual locations or symbolically.

The proposed alignment of the Memory and Living Culture Walk is indicated in the adjacent drawing and relates to the existing key public structure identified in the POA as well as the identified high order spatial historic and cultural informants. It will function as a framework to tie events, memories, buildings, remnants and cultural activities in a coherent manner - which can be continuously added to over time.

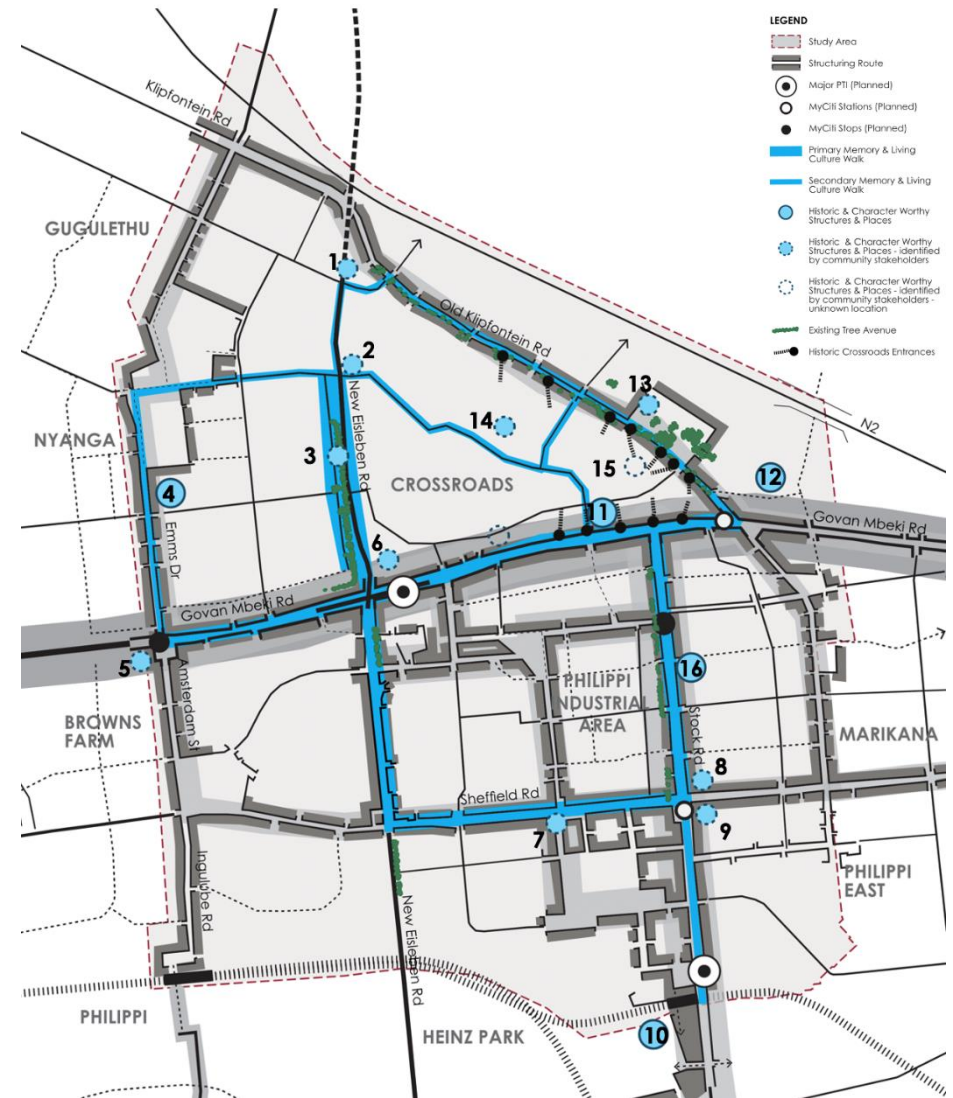


Figure 24. Alignment of the Proposed POA Memory and Living Culture Walk



The 'Memory and Living Culture Walk' would be denoted by a continuous line or thread with a special paving treatment within the sidewalk area. The design for this element can be integrated with ongoing public space improvements identified for the POA. It can also be implemented in a phased manner by the various CCT department responsible for public environment improvements. An agreed design for the paving pattern will be required and consistently applied across the route.

The emerging list of possible memorialisation interventions for possible inclusion within the Memory and Living Culture Walk is as follows:

1. Nonstumpa Corner as an important struggle site and gateway
2. Inclusion of a remembrance wall at the entrance to Crossroads
3. Mahobe Drive as a site of struggle history and associated events
4. Hostel Preservation
5. Ramaphosa Corner, Emms Drive – as a site of struggle resistance
6. Open Space on the corner of New Eisleben and Govan Mbeki as a site of struggle history (future proposed sports facility)
7. Extension of the Vuyiseka Sports Complex to include the history of Lower Crossroads
8. Philippi Police Station ('The Child' poem & map)
9. Inclusion of a Memory wall at the entrance to Lower Crossroads
10. Protection and enhancement of the existing Stock Road Initiation Area

11. Govan Mbeki Road as a site of struggle history and associated events
12. Klipfontein Mission Post
13. A memorial for members of the clergy at Mfesane as a symbol of the Church's support during the struggle
14. Sports Complex in Crossroads – the suggestion is to extend it into a multipurpose complex like the Holocaust museum in town. A library and centre for the elderly should also be included
15. Noxolo School Memorial
16. A range of community spaces for storytelling, dancing and performances

It is anticipated that this list will grow with increased stakeholder engagement, which will require a process to be developed for the final selection of memorialisation installations.

Approach to Memorialisation within the Public Environment

A flexible approach to the memorialisation and representation of significant historic events and notable people is proposed. A range of installations in visible locations along the route and or integrated within public spaces is envisaged that could include information boards & walls, sculpture, artworks or murals to represent and communicate various narratives.

The type or form of installation will relate to the nature of the identified memorialisation as well as to its location on the route. Local stakeholders should be part of the conception and implementation of the individual installations within the route.

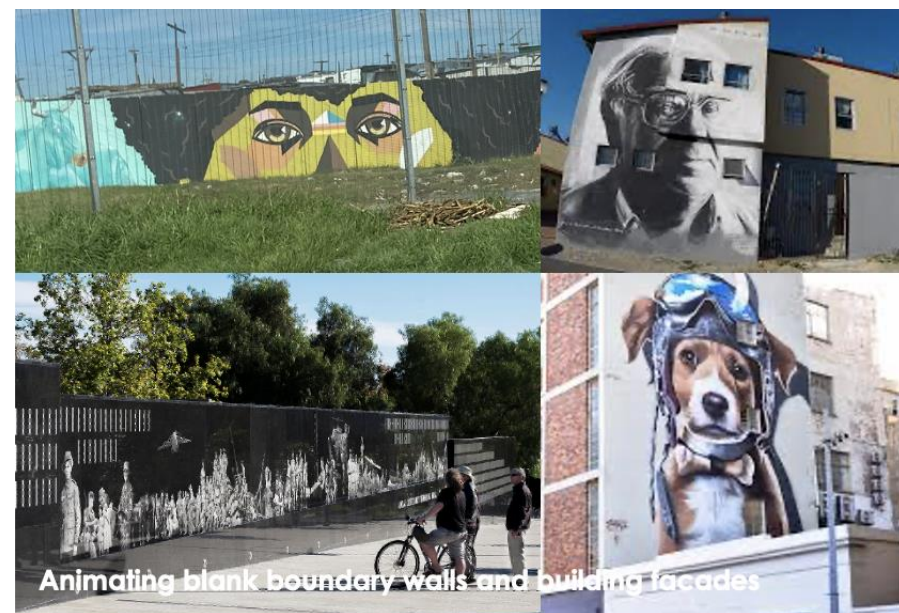
The various installations should function as opportunities to animate and activate the public environment. The potential to incorporate interactive and multifunctional functions within the various memorialisation projects is to be promoted such as:

- Designing sculpture as seating or additional street lighting; and
- Location of installations to animate blank boundary walls and building facades.



A specific information board should be designed and applied along the route to support legibility and consistent communication. A totem information board design as per the reference image below is recommended. It takes up less space within the sidewalk area as well as providing greater flexibility to include various forms of information including maps, photos and text within its format.

The use of a consistent palette of street furniture such as street lighting, seating is also recommended along the route to reinforce its legibility. The use of durable and robust materials in the various public upgrades and memorialisation will be critical.



2. Public Environment Interventions

To support the Memory and Living Culture Route, a range of public environment interventions have been identified which relate to initiatives to improving the public environment, while reinforcing the heritage and culture of the POA.

2a- Public Space Projects

This includes the development of a **range of public spaces** as remembrance spaces which will also foster community interaction, including dance, performances storytelling and sport. Some locations exist and need upgrading while others are new spaces. The locations for the public space projects include:

- A **Zolani Community Hall Square** (NUNU) (upgrade)
Reinstate the lost public square outside the community hall as a mixed-use space including a performance area. This space would also reinforce and integrate with the existing sports fields
- B **iKamva Labantwana School Square** (new)
A new public space associated with the existing school
- D **Vuyiseka/Philippi Multipurpose Hall Forecourt** (upgrade)
Upgrades to the existing Forecourt area to activate the space and create a multifunctional community area onto Sheffield Road. Other memorialization opportunities have been identified as part of the MURP memorialization project. It has also been identified as a location to celebrate the history of Lower Crossroads by the community
- C **iThemba Labantu Forecourt** (new)
A new forecourt space to augment the entrance to iThemba Labantu and the existing soccer fields on the corner of Sheffield and New Eisleben Roads

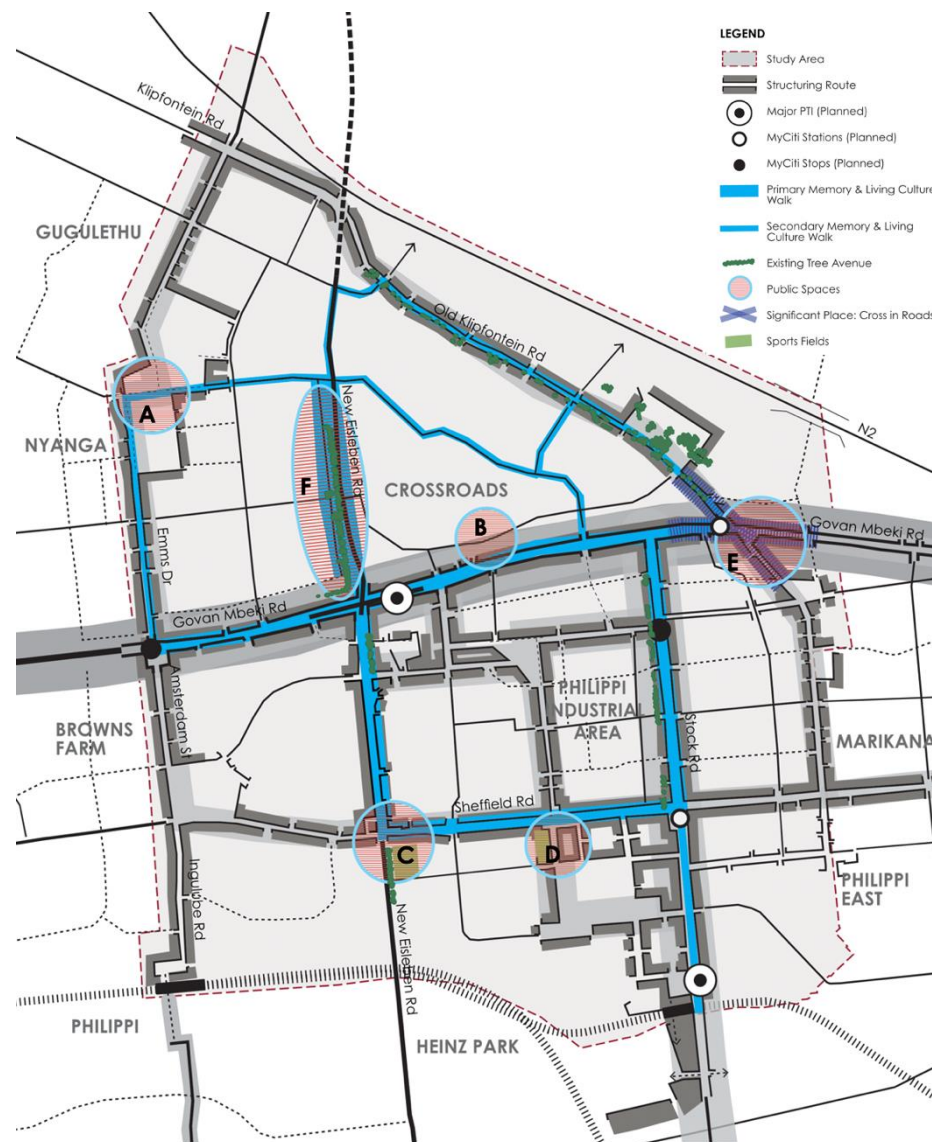


Figure 25. Public Space upgrades

E **The 'Cross Roads' Public Square (new)**

Acknowledging the start of **Cross Roads** and its origins of the Crossroads Township with the development of a new public space at the convergence of Lansdowne and Klipfontein Roads.

The *Superkilen Park* in Copenhagen, Denmark provides a useful example of where the origins of the local community living around the park have been represented within the public space design to promote identity and belonging. The Crossroads Square has a similar potential to celebrate the diversity and culture of local communities living at this junction as well as to tell the story of the beginnings of Crossroads

F **Mahobe Drive Linear Park (new)**

Upgrades to the existing servitude space as a Linear Park that would include NMT facilities and a range of memorialisation opportunities

In terms of hierarchy, the Cross Roads square and the Mahobe Drive Park are seen as the primary heritage spaces within the POA.

The inclusion of other possible installations to celebrate and recognise the **origins of the residents** living in the POA could also be represented with direction signage and map murals.

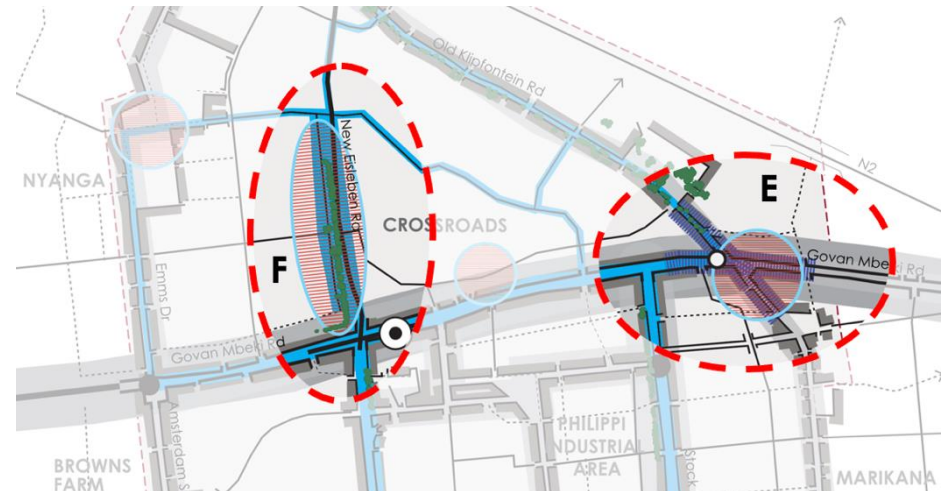


Figure 26 Primary Heritage Public Spaces



Superkilen Park, Copenhagen



New Eisleben and Mahobe Road as a green spine and NMT route

2b- Remembering the POA's Historic Structure

Proposals to remember the past structure and spatial layout of the POA relate to three key interventions that include:

- Re-establishing the Historic Tree Avenues;
- Acknowledging the alignment of the former railway lines; and
- Denoting the entrances into the old Crossroads informal settlement

1. Historic Tree Avenues- tree replacement programme:

Re-establishing the tradition of creating tree avenues on the key structuring routes in the POA will promote spatial legibility and sense of place. Historically a distinguishing feature of the area was the planting of uniform tree avenues on its main routes. It is proposed that these historic structuring routes are reinstated as many of the historic trees have died or been lost to development. In the tree replacement programme, the old(existing) and new trees should be differentiated with the inclusion of a different type of structuring tree, possibly flowering Blue Gums which aren't as destructive in urban environments. This project could be integrated with other planned public space, NMT and road upgrade projects that are envisioned as part of the regeneration of the POA.

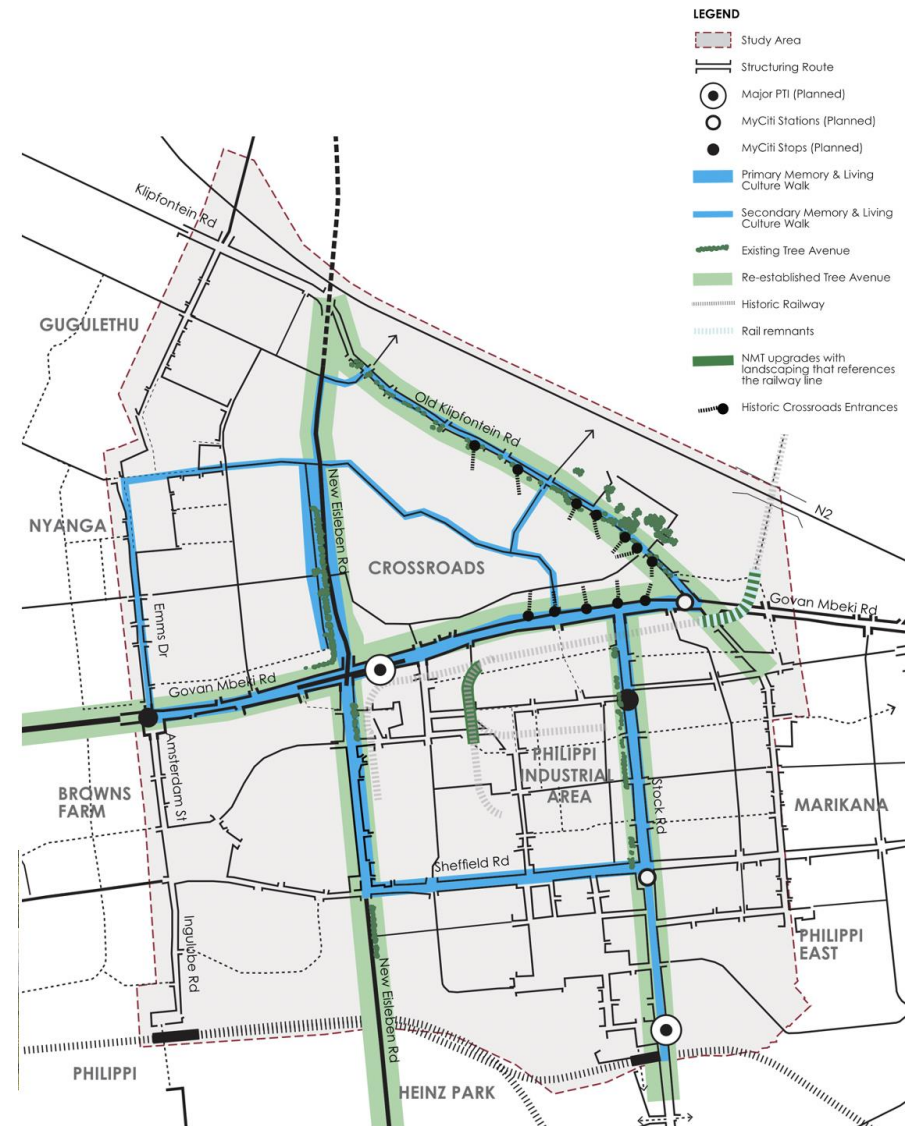
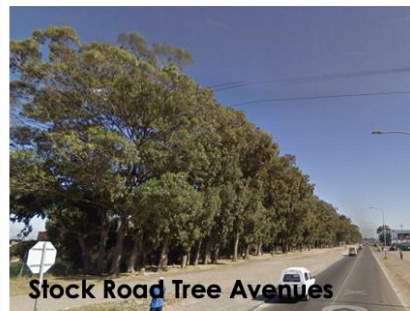
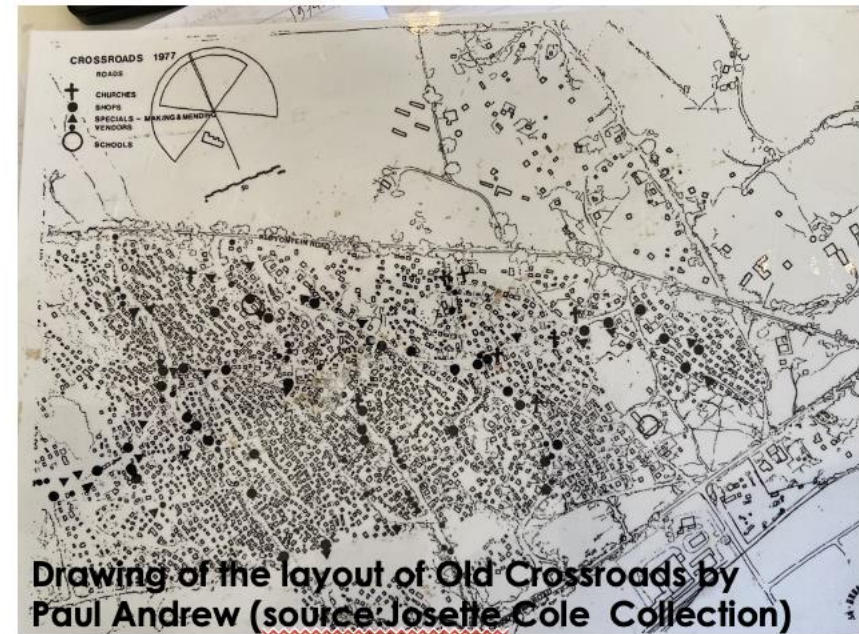


Figure 27: Historic Structure Elements

2. Former Railway Lines

Referencing the **alignment of the old railway lines** in future landscaping upgrades creates a tangible reference to the origins of Philippi as an industrial node in the City as well as to its previous spatial form.

The alignment of the former rail line already forms part of the structuring route network identified in the POA regeneration framework. The inclusion of these elements would assist in promoting place specific character and sense of place.



Drawing of the layout of Old Crossroads by Paul Andrew (source: Josette Cole Collection)

3. Former Entrances to Old Crossroads

Noting the former entrances into Old Crossroads will function as a symbolic gesture to recall the past spatial layout of the area before its formalisation as well as to emphasise the significance of these gateways in the struggle years.

The entrances could be marked with lighting totems that will also augment the pedestrian lighting network.



2c-Trading and Market Streets

In the upgrading of street and pedestrian environments, focus should be given to supporting existing street trading and market streets that are not only economic drivers but are also cultural assets. The existing trading streets that align with the Memory and Living Culture Route are:

- New Eisleben Road,
- Sheffield Road, and
- Stock Road

The other existing trading routes in the POA should also be protected and upgraded but not with the material palette associated with the Memory and Living Culture Route. Public environment upgrades should not only include suitable infrastructure to support dignified and safe trading conditions but also elements such as seating, tree planting and lighting to allow them to function as attractions and destinations for a range of users. Negotiation with CCT departments will be required to protect street trading on many of these routes as they are also planned for road infrastructure upgrades which will result in their removal if a balanced solution is not obtained.

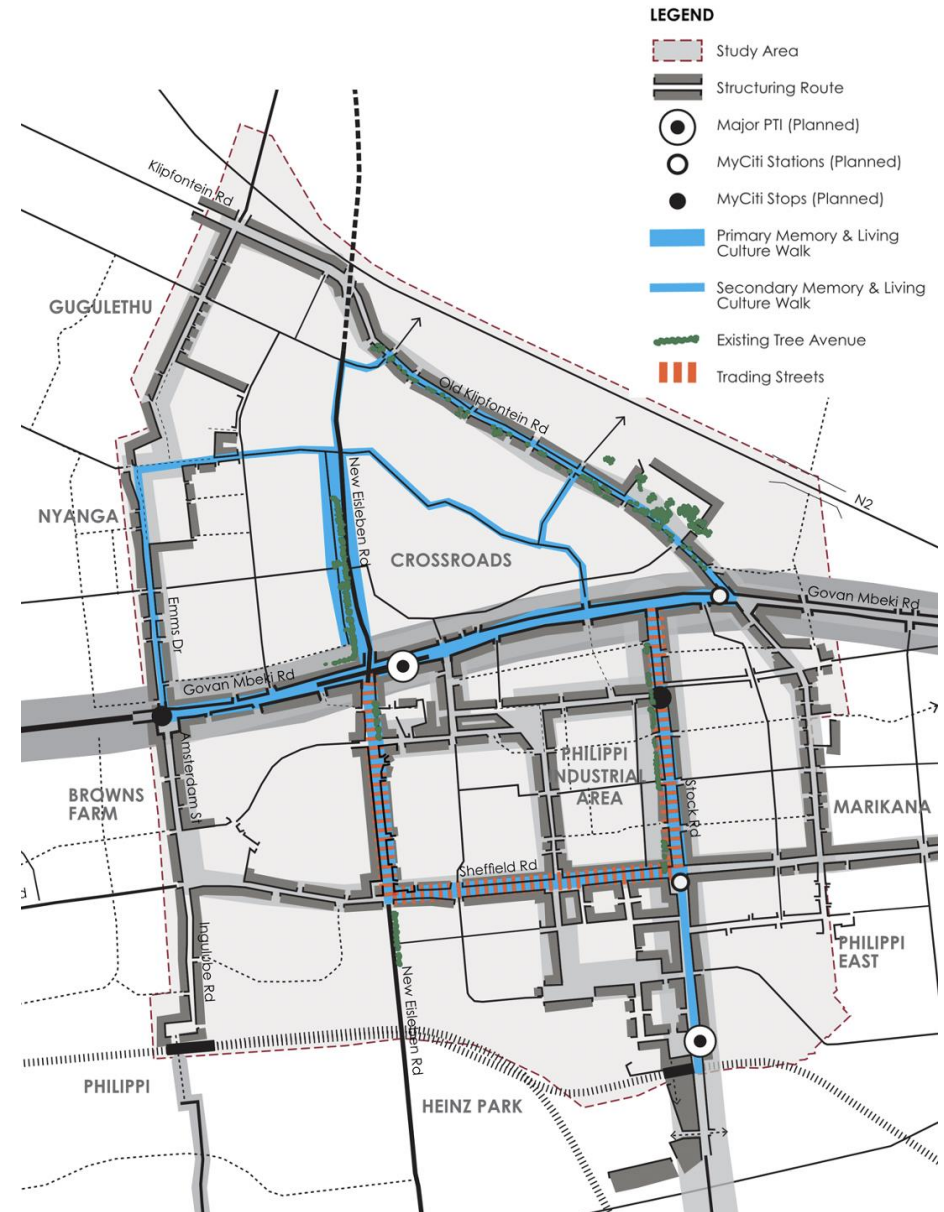


Figure 28. Trading and Market streets

2d- Character Precincts

A range of buildings have been identified as having heritage and or character significance in the area, these include:

1. **NUNU** and the **Hostel** buildings in Nyanga,
2. **Duinendal/ FOSA settlement**, and
3. **Industrial buildings** with the existing industrial area of the POA
4. Philippi Village
5. iThemba Labantu

In the case of the Nyanga hostel and industrial buildings, a detailed survey is required to identify the buildings that should be preserved. It is recommended that the selected buildings relate to the alignment of the Memory and Living Culture Route, to ensure that they are accessible and visible. Ideally they should be integrated within a cluster of facilities that can be developed into a mixed use precinct to promote their long term sustainability. The adaptive reuse of the buildings is to be encouraged, while maintaining their heritage and/ or character features.

The FOSA settlement is one of the last opportunities in the POA to preserve the existing buildings within its original open landscape setting which has a strong rural/pastoral quality. Preservation of the open space will also become increasingly important as development within the POA intensifies. Future development should support the preservation of its pastoral character.

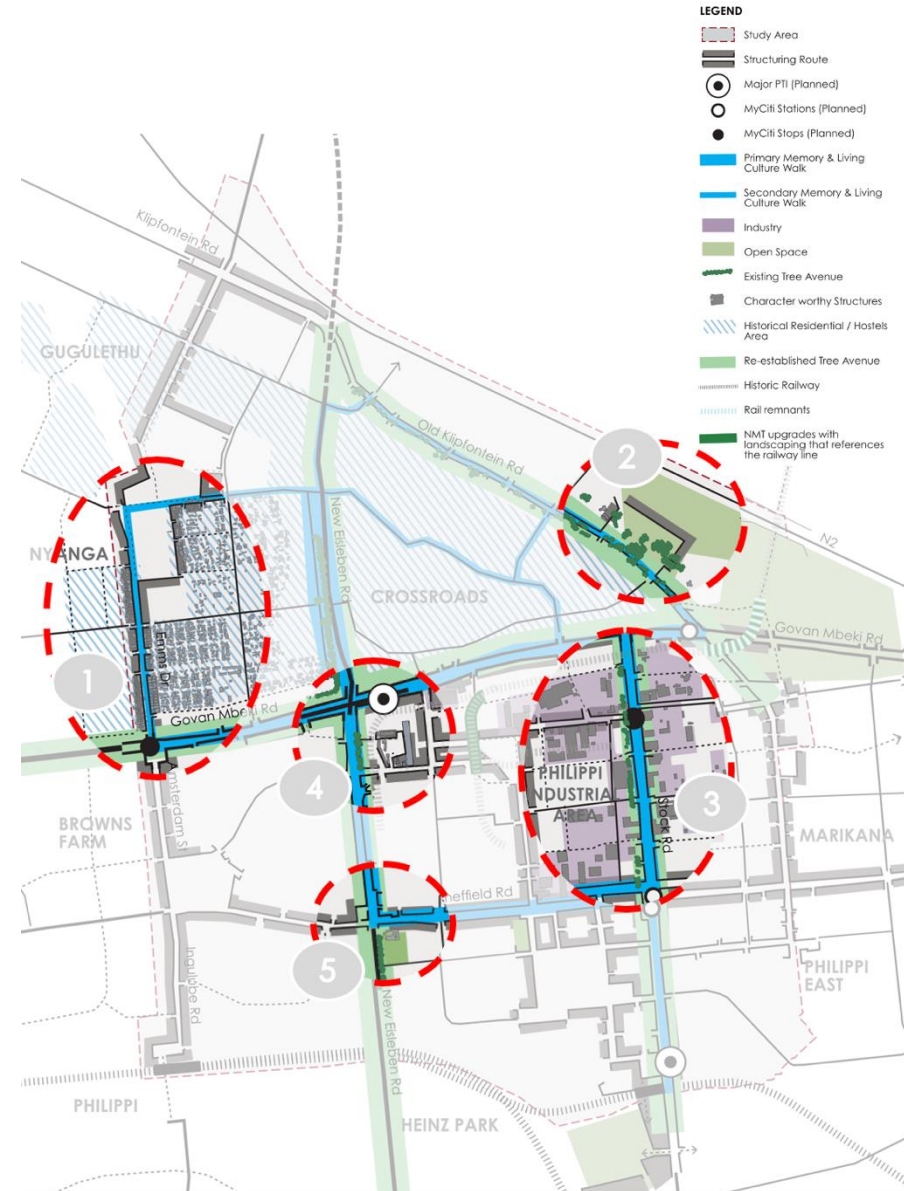


Figure 29 Character building Precincts

a. Stock Road Initiation Support Project

This project relates to protecting and supporting current initiation activities on the large open space opposite Stock Station.

Consideration to providing elements to support the dignified practice of these traditional activities within an urban setting should be explored including inclusion of tree planting to provide screening for privacy as well as the inclusion of supporting facilities such as ablutions etc. Securing the necessary land rights to protect the existing initiation activities should also be explored as part of this project.

The inclusion of an Information board at Stock Road Station should also be considered providing greater information for visitors and tourists to the area.

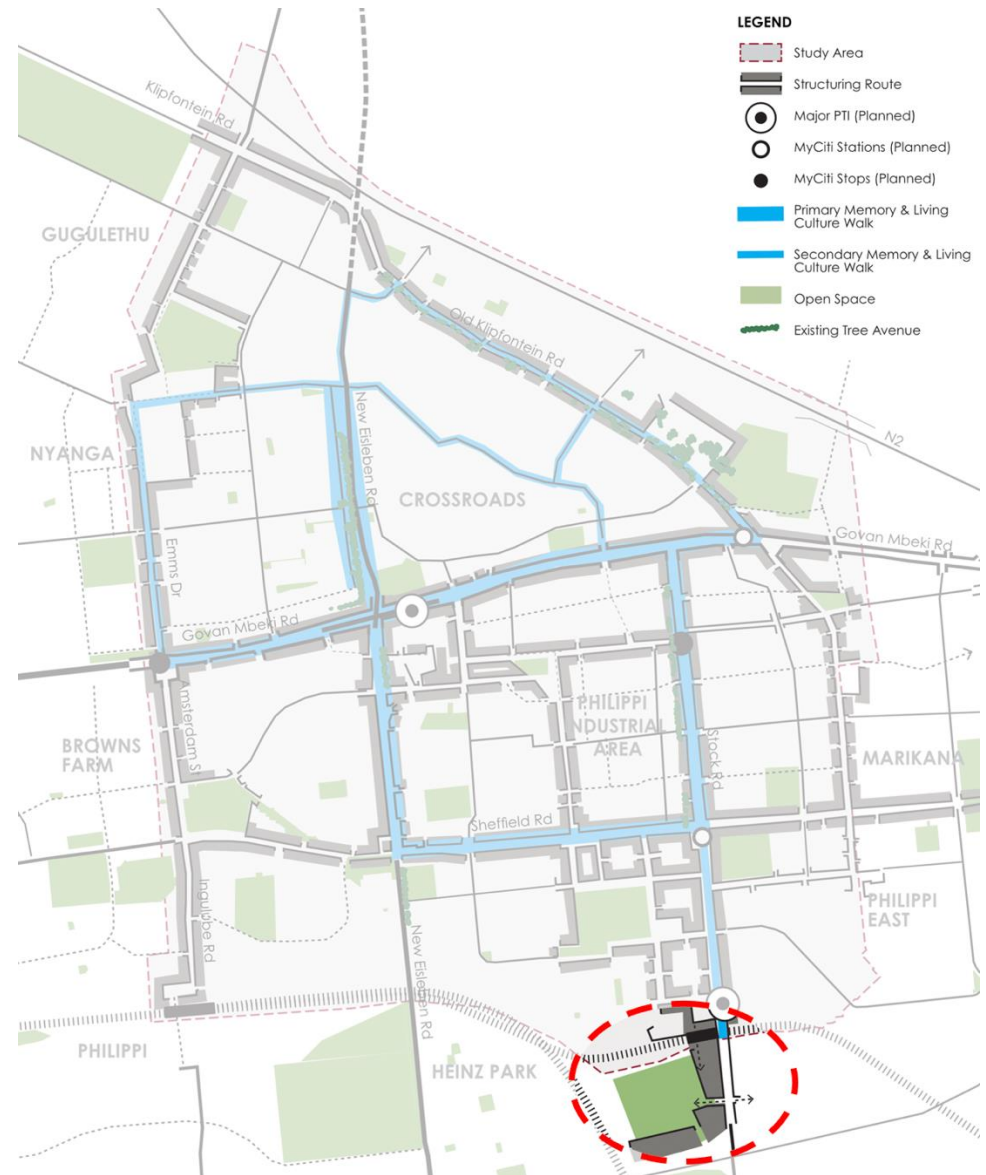


Figure 30: Stock Road Initiation Support Project

b. Street Naming Project

The locations requiring new street names are identified in the drawing below. The naming of streets relates to promoting belonging and a sense of place for the residents currently living in areas without any street names,

The process for naming previously unnamed roads or existing names to be corrected or changed to remove confusion will be guided by CCT Street naming and numbering policy. (2014) The key steps are outlined as follows:

1. Undertake a stakeholder engagement process with each affected area to identify possible names for the streets in which they live. It is suggested that an agreed theme for each unnamed area is confirmed before the identification of the individual street names. It is recommended that the street naming themes relate to the **original locations or places** where the communities living in that unnamed area have come from before settling in the POA. This could be a way to promote a specific identity and sense of place for each of the areas to receive new street names. Using road name themes for each area will also assist in avoiding a duplication of street names in a 5km radius, which is a requirement of the City's Street Naming Policy.
2. Discuss details of proposed street names with district GIS official in the Planning and Building Development Management department. A preliminary list of proposed street names with alternatives will be provided to the PBDM department to check for policy compliance. If there is no duplication (within the suburb or 5km radius) and proposed names are accepted it must be reflected on a layout plan and submitted to the district office of the Planning & Building Development Management Department.

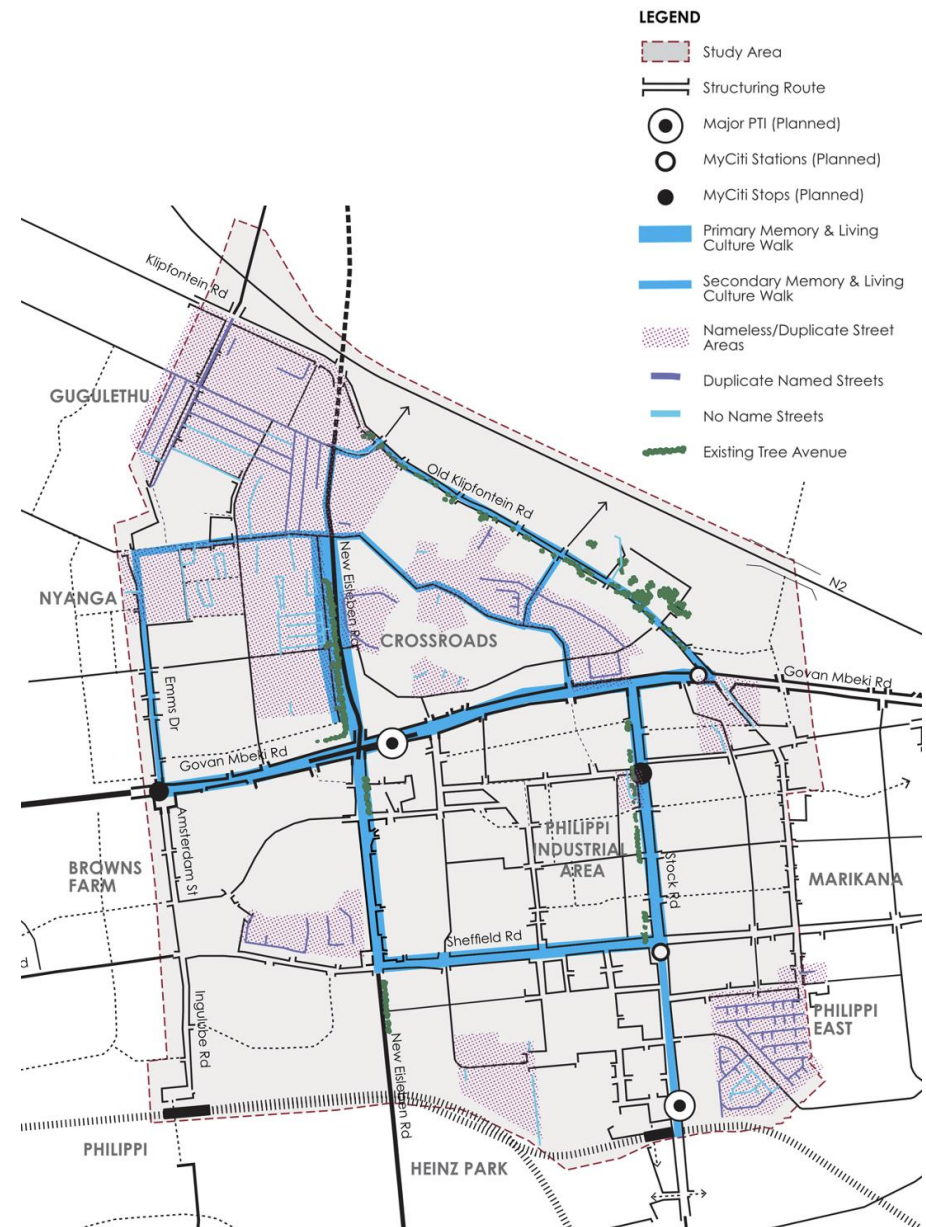


Figure 31. Recommended locations for the Street Naming Project

3. The application is then processed which includes advertising for a 30 day period as part of the standard public participation process. Once a public consultation is complete the application is referred to the decision-maker for decision (including the imposition of a condition requiring installation of name boards and kerb signage at the applicants expense).
4. The costs related to street naming will be carried by Council, as the developer/initiator of the project. Street names must be displayed on name boards and kerbs, which must comply with the relevant Council standards and are to be erected in accordance with the relevant approval granted at the discretion of the Director: Roads and Stormwater.

Further proposals in relation to the Street naming Project relate to the actual street signage installed in the area. It is recommended that besides the legislatively required kerb street signs, additional special signs are mounted on buildings/walls on each street which are then backlit. This special signage would augment the pedestrian lighting network and support improved safety while creating specific character and identity.



Figure 32. Examples of the possible treatment for the special street signs



Photograph 12. Street Names/Street Signs Projects in New Crossroads, Sept 2003. This memorial to Mrs Ntongana, on Ntongana Street, remembers the role she played as the leader of the Crossroads Women's Committee and her leading role in the play *Imfuduso*. The memory boards were made by local residents/artists. (J. Cole Collection)

6 Conclusion and Next Steps

A broad and extensive range of projects to have been identified to celebrate the history of the POA, its culture as well as to promote a sense of belonging and identity, which collectively forms the POA Heritage and Culture Conceptual Framework. The introduction of these projects complements the overarching POA Regeneration Framework, while adding a richness and authenticity that is rooted in the place and its past and present community.

It is recognised that realising the full implementation of the POA Heritage and Culture Conceptual Framework is ambitious and will be a long term project requiring the inputs from multiple stakeholders. In terms of prioritisation, focus should be given to the completion of the Memory and Living Culture route. Its flexible structure allows the various supporting elements identified for memorialisation to be added incrementally over time. Govan Mbeki Drive forms the key structuring element in the overall memory and living culture route, with the Mahobe Drive Linear Park and Cross Roads Public Square functioning as the primary public spaces for cultural celebration and memorialisation. The Street Naming Project should also be considered for prioritisation given its potential as a starting point for broader engagement and participation.

Due to the integrated nature of the overall project, it is envisioned that many of the proposals will be implemented by other departments responsible for public environment and infrastructure upgrades. Its success will therefore rely on extensive engagement, consultation and agreement with CCT sister departments as well as the broader community. Several City infrastructure projects are already underway and are in varying stages of planning and design.

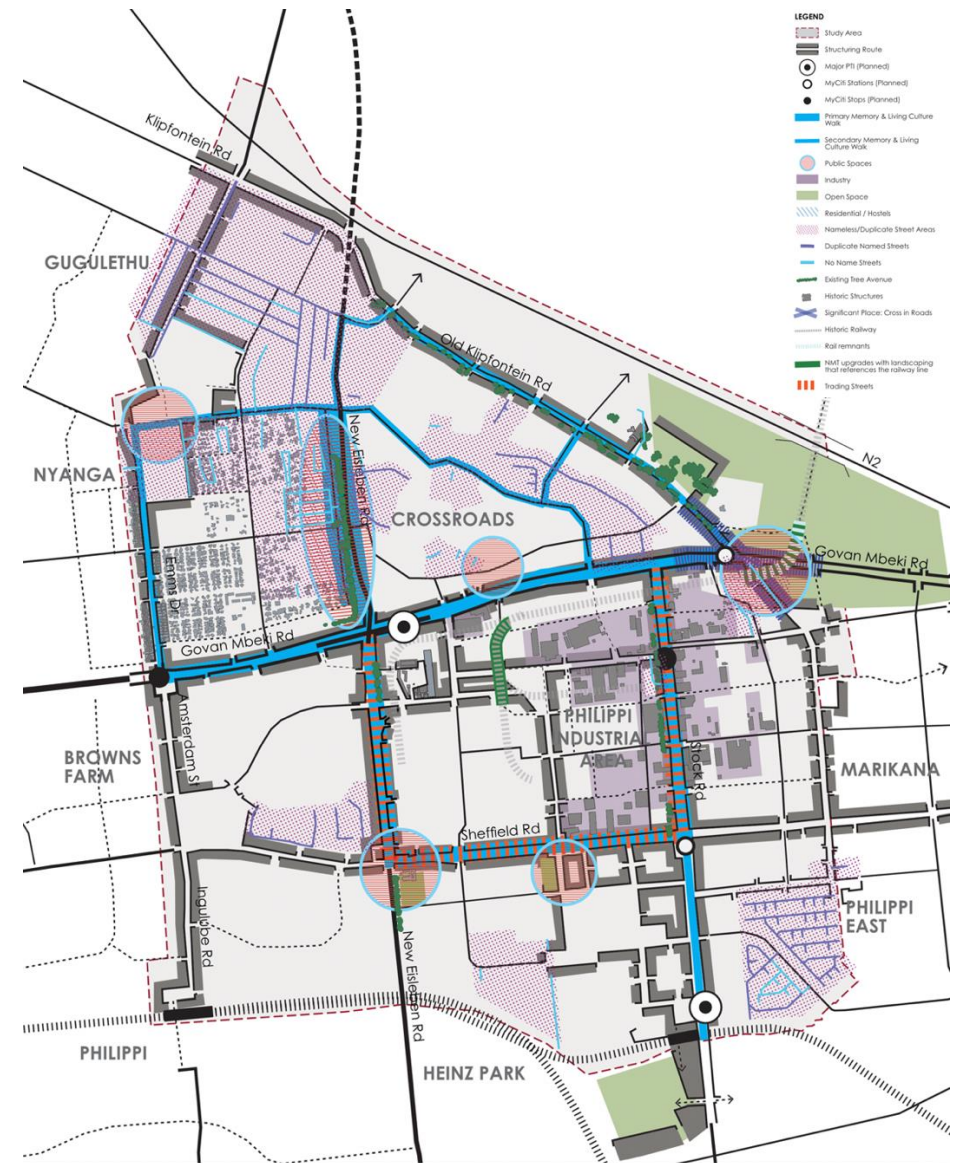


Figure 33. POA Heritage and Culture Conceptual Framework

Known projects include:

- MyCiTi station upgrades on the corner of Govan Mbeki and New Eisleben Road (Transport);
- Upgrades to New Eisleben Road including the formalisation of informal trading along the street (Area Economic Development);
- Redevelopment of the Ingulube Hives and upgrades to Amsterdam/ Ingulube Road (Area Economic Development);
- Upgrades to the Nyanga Public Transport Interchange (Transport)
- Upgrades to the Philippi Multipurpose Centre (MURP)

These projects therefore have the potential to kick start the ideas and proposals proposed in the POA Heritage and Culture Conceptual Framework. Priority and first actions should therefore be given to engaging with the relevant departments and project managers of these projects to create awareness on the project and confirm opportunities for integration. The necessary information, such as design guidelines and material specifications, to enable the implementation of the Memory and Living Culture Route should also be urgently commissioned and be provided to the various departments that are currently planning infrastructure projects in the area. Opportunities for memorialisation installations within these current planned projects should also be explored and prioritised.

In order to optimise the tourism potential and associated economic benefits of the project, it is critical that partnerships are developed with the local community to develop a shared vision and understanding of the project and everyone's associated roles to make it successful. The need for a safe, clean and well maintained environment is also essential.

To support the implementation of the projects identified in the POA Heritage and Cultural Conceptual framework, it is recommended that the following four areas are developed in further detail:

1. POLICY AND PLANNING TOOLS:

Incorporate the identified Heritage and Culture projects within the Philippi **Local Area Spatial Framework** to provide some policy certainty. Additionally the potential of creating a **supporting policy for the Memory and Living Culture Route** should be explored. A policy that is similar to the 'scenic drive policy' is envisioned to guide new/ongoing development adjacent to the route after it has been implemented.

2. INTERDEPARTMENTAL ALIGNMENT AND CO-ORDINATION:

Engage with the various CCT departments required to support the implementation of the project including Transport Planning, Roads and Stormwater, Area Economic Development, Heritage, Tourism, Parks and Recreation, Community Facilities and Urban Design. The required steps and processes to support co-ordination between the departments and enable implementation should be discussed and agreed as part of this process.

3. DESIGN GUIDELINES AND FURTHER DETAILED PLANNING:

A range of design and planning studies to support implementation are required which include:

- Undertake a study to confirm the hostel and industrial buildings to be protected and preserved;
- Complete generic detail design guidelines for the Memory and Living Culture Route that confirms the paving design and specifications for the street furniture palette including information signage, street lighting and tree planting. This information would then be available for distribution to the various departments involved in the public environment upgrading projects that fall within the Memory and Living Culture Route;
- Complete design guidelines to support the implementation of the various memorialisation installations along the Memory and Living Culture Route outlining the approach to location/ position and its associated considerations.

4. FUNDING INVESTIGATION:

The completion of a business plan to identify and source funding to support the project. The 'Tourism Destination Planning Manual' provides support in this regard. Engagements with the National department of Tourism and DEDAT should be undertaken to confirm potential funding options as well as from Natural Treasury and the Department of Trade and Industry.

5. EXPANDED STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT:

The success of the project and the ultimate intention to promote identity, belonging and achieve a specific sense of place also requires extensive input and involvement of key stakeholders including local community organisations and sub-council representative.

Confirmation of the process to support the identification, selection and implementation of the memorialisation installations needs to be defined, confirmed and agreed between the relevant stakeholders before proceeding.

Section 5(4) of the National Heritage Resources Act stipulates that

Heritage resources form an important part of the history and beliefs of communities and must be managed in a way that acknowledges the right of affected communities to be consulted and to participate in their management.

The celebration, commemoration, or interpretation of heritage in the Philippi Opportunity Area cannot be imposed from outside the affected community. It is vital that the proposals and projects described in this report be tested, refined, and developed in a consultative, meaningful series of engagements with residents, representatives, and local organisations. This is further described in the following section.

Principles for implementation

This report highlights the fact that the narrative framing opportunities to commemorate and memorialise the history of this area (events, places, people, and landscape) straddle the pre-colonial, colonial, segregationist, and apartheid eras with respect to people and place-making in this part of Cape Town. And, while a lot has been learned, much more remains to be discovered.

The apartheid era in this part of the city, especially when one deconstructs the story of "Crossroads" and Philippi, involves a history and memories that cut across and involve more than the specific areas forming part of the Philippi Opportunity Area. A shared history and living memories cut across locational boundaries. The name "Crossroads" should be read and understood as a metaphor for the struggles of a number of individuals, communities, and groups of people, many now scattered beyond the geographical scope of the POA, who experienced and are connected to a shared history and memory of the right to citizenship and place in the city of Cape Town.

This means that any planned/memorialisation projects linked to this period of history in this part of the city needs to be underpinned and preceded by a well-thought-through social process that is inclusive and accepted by a wide range of people, groups, and stakeholders, to ensure that whatever is remembered or memorialised is authentic, evidence-based, significant, unifying, healing, sustainable and, celebrates the memories and history of people in this part of the city over time.

Key principles to guide implementation include:

- **Inclusivity** – of people linked to known and not yet known events, specific experiences, and places linked to the history of this part of the city.

- **Significance/relevance** – with meaning for those whose history and heritage are commemorated, and generating new knowledge and understanding for a wider Cape Town, South African, and global audience.
- **Authenticity** – based on verified evidence linked to memory
- **Unifying** – this shared history cuts across rigid spatial boundaries. The story of Crossroads-Philippi encompasses people living in and around the POA – New Crossroads, and specific neighbourhoods in Khayelitsha like Site B and Site C – all areas resettled by people from the area during the 1980s and into the 1990s. New Crossroads and Lower Crossroads are direct spatial spin-offs from Old Crossroads.
- **Healing** – it needs to be a process that aims to heal and not re-traumatise.
- **Celebration of people and culture** – Cape Town has a rich cultural diversity. The dominant culture in this part of the city is an African one, a mix of urban and rural rituals, beliefs, traditions, linked to places, families, and ancestral history in the Eastern Cape.
- **Sustainability** - the medium to longer term sustainability of future heritage markers – places, routes, events, people – are directly linked to all of the principles described above.

Elements of a process for implementation

- **Inter-directorate/departmental cooperation, coordination and support from the City:** The professional team is aware that a number of City departments have undertaken or are planning to undertake heritage studies and work related to the history of this area. It is important that these are made more accessible, aligned, and linked to underpinning social cohesion and identity in this part of the city. This is fundamental to any planned heritage/memorialisation.
- **Sub-council and councillor support and buy-in:** Systematic engagement and sharing of the Project with councillors, with the

objective of building support for and participation in the social process towards memorialisation in and across their administrative areas.

- **Broaden public/citizen participation:** A series of facilitated public meetings/online forums to engage residents from the targeted areas and a wider public.
- **Broaden citizen engagement and participation:** Establishment of locally specific reference groups to work alongside those engaged to facilitate the social process who, in turn, can become familiar with the “Crossroads-Philippi” history/story and facilitate wider engagement with people, groups and stakeholders on the objectives of the Project.
- **Participatory research:** Training and mentoring of cohorts of youth (unemployed graduates) across the project area to participate in the collection of oral histories/life stories of people/groups with a living memory of this history and places of memory; deepen knowledge on places/events already identified by this study; and become active participants in the overall project
- **Secondary research:** expanded/deeper research into events, places, opportunities for memorialisation identified by the current study and social process going forward
- **Archival/visual digitisation and retrieval:** Identification and digitisation of existing archives/collections/artefacts of memory related to memory spaces/events already identified and those unearthed by the process.

7 Annexures

1: Oral Histories

2: Heritage Inventory

3: Stakeholder Report