SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Area study of Cape Town
Profile of Philippi
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Introduction

Aim

This report is part of a series of area studies for the Carnegie enquiry on poverty. It was compiled on the basis of research and interviews conducted in the Philippi area. A great deal of assistance was given by social workers and health workers in the area. A special thanks must go to the social workers at the Child Welfare Society from whom most of my statistical information was obtained.

The report is largely impressionistic and to a great extent reflects the fieldworker's subjective response to prevailing conditions in Philippi. The presentation of certain situations might therefore be contentious.

The composite poverty index has already shown Philippi to be a poverty ridden area. The aim of this report is to investigate how these abstract figures reflect themselves in concrete living conditions. For this purpose interviews were conducted with community workers and residents of the area.

Location

Philippi lies 14km from Cape Town City centre. The area comprises about 4 600 hectares with boundaries in the north of Lansdowne Rd, in the south of Punt Rd, in the west of Strandfontein Rd and in East Vanguard Drive.

Demography

The area has a population of 23 740 with the following racial distribution:

16 950 - 'Coloured' - 71%
3 820 - Black - 16%
2 970 - White - 13%
Description of Area

The area can be divided into six zones.

a) Farmland comprising 1 500 hectares (32.6%) of all land in Philippi - used mainly for vegetable farming.

b) Freeland - this is land belonging to the Divisional Council and on which people are squatting (free).

c) Squatter areas which are lands privately owned by farmers who do not cultivate them. The main source of income comes from renting plots or converted stables and pigsties to people.

d) Mining areas used for silica sand mining comprising 86 hectares of land. The rich deposits of silica sand found on the Cape Flats are used for the manufacture of glass.

e) Industrial area - 265 hectares of land have been allocated for industrial development. The aim is to provide jobs for the people of Mitchell's Plain.

f) Church land - land which belongs to the church i.e. the Klipfontein Mission Station. People pay an annual rate to the church for the plots they occupy.

The striking feature of Philippi is the many different facets of life which it contains. The differences in the area are reflected a) physically in huge concrete buildings erected for industrial development and adjacent to these squatter shacks; b) socially there are differences between the farmers and the farm workers, between farm workers and squatters and even between squatters at the mission station and those on the farms. These social differences show themselves in each group's attitude toward the others.
Historical Background

During the period 1826 - 1890 many German people emigrated from Germany to the U.S.A. and various British colonies. The first German settlers to arrive in South Africa came from Pomerania and were settled in Malmesbury.

During the 1870s John X Merriman, then Governor of Crownlands for the Cape of Good Hope, concluded that the Cape Flats area with its fertile soil would be ideal for agricultural development. He had been to British Kaffraria where he was impressed by the performance of German farmers. In 1876 he arranged with a German shipping agency to import some German immigrants to the Cape.

In 1877 the first German immigrants were settled on the Wynberg Flats, i.e. Philippi and Ottery. At this stage the area was a large sandy desert and farmers had a difficult time consolidating the land.

The second and largest batch of immigrants arrived in 1883. They too set out to cultivate the ground successfully against tremendous odds.

Soon the essential components of a farming community were established. In 1884 the first school was started on the farm of Carl Wesner. In 1886 the first Lutheran church was inaugurated. The first farmers co-operative was formed in the same period; this was also the first farming co-operative to be established in South Africa.

The history of farm workers in Philippi is not documented. It is therefore difficult to put together a cohesive picture of how this section of the community developed. What one can gather is that there was a protracted process of urbanization. The majority of workers came from country areas further afield. Their parents and great grandparents initially came from other farming districts. Others came from areas such as the Swartland, Hottentotsholland, Karoo, Boland, Outeniqua, Eastern Cape and what is today Transkei.
Many workers came in search of employment at the urban centre but found that there was nothing else they could do but work the farms and they thus settled in Philippi. Other workers were specially brought in by farmers.

The origins of squatters in the area can in the main be found in the process of urbanization. A contributory factor to the existence of squatters is the housing crisis i.e. the shortage of houses for lower income groups.
Forms of Economic Activity

People mainly derive their incomes from agriculture and industry. In the squatter area women also do domestic work. In addition to this there are also nurseries where flowers are grown; riding schools and stables and silica sand mining. Of these various forms of economic activity, agriculture is by far the largest and most important sector. It is also in farming that the bulk of the people are employed.

a) Agriculture

Philippi is essentially a vegetable farming area, although other forms of farming also occur, e.g. poultry, pigs and flowers. The farms are small and most do not exceed 10 hectares. Farming is intensive and yields are normally high. The Philippi area produces 84% of the vegetables for the Cape Town metropolitan area. Philippi is also an area with one of the highest net farming revenues, which is put at up to R3 000 per hectare.

It is however difficult to say how general this income level is. It is obvious that there is a sharp contrast between this and the income levels of farm labourers and this is reflected in their very low living standards.

Farm Workers

It is ironical that people living so close to the city should exist in such a state of destitution and deprivation. Things which the majority of city dwellers have come to take for granted e.g. running water in houses, water-borne sewage, electricity, radio, television or even supermarkets are all foreign to the farm workers of Philippi.

(i) Working Conditions

Contract

The following conditions are contained in the sort of contract workers sign with farmers.
Work Hours

Work week: Monday - Friday
Hours: Winter - 7.00am - 6pm
       Summer - 7.00am - 7pm
       Lunch - 1 hour
Wages: Males: R20.00 per week
       Females: R10 per week

Bonus: The accommodation provided is regarded as a bonus. Workers are entitled to a week's paid holiday per year. The 'dop' system in the form of wine rations is regarded as a bonus. Those who do not take wine are paid an extra R5 in cash.

Workers are given a week's notice when their services are terminated.

It appears that the contract serves as a minimum guide to farmers. From discussions with workers one could discern that many farmers do not actually stick to the contract. There are those who pay more than the contract stipulates. Males generally earn between R19 and R30 per week. Females earn between R10 and R15 per week. The majority of the workforce is however female. On certain farms only females are employed with the males working elsewhere in the city during the week. At weekends the males are also employed by the farmer. Their remuneration for a weekend's work would be three bottles of cheap wine.

In certain instances workers are paid less than the stipulated amount e.g. on occasion women are paid very little. The farmer may arbitrarily decide that a few of the workers are still children i.e. under 16 years of age, and therefore should be paid less. This despite the fact that some are mothers who do not receive any financial support from their children's fathers.

(ii) Housing

The accommodation provided is regarded as a bonus and is closely tied to labour. When people are no longer able to work they have to leave the farm. Once evicted from the farms many of the people become squatters.
On one occasion a farmer and his two dogs charged into the house of a cancer sufferer who is no longer able to work and demanded that the man either work for him or pay him R45 per month for the hovel his family was occupying.

There are people who wish to leave the farms but lack of alternative accommodation makes this impossible. A case in point is Mrs J. on farm P.

Mrs J. arrived in Philippi ten years ago. The family came from Mamre where both husband and wife had been farm labourers. Their reason for leaving Mamre was "daar het hulle ons soos slawe behandel".

In June 1983 Mrs J's husband died. She herself is unable to work and gets a disability grant. For the family to continue living on the farm someone has to work there. In order to secure their accommodation Mrs J. took her 15 year old daughter out of school to work the fields for R8 per week.

Mrs J. desperately wants to move off the farm but she has nowhere to go: "Ek wil wegtrek, dus te deurmekaar hier. As ek net 'n plek in Atlantis kan kry."

iii) Living Conditions

The majority of farm workers live under the most appalling conditions. Most are housed in two-roomed units in compounds; the houses have no ceilings, electricity or running water, no sewerage or plastered walls. Others live in wood and iron shacks or converted pigsties and stables. Taps are used communally and flush toilets do not exist.

The only farm on which improvements were made recently was that of farm R. This particular farmer had flush toilets installed, houses were painted and neat fences were erected around the houses; he spent R80,000 on improvements. Generally the conditions appear more pleasant on Farm R as compared with those on other farms. The farmer was criticised by other farmers for making these improvements because they feared that they would have to follow suit.
In most cases the houses are situated amid spreading Port Jackson trees and pitch black sand. The lack of drainage and sanitation as well as the fertilizer used in the fields lead to a profusion of flies in and around the houses.

The houses are dark and ill-ventilated. In certain instances the window is an opening fitted with iron bars and closely resembles the window of a prison cell.

On the farm of G. we visited a house situated about two metres away from the pigsty. The house was infested by flies and the smell from the pigsty was overwhelming. The corrugated iron used for the house's construction was perforated with small holes, the floor was of raw cement; the structure therefore provides little protection from the wind, rain and cold.

Our respondent, living in this house, suffered from T.B. and his chances of recovering while living under these conditions seem slight despite the medicines provided at the clinic.

Furniture in many of the houses we visited would normally consist of lopsided beds held upright by bricks or boxes. Mattresses are old protruding springs and stuffing. In some houses one would find tables, cabinets and broken-down sofas, but in most cases improvisations are made with vegetable crates or wooden/corrugated iron slats.

**Recreation**

There is a total lack of recreational facilities in the area. In answer to the question, "What do you do at night or over weekends," most would say "Niks" or "Ons bly maar net hier rond". After further probing it would appear that those who consume alcohol - the majority - would just sit around and get very drunk. They would then fight with each other.
Television sets, radios and hi-fi's play little part in the relaxation of workers on farms in Philippi. Only those who work as domestics in the houses of the farmers occasionally have the opportunity of watching television or listening to the radio. The poverty of Philippi's people does not stop short at malnourishment, poor health care and bad living and working conditions: it extends to total cultural deprivation.

Farmers' Control of Workers' Lives

The farmers control of workers extends beyond the workplace. The farmer also controls much of the workers' personal lives. Visitors are not allowed to come and go freely and those visitors who wish to stay overnight may only do so with the permission of the farmer. So great is the control by the farmer that at times even health and social workers are denied access to farm labourers. I was also told that sometimes these officials are chased off the farms at gunpoint.

Some farmers refuse to allow workers time off to receive medical treatment. A case in point was the G. chicken farm where 19 people were screened resulting in four diagnoses of venereal disease and five of T.B. At this point the farmer refused to allow these workers time off for treatment. Although there is legislation compelling VD sufferers to obtain treatment, the medical authorities are powerless to enforce this.

Child Care on Farms

The situation with child care on the Philippi farms is alarming: No childcare facilities are provided by farmers; mothers either take their children along with them to work or leave them at home with an older child who is kept from school for this purpose. While driving through Philippi one can see babies sitting in boxes beside their mothers who are working in the fields.
On the farm of J a woman locked her two children up in the house while she went off to work. This practice was kept up for months and when passing the house one could hear the children shouting and crying inside. The wife of the neighbouring farmer reported this to the clinic. Social workers arrived at the house to find the children locked in and after discussion with the mother she decided to take them to the fields with her.

The implications of the lack of childcare facilities are clearly illustrated in M.L.'s case.

M.L. is 32 years old and has five children. She is unmarried. At present three of her children live with her. Her sons left home (verkas) and are living with her mother in Hanover Park. M.L. is presently employed on the G. farm, which produces flowers. Her working hours are between 8am and 5.30pm daily and she earns R18 per week. She is not covered by Unemployment Insurance and cannot stay away from work as money gets deducted from her pay packet even if she produces a doctor's certificate.

To secure her accommodation M.L. must work for the farmer despite the fact that she has a three month-old baby. There are no childcare facilities on the farm and this has resulted in her 13 year-old daughter being taken from school to care for her siblings.

The 13 year-old was in standard four when she left school and since then has been uncontrollable. At home during the day she mixes with "die verkeerde geselskap"(1). She smokes marijuana and drinks wine and has also been stealing vegetables from farms and selling them in order to buy wine. According to M.L., her mother, months have passed since her daughter has slept in the house; she sleeps out in the open with her friends.

When we visited the house we met the daughter who was taking care of the baby at the time. The social workers

Footnote: (1) The wrong company
spoke to the girl and she expressed great interest in returning to school. She was dissatisfied with the things she had been doing. She also felt that she wanted to get away from the farm: "Dis te deurmekaar hier, mense drink en baklei. (2)".

Diet

Generally farm workers do not shop at supermarkets. They eat whatever vegetables are grown on the farm and in addition to this sheeps' heads are bought from the farmer at 80c each. They cook this meat over open fires. Other requirements are usually bought from the shop on the farm and whatever debt they accumulate here is deducted from their wages.

There is very little variety in the farm workers' diet which consists primarily of porridge, bread, vegetables and sheeps' heads.

Once a year, on Christmas Eve, the farmers load all their workers into trucks and take them shopping in Wynberg. To many this is the only time they ever see supermarkets.

Footnote: (2) The situation is chaotic, people drink and fight.
Silica Sand Mining

Rich deposits of silica sand are found in the North Western and Western parts of Philippi. This sand forms 70% of the raw materials used in the manufacture of glass. In terms of the 1968 Urban Planning Act, Philippi is reserved for agriculture and sand mining.

The Philippi silica sand mining industry is in the initial stages of development. The main company excavating at the moment is the Industrial Sand and Engineering Company. This company presently owns 108 hectares of the mining area in Philippi. It estimates the productive capacity of its mine to be 200,000 tons per year. This in cash terms amounts to RI million.

The productive capacity can however be increased and the company estimates that at a depth of 15m it would be able to produce 405 million tons per year.

Footnote: Information : Child Welfare Society
: Divisional Council Urban Planning Dept.
Squatters

There are three types of squatters in Philippi
a) Those squatting on farms
b) those on land belonging to the Divisional Council
c) those on church land.

This report will only deal with the first two categories. In the first category farms X and y will be used to illustrate conditions and in the second Browns farm. There is however a difference between the two farms mentioned in the first section, i.e. on farm x the farmer cultivates part of his land while on farm y, no cultivation occurs.

On these farms anything from converted pigstys to wood and iron shacks are rented. People pay up to R45 p.m. in rent. To these farmers it is far more lucrative to rent shacks or plots than farm. This is partly because the farms are very small and Philippi is reserved for agriculture and silica sand mining and not for the development of "residential areas." Renting plots and shacks is thus illegal. It appears, however, as if these farmers are a law unto themselves.

The case study in this section comes from farm x. The farmer is reported to be a very violent man who even denies, at gun-point, access to his farm to state officials. He is also said to have forced a man with double pneumonia back to work stating, "Ek duld nie leeglëers op my grond nie."

Footnote: (I) I do not tolerate idle people on my farm.
I interviewed a member of Family M on the Farm X. This family came to Cape Town from Ladismith 18 years ago. They settled in Philippi and have moved from farm to farm in the area.

Four years ago the father, who was also the breadwinner of the family was disabled by a stroke. As he was unable to work, the family had to move off the farm where he was employed. They were forced to squat on the farm where they are presently living.

The family includes six children. The father receives a disability grant of R83.00 p.m. The mother chars twice weekly in Lansdowne and receives R12 a week. Two sons live on their own and work on a farm nearby. Two sons are serving prison sentences for theft. The youngest daughter is 13 years old and a Std. 3 pupil at the primary school in Philippi.

I interviewed the daughter of 19 years of age. She had recently become unemployed as she was about to give birth to a child. She had been working at a nursery where she earned R18 p.w. She had worked into her eighth month of pregnancy and left without being paid any maternity benefits or unemployment insurance.

This is quite common to most women employed by these nurseries. Recently the women, with the help of social workers, formed a committee and approached management on the question of working conditions. They had nowhere to sit during lunch hours and the toilet facilities were also inadequate. Management agreed to improve conditions.

A had no money at all at the time of the interview and she was unable to trace the reputed father of her child. She was so destitute that I had to give her a 10c piece to buy a drum of water to wash her baby's napkins.
The family occupies a 2 roomed hovel which they rent for R45 a month. There is no electricity, no water, no sanitation and ventilation is inadequate. Water has to be bought from the farmer at 10c a drum. If by chance the water container needs rinsing, (and this frequently happens,) because it is dirty, the farmer's wife becomes very agitated and will not allow the children to rinse the drum.

A's immediate hope for the future is to find the father of her child so that he can support her financially. She would also like to return to her job later. Finding alternative accommodation does not seem possible in the foreseeable future, they are not even on the council's waiting list.

**Brownsfarm**

The other squatter area visited was Brownsfarm. Here the worst squalor in Philippi exists. People have erected their own shacks and none are fit for human habitation. The camp is also used as a dumping ground for rubble.

At Brownsfarm one witnesses all the elements of social decay: drunkenness, wife and child battering, child neglect, crime, illegitimacy, etc.

Those who suffer most from these appalling conditions are the children. It was there that we saw malnourished and filthy children playing in the dirt.

M is a 29 year old alcoholic mother. Recently the police discovered her baby on the railway station with her friend who was arrested for being drunk.

"M is too rotten to look after her baby," her neighbour asserted. "The welfare should take the child away from her."

M herself seems to share this view, for she introduced us to Mrs C who is going to foster the child. M had been badly beaten by her lover when we interviewed her.
This squatter settlement was established when the owner stopped cultivating his land and decided to rent plots. He subsequently died and the land was sold to industrial developers. Most people living there are employed nearby in the industrial area in manufacturing.

There are also many people employed by a company known to the people as "Pavings," where men laying slabs earn between R20-R60 a week at piece rates.

During April 1983 the residents of Brownsfarm were engaged in a bitter struggle against evictions. After the industrialists had taken over the land, the bulldozers started moving in. With no alternative accommodation available, residents defended their rights to remain. In their struggle they were assisted by a well known community organiser and Roman Catholic priest.

"Ons het a meeting gemaak en drie mense het gegaan tot in die Kaap." (I)

The delegation which went to the Department of Community Development managed to secure the people of Brownsfarm the right to remain there until the Department could provide them with alternative accommodation.

Since then people have been moved to Mitchells Plain, Elsies River and Belhar. Those who are still there are awaiting removal or have returned to the area because they cannot afford the high rentals on the council housing schemes. There is also a large section of African workers who are living there illegally. As people move out others move in and rent their structures.

Footnote: (I) We had a meeting and a delegation went to town.
One of our informants, Miss V. was renting a structure from people who had moved. The condition of the house is so bad that the family may as well sleep out in the open. During the week the wind had blown part of the roof off. She does not have the means to repair it.

Miss V. came to Cape Town in 1974. She was born in Aberdeen in 1949. She never attended school and worked on a farm ever since she was old enough to do so. She came to Cape Town at the age of 25 in search of better prospects. She ended up doing domestic work in Rylands Estate.

While in Cape Town she met her husband who also came from Aberdeen and was working as a handyman for a garage owner in Athlone. When they got married they lived on the premises.

In 1977 the garage owner bought a motor Spares shop in Philippi. They moved and remained there until 1981 when the Spares shop was sold and they were evicted. Up until this point they had led a relatively peaceful existence. The family had now increased to four.

Faced with nowhere else to go they were forced to move onto Browns Farm. They first rented a room from other squatters and they now live in a structure left by people who have moved out. They pay a rental of R10 a month.

Ms. V. started drinking excessively after they had moved to Browns Farm. Prior to this she did not drink alcohol. "Almal drink hier want die smokkelhuis is in die kamp." The women in particular take to drinking. They drink during the day when the men are at work.

Within two years Mrs V. became an alcoholic, her two month old baby was wrapped in a dirty pink blanket. The child was a classified alcoholic syndrome at birth.

Mrs V. desperately wants to get out of her present condition. She has recognised that she is an alcoholic. "Ek moet elke oggend eers 'n dop drink anders voel ek nie reg nie." She has agreed to undergo treatment. The social worker however feels that she should also get away from her present surroundings. Her husband, in his ignorance and not fully understanding her position, regularly gives her a hiding to coerce her to stop drinking.

Mrs V's experience holds true for many women at Browns Farm.
Health

The Philippi Clinic is run by the Divisional Council and the medical service provided seems adequate. In addition to the services provided at the clinic, there is also a mobile clinic which visits the farms. The two nursing sisters interviewed expressed a very genuine concern about the conditions in the area and a firm commitment to improve the health situation. The attempts to do so are however frustrated by the lack of cooperation from many farmers. They attribute most of the diseases prevalent to social and economic conditions in Philippi. eg. dietary conditions, poor housing, excessive use of alcohol, lack of sanitation, ignorance etc.

The most common diseases are T.B, V.D, Meningitis, Malnutrition and Alcoholism.

Malnutrition

70% of the children brought to the clinic suffer from malnutrition. The mild cases are normally treated by the clinic staff. Their diets are improved by free milk and porridge, issued by the clinic staff. The severe cases are sent to Victoria Hospital for treatment. The vicious circle, however, does not stop there. According to the nurses, the children revert back to the same state of health after being returned to those conditions that gave rise to the malnutrition initially.

Alcoholism

Given the demoralising living and working conditions most people in Philippi experience, one can easily imagine why many take to alcohol. This situation is however exacerbated by the fact that the tot system is still operative coupled with the fact that there are many shebeens in the area.

The farmers justification of the tot system is fear of losing their labourers. They argue that it is this which keeps labourers on the farms and keeps them happy.

According to a survey conducted by Child Welfare in 1983, the majority of farm workers reject the tot system. They associate it with alcoholism. They also see it as a means of tricking them out of a higher wage. It is also rejected by farm workers for the following social reasons:

1) Leads to bad behaviour
2) It leads to the breaking up of family life
3) It is bad for the health of the people
According to the survey mentioned, the distribution of shebeens is as follows:

10 on actively farmed land
7 on farms where the farmer encourages squatting
4 in the squatting areas

I discussed the problem with the supervisor of S.A.N.C.A. in Philippi. He pointed out the difficulty in controlling the tot system because the tot is given as a bonus and not as part of the wage. They have tried setting up meetings with the Boerevereeniging to get the farmers to co-operate in alleviating the problem of alcoholism. To date these attempts have been fruitless. We came across three cases of alcoholic syndrome babies while working in the area.

**Ignorance**

Ignorance plays a great part in spreading disease in Philippi. On a visit with health workers, I came across a house on a farm where 17 cats were concentrated in a two roomed house. There was a cat in every conceivable corner: on the bed, in boxes, in pots and in cooking utensils. The people were so ignorant they simply did not know what to do with the cats so that they allowed them to carry on breeding prolifically.

Health educators visit the farms to give preventive education. They have, however, great difficulty in teaching the people because of the low educational and cultural level prevalent.

Birth control is another problem. People do not follow instructions or take their pills regularly. They also fear infertility. Health workers have a tremendous problem convincing people of the value of sterilisation. People believe that: "Hulle gaan jou toe maak".

**Health Care at the Clinic**

- Baby Clinic and Pre-school children: 1605
- Family Planning: 496
- T.B.: 1411
- V.D.: 208
Education

The 1980 census data indicates that many people in Philippi have no formal education and of those who had some schooling, very few reached secondary school.

Listening to interviews conducted by social workers, I was surprised by the fact that relatively young people (± 30 yrs) could neither read nor write. This applies particularly to people coming from the farms.

There are two primary schools in Philippi and no high schools. We visited one primary school where I interviewed the principal. The school had seven classrooms, one for each standard. According to the principal the major problems are truancy and the fact that parents do not enrol their children.

At the beginning of 1983 with the help of University students, they conducted an enrolment programme. They visited the farms and fetched children off the fields. The response from farmers was: "Wat baat dit tog, hulle is weer more op die lande?" (I) This is very true for the school has a very high drop out rate. Most pupils drop out in Sub A or B. Of the hundred pupils that enter Sub A, twenty will reach Standard 5, while those that go to high school do not come from the farms but from squatting areas. Those that do go, attend high school in Hanover Park or Manenberg.

According to the principal, the academic performance of pupils in Philippi is below standard. This he once again attributes to socio-economic conditions in the area.

Footnote: (I)" This will not help, tomorrow they will be back in the fields."
Grants

Many people depend on grants to supplement incomes. The social workers are faced daily with people whose main problem is lack of money. They either want maintenance grants for their children or disability grants for themselves. In addition to this, Child Welfare hands out food vouchers to families.

Money spent by the state on grants in Philippi amounts to: R64,795.31 per month (1) while Child Welfare spends R3700 per annum (2)

A large number of people are also awaiting the outcome of applications for grants.

Crime

The crime rate in Philippi is very high. The following figures for May 1982 were released by Child Welfare Society. These figures cover Philippi and Hanover Park:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the people, most of the crimes are committed in the squatter areas. Few gangsters are based in Philippi. They come primarily from outside. They do, however, influence the young people of Philippi.
Conclusion

The report clearly indicates that poverty in Philippi which is characterised by low incomes, poor housing, low educational levels, lack of recreation etc. is a direct result of the socio-economic conditions governing the area.