

2 SITE CONTEXT, STRUCTURE AND SUPPORT FACILITIES

The objective of the second chapter is to provide a description of the structural aspects of the study area. Describing the study area serves two purposes, one it provides context for community dynamics. Secondly, changes within a post-Apartheid situation can be identified.

Structures which will be identified include housing, business infrastructure, public infrastructure and supportive facilities. These identifiable structures will be placed in context of the local area as well as Pretoria as a whole. Further, a time scale will show historical as well as current situations to show how the study area has changed from a historically White, lower income area to a rapidly desegregating mixed income area.

Within the study area the recent changes in racial and economic composition has shown some new and interesting trends. These trends suggest that a once White area has now some characteristics historically associated primarily with Black areas. Some examples include tuck shops, shebeens, informalized business and transportation routes. These types of trends were also identified by Horn and Ngcobo (2003) in Orchards, Pretoria which has also seen high levels of desegregation.

2.1 Context

The city of Pretoria was developed in 1855 and in 1910 become the administrative capital of South Africa. White areas of the city were established and developed surrounding a White Central Business District. As the city was a segregated Apartheid location the Whites were given control of the central areas and Blacks were allotted space at the periphery (Hattingh & Horn 1991). Initially only four main township areas were located within Pretoria, during the 1960's numerous other township areas were developed north of Pretoria within the Tshwana homeland. The homeland area was buffered from Pretoria by means of industrial areas and low density White farm holdings. In 2000 a process of agglomeration created the

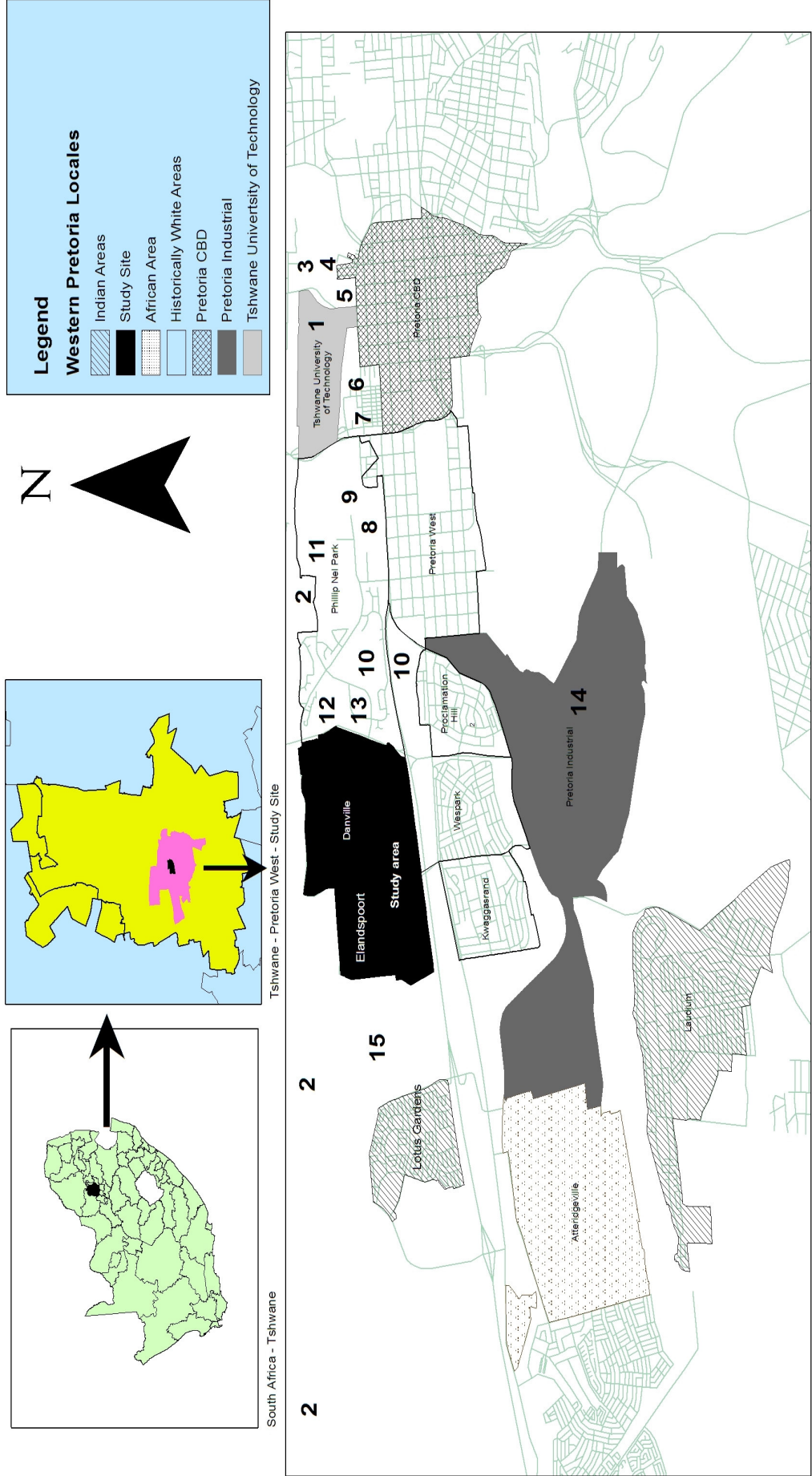
City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality in which Pretoria including the four township areas as well as the outlying township areas in the former Tswana homeland were incorporated under one municipality. The study area is located within Pretoria West and as such will utilize Pretoria as the city name rather than using Tshwane which encompasses all areas including Pretoria and all township areas under one metropolis.

Danville and Elandspoort has a history of being a lower income White area within Pretoria's urban structure (Hattingh & Horn, 1991; Naidoo, 2005). During Apartheid the area was a White dominated area with a primarily lower income blue collar working class (South Africa, 1991). Many of the locals worked within Pretoria Industrial which is a heavy industry area created as a reconstruction and economic boosting project stemming from World War 2 (Parnell & Mabin, 1995). The study site is located roughly 3km north of the Industrial Area. Danville and Elandspoort, as well as many other Western Pretoria suburbs, started developing and expanding in the 1950's, in part due to the demand for housing from the industrial workers, as well as employees of companies and government agencies in the CBD of Pretoria (Prinsloo & Cloete, 2002). Danville origins can be traced to a donation of land by General Dan Piennaar, the donation was done to help alleviate a White homeless problem in Pretoria after the Second World War. The neighbourhood name is designed to honour the said General. Elandspoort also originated as a farm which was passed through many owners till finally developing alongside Danville (Tshwane Beeld, 2003b; Patriot, 1993)

2.1.1 Location and Proximity

The study area is in close proximity to many services and is centrally located within greater Pretoria, yet it does have large buffer areas separating it from other neighbourhoods. To the East of Danville is TransOranje Road, which is a major route passing through the Daspoort Tunnel separating it from Phillip Nel Park. To the south of Danville and Elandspoort is the N4 highway, which is a major highway transecting northern South Africa in an East-West direction. Just south of the N4 is a greenbelt and the Quagga River (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Pretoria West Service Locations



List of Pretoria West Service Locales (Figure 2)

**note: numbers in brackets correspond to labels on Figure 2.*

- The Tshwane University of Technology **(1)** which is bordered by the southern slope of the Waterberg Ridge **(2)** and the Tshwane Ring Rail **(3)**.
- The Pretoria Fresh Produce Market **(4)** which is situated east of the study area immediately adjacent to the west of the fresh produce market is a woman's market.
- The Premos Municipal Training Centre **(5)** is situated to the south-east of the University of Technology.
- Immediately to the south of the University, is the Pretoria West Hoërskool **(6)** which is situated to the south of Staatsartillerie Drive and to the west of the Golf railway station **(7)**.
- Further towards the east, the most prominent feature is the Rebecca Street cemetery **(8)** and crematorium **(9)** which is located east of the study area.
- Another prominent feature is the Pretoria Golf Club **(10)** located east of the study area and extends across the N4-freeway into parts of Pretoria West and Proclamation Hill to the south. The Pretoria Golf Club is surrounded by the residential developments of Philip Nel Park **(11)**.
- The Pretoria West Hospital **(12)** is situated adjacent to the northwest of the Pretoria West Golf Club and just east of Danville.
- The regional fire brigade services **(13)** are situated along TransOranje Road to the south of the Pretoria West Hospital.
- To the south of the study site along TransOranje Road is Pretoria Industrial **(14)**.
- An abandoned Leper Hospital filled with squatters called West Fort directly west of the study site **(15)**.

To the immediate west of Elandspoort and Danville Extension 3, is an open undeveloped area, an abandoned leper hospital with a squatter settlement, a cemetery and a museum. This area is partly wooded with low population density. To the north of the study area, is Waterberg ridge comprising of natural vegetation, but no housing or infrastructure.

The study area is well situated in terms of services. As many of the local residents are of a lower income, the proximity to services is important. Many of the lower income residents encountered did not have a personal private vehicle and thus

were reliant on public transport for longer trips or walking to local service locations. As all forms of public transport have a user fee many people with limited incomes are forced to walk and will only utilize services within a limited radius.

2.1.2 Subdivisions

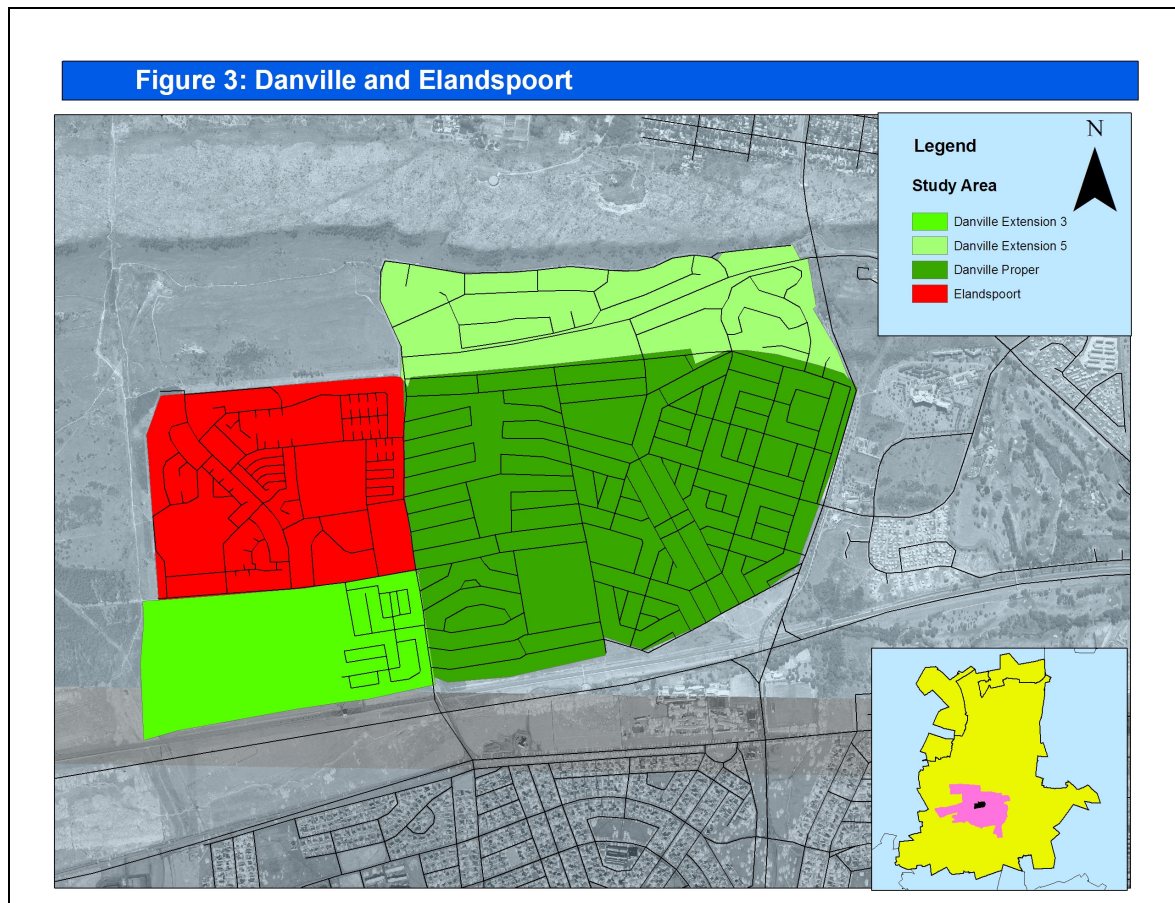
Danville and Elandspoor are two communities, which neighbour each other and are separated from other neighbourhoods through natural and structural boundaries. Elandspoor is located to the northwest of Danville Proper and share a common border. Danville and its extensions border two sides of Elandspoor and are separated by two small roads named Strachan Street and Van den Berg road. For the purpose of the study, both neighbourhoods will be assessed as a single unit of study. Figure 3 indicates that Danville, Danville Extensions and Elandspoor are conjoined and these neighbourhoods have a similar social and racial composition as shown by census data (Statistics SA, 2001) and as such will therefore be studied as a single unit.

Three forms of growth occur within the study site. Extensions refer to the outward expansion of a residential area. Infill is the construction of houses in previously vacant open spaces (greenfields) within a developed area and densification implies the subdivision of an existing stand or the erection of a second formal or informal dwelling on and already existing stand.

Danville has been experiencing expansion in two main areas. Growth to the south is limited because of the N4 highway, and to the east is the TransOranje Road which is a major connection route running north through the Daspoort tunnel. Danville Extension 3 is located south of Elandspoor and southwest of Danville Proper. The second Extension, Danville Extension 5, is to the north of Danville Proper and south of the Waterberg Ridge. These two extensions are both expanding, although the housing types and population structure differ.

Elandspoor has not to this point has not grown because of expansion, but it is experiencing infill with low income housing. Numerous open areas within Elandspoor have been developed with high density, low cost housing which is in

contrast to the original structures which are lower density and larger. Both Danville Proper and Elandspoort are experiencing densification in which smaller buildings are being constructed on established stands typically to house extended families. Processes of extension, infill and densification receive more attention in the next section of this chapter.



2.2 Structure

Structure within the study area is addressed by describing various housing types, business both informal and formal, churches as well as parks and community spaces within the study area.

2.2.1 Varying Housing Types

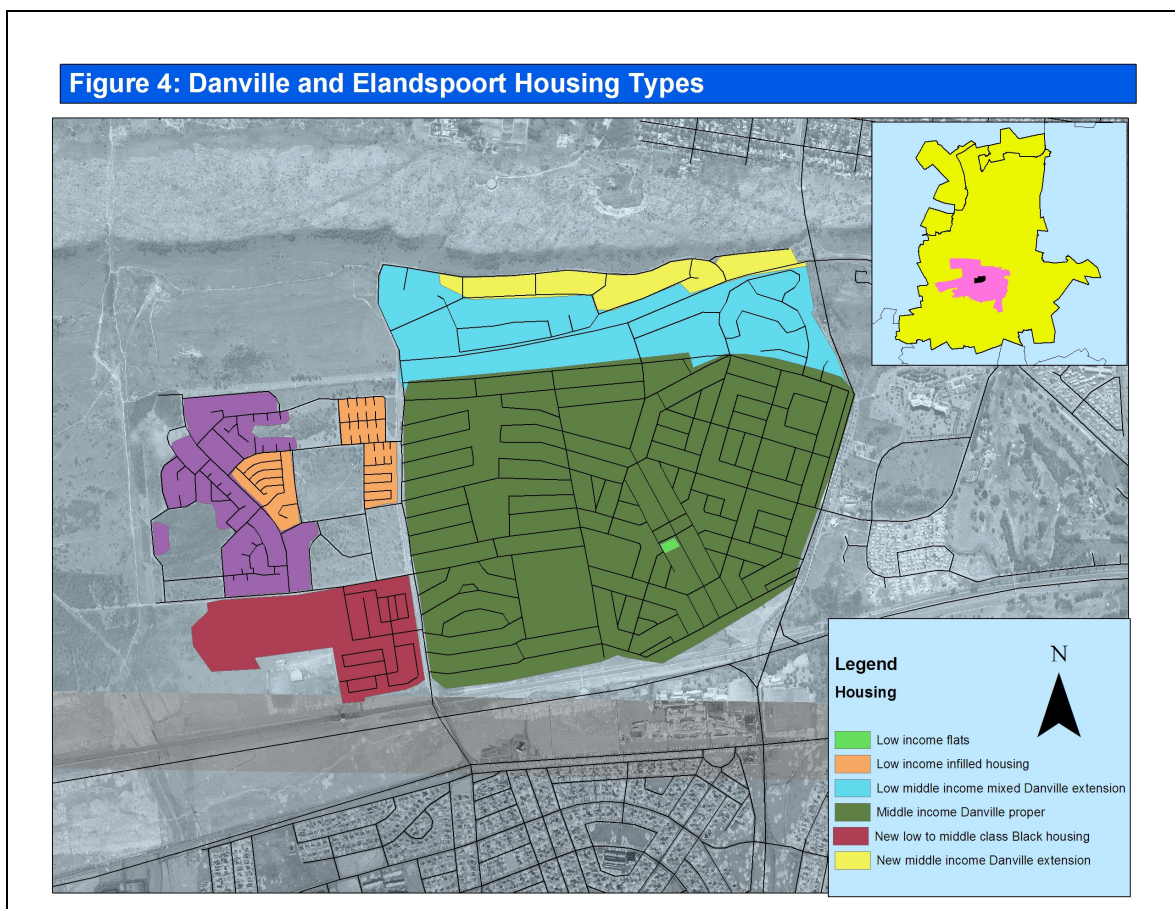
Danville and Elandspoort are both residential areas with medium to high housing density (Figure 4). Between the two areas there is only one building with flats, which is located in central Danville. These flats are located on top of the local business infrastructure. On the first two floors there are numerous businesses and low rent apartments are on the upper floor. The majority of Danville residences are single family dwellings on individual stands. Danville Proper is a community which is approximately 50 years old. Within the last ten years there have been two prominent extensions added to Danville as the original area of Danville had little open space for infilling. All additional houses had to be placed at the periphery, namely the northern and south western edges.

Danville

Danville was initially developed in the 1950's as a White working class neighbourhood. The area was established close to the ISCOR industrial area as well as being close to the city centre and its services. During Apartheid, Danville was a White area dominated by Afrikaans speaking people (South Africa, 1991). Because of Apartheid's social controls, no permanent Black residents lived in the area until the Apartheid exclusion regulations changed in the late 1980's (South Africa, 1991; Jurgens *et al.*, 2003).

Many of the houses within Danville Proper are aging 2-4 bedroom single storey brick buildings (see Picture 1). All houses have a medium to large lot size that is typical of the housing construction of the past. Initial houses in the area were constructed according to a community blueprint, which had eight variations of single storey houses as per 1950's community housing blueprints. Danville Proper has reached a point where it is saturated with housing and there are few spaces which have development potential. Open spaces are parks or school yards, neither of which have the potential to be developed.

Danville Extension 3 located in the south west of the study site has been developed as a medium density area, with lot sizes smaller than Danville Proper and Elandspoor Proper, yet the lots are larger than the infilled areas within Elandspoor. Danville Extension 3 is primary occupied by Black residents as discovered during frequent site visits as well as conversations with numerous local residents and businesses. The expansion in Extension 3 is limited by roads and housing on three sides, the west is the only direction in which expansion can take place. Land use in the direction of expansion is unused open land (Figure 5).



Many of the houses in the Danville Extension 3 area are recently constructed (Picture 2). The houses are typically smaller, single storey housing with no facilities for a vehicle such as a carports or garages. Many of the residents in the area own their own home and the maintenance is better than in some of the low rent areas of Elandspoor, which are just a few blocks away. Many of the Black residents interviewed in the area (Interviews 1-13) are employed and have moved away from

townships which confirm the statements made by Prinsloo & Cloete (2002) in which they describe an outflow of upwardly mobile Blacks from historically Black areas. One individual stated that “We left the Atteridgeville and moved to this White area to get away from high crime rates and give our children a better school” (Interviewee 2). Krysan & Farley (2002) suggest that many Blacks remain in township areas as they prefer to live in areas of like kind but this study shows that not all have the same inclination. Of 60 interviews conducted in the area, 22 respondents were Black and all were happy with their life’s situation of living within a historically White area. Of those 22 Blacks interviewed half indicated they did not want to leave the area and the remaining individuals who wanted to leave the area were planning more affluent White areas.

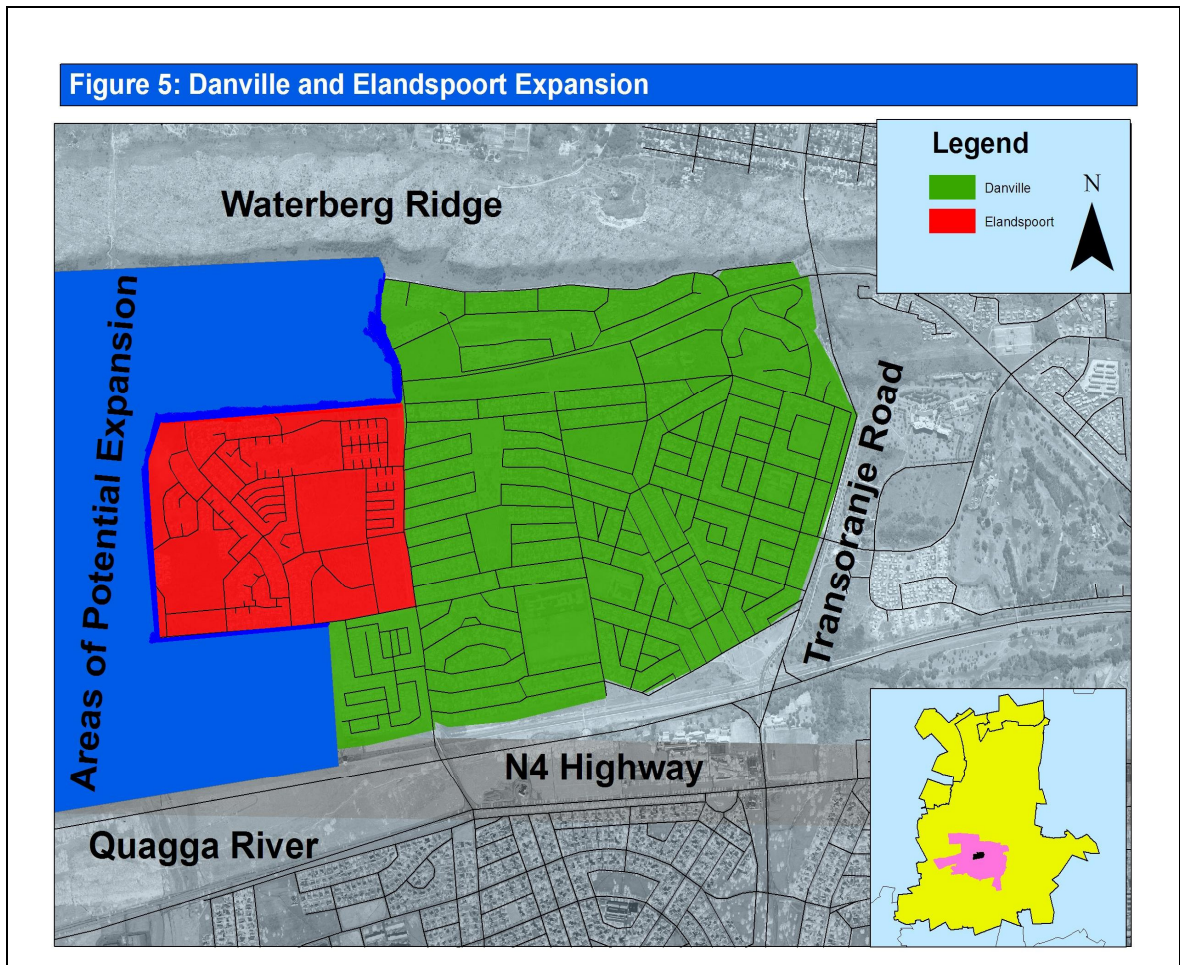
Picture 1: Danville Proper House

Picture 2: Danville Extension 3 Housing



Danville Extension 5 is to the north of Danville Proper. The houses in this area vary from simple two bedroom, single storey residences on smaller lots, to large multi-storey upper middle class homes (Picture 3). The racial composition of this Extension 5 area also differs from Extension 3, Danville Proper and Elandspoor Proper. Extension 5 has a range of population from employed lower middle income Blacks to an upper middle class, comprising of both Black and White families. Housing prices within this extension vary as well, according to the house. Some of the smaller stands and house are currently worth R 200,000-300,000 with the larger homes in excess of one million Rand. The interesting aspect of this area is the lack

of separation between the housing types. In some cases a small house is a direct neighbour of a large dwelling within Danville Extension 5 (Picture 4).



Picture 3: Danville Ext. 5 Housing



Picture 4: Danville Ext. 5 Houses



Elandspoort

Elandspoort is a sister community to Danville and initially had similar housing that was constructed during Apartheid. Unlike Danville, Elandspoort has many open areas which are not classified as parks. Within the last ten years there have been large scale infilling projects within Elandspoort (Picture 5). Much of the infilling though has been the construction of low cost, high density housing. Thus, Elandspoort has been infilling with housing, whereas Danville has been extending.

A large central area of Elandspoort is still open space, yet the area is heavily polluted by illegal dumping of household waste (Picture 6). These areas are not well maintained and are not desirable to use as a park. In the future, they could be turned into functional parks, but it is likely that many of the open spaces will be infilled with more low income housing. There are no current plans from the city of to rehabilitate any of the areas into parks (City of Tshwane, 2005)

Picture 5: Elandspoort Infill Housing

Picture 6: Elandspoort Illegal Dumping



Western Elandspoort is where middle income houses were constructed before any infilled areas were developed. The original houses are of a similar standard than most of the traditional Danville houses. West of Elandspoort there is large open areas and a few farm houses settled on the base of the ridge unseen from the more

densely populated areas. Initially these houses would have been middle income homes, but the infilling has brought the status of the area down, as the low rent homes has brought in poor residents and social issues relating to poverty, similar to examples in Cape Town provided by Lohnert *et al.* (1998). Construction of middle income homes has ceased in Elandspoord when low income housing developments started.

In Elandspoord over the last ten years, there has been infilling within two open spaces. The locations of these infilled areas are to the south east and central Elandspoord (see Figure 5). The infilling is not the same housing type as the existing neighbourhood, but rather low-income housing. The lot sizes within the infilled areas are drastically smaller than the existing housing lots. The houses are small, simple two bedroom houses with no outbuildings or attached garages/carports. These infilled houses are different from the original houses within Elandspoord and Danville which tend to be medium sized houses with medium sized lots, many of which have a carport, garage and/or out buildings. Many of the residents in the infilled area are poor White residents who rent from a private landlord. Housing rent is cheap with the average rent in the infilled area less than R 500 a month (Interviews 51,53,54,57). Though poor Whites are the primary residents in the infilled areas of Elandspoord, there is a growing number of Black residents who are leaving traditional township areas and moving into low rent areas in previously White areas which has been shown in other areas of Pretoria by Jurgens *et al.* (2003).

Many of the houses within infilled areas are in poor condition as the landlords do not fix the housing adequately and the renters are not able to afford costly repairs (Interviews 51,53,54,57). Many of the people living within these areas could be described as a low or underclass situation as per discussion from Knox (1987), as many have lost or are of low status in regards to their position in life. They have had to move into low rent areas to avoid being homeless which has also been described within South Africa by Huchzermeyer (2001). Generally most residents living in these areas are without full time employment or are engaged in jobs paying poorly (Interviews 51-60).

Infill of low income housing has been limited to the two previously open areas within Elandspoord. Another large open area in the South East of Elandspoord is considered for similar infill housing, yet the development has not yet been scheduled as per a local development company called Cosmopolitan Projects.

2.2.2 Business Infrastructure

Two types of business exist within the study area, namely, the presence of formal and informal businesses. Formal business consists of shops and businesses which operate from a legitimate location and have all required licenses to operate legally. Informal businesses in the area operate from residential locations rather than retail centres. Within the Informal business sector some are semi-legitimate with an operating license but most are illegitimate with no formal paperwork and may even conduct illegal activities.

Formal

The formal sector within the area consists of businesses that operate from retail stalls which are not located on a residential property. There are two main retail areas within Danville (Picture 7 and 8) and two small retail buildings, one in Elandspoord and the other in Danville.

Picture 7: Danville Formal Business A Picture 8: Danville Formal Business B



There is a varying infrastructure of businesses within the area, yet all are low order products. Being a lower income area, the demand in the area is for lower order goods (Interview 63). Abbott (1996) has discussed small business and the demands and services related to them and locally all businesses have a small threshold and cater to the local demand which matches his findings. If people need more than basic items they will travel to larger shopping or market centres (Interviews 22,30,33).

The area has many small grocers and liquor stores within the location and the quantity and condition of these stores is linked to the generally low income status of the entire area which is reinforced by Knox (1987) which describes similar situations of small scale basic needs in other areas. Local businesses to back up this notion of low income markets are the occurrence of numerous pawn shops and second-hand stores.

Informal

Informal businesses are common within the study area (Pictures 9 and 10). These businesses range from legitimate home business to illegal operations that have no official existence. Many of these businesses exist because job losses have forced people to become entrepreneurs in order to provide income for themselves (Interviews 26,27,30,45). It has been suggested that in some instances legitimate business are selling legal products at the front counter but also illegal goods out the back of the store (Interviews 27,63).

It is commonplace when a person has lost their technical job, to start up a business on their property, doing the same trade in which they were previously employed. One local electrician stated “When I lost my job at ISCOR I started doing odd jobs around the neighbourhood, it does not pay as well but what else is there for me to do” (Interviewee 45). Other examples of people working from home include auto mechanics, jewellers, hair dressers and other service-orientated jobs. The actual number of these informal business change, during the fieldwork for the project in excess of 30 advertised businesses were represented within the study area. Some of the low income residents suggested they were producing products to sell to

supplement their pensions (Interviews 56,60). With many unemployed residents reliant on welfare, any additional income to these households makes a substantial difference in the quality of life; the theory of supplemental incomes can be seen in Rogerson (1999).

Picture 9: Informal Business A



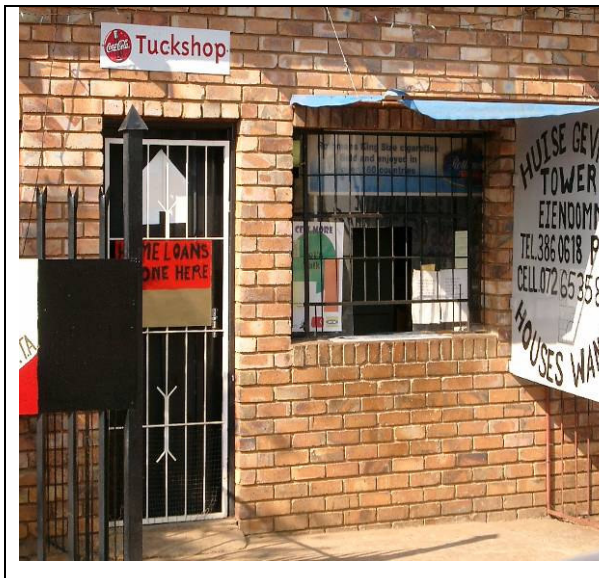
Picture 10: Informal Business B



Tuckshops are not common in historically White residential neighbourhoods (Donaldson *et al.*, 2003), but within the study area they are becoming more abundant (Pictures 11 and 12). A tuckshop is a small home based shop which typically sells basic products to the local residents. More than 75% of the tuckshops in the area are owned and run by White residents, although a few have part-time employees of varying ethnicity, who assist in busy times or as needed (Interviews 26,30,57,63). These tuckshops typically sell basic supplies and candy. An issue that came up during interviews was that tuckshops were also selling marijuana and other drugs (Interviews 53,54,60). People would comment on this occurrence and many others were aware that the problem exists. One tuckshop owner who is a resident of the area stated “I operate legally and don’t sell alcohol or drugs but many of the other tuckshops are illegal and sell the stuff, they make their big profits from the illegal products” (Interviewee 30). Tuckshops are located throughout the study area, but with higher concentrations in the infilled areas of Elandspoort and at the periphery of the entire study area, where it is a greater distance to any of the established formal businesses located centrally in Danville. Many tuckshops keep

late hours especially on weekends and though the shops do not have liquor licenses, most sell alcohol (Interviews 26,30,57,63). As most legitimate bottle stores are required to close at 20:00 on weekends, the demand for alcohol typically increases after this time. Bootlegger is a coined term used to describe an illegal business which sells alcohol after hours. Many of these businesses fall within this description.

Picture 11: Tuckshop A



Picture 12: Tuckshop B



Shebeens are known as a Black drinking establishment, which are informal and do not necessarily follow government regulations. Typically shebeens are only found within predominantly Black areas, such as townships or homelands. Within the study site there are a rising number of Black shebeens being developed. There are also White localized drinking establishments, which are similar to a Black shebeens, being established in the predominantly White sections of the study area. Though these businesses are not advertised or legal, many exist within the area operating outside of the law. The exact number of shebeens in the area can not be determined as they are illegal and therefore difficult to find by outsiders. By talking to residents the researcher found 4 drinking establishments but was unable to find others operating in the area due to the secretive nature of the business. Most of these places are located in converted outbuildings or garages and service the needs and thirst of local residents. The atmosphere is informal within these

shebeens and the bar is limited in product variety. One could almost consider these shebeens as a communal gathering location with a cash bar.

The customers during the week in the White establishments are mostly males from 40 years of age and upwards who are unemployed (Interview 64). Most of the patrons are familiar with each other and see each other numerous times during the course of the week. One patron said “I am here a few times a week during the day and always know everyone here” (Interviewee 51). This could relate to the close community ties amongst the local residents which might suggest higher levels of social capital amongst the varying racial groups but not across the racial divides, social capital being a community cohesion discussed by Lochner *et al.* (1999), Thomas (2002) and Subramanian *et al.* (2003) to name but a few.

Shebeens which were also present within the primarily Black area of Danville Extension 3 had a different schedule and atmosphere than the White establishments. As many of the Blacks in the area were employed, the busy times were in the evenings as the people only can partake after work hours, unlike the White shebeens where most of the patrons are unemployed and are free during the day. The Black shebeen is more a communal nodal point with many local community members partaking in a party atmosphere. The area has a large number of upwardly mobile Blacks and it is likely these individuals who are frequenting the shebeens in the evenings and on the weekends. Weekends were times in which Black drinking establishments become very popular. Music is played louder and alcohol consumption significantly increases compared to the week nights (Interview 65). The loud music is not a concern as the shebeen is in a primarily Black area and the people do not have concerns of the music level. One resident stated “The shebeen is a place where we can all go and have a good time, if we do not go it does not mean the others should not have a good time” (Interviewee 12). At the White establishments, music is quiet if at all present and the patrons normally sit and drink where the Black locations are much livelier with dancing, games and music (Interviews 64,65). The White and Black shebeens are typically located within areas that are dominated by one race which may be why the patrons of each establishment are race specific with little to no mixing.

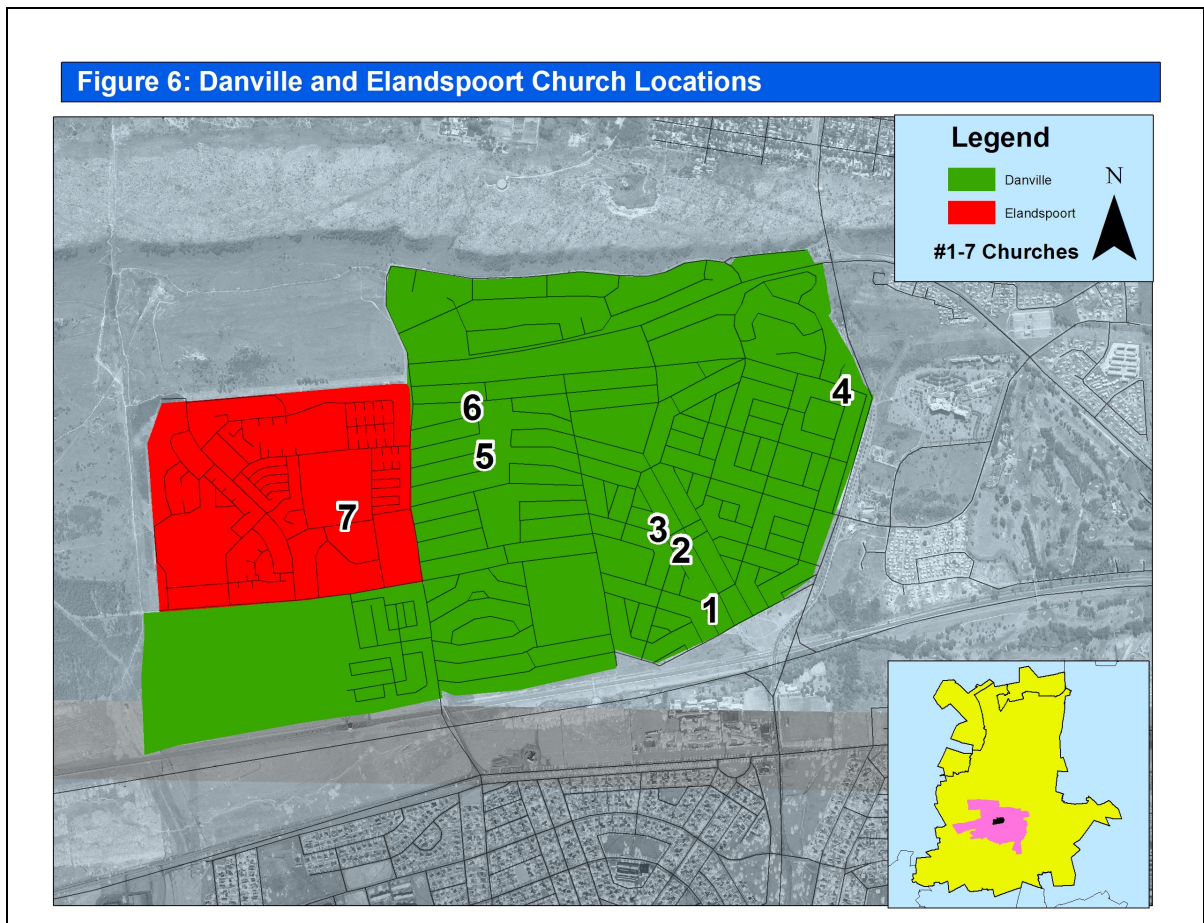
2.2.3 Public Infrastructure

Churches and parks are both leisure areas open to anyone wishing to use the facilities. The areas may not be owned by the people but rather by the government (parks) or privately (churches), yet people are welcome and these places can be a place of positive community interaction.

There are seven churches in the study area which are all well established. These churches are located within Danville and Elandspoot Proper and none have been established in the relatively new extensions (Figure 6). The majority of the churches are located in the older community of Danville Proper which is much larger than Elandspoot. All churches in the area are Afrikaans speaking with a White majority congregation. From the interviews with individuals as well as the churches it was found that many people in the area are religious and attend church regularly (see Appendix B under religion column). One recently developed church in Elandspoot is a large permanent tent which is set up on an empty lot beside the low income infilled housing.

Many of the White residents attend churches within the study area as the local church location is convenient to access and some poor residents do not have easy access to transportation which would make travel to churches in other areas a problem (Interviews 51-56,58-60). The church congregations are primarily local residents with some additional people from nearby communities within Pretoria West (Interview 61). Black residents also acknowledged being religious, though most interviewed preferred to go to churches outside the community in churches with a higher Black representation (Interviews 2,4,5,9,10,12,13,16,17,19,20). One resident stated “We like the area but our family still goes to church in Atteridgeville so we can see our relatives on Sunday” (Interviewee 13). The Blacks interviewed still have ties within previous communities as many are recent residents within the study area (Interviews 1-13,16-21,36-38). One Black individual still is active in his old community even though he owns a house in Danville “We still have our parents and brothers and sisters in Brits but we now work in Pretoria, we still go out to Brits often to help out the family and visit” (Interviewee 7). Another Black student says “I am from a rural area that does not have a University, I live here to go to school but

my family is still up north. I try to see them as much as possible but it is hard” (Interviewee 8).



Churches in the area are responsible for many programs which help the disadvantaged poor residents. Donations of money, food and useable items are regularly collected and distributed to the needy. Much of the community assistance comes from the various religious groups, but the recipients are expected to attend and participate in religious orientated services (Interviews 61,62). In many ways this aid is tied to religion, but as many of the people are already religious they benefit from utilization of the programs (See appendix B for religious standings of interviewed individuals).

Within the study area there are numerous parks, communal areas, recreation sites and open space (Picture 13 and 14). Danville Proper, being the oldest and most established, has the majority of the groomed and well-maintained areas.

Elandspoort has many open areas, though the lack of maintenance and abundance of public dumping have made these areas undesirable and not aesthetically pleasing. Within Western Elandspoort where the housing is more upmarket than the infilled areas, there is a well-established park, which is well-groomed and utilized by local families.

Within Danville there are numerous parks of varying infrastructure. Most parks offer a simple jungle gym for the children, park benches, picnic tables and areas suitable for braai's. One park though has a large public pool and open space. On weekends many of these parks are sites which experience much community interactions. Parks are utilized by residents from varying racial and economic backgrounds.

Picture 13: Elandspoort Park



Picture 14: Danville Football Pitch



Within the area there are numerous means of transportation. Many household own their own vehicles and the households without there is a few options. Many of the Whites without vehicles stated they relied on friends with vehicles to give them rides or they walked. Many Blacks in the area utilize combi-taxis which have a well established route along Church Street and the N4, both south of the study site connecting the CBD with Atteridgeville. There has been an increasing number of taxi routes through the study site as well, primarily to Danville Extension 3 in the South West which is a primarily Black area.

2.3 Supportive Facilities and Services

Up to this point in the chapter the focus has been on the context and structural dimensions of the study area with limited focus on the individuals. The descriptions were such that all socio-economic groupings were included. For the remainder of the chapter the focus shifts to a socio-spatial aspect of the community. The following will look at features of the community which target the impoverished individuals and explain the assistance which is available to them.

Within the study area there are numerous community outreach programs that provide assistance to the locals who are in need. Programs include such things as soup kitchens, homeless shelters, food banks, and other community based donation distribution organizations that include food, clothing and other in-demand items. These programs have been in the area for some time and are run by both churches and local organizations and rely heavily on public donations (Beeld, 1990a; Metro, 1993). Priority in these programs is given to children and some of the programs are catered specifically for the children. Government support for these enterprises is limited (Interviews 61,62). In most cases the organizations do not discriminate against colour creed or age, but there are a few examples of racial discrimination. The coordinator of the Homeless shelter stated “We at the shelter would not be discriminative, except that the people who donate money for the programs to run have expressly stated that they only want Whites in the area to benefit from their contributions” (Interviewee 62). In these cases it is external pressure from benefactors determining who is served, rather than internal prejudices from the organizations (Interview 62). Academically, little research with regards to White poverty in South Africa has been done, but some newspapers have dealt with some of the popular stories (Sunday Tribune, 2005). The following newspaper clipping (Picture 15) is one example of popular media exposing social problems in the area.

Countrywide, many of the Blacks moving into historically White-only areas are self sufficient and do not rely on community assistance for basic needs (Lemanski, 2005). This can also be seen within the study area as all Blacks interviewed were

economically viable (Interviews 1-13, 16-21, 36-38). From the 60 interviews conducted, all 22 Blacks who responded were employed and did not partake in any assistance programs. Therefore the people reliant on these services are primarily the low income Whites who are without employment and struggling to maintain the basics of existence which is a sure sign of a serious poverty issue (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970; Goldberg, 1998). This idea of a White under-class has been suggested locally by Gustav Visser though he adds there is a “disappearance” of White geographies with particular reference to poverty research in South Africa (Visser, 2003b, p 235).

Picture 15: Newspaper Clipping on Poverty



Dishing out food and care
 Elandsport residents step in to bring relief to the homeless and the hungry

Elize Jacobs
 STAFF REPORTER

Community organisations and volunteers in Elandsport are hoping that their efforts to help the people in the neighbourhood will alleviate poverty and decrease crime in the area.

Many of the households in the area are headed by people who are unemployed and cannot afford basic food, clothing or to send their children to school.

There are more than five feeding schemes in the area.

They run on different days to sustain residents with nutritious meals and try to help them with other basics.

Lyn and David Soar run the Church Street Outreach project and hand out over 4 800 meals a week, along with truckloads of clothes.

They said they were hoping their efforts would help the community and reduce theft and other crime in the area.

They also teach the youngsters table manners and etiquette, as well as biblical teachings.

The organisation originally started feeding, entertaining and giving biblical studies to about 20 youths in a coffee bar more than eight years ago.

They realised that the community was in need of many basics, such as food, clothing and school supplies.

“We have repaired rundown houses, ensured that there was a water supply and

different organisations in the same street, Pelsers Street.

The women minister and try to “teach the children about God and life decisions”.

Another feeding scheme is the Oasis soup kitchen run by Niekie and Chris Oosthuizen from 286 Maxim Street.

The couple make soup on Monday, Friday and Sunday afternoons with vegetables donated by local farmers each week.

The soup kitchen serves about 150 people and has been running for the past five years.

The Oosthuizens also run a gospel ministry on Sundays.

Liefdes Diens, which is situated in Wonderboom South, also offers help to many homeless residents.

“We offer those who might have landed in some kind of trouble and lost their house a shelter until they can get back on their feet,” said Pastor Peet Blignaut, who runs the centre.

The shelter is divided into two sections: the first is a foster care home for children and the other is accommodation for the homeless.

Blignaut said they tried to encourage the current 44 residents to challenge themselves and achieve their potential and return to mainstream society.

“We open files for them and try to walk the road with them until they feel strong enough to stand on their own,” he said.

where at all possible, electricity meters.

“We have uplifted families who were living in the veld underneath or in trees. Some families still have as many as 10 living in a one-roomed house, while there are a few who live in Wendy houses.

“We have been blessed with the ability to help these people and thank God that it has not only been a flash in the pan effort,” he said.

Petro Maritz, Tannie Annetjie and Ferdie van Wyk run soup kitchens for

Children wait in queues before getting their daily ration of food at the Church Street Outreach feeding scheme in Elandsport. PICTURE: ELIZE JACOBS

2.3.1 Food Banks

Within the study area there are in excess of five food banks, which on a weekly basis provide basic services for hundreds of people. These food banks provide the most basic foods for the local people and on a weekly basis, hand out food on scheduled days. These food banks work together with a set list of individuals, so

the recipients do not take advantage of the system, by receiving more than the allocated amount from any one distributor (Interviews 62,66). The programs also run on alternating days to ensure the sustainability of each distribution point. Many of the people who frequent these programs are the desperately poor or disabled (Interview 66). Research by Chen *et al.* (2006) has shown that these types of individuals in this situation have difficulty meeting basic human requirements (Chen *et al.*, 2006). These food banks are able to exist through donations from the local community and religious organizations (Interview 62). Many of the food banks are directly run by churches and encourage the users to accept the faith of the denomination (Interview 61).

A major concern that has risen from the interviews is peoples' concern about children and their family's responsibilities regarding food banks (Interviews 51, 53). It has been suggested that "Some families are regularly sending their children to pick up donations and asking for more than their allotted amount, which is unfair because the donations people have a hard time saying no to children" (Interviewee 53). The food banks have confirmed that children frequently pick up the food rather than the adults within the household (Interview 66). Food bank employees have stressed that adults should be picking up their food rather than children (Interviews 66-68). Some residents feel the children are sent because employees of a food bank will not refuse a child, even if they want more than their allotted amount (Interviews 53,54,57,59). The workers at the food banks feel this is setting a bad precedent for the young and impressionable children (Interviews 66-68).

2.3.2 Soup Kitchens

Soup kitchens are tied to the food banks although the regularity of distribution is more frequent. The varying groups of providers have established a schedule, so everyday there is a location providing a basic meal for the needy (Interview 62). The locations vary according to who is hosting the daily meal. Normally one meal is provided, per person, per day to maintain the people's basic nutritional needs. "We are trying to provide enough food to give people a basic nutritional allowance, but we encourage them to find alternative means of nutrition such as raising their own gardens" (Interviewee 66). These soup kitchens are not discriminative though

they encourage members to try to find means to provide for themselves. There is a meal distribution location that caters strictly for children (Picture 17). This location provides a simple breakfast for the children in the area and sends them out with an after school snack if necessary (Interview 68). Adults are excluded from this location. The children are only provided food during the week. On weekends their parents must provide for them. The purpose of this service is to prevent children from going hungry at school which is an important factor in performance which has been suggested by Oldewage-Theron *et al.* (2005). The organizers of this service feel that a child who has eaten breakfast is better able to cope with concentrating in school (Interview 68).

Picture 16: Homeless Shelter



Picture 17: Children Outreach Program



Soup kitchens, as well as the food banks in the area are all interrelated and rely heavily on donations and volunteer employees to function (Interviews 62,68). Relevant community members suggest that government funding for these programs is low and they could use more subsidies to make the services more available and sustainable (Interviews 61,62,65-68). Other areas within South Africa have government-sponsored community uplift projects, which look towards sustainable food and housing developments, but at this point none are available in this area.

2.3.3 Homeless Shelter

There are two main shelters within the study area, though only one is a true homeless village or shelter. The second is a low income subsidised retirement

centre. The retirement home is a primarily White centre with many elders living within its walls (Tshwane Beeld, 2003a). The retirement centre charges its residents a reduced amount, due to partial subsidies by the government. This centre is well established and has been in the community since the Apartheid days (Interview 69).

The second centre is a more unique service. The following description comes from both a site visit and discussion with the manager of the Homeless centre (Interview 62). It is a homeless community in which there is a central building producing low order goods (see Picture 16). In the rear of the central complex is housing for fifty homeless individuals and couples. The shelter provides single room buildings roughly eight square meters in size to single people as well as couples. These buildings do not have running water or toilet facilities. The buildings are rough wood constructions with a single door and one window. Most middle class citizens would consider these buildings as a simple garden shed or wendy house, but for the desperate, such buildings are better than living on the street (Bourdieu, 2000). Many of these homeless residents are thankful that they are able to stay in this shelter as they are without options and they are too poor to afford regular housing.

Of all the uplift projects in the area this homeless shelter has the greatest positive impact. Initially one family started the centre as a small scale temporary project to help a few local residents, but the project has grown in size as the need for a homeless shelter has grown in the area. The shelter is more than just a short stay flop house. It has many internal programs which provide the opportunity to uplift and educate the residents. There is a strict no alcohol and drugs policy to stem any problems from the inhabitants. The residents are required to work around the site ranging from simple gardening tasks to more complex projects. There is a well equipped shop in the back in which the manager provides the males with training in automotive, electrical and carpentry skills. Many of the residents complete this informal course and are able to find basic jobs with the training and network contacts they establish. The shop also produces goods and services which are sold and these proceeds help pay for the housing and feeding costs of the individuals living within the centre

The centre has a large two storey building which hosts numerous activities. Everyone that lives in the complex is required to help in the kitchen, which provides two daily meals for the residents. In one large room there is a sewing area in which local women utilize five sewing machines and numerous other pieces of equipment to produce clothing and textile goods which are then sold to fund the shelter. Most of the materials used in textile production and in the shop are donated by local patrons. This project is a self sustaining, privately owned development which is dedicated to uplifting people in absolute desperation. Future plans at this centre look at providing residents with a basic knowledge in computers to give them a marketable skill and help them with their job search. The centre is being used as a stepping stone back into society by the individuals, rather than staying in an impoverished way of life.

The centre does discriminate in who is allowed to live in the complex. None of the out buildings are large enough to house families, so no families with children are allowed. Alcohol and drugs are not permitted, so this excludes anyone who has an addiction to any product. Within this complex, there is also racial discrimination, as no Blacks are allowed. Initially the complex was open to everyone, but racial tensions led to problems in the early days of the complex which lead to a White-only policy.

Another reason given for the racial bias is that all the donations for the complex come from the local communities and White patrons. It was suggested that these patrons threatened to pull funding if the site became multi-racial. At this site was one of the few instances in which open prejudice and racism was displayed in the regulations and policies. Regardless of the racial issues at this centre, it is one of the most successful and helpful establishments in the area for the White poverty stricken community members. Though the centre houses upwards of 100 people at any given time, the soup kitchen and community education programs help many more within the area with survival and training.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has addressed the structural and socio-spatial aspects of the study area. At this point an understanding of the size, context and structure of the community should be clear. The area was historically a poor White area but has been changing both racially and structurally. The transformation has taken various forms including gentrification by means of extension, renewal and renewed energy imposed by the immigration of upwardly mobile Blacks. Secondly, there is decay and the increasing concentration of poverty amongst Whites. The area has seen a cultural re-orientation, activities once exclusively associated with Blacks such as shebeens, tuckshops, informalized backyard industry and taxis are taking hold within the White community. Today, Danville and Elandspoor provides a context that is dramatically different from the apartheid structure. Next, chapter 3 will address socio-economic matters within the area stemming from a varying racial and economic condition in the area.