



An Ethnography of Geopolitics of Space and Save our Seas Shark Education Centre Visitor Numbers

by

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Abstract:

The Save Our Seas Shark Education Centre (SOSSEC) has noted that many schools from under-resourced areas have not visited the centre, instead the SOSSEC mainly attracts affluent schools. This paper addresses the SOSSEC specifically looking for under-resourced schools to visit their centre by trying to understand the relationship between space and power. The area of focus in this study is Strandfontein. Thus, the argument of this paper is that there are barriers keeping schools in Strandfontein from visiting the SOSSEC and the focus should rather be on those barriers than on the schools. The questions that this paper aims to answer is *why are schools in Strandfontein not visiting the SOSSEC* and *what does it mean to receive knowledge from previously 'whites only' areas in an area deemed 'coloured' and 'low-income'*. This paper gathered its data through interviews, participant observation, questionnaires, surveys, online research and through archival sources from the SOSSEC. In this paper, I discuss the various barriers which have impeded the movement of schools in Strandfontein visiting outside areas to gain knowledge. This paper also discusses the historical context of Strandfontein, as well as the history of being placed in Strandfontein and how this relates to power imbalances between spaces in the post-Apartheid context.

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An Ethnography of Geopolitics of Space and Save Our Seas Shark Education Centre Visitor Numbers

Introduction

“It is seldom that our learners in our school would visit outside of the boundary of their own environment”

— Mr. Noordien, Teacher at Strandfontein High School

There is an unequal distribution of quality education in South Africa (Amnesty International, 2020: 17). This is due to several factors: Apartheid’s legacy of segregation still sticking around being the number one reason and the second being a government that is not meeting its goals of helping under-resourced schools. South Africa’s current education system is shaped by the Colonial Period, where religious institutions had built today’s private schools, and the Apartheid Period which is responsible for many under-resourced schools (Amnesty International, 2020: 18). And most recently, the emergence of a Coronavirus pandemic has not made it easy on students as well as schools when it comes to giving children a well-rounded educational experience. The coronavirus has limited group work activities, school excursions and even interactions on the playground.

The Save Our Seas Shark Education Centre (SOSSEC) in Kalk Bay is making efforts to fight the unequal distribution of education around marine animals as well as ocean conservation through their education programmes. The SOSSEC has stated that there is a need to try and reach out to schools who have not been to the centre, many of which are from previously disadvantaged areas and schools. The SOSSEC is situated in Kalk Bay which was previously a ‘whites only’ area (Khan, 2021). It was established in 2008 and currently they not only focus on giving educational tours to students but to adults as well. The SOSSEC’s goal is to connect the public to the ocean. This study aims to help the SOSSEC understand the challenges, barriers and concerns schools from previously disadvantaged areas experience in visiting the centre. The area of focus of this study is Strandfontein because I am familiar with this area and because

it is an area that the SOSSEC has not received many visitations from. My familiarity with the area made me believe the research component of this study would be achievable. On a meeting with the SOSSEC, it was stated that getting in touch with schools in under-resourced area was not an easy task, however, being from Strandfontein meant that I would be an insider. Insider anthropologists are assumed to write about their own culture from an intimate perspective (Narayan, 1993:671).

After conducting field research over a period of four months, discussions with some residents, teachers, and school principals in Strandfontein, it was highlighted that there was a significant interest in enabling students to participate in excursions such as visiting the SOSSEC. However, due to challenges such as the amount of paperwork, lack or expense of transporting large numbers of students and providing food on these trips, the coronavirus pandemic, the priorities of teachers and parents as well as the socio-economic conditions of living in Strandfontein, and lastly, a lack of awareness, which will be discussed in more detail in this thesis, such excursions were not deemed a priority. From these discussions, it was therefore clear that a reframing of the question posed by the SOSSEC, which was, “Why do schools from low-income communities not visit the SOSSEC?”, was paramount to understanding the big picture around access, mobility, and geopolitical histories. Rather, the significant question to be considered should shift focus from the schools themselves and take seriously the barriers, be they social, economic, geographical, historical, and otherwise, to understand their intersectionality for more generative discussions.

Choosing Strandfontein as the area to do this study came from, firstly, trying to understand which areas that the SOSSEC was targeting and secondly, having access to Strandfontein through knowing the area. My considerations for beginning the research in this area was that I had a place to start, which is Dennegeur Avenue Primary School. This was the school I attended from grades one to seven. This was also the first school I contacted during the research weeks for this project. However, there were things I did not consider when doing this research. For instance, it seemed that it did not matter that I was native to the area, I still found difficulty in making contact with the schools and gathering data for this project.

My goal for this research was to be able to speak to principals of three schools in Strandfontein, namely Dennegeur Avenue Primary School, Strandfontein Primary School and Strandfontein Secondary School. Through this, I hoped to explore what knowledge and experiences people had of the SOSSEC and understand what should be considered, if at all, when trying to have

more engagement from previously disadvantaged neighbourhoods (particularly schools) with the centre. This was by no means an easy task as I came to realise very quickly that principals in Strandfontein were not as easy to get in contact with as I had assumed. Therefore, my methods for completing this research changed, but this led me to also ask different kinds of questions than I had set out to at the beginning of the research.

Research question

The aim of this research was threefold:

Firstly, based on initial meetings with the SOSSEC and information provided by them ‘*why are schools in Strandfontein not visiting the Centre?*’, ‘*What are some of the barriers and challenges experienced by these schools in accessing programs such as those provided by the SOSSEC?*’, and finally, I considered, given the contested histories of settlement and environmental management in Cape Town (specific to this research), ‘*what does it mean to receive knowledge from a previously ‘whites only’ area such as Kalk Bay in an area that was designated to forcefully removed Coloured bodies?*’.

The SOSSEC has recognised low visitor numbers from previously disadvantaged areas such as Strandfontein. Strandfontein is labelled as ‘coloured’ and ‘disadvantaged’ even though these terms seem to be outdated, they have stuck around. This study takes Strandfontein’s labels into account when assessing the power relations at play between Kalk Bay and Strandfontein.

Rationale

The SOSSEC has noted more visitations from schools in affluent areas or schools grouped as quintile five¹. The SOSSEC has been making an effort to include schools from previously disadvantaged areas in their calendar, especially schools who have not been to the centre yet. This study focuses on understanding the reasons for low visitations from schools in previously disadvantaged areas, such as Strandfontein. This research is important because there is an unequal distribution of the knowledges that the SOSSEC is sharing.

If the entrance fee is free and all schools are welcome, why is it mostly well-resourced schools visiting the centre? In this study, I explore some of the economic, logistical and settlement

¹ The quintile ranking system will be discussed in chapter 3.

politics that present as challenges for access, for instance: what are some of the costs that need to be considered even though entrance to the centre is free (e.g. printing costs for permission slips, transport, food); what are the logistical considerations (e.g. class sizes, teacher-student ratios, possible language barriers) and what are the experiences of entering such unfamiliar spaces?

Literature Review: What does the literature say?

1.1 Power relations in space

Strandfontein is located in Mitchell's Plain which was referred to as the 'instant Coloured city' in the Civic Bulletin of December 1979 (Debruin, 2016). Mitchell's Plain emerged in 1974 and became the so-called Coloured city in 1976 when thousands of forcibly removed people under the Group Areas Act were involuntarily placed in the area (Debruin, 2016). Mitchell's Plain was strategically placed far away from Cape Town's city centre, roughly 28km, to control as well as limit economic growth from the Coloured people (Debruin, 2016).

It is no coincidence that Mitchell's Plain became the home to thousands of forcefully removed bodies. Mitchell's Plain as a space for Coloured people was envisioned in the mid-1960s (Debruin, 2016). This link between the organisation and placement of Coloured bodies and state power is a prime example of Apartheid's goal for segregating people along racial lines (Robinson, 1997:367).

These lingering power relations between space can be seen today. The SOSSEC, for example, is located in a space that was previously deemed 'whites-only'. A place that affluent schools in the area, and nearby, have made their way to every year. Many under-resourced schools, however, are located in areas far from these education centres, for example, Dennegeur Avenue Primary School is situated 14 kilometres from the SOSSEC. For a school that is already under-resourced, this is a big distance to travel back and forth. The cost of travel as well as travel time it takes to move between different spaces have also had its difficulties on the movement of Coloured people today (Robinson, 1997: 368). Apartheid's racist acts of the past have continued to immobilise Coloured people today and have made it difficult on students to receive equal quality education.

Another lingering power relation between space is the display of colonial figures in spaces such as Universities and city spaces such as gardens. Cecil Rhodes was a British politician in South Africa who served as the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony for the duration of 1890 to 1896 (Chowdhury, 2019). After Cecil Rhodes died, many of his followers erected monuments, statues, and buildings in this honour around many locations in South Africa (Knudsen & Andersen, 2019: 240). All this activity happened right after Rhodes' death in 1902, and then again in the 1920s to 1930s (Knudsen & Andersen, 2019: 240). In March of 2015, students at the University of Cape Town started protesting against the Rhodes' statue situated on upper campus.

The moment that really sparked the beginning of #RhodesMustFall, was Chumani Maxwele throwing human faeces on the Rhodes statue. This symbolised not only the discontent with a colonial figure overlooking the campus with his 'imperial gaze' but the students' collective feelings of alienation and exclusion within the university space (Knudsen & Andersen, 2019: 240). Even though this statue had been erected almost 100 years before, it elicited affective behaviours within the university space and caused many students to feel that they simply did not belong within this space. The statue kept ties with the racist and sexist past of the university. And this colonial figure represented the university as a colonial space that had to be decolonised. The feeling of belonging within a space directly relates to whether that space's history is being corrected.

Robinson (1997: 370) refers to Foucault to understand power and surveillance as key terms when looking at space and the history of an institution like Apartheid. Robinson (1997: 370) refers to Foucault's exploration of the Panopticon as a model of a power mechanism. Foucault compared Apartheid to Panopticon because it regulated the distribution of bodies (through laws such as the Group Areas Act) as well as continuously surveilled black bodies within these designated areas (Robinson, 1997: 374). Black and Coloured spaces during Apartheid were heavily policed and many Black and Coloured people were constantly surveilled. These designated spaces were used to more easily observe and control different populations of the country.

Coloured and Black spaces were purposefully designed for exclusionary ideals, laws and regulations. Matebeni, a student at the University of Cape Town when #RhodesMustFall protests were taking place, states: "for black students and staff arriving at the university, the statue was a constant reminder of how and for whom the university was designed" (Matebeni,

2018). Many people of colour are affected by spaces that are predominantly and historically white. Spaces that are created for the surveillance of black people and separately, spaces that are created for white elites, are felt and create affective responses. Affective responses are the body's reactions to the outside world (Masumi, 2015).

Masumi (2015) describes anger as an affective response that interrupts a situation. The space at UCT was colonial and this was felt by students who then had affective responses to the space. This affective response created a movement, #RhodesMustFall, which successfully put UCT on the path for decolonising the campus space by removing the Rhodes statue on upper campus.

Robinson (1997: 370) argues that out of the three panoptic power models (power, surveillance of the body and surveillance), surveillance can easily be observed within the South African context. Colonizers have introduced reforms in education, planning, production and military spheres which were designed to transform the 'chaos' of traditional urban patterns and the hidden-ness of urban life into open, orderly and regulated spaces (Robinson, 1997: 375). This process was intended to produce modern 'citizens' who were to be made or rather disciplined by the scheduling and spacing of various activities. With racism embedded in the core belief system of the Colonizers, spaces were transformed into a Westernized and capitalist system which were dominated by the white population and to this day creates unsafe spaces for marginalised groups in South Africa (Chowdhury, 2019). The building of these institutions do not just go away on their own, the way that they have purposefully been implemented, is the same way they need to be brought down. South Africa's history of unequal power relations still sticks around today and this can be seen in unequal access to quality education and difficulty of Coloured and Black bodies moving between spaces.

To understand how space plays a role in the way that students learn, position themselves and participate, looking at Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus is a good place to start. Habitus is a concept that was developed by Pierre Bourdieu (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005). Habitus is a mix of the way that one perceives their environment and how their body acts within this environment that makes them more inclined to act in a certain way (Wiley, 2015). Habitus is the understanding of the regularities of behaviour that are associated with social structures such as class, gender and ethnicity without making social structure deterministic of behaviour, nor does it take away from someone using their agency (Power, 1990: 48). Habitus as discussed here is understood "as being a sense of the social places of oneself and that of others" (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005). Authors such as Hirst (2005) highlighted the significance of exclusion to

habitus, especially in spaces deemed as belonging to others, linking it to histories of how the modern state not only transformed geographical and territorial landscapes but also how people imagine spaces and places and how they sense their belonging. This insight is relevant to my research on the SOSSEC and schools in Strandfontein given the histories of colonialism and apartheid that created enclaves of wealth and whiteness in areas such as Kalk Bay, where the centre is located, and spaces of exclusion brought on institutional interventions (such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, which I discuss in more detail later in this thesis) in areas like Strandfontein.

What these authors are saying is that there are clear markers in different spacial plannings that affect ways of relating to the space and feelings of belonging (or lack thereof). My research seeks to understand how space can affect how students relate to the space and the educators situated in the space. From my fieldwork, I have observed that when students from under-resourced areas visit ‘white’ spaces, they are more reserved (besides the odd one or two). This has also been noted by a teacher who taught at a school in Mitchell’s Plain and had taken her class to the SOSSEC. Her experience was that when taught by white educators, students of colour found it hard to relate to the educator. From what I had noticed at the SOSSEC, is that POC students might find it hard to relate to the educator when in a white space, regardless of the educator’s race. This can also be seen in the way that #RhodesMustFall activists still felt a sense of ‘unbelonging’ even though UCT has black lecturers. This means that space plays a big role in the ways that people relate.

1.2 Importance of school excursions and educational outings

A school trip is defined as an instruction trip that has an educational intent, where students interact with the setting, displays and exhibits to learn and connect with different ideas, concepts and subject matters (Behrendt & Franklin, 2014: 236). School field trips and experiential excursions have a great impact on young students for a multitude of reasons, such as increasing students’ interest in science, technology and life orientation, and acquiring knowledge as well as increasing students’ motivation for learning science, technology and life orientation within the classroom (Behrendt & Franklin, 2014: 235). Field trips are valuable to children’s education because they expose children to new experiences, increase affective responses to school subjects and are memorable experiences that are recalled long after a visit (Knutson et al, 2016). School trips are important because they allow students to understand

concepts and put concepts to work as well as think through them outside of the classroom. This allows students to process new information as well as put it to use and remember previous work they have done in the classroom in this process.

Kelly et al (2021) found that one of the key drivers of ocean literacy was education. Multiple papers have spoken about a methodology called ‘experiential learning’ or ‘place-based learning’ (Kelly et al, 2021; Behrendt & Franklin, 2014; and Samuel & Hendon, 2017). This is the authentic, first-hand, sensory-based learning that takes place on school excursions (Behrendt & Franklin, 2014: 237). Experiential activities include exploring, touching, listening, watching, moving things as well as disassembling and reassembling things (Behrendt & Franklin, 2014: 237). Samuel & Hendon (2017) speak about the positive outcomes that have resulted from experiential learning. These include an increased motivation from students in studying science, with one student even going to university to study Marine Sciences.

The benefits of experiential learning on students as well as teachers, shows that there needs to be more importance placed on field trips for students, especially under-resourced schools. If most visitors at the SOSSEC are affluent schools, then only certain populations of students in the Western Cape are being exposed to these learning experiences. If the positive outcomes of schools going to these educational centres include more enthusiastic and motivated learners, then schools who have bigger classrooms would benefit from these excursions. It would also improve the teaching experience of teachers because students who are excited to learn tend to participate more often and listen when being taught about topics they are passionate about.

Literature on school excursions have also highlighted barriers that many schools have to face when doing field trips. Behrendt & Franklin (2014) identified transport as a first obstacle, which is followed by teacher training and experience; time issues such as the school schedule and the teacher’s ability to prepare; a lack of school administrator support for field trips; curriculum inflexibility; poor student behaviour and attitudes and lastly, a lack of venue options. Another taxing task is the extra time needed as a full-time teacher to plan the field trip and to make arrangements for the students who are not able to attend (Behrendt & Franklin, 2014). Other issues include the logistics of transporting large numbers of students, safety issues that come with this and time that is lost trying to organize such big groups of students (Behrendt & Franklin, 2014).

Another study, after discussing with teachers potential issues dealt with when doing field trips, found that teachers struggled with the division of responsibility for field trips between

themselves and administrations. This study found that one-quarter of teachers reported that they were unsatisfied with where the responsibilities laid (Anderson & Zhang, 2003). Issues that were brought up many times include the need for less work when dealing with money, transportation, permission and paperwork (Anderson & Zhang, 2003).

Chapter Outline

I begin this paper by discussing the methodologies used to collect data for this study, highlighting my struggles of gaining access to this data and the ethical considerations I had to face. In Chapter One, I also briefly discuss my positionality within the field and any possible power relations in the field.

In Chapter Two, I discuss Strandfontein's history and the labels and stereotypes that follow its history. This chapter also highlights the shortcomings of the quintile ranking system used in South Africa and the disparate education systems created by the Apartheid period that are still visible today. This chapter argues Strandfontein's history with labels like 'low-income' and 'Coloured', which still is used to describe Strandfontein today, creates lasting stereotypes of Strandfontein and affects the habitus of residents of Strandfontein. The conclusion this chapter reaches is that labels and stereotypes given to a space influence's the residents' habitus, just as POC students' habitus is influenced by entering white spaces to receive education.

Chapter Three discusses the placement of forcibly removed Coloured people within Strandfontein and how that affects power relations felt by the people in Strandfontein when leaving the area to receive knowledge from historically privileged areas. It argues that there are clear power dynamics between different spaces across post-Apartheid South Africa. The conclusion this chapter reaches is that unequal power dynamics across spaces are felt by POC students and people who enter these places.

Chapter Five assesses the SOSSEC's visitation records and lists the various barriers that the schools in Strandfontein are confronted by. Chapter Five argues that the low visitation trend from under-resourced areas that the SOSSEC is experiencing has mainly to do with the lack of awareness of the SOSSEC in these areas. Through doing an in-person survey and speaking to parents, as well as sharing an online survey, this chapter concluded that one of the main reasons for people in Strandfontein not visiting the SOSSEC is that they do not know of its existence.

Chapter One

Whose Habitus? What Habitus? On Access, Methods and Ethics

This chapter highlights the methodological approaches used to explore the questions of experience and habitus of visiting the centre by schools in Strandfontein. A focus on methodology is essential especially after some of the issues raised by movement such as #RMF discussed in the introduction of this thesis, where efforts to decolonise encounters are paramount to think of how we exist and relate to others in the world. The chapter also aims to demonstrate that the encounters were carefully considered and the methods used were appropriate for and relevant to the research.

2.1 Access and Methods

Data collection for this thesis was not an easy process and the fieldwork took a while for me to start. Initially, for this project, I envisioned my data would come from mainly speaking to principals from the schools in Strandfontein. However, either they were too busy to schedule an interview or were absent due to Covid-19 related reasons. My approach to getting in contact with the schools in Strandfontein was to call the secretary and ask if they would be able to schedule an interview with the principal. When this did not work, I decided the best course of action was to physically go to each school and speak to the secretaries. This still did not work and many times I was told that the secretary would call me but I never received a phone call.

I decided to create a questionnaire. According to Bernard (2006), there are three methods of collecting survey data, one of them being self-administering questionnaires. I self-administered these questionnaires to two schools initially, namely Dennegeur Avenue Primary School and Strandfontein Secondary school and then eventually, Strandfontein Primary school (Bernard, 2006: 252). In these questionnaires I included questions I planned to ask during the interviews. I understood that questionnaires were not ideal for different factors: the first being that questions could be answered quickly and without much details and the second is that when doing interviews, people tend to ramble on and give extra information that they tend to leave out in questionnaires (Debois, 2019).

After dropping off the questionnaire at the first two schools, Dennegeur Avenue Primary School and Strandfontein Secondary School, I followed up by calling the secretaries for weeks, however the questionnaires remained unfilled. In an attempt to gather more data, I reached out to a third school. Initially, I had just contacted Dennegeur Avenue Primary School and Strandfontein Secondary School. However, as weeks went by with no contact from those schools, I felt it was best to get into contact with another school in Strandfontein. I did not contact Strandfontein Primary School earlier because after my discussion with Clova Mabin from the SOSSEC, I had learned that the SOSSEC had had contact with Strandfontein Primary School before. However, I realised that Strandfontein Primary School could also have their own struggles that might be similar to the rest of the schools in Strandfontein.

I went in person to Strandfontein Primary School to speak to the secretary about doing an interview with the principal. To my surprise, I was able to speak to the principal and tell him about this study and about the SOSSEC. I went into his office and I gave him a pamphlet as well as an SOSSEC business card. After telling him the goal of my study, which is to find out why schools in Strandfontein have not yet visited the SOSSEC, he replied with *'it is as simple as that we have not heard of that place'*. He follows that statement up with that they had always looked to the Two Oceans Aquarium when doing school field trips about ocean conservation and marine sciences.

Our talk was extremely short and he escorted me to the secretary's office where he asked if he could hand the questionnaire to the secretary to fill out. To which I replied yes. The secretary did not fill in my questionnaire, however, she handed it to the grade R head and teacher, Melanie Samuels (who I will refer to as Mrs. Samuels). Mrs. Samuels was very eager and a passionate teacher. She phoned me about the questionnaire and told me that she was interested in visiting the SOSSEC with her Grade R group. We decided to set a time where I would pick up the questionnaire from her at the school. I did this because I felt that if I could ask her questions or answer any of her questions, then it would be easier in a casual meeting. 'Small talk' or casual conversations are important in ethnographic research and it is a branch of research that stems from Geertz' deep hanging out (Driessen & Jansen, 2013).

We scheduled to meet the next day at Strandfontein Primary School. As I entered the school premises, she stepped outside of her classroom and handed me the filled-in questionnaire. We started to talk about how the pandemic has affected the teaching environment as well as the social and mental well-being of students. I learned that students were not all attending class because there were multiple people who had tested positive at school but also, many times parents did not disclose why they were keeping their children at home. Many times parents just said that there was a 'Covid-related incident'. While speaking to Mrs. Samuels, I made sure to jot down notes in my notebook to keep track of any important information that Mrs. Samuels mentioned (Bernard, 2006). I knew I would not be able to remember everything that she stated and so I made jottings, which is the 'scratch notes that get you through the day' (Bernard, 2006: 389).

After speaking with Mrs. Samuels, I returned home to make notes of what we had discussed. I turned my jottings that were in my notebook, into typed out, complete notes on my computer (Bernard, 2006). I did not record our discussion, which meant I relied on my notes. A week after my discussion with Mrs. Samuels, I followed up with Dennegeur Avenue Primary School to find that they had lost the questionnaire. However, I was able to send them another copy via email and they printed it out and filled it in a week later. The Deputy Principal filled in the questionnaire as the principal was not available. Although I was excited to finally get a questionnaire back, at this point in the research all I had was that questionnaire and my discussion with Mrs. Samuels.

During my discussion with Mrs. Samuels, she said that she could get me into contact with other teachers. So, I messaged her. I asked if she had contact with Dennegeur Avenue Primary School's Grade R teacher as well as a teacher at Strandfontein Primary School that would be willing to talk to me briefly. In this way, I used snowballing as a methodology.

Snowball sampling allows researchers to reach 'hard-to-reach populations' (Heckathorn, 2011). Mrs. Samuels replied to my message almost immediately. She forwarded me the numbers of two teachers who were a part of the 'eco group' at her school. I messaged Mr. Noordien as well as Mr. Murphey the same day. Only Mr. Noordien got back to me and said that he would be willing to meet with me and do an interview. I scheduled an interview with him for two days later, on a Friday afternoon.

I met up with Mr. Noordien on Friday the tenth of September. Mr. Noordien is a grade seven teacher as well as the head of the grade. He has been a teacher for twenty-seven years and so I considered him to be quite experienced in how things are done and the different processes for school excursions. My questions for Mr. Noordien were slightly different to the questions I had asked Mrs. Samuels as this interview was formally structured.

My discussion with Mr. Noordien was insightful because he spoke about the challenges that teachers and schools face while planning field trips. He stated that because of the increase in vehicle related accidents, schools now had to apply for permission from the Department of Education to allow students to leave school premises. This paperwork on top of the indemnity forms that parents are required to fill out means that school field trips have become a lot more admin intensive than before. This all has to be completed three months before the field trip happens.

For the interview with Mr. Noordien, I asked for his permission to record the session as well as take notes. I received the permission by having him sign a consent form (Anthropology Southern Africa, 2005). As the session went on, I made notes about things I found important from what he was saying. After the session, I ended the recording and drove home. When I got home, I began to type out the notes from my notebook into complete sentences and included things from my memory that I had not fully written down. I wrote my field notes in as much detail as I could (Bernard, 2006: 395). To protect my field notes, as Bernard (2006) emphasises, I uploaded all of them to my Google Drive account. My notes included things that Mr. Noordien had said on our way out of the staff room and after the recording had stopped. I found that Mr. Noordien felt more comfortable when he was not being recorded and when I was not taking notes.

In the upcoming weeks, I got in contact with teachers who had previously visited the SOSSEC. I contacted them through email and set up interviews with them. For the interviews with Mrs. Strydom and Mr. Peters, I did WhatsApp calls as we were not in the same area and our discussion would last only 30 minutes to an hour at most. Although WhatsApp calls were used as a medium to conduct these interviews, these interviews were formally structured (Bernard, 2006: 212). I asked both Mr. Peters and Mrs. Strydom the same questions (Bernard, 2006: 212) and allowed them to answer freely with minimal interruptions. My goal was to be as present as possible while listening to the participants speaking (Wästerfors, 2018).

I interviewed these two teachers in the span of a week and on two separate days. On 16 September, a Thursday evening, I called Mrs. Strydom. While on the phone with her I made sure to let her know I would be taking notes of the conversation. In my notebook, I read her the questions and took note of her answers. However, Mrs. Strydom went on to speak way beyond what my questions were asking, and she gave me lots of information, such as giving me an understanding of what it is like being a teacher in a pandemic.

Mrs. Strydom stated “*being from Muizenberg junior, I feel for the teachers who have to work with classes double in size²*”. Mrs. Strydom had also mentioned the pains of having to fill out admin forms before going on field trips, something that Mr. Noordien has mentioned. On the 22 September, the Wednesday after speaking to Mrs. Strydom, I called Sydney Peters. Interestingly, Mr. Peters was from Strandfontein. He was raised here but currently does not live in the area.

My discussion with Mr. Peters only lasted for 30 minutes. Our discussion was on a WhatsApp call. He answered my questions but also decided to tell me exactly why he believes schools in Strandfontein are not visiting the SOSSEC. Being from the area and being a teacher, meant that he had certain insights that someone who was not from the area would not have. Using WhatsApp calls to do interviews meant that teachers could do these discussions with me in their own time. Both Mrs. Strydom and Mr. Peters had told me that they would only be available in the afternoons, which made sense as they worked during the day. Thus, WhatsApp calls made these interviews easily accessible.

To gauge how many people in Strandfontein were aware of the SOSSEC, I stood outside of Dennegeur Avenue Primary School to ask parents and people who walked by if they have heard of the SOSSEC, where they heard it from and if they had visited the SOSSEC. Before going to the school, I printed little forms where I could write down every person’s name, if they consented to participating in this study and to record each of their answers to the three questions stated above. I arrived at the school five minutes past twelve on a Monday. There was nobody there, however, I saw two cars arrive and decided I was going to approach the gentlemen in those cars.

² Referring to schools in Strandfontein.

When I got there, they said they were drivers for the students. They were the first two participants to fill out the forms. After that, I stood outside of the entrance gate and waited for more parents to arrive. I stood outside for ten minutes before two women walked past me. I asked them politely if they would participate and they kindly filled out a form. After that, I waited another 10 minutes before lots of parents arrived. Within the next 10 minutes all my forms had been filled but one. I had printed 12 forms and 11 had been filled out.

As 11 surveys were not enough to really gauge how aware the people of Strandfontein are of the SOSSEC, I created an online survey on Google Forms and created another Facebook account under an alias to protect my identity. I shared the survey link on my personal Whatsapp, Instagram, Facebook and Reddit account and with the second Facebook account, I shared the survey on various South African Facebook groups. I kept the survey open to responses for one week and it received 67 responses.

For the participant observation section of this study, I visited the SOSSEC on two separate days and joined the tours on those days. The first day of participant observation, I joined only one group which was led by Zanele. It was a family of five and the tour lasted roughly 45 minutes. On the second day, I spent a few hours at the SOSSEC. In the morning, I joined Maqabongwe's group which was a family of three. Then, after an hour break, I was able to observe a group of school learners who had been brought to the centre by their teacher. The group was split into two and I joined both groups in different sections. I got to see how three different educators worked and related to the students on this day.

2.2 Ethical Considerations

For this project, I adhered to Anthropology Southern Africa's (2005) ethical guidelines. This project focused on getting its information from six areas: online, the visitation records from the SOSSEC, from speaking to adults in the education sector, such as teachers, principals and educators at the SOSSEC, from speaking to parents, from online and in person surveys and by doing participant observation at the SOSSEC. Although this study focused on schools in Strandfontein, it did not take place around children. All participants in this study are consenting adults. A main concern when considering the participants in this study was to protect them from any potential harm as well as the amount of time it would take to receive the right

permissions to do research with children. Therefore, I used Anthropology Southern Africa's (2005) ethics rules as a guideline, which I outline below.

As a researcher, it is my responsibility to make sure that I have consent from all participants before, during and after any information is exchanged with me (Anthropology Southern Africa, 2005). During discussions and interviews with the participants in this study, I made sure to tell them that they can opt out of the study at any point if they were not comfortable continuing. I also made sure to let them know that consent was an ongoing process and asked that they sign consent forms but also made sure to ask if I could record our conversations. At the end of each discussion and interview I asked if they would be okay with me using the information given in our interview. During the interviews and discussions, I made sure to let each participant know exactly what this study was about, so that they had all the information before continuing. During this study, I made use of questionnaires for each school to fill out. In this questionnaire I included a one-page summary of my research and of me as a researcher. I also included a consent form.

I do not anticipate any harm befalling any participants in this study, however, I have given each participant an alias (Anthropology Southern Africa, 2005). This is because the participants are teachers and have given some information about students' home life and parents. So, to protect teachers from any potential harm, I have decided to anonymise them. I have made sure to thank every participant for their time and let them know how much they have helped me.

To gather how much awareness people in Strandfontein had of the SOSSEC, I stood outside of a school in Strandfontein and asked the parents who were picking up their children if they had heard of the SOSSEC. For this I printed out forms, where I had a section for their name, if they consented to participating and a section for the questions and answers. This way I was able to get lots of parents to participate while still receiving their written consent. Even though I had to be quick, since the parents were listening for the teacher to call them to pick up their child, I made sure to let each of them know what I was researching and how they would be helping me by filling out this form. As for the participation at the SOSSEC, I received consent to observe groups and families at the SOSSEC by asking permission of the people I was observing.

2.3 Reflexivity and Power Relations in the Field

This project is very important to me as I was raised in Strandfontein and have spent over 15 years living here. I went to crèche here and I went to primary school here. The primary school I attended was Dennegeur Avenue Primary School, which is one of the participating schools in this study. Being from Strandfontein has an interesting effect on a coloured, female child. When I was younger, I did not like being a girl. I also struggled with ‘feeling’ Coloured.

I did not like the term ‘sturvy³’ that was placed on me and tried hard to *be* more Coloured. The term ‘sturvy’ is mainly given to women and it is a way of ‘putting a woman in her place’ if she thinks too much of herself (West, 2019). I have lots of memories of times when I dressed more boyish and tried to speak with more Coloured slang when I was younger because that is what I thought being Coloured meant. I associated femininity and being ‘soft’ with being sturvy and tried hard not to be associated with that. However, as I grew older, I became more comfortable in my skin and my identity as a Coloured woman.

Despite lots of internal battles with my identity, I consider myself an insider in Strandfontein. Even though I did not always feel like an insider when my nickname was ‘sturvy’ in primary school. Although I thought this term that was given to me might cause a problem with this research, it did not. I was able to relate to many teachers and participants in this study. There were roughly four participants in this study that were from the Mitchell’s Plain and Strandfontein area, and it was easy to relate and converse with them, and I believe it is because we have this area in common.

³ The direct translation is ‘a woman who thinks too much of herself’ or ‘stuck up’. It is a misogynistic and derogative word and associated with ‘whiteness’. Kids would say ‘you keep you white’ and ‘sturvy’ interchangeably.

Chapter Two

Historical Context of the Strandfontein Area

This chapter discusses the history of Strandfontein and the labels placed on Strandfontein as well as the quintile ranking system used to identify schools in need. This chapter aims to highlight how Strandfontein became a so-called ‘Coloured’ area and why this label still sticks around today even though Strandfontein is diverse. It also aims to highlight the shortcomings of the quintile ranking system as well as the post-Apartheid education system. The methods used to gather data for this chapter include doing online research and conducting interviews with educators who are familiar with the Strandfontein area. The key argument of this chapter is that the history of labelling Strandfontein as a ‘Coloured city’ has stuck around since the 1970s and these labels feed into stereotypes of Coloured people. It also argues that the quintile ranking system used to help schools, is flawed and Apartheid’s history of providing bad education to people of colour (POC) had lasting consequences, such as existing inadequate schools and education facilities that cater to mainly POC students.

Mitchell’s Plain is made up of 19 sub-areas and three sub-councils. Of these, sub-council 19 consists of areas such as: Strandfontein, Strandfontein Village, San Remo, Bayview and Wavecrest (Census, 2011 in Gangen, 2019). Thus, Strandfontein is an area within Mitchell’s Plain. Mitchell’s Plain was established in the 1970s (Gangen, 2019) and was referred to as the ‘instant Coloured city’ in the Civic Bulletin of December 1979 (Debruin, 2016). The Group Areas Act of 1950 created a way to bind people of different racial groups to one fixed location (Platzky & Walker, 1985 in Gangen, 2019). The monthly income of 60% of Mitchell Plain’s population was between R60 and R100, and less than three percent of the population earned between R180 and R225 (Debruin, 2016).

Mitchell’s Plain as an area is big. It has its own Central Business District, as well as 70 primary schools and high schools, schools for students with special needs, early learning development centres, three railway stations and three police stations, of which, one is located within Strandfontein (Debruin, 2016). According to South African History Online (2019) the Group Areas Act gave the government the power to demarcate where each racial group could reside. Once an area was demarcated for a particular race, only that race could live and own property there.

The word 'Strandfontein' directly translates to 'Beach Fountain'. Initially, Strandfontein was a nature reserve, however, in 1976 this changed when the government began to build houses for middle income Coloured families. The first set of houses were completed in 1977. Strandfontein Primary School and Strandfontein Secondary School were built in 1978. Two years after that, Dennegeur Avenue Primary School was built.

Why Strandfontein Still Holds Certain Labels

Strandfontein is labelled as a 'Coloured' and 'low-income' area. However, this is not the case, and yet these labels still sticks around. Strandfontein is definitely more diverse than it had been during the Apartheid era. Although this label seems insignificant and even outdated, it is a label that was created and given to people and this area. Henson (2019) states that blackness is created and that black as an identity is not an identity created by black people but rather it was placed onto them. The problem with Strandfontein holding these labels is that it categorises and stereotypes people living in this area. It also does not acknowledge the diversity of Strandfontein, instead it limits Strandfontein to these preconceived ideas and stereotypes. Living in an area that is so easily negatively labelled and stereotyped, influences its' residents' habitus. Bourdieu states that habitus resides in the subconscious and that the 'conditions of existence' influences the way that habitus is formed and this is manifested in one's 'tastes', practices and works, thus influencing one's particular lifestyle (Bourdieu 2010 in Hart, 2018). Furthermore, Hart (2018) explains that a persons' habitus leads them to act appropriately in a given environment by aligning with recognised 'tastes' or 'preferences' associated with that social environment. The trap of categorising Strandfontein as 'Coloured' or even poor and low-income is that these labels stereotype POC bodies as hyper-criminal, lazy, hypersexual, dirty, childish, disposable and replaceable (Henson, 2019).

Speaking with Mr. *Noordien* in the staff room at Strandfontein Primary School, he states that in his 27 years of being a teacher, the community in Strandfontein has changed. He states that not only is he seeing more youth owning property in the area but that Strandfontein is well diverse. He also states that much of this diversity comes from the informal settlements (called 7de Laan) that is located next to Spine Road between Strandfontein and Bayview.

According to Mrs. Samuels and Mr. Noordien, a considerable number of students from 7de Laan attend Strandfontein Primary School as well as Dennegeur Avenue Primary School. From speaking to a librarian at the Strandfontein Public Library, named Taylor, she told me that there are multiple settlements: one called 7de Laan, Oppermans Oord and one she could not name. After doing some research about the settlements within Strandfontein, it turns out there are actually five informal settlements in Strandfontein, these include 7de Laan, Oppermans Oord, City Mission, Masincedane and Plot 9 (City of Cape Town, 2017: 6). Speaking to Taylor, I asked her if she knew how these informal settlements came to be. She stated that many people had lost their houses and did not want to leave the area. According to Taylor, there is a crèche in one of the settlements. However, this cannot be seen on Google Maps. In fact, none of the informal settlements show up on Google maps.

In an interview with another teacher who has been to the SOSSEC, Mr. Peters said something interesting when I asked about the labels that Strandfontein tends to be associated with. He stated that Apartheid has been deeply entrenched in the mindsets of so-called 'Coloured' or 'low-income' individuals and that there is a lot of unlearning that has to be done. He states that being labelled poor and Coloured is something that many young individuals in Strandfontein had to face and that there are many instances when children would understand that these labels directly correlate with being inferior. Mr. Peters' statements are backed up by what Henson (2019) states. POC bodies are exposed to racism and being 'black' means one is black in relation to the white man, however, the white man is never white in relation to the black person (Henson, 2019). Mr. Peters' statement about 'unlearning' these labels speaks to Thiong'o's (1994) *Decolonising the Mind* in which he states that a cultural bomb is used to annihilate a people's belief in their names, languages, environment, heritage of struggle, unity, capacities and ultimately themselves, which creates an inferiority complex. Decolonisation means to firstly, liberate the country of colonial rule and then secondly, to liberate the minds of the people who were under its rule (Thiong'o, 1994).

Mr. Peters' stated that labels also benefit the people who have power because these labels tend to 'keep people in their place'. This speaks to Bourdieu's habitus as well. As labels given to areas are internalised by the residents and thus, it influences their outlook on life (Hart, 2018). These systems of power end up sending subliminal messages to young disadvantaged people who then tend to believe that there is nothing more for them outside of their current situation- which might steer them away from going to university. Mr. Peters' statement about labels and power imbalances is backed up by what Robinson (1997) states, which is that there is a link

between state power and the organisation of space. Mr. Peters' statement about labels keeping people in their socio-economic positions can also be backed by Henson's (2019) statement that race as a socio-political category is created through asymmetrical relations of power.

Labelling Strandfontein as 'Coloured' and 'low-income' keeps its connection to the past and ignores its diversity and developments in the post-Apartheid era. Gqola's (2015) *A Peculiar Place for a Feminist* speaks to this by discussing post-Apartheid South Africa and states that South Africa is sitting in an uncomfortable tension of the past. Labelling Strandfontein clearly does nothing to help it, in fact, it does more harm than good as it keeps this area in a constant state of liminality. Liminality is a concept created by Victor Turner which means one is in a space of transition. It means a thing, person or space is 'no longer' and 'not yet'- in the transition to becoming (Wels et al, 2015).

One of the questions that this study asks is *what does it mean to receive knowledge from a previously 'whites only' area such as Kalk Bay in an area that was designated to forcefully removed Coloured bodies*. This question is being asked because the SOSSEC has stated that they received minimal visits from 'low-income communities'. Here the SOSSEC has labelled a place such as Strandfontein as 'low-income' and a 'community', a word that is associated with being small, marginal and underdeveloped. This is a problem, as discussed in the chapter, because these labels create unequal power dynamics across spaces within South Africa. The SOSSEC labelling Strandfontein as a low-income community reinforces the idea that Kalk Bay has more financial and social power than the 'community' of Strandfontein.

Quintile ranking system for schools in Strandfontein

The quintile ranking system indicates the poverty score of a school (Van Dyk & White, 2019). This is determined by the weighted household income dependency ratio, or also known as 'unemployment rate', and the level of education of the specific community, referred to as the 'literacy rate' (Van Dyk & White, 2019). The quintile ranking system is rated from most financially needy to the least on a scale of one to five respectively.

In the meeting titled '*Department of Basic Education on Quintile system & budget allocation*', it was found that many learners travelled from areas out of their school's geographical reach (Department of Basic Education on Quintile system & budget allocation, 2021). However, for

7de Laan, the school that is closest is Strandfontein Secondary School, Strandfontein Primary School and Dennegeur Avenue Primary School. After talking to Mrs. Samuels, it seemed as if there were systems put in place that would exclude learners from attending the Grade R section of the school. These include paying R1000 at the beginning of the year for the stationary kit (which includes sanitizer, soap and stationary), and then monthly payments of R400. Whereas, grades one to seven's school fees cost only R1100 for the entire year. This type of systemic exclusion of certain populations of students within Strandfontein can affect students' habitus. The way that students feel a sense of belonging in a space is directly influenced by the systems within that place. But this is an argument for a whole other paper.

The quintile ranking system is meant to help students, but it is clearly flawed. Motala & Sayed (2009: 4) in Van Dyk & White (2019) have stated that many instances schools in quintiles two, three and four might need more help than those in quintile one, which means that the quintile ranking system is misidentifying schools currently placed in quintiles two to four. This is an issue because schools that need financial help are not receiving the help they need. One of the reasons for these schools being misidentified, is that a school can be placed in an area that is not poor, however, many of its students might come from poor areas (Van Dyk & White, 2019). For example, Dennegeur Avenue Primary School is identified as quintile five, however, according to Mr. Noordien, many schools in Strandfontein enrol students from informal settlements that are situated in Strandfontein, meaning certain populations are excluded from identifying the literacy and unemployment rate of the area.

The quintile ranking system works by giving each school, based on its rank, a different amount of money per learner. In 2017, the allocation per learner for a quintile one, two and three school was R1,177, for quintile four it was R590 and for quintile five it was R204 (Van Dyk & White, 2019). If a school is mistakenly ranked quintile five because of the area it is situated in, then the learners will suffer as the school does not have enough funding to properly sustain itself. Misidentifying schools' rank might lead to students suffering in ways such as not being able to experience school field trips because of the lack of resources. A schools' lack of resources thus impedes students' abilities to engage with the SOSSEC as they might lack money for food and transport, as seen in the schools in Strandfontein. For example, Dennegeur Avenue Primary School is ranked as quintile five, however they have noted that a barrier keeping them from visiting the centre is the cost of transporting large classes. From doing participant observation at the SOSSEC, what I had noticed when observing a school group was that they transported one class of 20 students in one bus, this would be impractical for a school with 500 students.

The Strandfontein area has a wide range of education facilities where residents could send their children, however, according to Mrs. Samuels, parents from the informal settlements still send their children to Strandfontein Primary School, despite the hefty fees required. From speaking to Mrs. Samuels, I can understand the attraction to this primary school. It has passionate teachers and the facility appears to be well looked after, the classrooms are spacious and not overcrowded. Therefore, it is clear as to why many parents choose to send their children to Strandfontein Primary School. Understanding the desire for a quality education can be seen in Mhlope's (1987) *The Toilet* in which she makes commentary on post-apartheid education as small, marginal and forgotten. Ultimately, Mhlope's (1987) work is saying that post-apartheid's education system is bad. Mrs. Samuels experience with mothers who send their children to more expensive schools despite there being cheaper options, shows that there is a link between poverty and a desire for a better education. Head's (1990) story opens with the line 'Poverty has a home in Africa'. This is seen in the devastating consequences of poverty. Some of these consequences include not having access to quality education, malnutrition and babies dying. Post-apartheid South African education is segregated along racial, financial and economic lines. This is due to South Africa's history of providing poor education to POC students and the consequences of this is still visible today. For example, many schools built for POC students, have majority POC students attending today (Fiske & Ladd, 2004).

In Head's (1990) *Summer Sun*, the main character wishes to be educated and equates the English language with 'being able to gain infinite knowledge'. This idea links to African modernity which is the belief that when Africa becomes more Western, it becomes more modern. This belief is obviously flawed because, as Thiong'o (1994) discusses, cultural bombs start by conquering the minds of the oppressed and exploited and makes them want to distance themselves from their past- making them want to identify with others' languages.

This is relevant because South Africa has a history of giving poor education to black students. Black students were purposefully inadequately educated to ensure a steady supply of cheap labour (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). Race blindness was applied to policies in regard to school funding, even though not every race has equal access to all schools and not all schools have equal access to resources. And even though access to schools were made race blind in that schools are not allowed to discriminate against race, most African learners still remain in African schools (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). This reflects the legacy of Apartheid and is still visible today.

Such clear colonial spaces within the South African education system influences habitus of students. Habitus affects the way students navigate through different spaces and influences how they feel in different spaces. For example, Mr. Noordien states that only a few students from his institution will benefit from visiting the SOSSEC, why is this? This could be because going from a space that was 'created' for 'Coloured' people to a white space can create feelings of not belonging. This can cause uncomfortable reactions and behaviours.

When thinking about the demographic of students who visit the centre every year with their schools, their experiences of navigating Kalk Bay and the centre, as well as their feelings of belonging in the space might be a totally opposite experience to that of a Strandfontein student. Understanding this means that there needs to be a shift in the way South Africa's uncomfortable history of education segregation is addressed, as well as considering the histories of settlement of students and unequal access to educational facilities.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has discussed the history of Strandfontein being a settlement created for forcibly removed Coloured people, the labels that were placed on Strandfontein which still exists today and the shortcomings of the quintile ranking system. This chapter has argued that labelling Strandfontein 'Coloured' and 'low-income' erases its diversity and creates a one-dimensional and stereotyped image of the people residing in this place. It has also discussed the consequences of historically disparate education systems which are still visible today. The conclusion it reaches is that space plays an important role in the habitus of residents and students. Residents of Strandfontein are confronted by labels which influence their habitus, just as much as POC students' habitus is influenced by entering white spaces to receive knowledge.

Chapter Three

Situational Placement of People in Strandfontein & what it means to receive knowledge from 'outside' areas

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate what it means to have been forcibly placed in Strandfontein and what that would mean for existing power relations today when receiving knowledge from historically, financially and socio-economically privileged areas. The methods used to gain data for this chapter include reading extensively on power relations in space, the historical placement of Coloured people and South Africa's history of segregation, interviewing educators familiar with the Strandfontein area and from doing participant observation at the SOSSEC. The key argument this chapter makes is that there are power relations between space in post-Apartheid South Africa and this is experienced by POC bodies when in these spaces.

The placement of Coloured people in Strandfontein was intentional and planned. According to Debruin (2016) the need for a 'Mitchell's Plain' (which includes Strandfontein) was planned way back in the mid-1960s. The first report on the project of Mitchell's Plain was submitted by the council's city engineer in 1965 (Debruin, 2016). Being placed in Strandfontein in 1977 meant that one was essentially placed in a foreign, underdeveloped and 'faraway' place. This is because the first Primary school and High school would only be developed in the next year and the first bus stop would only arrive in 1979. And only in ten years, in 1989, would one have access to a church, ATMs and supermarkets in the area.

Being placed in Strandfontein would not have been an easy adjustment in 1977. Most people in the area relied on mobile businesses and house shops to purchase groceries. This puts the people in Strandfontein at a disadvantage as mobility between areas, travelling to work and daily activities would have been limited. However, this was intentional. Robinson (1997) states that one of the systems of control that made Apartheid so effective in creating racial divides was the micro-organisation of space, spacial arrangements along racial lines as well as the 'supervising gaze' which aided in the regulation of bodies of Coloured and Black people. Meaning that Coloured people being forcibly placed in Strandfontein was a means of discipline, control and easily being observed by authoritative powers.

The ‘supervising gaze’ has its roots in colonialism and slavery. Mirzoeff (2011) defines visibility as the way in which the world is ordered and organised in such a way that it normalises a hegemonic power structure. By this definition, visibility is what makes authority visible. Visibility’s history is in slave plantations where authority figures surveilled the space on behalf of the sovereign (Mirzoeff, 2011). Mirzoeff (2011) describes visibility as able to have material effects, like Foucault’s panopticism. Panopticon was a power mechanism embodied in an architectural design which distributed bodies through the micro-organisation of space (Robinson, 1997, 374). Panopticon allowed for continuous surveillance which gave effect to the ‘supervising gaze’. The purpose of panopticon was to allow for ‘self-regulation of the body’ through constant surveillance and for an internalised morality through disciplined regimentation (Robinson, 1997, 374). The panopticon model was equated to Apartheid’s separation of races through the micro-organisation of space (Robinson, 1997, 374).

Robinson (1997) states that location of different races was used as a means of controlling non-disciplined and non-consenting populations who were hard to observe and record. Thus, the goal of Apartheid was to segregate people using space and living arrangements and in doing so, create barriers between the races. Having an understanding of South Africa’s history with regards to space, gives us the ability to understand how space plays a role in the politics of South Africa today. Space definitely plays a role in the movement of people- both economically and socially. Speaking to Mr. Noordien and Mrs. Samuels, they both mentioned the importance of leaving an area to gain knowledge as well as experience.

Mr. Noordien states that “*it is seldom that learners in our areas would visit outside of the boundary of their own environment, meaning Strandfontein Primary*”. But when asked if learners benefitted from leaving the area, Mr. Noordien answers “*only a minority of learners would benefit*”. Mr. Noordien states that he cannot put every learner in the same box, but what he can say is that some learners are more conservative in new and different environments than others. Mr. Peters had something similar to say. Mr. Peters states that although he believes field trips are valuable, sometimes they can be viewed as an ‘educational outing’ when they are not in conjunction with the theory in school.

Mrs. Samuels, who is the Grade R head at Strandfontein Primary school states that she feels sympathy for the Grade Rs. Because since the pandemic started in 2020, children have not been able to be outside during breaks and they are not allowed on the playsets situated right outside of their classrooms. The Grade Rs have to be in their classroom the entirety of the school day

to comply with the Covid-19 protocols. Parents are on high alert when it comes to schools complying with the Covid-19 protocols. It is extremely convenient that the Grade R section of the primary school directly faces the road, so when parents drive by and see anything suspicious, they call in and query it. This has caused tension between teachers and parents. However, teachers are also feeling very saddened and concerned for the wellness of young learners having to stay inside all day without the interaction they had before the pandemic⁴ as everyone has to stay socially distanced and are not allowed to share anything.

After speaking to a teacher who had previously brought her class to the SOSSEC, named Ana Strydom, she states that her students tend to learn a lot more from introducing them to new teachers and different teaching techniques. Space and the environment of learning definitely contributes to the way students learn but as Mr. Noordien stated, not every learner benefits from this. Why is this the case? Mr. Noordien also mentioned that the home environment of the children contributes to how they behave in different environments. Mr. Peters has stated that going on field trips does not benefit every student because in many cases, learning outside of the classroom works better in small groups. He has also stated that ‘practical learning’ such as going to the SOSSEC does not work if it is a once off, once a year occasion and that practical learning not only has to happen more often but also has to relate to the CAPs theory being taught in class. He stated that from his experience being at the SOSSEC, that there was minimal information that could be related to the classroom work.

The link between power and space when sharing knowledge is a complicated situation. The SOSSEC has stated their need to reach out to ‘under-resourced communities’. The question is why? Coming from a historically privileged and previously ‘whites-only’ area, the need to actively look for poor people from previously ‘coloured-only’ and ‘black-only’ areas to understand why they are not visiting the SOSSEC, definitely comes from a point of privilege. Instead of asking *why they are not visiting*, the focus should be on the barriers keeping people in under-resourced areas from visiting.

When discussing receiving knowledge from educators in white areas, and white teachers, two teachers had very interesting points to make. Mr. Peters stated that the need to reach out and educate poor people definitely comes from a ‘saviour’ point. However, he follows this statement by saying that the SOSSEC provides a service and schools receive it. He states that there is a clear difference between what the SOSSEC is doing and what an organisation with a

⁴ Such as sharing playdough, making bread in the classroom and doing group work.

saviour complex might do- which is spend time in an area with a particular group of people and try to educate them on ways to live differently, which is not what the SOSSEC is doing.

Speaking with Ms. Williams about receiving education from white educators in predominantly 'coloured' schools such as Spine Road High School in Mitchell's Plain, she found that many learners reacted similarly. Ms. Williams stated that many students would shy away from the white educators they brought into the school for the day. She also stated that there were students who would feel that the white educator was superior and that these students tended to feel shy and less confident around them. According to Ms. Williams, very seldom were there times when a POC student felt like they could really engage with the white educator. Ms. Williams believes from what she has witnessed is that there is a clear difference in the ways that students relate to white educators.

Similarly with white educators, students may feel uncomfortable in white spaces. Ms. Williams stated that there would be one student who would engage with the white educator presenting at the school she worked at, however, usually there was only one student comfortable enough while the rest remained shy and quiet. From my observations at the centre, what I noticed was one girl in particular who was confident and asked lots of questions while the other students were reserved, and the guide had to coax them to speak and answer questions.

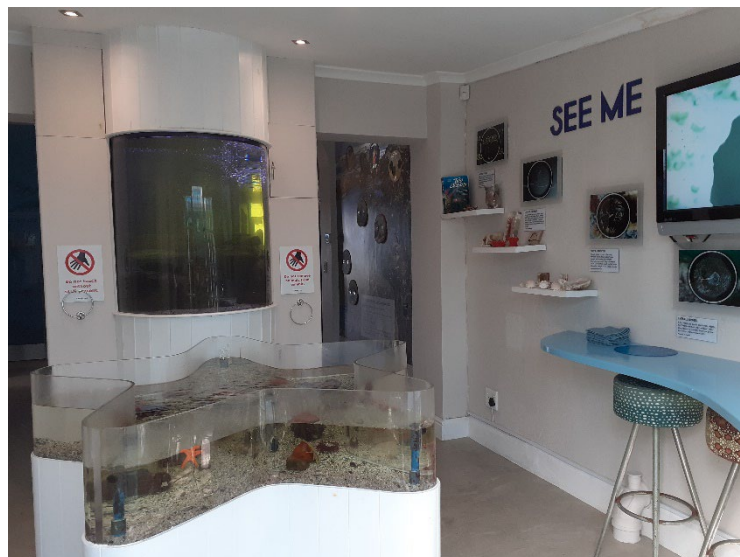


Figure 1: Showing the touch pool at the SOSSEC

From doing participant observation at the SOSSEC, what I have come to learn is that the educators are racially diverse and each of the different educators have their own way of relating to students. In my diary, I have noted that Zanele, an educator at the SOSSEC, had a way of

being extra attentive to students who were quiet and did not understand what she was talking about. I noted that she teaches them by gauging what they already know and relating that existing knowledge to understanding new information. This way of teaching, from what I have witnessed at the SOSSEC, allows students to follow along better and it keeps the students interested throughout the tour. Although the educators at the SOSSEC are racially diverse, Kalk Bay as a space is not. This can be intimidating for young POC coming to the centre to receive knowledge, which could ultimately affect their sense of belonging within the space and how they relate to the material and educators within the space, as seen and discussed previously in the #RhodesMustFall movement.



Figure 2: The SOSSEC room on Shark anatomy

There is a general consensus among all teachers I have spoken to during this study that field trips are definitely valuable to children's learning and development. This consensus is also backed by a study done in 2016 which looked at the ways pre-schoolers retain information post-field trip (Kiziltas & Sak, 2018). It did this by having two groups of students, one group being exposed to a field trip and the other not⁵. The field trip acted in conjunction with the school curriculum. This experiment found that students who were on the field trip had retained the new information way better than students who were in the control group (Kiziltas & Sak, 2018), thus showing the positive effects of school field trips. Another study, which looked at teachers' perceptions of field trips, found that 90% of teachers they spoke to agreed that field trips were highly valuable educational experiences for students. The other 10% had the view

⁵ Acting as a control group.

that such experiences only added moderate value to students' educational experiences (Anderson & Zhang, 2003).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has discussed the placement of Coloured people in Strandfontein and what that means when understanding power relations between space in the post-Apartheid context. While doing this, it also aimed to understand what it means to receive knowledge from an area that was deemed 'whites only' in an area that is labelled 'Coloured' and 'low-income'. This chapter has argued that there are power imbalances across spaces in South Africa and this is felt by POC students coming to white spaces. This chapter discusses this by highlighting that students tend to engage more when they believe the educator would understand their background, as well as in spaces where they feel they belong. The conclusion that this chapter reaches is that there are visible power relations between Kalk Bay and Strandfontein and this is seen in the labels placed on Strandfontein as well as the habitus of students entering the SOSSEC space.

Chapter Four

Save Our Seas Shark Education Centre Visitor Numbers

The purpose of this chapter is to understand the SOSSEC's declining visitor numbers and the barriers that are impeding the Strandfontein schools and neighbourhood from visiting the centre. This chapter aims to highlight the percentages of schools from affluent areas that regularly make their way to the centre, versus the schools from under-resourced areas. It also aims to highlight the various financial, socio-economic and logistic considerations that teachers and schools must face when doing field trips. The methods used to gain data within this chapter include assessing the archives for visitor records, interviewing teachers and doing participant observation at the SOSSEC. This chapter's key argument is that there are many reasons for the low visitations that the SOSSEC receives from the Strandfontein area, one of the biggest factors being the lack of awareness.

The archive allows researchers to use data as a site for ethnography (Punathil, 2020). Decker & McKinley (2021) look at the ways in which researchers can use the archives not only as ways to back up interviews or provide background information, but also as sites to do research such as archival ethnography. The archive offers this study a way to look at the visitor trends at the SOSSEC from 2008 to 2020. From this, we can understand if there was an overall incline or decline and assess how the SOSSEC did regarding their reach with schools.

From Figure 3 below, it is evident that the number of schools visiting the centre peaked in 2013 and then the numbers were slowly increasing until the pandemic hit. It is also clear that the SOSSEC has not made many visits to schools in recent years from looking at the numbers. Their visits to schools peaked in 2014 and slowly decreased until it created another peak in 2017 before decreasing again. As for the total number of visitations, the overall trend is that there was an increase in visitations from 2009 to 2019. It is obvious from the graph that the pandemic in 2020 had stopped a lot of flow to the centre.

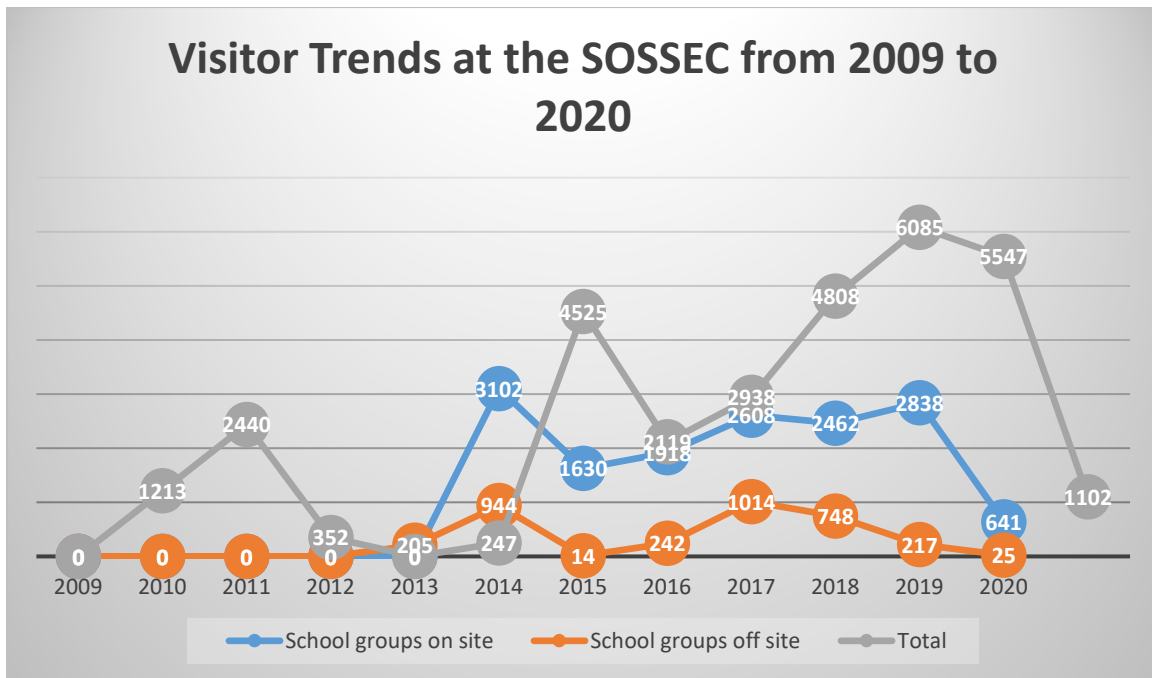


Figure 3: Depicting Visitor Trends at the SOSSEC

Although this graph is important to understand the number of visitations, it does not give more information than that. Looking at the visitor feedback forms for 2019 and 2020, we can begin to understand which schools were visiting the SOSSEC to further understand which areas the SOSSEC had reached in these years.

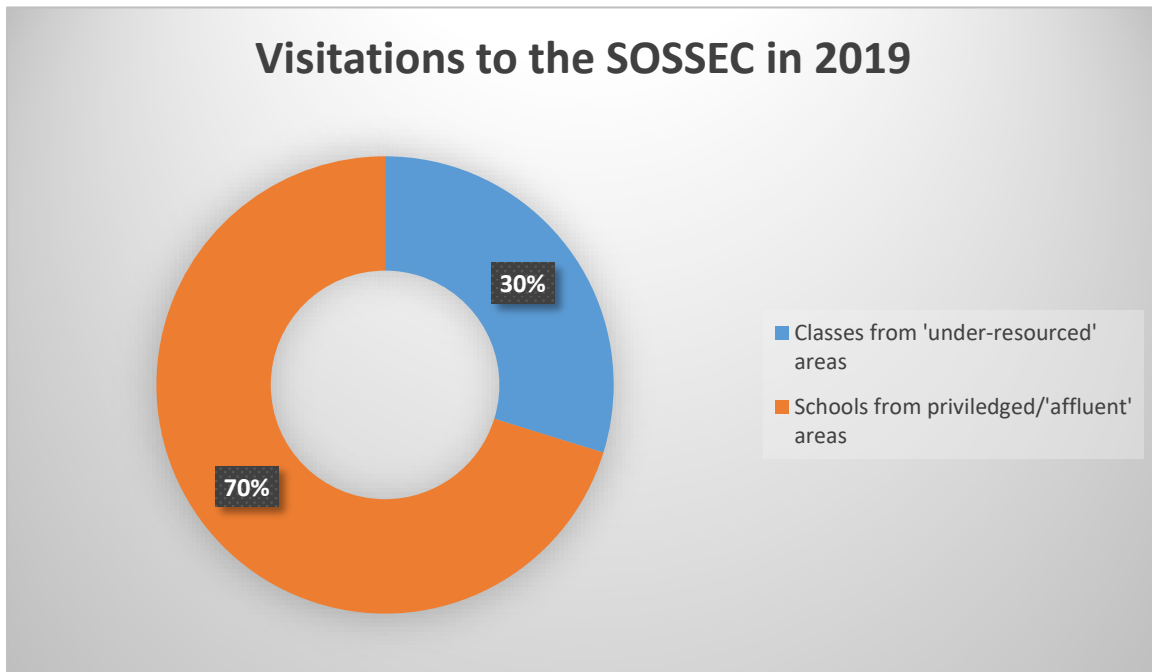


Figure 4: Depicting visitations of classes to the SOSSEC in 2019

From assessing the visitor forms from 2019, it is shown that schools visiting the SOSSEC has majority come from 'privileged' areas such as Muizenberg, Meadowridge, Claremont, Saint

James, Sun Valley, Kenilworth, Diep River, Rondebosch, Bergvliet, Wynberg and Fishhoek. The only areas that are under-resourced that have visited the centre in 2019 include Masiphumelele, Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain. Furthermore, looking at different schools visiting the SOSSEC on different days, in the 2019 year, it is recorded that 33 classrooms, making up 70% of the school visitations, came from privileged areas. Whereas only 14 classrooms, 30% came from under-resourced areas (refer to Figure 4).

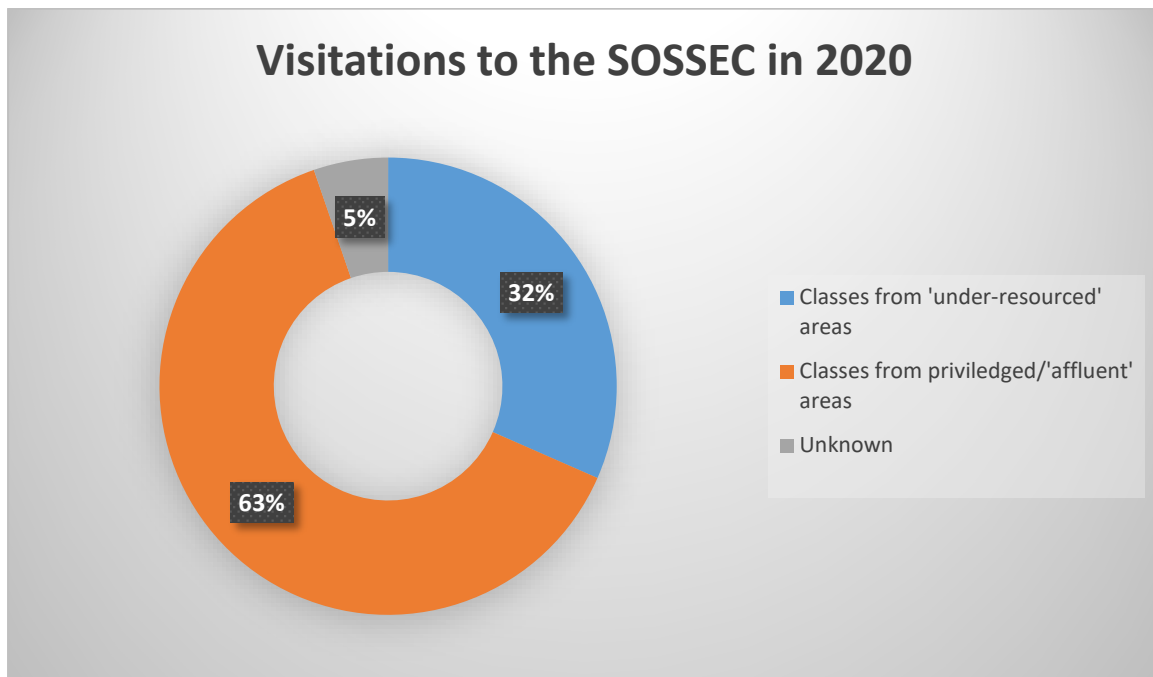


Figure 5: Depicting visitations of classes to the SOSSEC in 2020

In 2020, there was a significant decrease in visitations from schools, however the areas reached include Muizenberg, Foreshore, Kirstenhof, Rondebosch and Sweet Valley. Only two 'under-resourced' areas had been reached, these include Mitchell's Plain and Heathfield. Looking at Figure 5, it shows that 12 classes from privileged schools had visited the SOSSEC making up 63% of the school visits to the SOSSEC. Schools from under-resourced areas had made up roughly 32% with 6 visits to the SOSSEC. The last 5% makes up for a school that cannot be identified.

The reason for such low visitor numbers from schools in under-resourced areas are multifold. This chapter will dive into the reasons why schools have not visited the SOSSEC while keeping its focus on Strandfontein and the schools within this area.

Why Schools in Strandfontein are not Visiting the Save Our Seas Shark Education Centre

This section of this study focuses on the barriers that are in place which are limiting visitations from the Strandfontein neighbourhood to the SOSSEC. From reading on barriers that are similarly affecting teachers, schools and students from having field trips, it seems that barriers highlighted by Behrendt et al (2014) are similar to that of the barriers affecting schools in Strandfontein. The barriers outlined by Behrendt et al (2014) include: transportation; teacher training and experience; time issues such as the school schedule and teachers' abilities to prepare; lack of school administrator support for field trips; curriculum inflexibility; poor student behaviour and attitudes and lastly, the lack of venue options. The barriers explored in this study are highlighted below.

3.1 Process of application for field trip

The Department of Education requires teachers to apply for permission months in advance of a planned field trip. When discussing possible reasons for schools in Strandfontein not visiting the SOSSEC, this process was brought up by two teachers. It was first brought to my attention by Mr. Noordien who said *“a few years ago, an incident happened with transporting learners from a certain venue to a venue, with accidents happening and so on, so the Department took a new turn in terms of where schools now have to apply at least three months in advance when learners leave the school premises”*. These documents as well as the indemnity forms signed by parents are now mandatory by the Department of Education. This has slowed the amount of times learners have been able to leave the school premises with teachers when learning about certain topics in the classroom. For example, Mr. Noordien reminisces about the times when he was able to take his classroom outside of the school to nearby areas like the beach and Wolfgat Nature Reserve to learn about topics pertaining to the Natural Sciences curriculum.

When discussing field trips with Mrs. Strydom, she stated that *“the Department is making it extremely difficult with outings”*. Further stating that this is because they are requiring documents such as the driver's license of the person driving the vehicle, the roadworthy documents of the vehicle as well as the service records months in advance. She states that this is a lot of admin as teachers have other responsibilities in their jobs such as marking, getting students who are isolated to return their worksheets and complete their tasks and lastly, get the

reports in on time. This process of applying for students to leave the premises has made it extra hard for teachers as it requires extra work and effort when teachers are already overworked and underpaid.

3.2 Transport

A common factor for schools in Strandfontein not having visited the SOSSEC yet is the lack of transport or the expense of transporting large numbers of students. This has been an important factor that was written on the questionnaires received by two schools in Strandfontein, namely Dennegeur Avenue Primary School and Strandfontein Primary School. Through interviewing five teachers, they have all mentioned transport being the biggest obstacle a school must face. Schools in Strandfontein have larger groups of learners per classroom. For example, Dennegeur Avenue Primary School has 40 learners per classroom and at Strandfontein Primary school's grade R's section there are 30 learners per classroom. This has posed a problem for the transport as it makes it more expensive to transport learners and as Mr. Noordien states '*places can only accommodate so many students at a time*'. From my participant observation at the SOSSEC, one bus was used to transport a group of twenty students. This would be an inefficient way of transporting large groups of students as the price would drastically increase.

Mrs. Samuels laments about the last time that she took her Grade R groups to the SOSSEC. She states that she had paid for the transport⁶ and when the vans arrived there were two. The two vans transported both groups at the same time to the SOSSEC. Mrs. Samuels had charged the parents R50 for the outing. This covered the transport and the food. The R50 was split where R30 went towards the bus and the R20 covered the food which was a 'boere' roll⁷, party packet and juice. However, when it was time to go home, only one van was available and that van had to make two trips from the SOSSEC to Strandfontein. This was a frustrating situation and did not end the experience on a good note. Mrs. Samuels stated that she would likely not pay for transport again.

⁶ The SOSSEC had offered transport but she felt it was not necessary if she could find her own.

⁷ A hot dog bun with a sausage in the centre.

Another important factor to take into consideration when looking at transport as a barrier is the history of transport failing. Two participants have mentioned transport being an issue because of the history of vehicular accidents happening on school field trips (Ramphele, 2015). In 2005 a bus filled with 50 school children and eight volunteer parents went on a school trip to Table Mountain. However, on the way home the brakes failed. The bus driver and three children ended up dying when the bus crashed. This accident was reported live on news channels, and I have vivid memories of seeing children being asked about their experiences of it. And when I returned to school the next Monday, I found out that I knew one of the students who had died.

This accident was something I had not considered before speaking to Mr. Noordien and a parent, Mr. Jacobs, outside of a school in Strandfontein. In fact, this was a distant memory that I had not thought about in a long time. Mr. Noordien brought it up saying

“perhaps I should also just add that a few years ago, I’m sure many of you know, an incident happening with transporting learners from a certain venue to a venue... with accidents happening and so on, so the department took a new turn where teachers had to apply at least three months in advance when learners leave the school premises”.

But I only stopped to really process the accident having lingering effects after a parent nonchalantly mentioned it as a sort of joke.

Mr. Jacobs was smoking outside of a school when he heard me telling his wife about the goal of this study. He blew out a cloud of smoke before saying *“maybe you’re not from the area, but Strandfontein doesn’t have a good history with transporting students”*. Immediately I told Mr. Jacobs that I was from Strandfontein and attended Dennegeur Avenue Primary School when that incident happened. From this conversation, I gathered that he was insinuating that Strandfontein’s history with vehicle accidents on school trips played a role in the reason why schools are not doing lots of field trips, and therefore, were not visiting the SOSSEC.

3.3 Food

Providing food was the second reason listed on the questionnaires received from the schools in Strandfontein. Speaking with Mrs. Samuels outside of her classroom, she speaks about the troubles of having to ask parents to pack in *“an extra treat”* on some Fridays. She states that on certain days she wants to do fun activities, like every Friday where the kids will do group

work activities and play with dough⁸. She states that when phoning the parents to ask that they pack in a treat for their child⁹, they have reacted in an annoyed or upset manner and have stated that they have “*not budgeted for extra things like that*”. Mrs. Samuels states that educational outings are more than the outing and usual foods. She explains “*when you go to the beach, you don’t just want to see the ocean, you want to have an ice cream and that’s how little kids are*”.

A major part of having an ‘outing’ is not doing your daily routine. This includes not eating the same lunch on a day out. Instead of the usual sandwiches, for example, Mrs. Samuels had provided boere rolls to her students. Food is a major aspect in the enjoyment of an outing because different kinds of food for different environments adds to the experience. And an educational outing is more than just about learning, it is also about having fun.

Another important factor to providing food is the number of students dependent on the feeding scheme programmes at school. For Mrs. Samuels’ group of Grade Rs, there are 20 learners who rely on the feeding scheme for their daily lunch. As for Dennegeur Avenue Primary School, there are 200 learners who are reliant on the feeding scheme. This would mean that without the feeding scheme being able to transport food for the children, they would need to bring their own lunch or be left without lunch. From speaking to Mrs. Samuels, food and extra treats are not an expense that parents can easily make when it comes to field trips.

3.4 Large numbers of learners per class

When asked to name a barrier that would stop or hinder their school from attending the SOSSEC, ‘large numbers of learners per class’ was stated on the questionnaire filled out by Dennegeur Avenue Primary School’s deputy principal. Large numbers of learners not only make it difficult where transport is concerned but handling large classes on field trips are especially hard. And going back to what Mr. Noordien states “*places can only accommodate so many students at a time*”, this is especially true during the pandemic where there are strict protocols regarding the space’s capacity.

⁸ Group work and activities such as making bread and playing with playdough and sharing has been stopped due to the pandemic.

⁹ Sugary treats are only allowed on Fridays.

Large numbers of learners also mean there would need to be multiple trips on separate days to attend the SOSSEC. This can be seen on the SOSSEC visitor feedback forms, where Spine Road High School is seen visiting over multiple days. Thus, there is a lack of easy mobility with schools in Strandfontein. Speaking with Mrs. Strydom, she states “*I cannot imagine how difficult it must be working with such large groups of students*”. Working at Muizenberg Junior School, she states that schools in Strandfontein have classes that are “*double the class size*” at her school. Which has caused teachers to have to deal with so much more responsibilities such as twice the paperwork, twice the amount of marking, twice the worry with students handing in assignments late and all the while being tired, which would make it especially difficult to plan extracurricular activities such as field trips.

3.5 Coronavirus

The coronavirus pandemic has affected schools in ways that have limited children’s movement. At grade R level, children are not allowed on the playground, they are not allowed to share anything¹⁰ and they have stopped doing group activities such as baking bread on a Friday¹¹. Mrs. Samuels is saddened by the fact that students have had to adapt to this way of life, however she stated that the children have been “*doing so well*” and that all she wants is for them to have fun at their age which has been difficult.

Mr. Noordien has mentioned that Strandfontein Primary School has taken learners on multiple field trips, however the pandemic has slowed things down a lot at their school. Mr. Noordien states passionately that they have all the records of all the field trips they have done before the pandemic started, almost as if he was afraid I would not believe him.

Speaking with Mrs. Strydom, she states that the pandemic has caused unease when leaving the school premises. This was also stated by Mrs. Samuels. Mrs. Samuels has mentioned the anxiety parents have surrounding the school following Covid-19 protocols, and she believes that parents will feel uneasy letting their children leave school premises to attend field trips. Mrs. Strydom states that her solution to doing ‘outings’ in the pandemic, is to rather do ‘innings’ where she invites different organisations and groups to the school premises and

¹⁰ Sharing playdough, food and stationary are too risky.

¹¹ Baking bread was a regular activity before the pandemic began.

children can learn that way. Doing ‘innings’ is something that Mrs. Samuels has also been doing and wishes that the SOSSEC would do it at her school as well. Mrs. Samuels has told me about the times when parents have driven past the school, seeing something they did not like and called her to ask what was happening. She states that many times they would be upset with her before she even had time to explain.

Mrs. Samuels states that there is a lot of surveillance and a lot of tension between the teachers and the parents because of the pandemic. Parents are afraid that the schools are not following Covid-19 protocols. This has caused teachers such as Mrs. Strydom and Mrs. Samuels to focus on bringing educational programmes to schools rather than leaving the premises. Mrs. Strydom states that doing innings has also cut down on paperwork and the intense amount of planning that the Department of Education requires.

3.6 Living in a ‘Coloured’ area

My conversation with Mr. Peters was very insightful as he had been raised in Strandfontein and thus, gave me his perspective as he was more than familiar with the area. Mr. Peters states that teachers in Strandfontein are used to the ‘ugly’. Living in a previously ‘Coloureds only’ area, means the people in this area are “*used to not having pretty scenery*” and therefore do not feel the need to leave the area “*to find the beauty elsewhere*”. Instead, people have gotten used to the area and this is all that they know. As Mr. Noordien has also stated, children do not have much exposure outside of Strandfontein.

Mr. Peters stated that when people were forcibly placed in Strandfontein, they did not have easy access to greenery and beauty. He explains that:

“Over time people got used to living this way in these areas and just accepted life the way it is”.

He also stated that people in Strandfontein are not making “*saving the environment*” a priority because people are so used to living the way they currently do. Although these statements are generalisations about the people who live in Strandfontein, knowing this area’s history might make one think that people would not want to upkeep an area they were forcibly placed in.

Initially when hearing Mr. Peters’ theory about living in an ‘ugly’ environment and therefore not caring about it, I thought about the Broken Windows theory. The Broken Windows theory

was proposed by two psychologists at Stanford University. The theory is understood that when an area is visibly rundown with broken windows and graffiti, that more disorder and vandalism will inevitably happen (Ellis et al, 2020). This theory has been debunked. But what makes what Mr. Peters is saying different from the Broken Windows theory is that he states that the people in Strandfontein have more important issues to face such as worrying about their income. Many people in Strandfontein worry that their income will not last until the end of the month and therefore must make lots of sacrifices, such as buying less luxuries, going out less, etc. Therefore Mr. Peters feels that caring for the environment does not even make the list of priorities in many households in Strandfontein. To quote him:

“People are so used to living in these conditions that they wouldn’t really see value in visiting the Shark Centre”

When talking to Ms. Williams, she spoke about her experience working in a school in Mitchell’s Plain. She said that many times students in her class lived in *“really small houses but had large families living in the same household”*. This backs up what Mr. Peters has said. People in areas within Mitchell’s Plain have greater priorities than caring for the environment.

3.7 Priorities of teachers

The priorities of teachers in Strandfontein are complicated as it is being affected by the Coronavirus pandemic as well as their socio-economic statuses. Speaking with Mrs. Strydom on the phone, she empathised with how busy teachers in Strandfontein must be. At the time we had our interview, there were assessments taking place. Mrs. Strydom pleaded with me not to contact teachers at that time due to them being so busy with marking assessments, chasing after students who had not handed in their assessments on time and getting the marks in on time for the reports.

She stated that it must be hard for teachers in Strandfontein to participate in extracurricular activities like field trips because they have twice the amount of students per class which means they have double the amount of work to complete- extra admin forms, double the amount of marking and also, managing a bigger class is exhausting. Mrs. Samuels has also mentioned that teachers tend to get busy in their personal lives and that has sometimes affected how many extra hours they want to devote to teaching. She firmly believes this is not a reason for teachers

to not do field trips. Mrs. Samuels believes that as a teacher, one must think about what benefits the children and doing what is best for their learning.

Mr. Peters has taken a more empathetic stance when discussing teachers' priorities. Mr. Peters stated that the list of priorities for teachers included worrying about income and making it last throughout the month. He stated that with that there came a long list of other worries that teachers and parents had to face- such as food security, transport, housing security and various other bills to pay. He stated that when looking at it from this perspective, caring about the environment becomes a low priority.

3.8 Pride

Pride is a tricky subject. Everyone has pride and everyone has the right to maintain their dignity and be given respect. Pride was not something I even thought about when doing the research for this study. But it was brought to my attention by Mr. Peters. He mentioned that teachers might feel that there is a power imbalance between their school and the SOSSEC and therefore would not want to take "*handouts*" from the SOSSEC.

This immediately reminded me of the conversation I had with Mrs. Samuels, who stated that on their last field trip to the SOSSEC they had asked parents for a R50 to cover the cost of transport and food for each student, despite the SOSSEC offering to provide transport. Mrs. Samuels stated that she did not want to take it if she did not have to.

3.9 Lack of awareness

For this study, it was important not only to understand *why* people in Strandfontein were not visiting the SOSSEC but *if* they had even heard about it. In order to understand this, I decided to ask every person I spoke to during this study if they had heard of the SOSSEC and separately, I decided to stand outside of a school in Strandfontein and ask parents if they had heard of the SOSSEC as well as create an online survey that was shared on Whatsapp, Facebook, Instagram and Reddit.

At the beginning of this study, I had approached various schools in Strandfontein to find out if I would be able to set up an interview with the principal. I was only able to speak to one principal briefly and that was Strandfontein Primary School's principal. He stated "*it is as*

simple as we have not heard of that place” when I told him what the focus of my thesis was. Interestingly, Mrs. Samuels, who had brought her Grade R class to the SOSSEC and Mr. Noordien who teaches at Strandfontein Primary School have heard of the SOSSEC and have visited it as well, however, the principal has not.

To gather data on the awareness of the SOSSEC, I stood outside of a primary school in Strandfontein and waited for parents to arrive. I had printed roughly 12 forms but only managed to fill out 11 forms. Thus, 11 people participated in this section of the study. The result was that all but one had never heard of the SOSSEC. The one person who had heard of the SOSSEC, heard it from his son’s friend who showed him a video about it. He said that he cannot recall much about the specifics of how he heard about it, but he had not visited or seen the SOSSEC. Interestingly, I spoke to another parent who mentioned they go to Kalk Bay quite often, almost every week, but they had not seen the SOSSEC, and they would be willing to visit while they are in the area.

As this data was quite minimal and I could not accurately gauge how aware the people of Strandfontein were of the SOSSEC, I created an online survey that could easily be shared. I shared the link to the survey on platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, Whatsapp and Reddit. After a week, this survey had received 67 responses.

Do you wish to participate in this study?	Do you currently live in Strandfontein ?	If above answer is 'no', have you ever lived in Strandfontein ?	Have you ever heard of the Save Our Seas Shark Education Centre?	If above answer is 'yes', where have you heard of the Save Our Seas Shark Education Centre?	Have you ever visited the Save Our Seas Shark Education Centre?
Yes	No	Yes	Maybe		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		Maybe		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		Maybe		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	No	Yes	Yes	I've driven past it, so I know it exists	No
Yes	Yes		Maybe		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	No	Yes	No		No

An Ethnography of Geopolitics of Space and SOSSEC Visitor Numbers

Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes					
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes					
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	No	Yes	Yes	I've seen it	No
Yes					
Yes	Yes		Yes	Walking around in kalk bay	No
				By walking around in kalk bay	
Yes	Yes		Yes		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		Yes	Tourism Industry	No
Yes	No	Yes	No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		Yes	A friend	No
Yes	Yes		No		No
				The high school I went to was involved with the organization.	
Yes	No	Yes	Yes		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	No	Yes	No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	No	Yes	No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
				I have passed it	
Yes	Yes		Yes	.	No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes	No	No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes	Yes	No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	No	No	No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	No	Yes	No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	No	Yes	No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No

Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes	Yes	Maybe		No
Yes	Yes	No	Yes	A friend	No
Yes	Yes		Yes	Drove past it	No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes					
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Newspapers, Media	No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	Yes		No		No
Yes	No	Yes	Yes	driven past	No
Yes	Yes	Yes	No		No

Figure 6: Responses from Strandfontein residents on their awareness of the SOSSEC

Out of the 67 responses, six people had answered that they were not from Strandfontein. As this survey aimed to understand the awareness of the SOSSEC from people who live and have lived in Strandfontein, it will only look at the remaining 61 responses (depicted in Figure 6). All 61 respondents had stated they had not visited the SOSSEC. However, 12 respondents answered that they had either seen the SOSSEC by driving or walking past it. Other responses include that they had heard of the SOSSEC from their school, the tourism industry, from friends and from newspaper and media. And lastly, five people answered ‘maybe’ when asked if they have heard of the SOSSEC. This leaves 44 remaining respondents who have all stated ‘no’ when asked if they had heard of the SOSSEC.

From looking at this data, it is clear to see that there is a lack of awareness of the SOSSEC in Strandfontein. It seems that most of the residents have not heard of the SOSSEC, and those who have, know very little about what the SOSSEC does. From understanding the lack of awareness, this is a big contributor to why the SOSSEC receives such little visitations from Strandfontein. Therefore, one of the biggest obstacles that the SOSSEC faces when reaching out to schools is the lack of awareness from the general population of Strandfontein.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has analysed the SOSSEC visitor records from 2019 and 2020, and addressed the low visitations from under-resourced areas, as shown in these records, by highlighting various barriers keeping schools from visiting the SOSSEC. This chapter aims to

highlight the multitude of financial, socio-economic and logistic considerations that teachers and schools must face when planning field trips. This chapter argues that amongst the various reasons keeping schools from the SOSSEC, the lack of awareness is amongst the biggest barrier. This chapter aimed to understand if the Strandfontein neighbourhood had even heard of the SOSSEC. Thus, the conclusion this chapter reaches is that amongst all the reasons listed, the biggest reason for low visitations from Strandfontein to the SOSSEC is the lack of awareness of the SOSSEC.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

I entered the field with an understanding that I would only be exploring the reasons why schools were not visiting the SOSSEC and possible power relations across the spaces of Strandfontein and Kalk Bay. But what I had come to understand is that my focus, like the SOSSEC was on only one small factor, the schools. From spending much time having discussions with teachers, reflecting and writing up this thesis, I realised that there needs to be much more focus on the barriers that affect schools' mobility. This is why this paper has argued that emphasis needs to be placed on the social, economic, geographical, and historical barriers that impede schools' ability to access field trips.

This paper addressed, firstly, the history of Strandfontein, the labels that were placed on Strandfontein and the shortcomings of the quintile ranking system. It argued that the labels placed on Strandfontein feeds into the stereotypes of Coloured people and negatively affects their perceptions of the world. It has also argued that the quintile ranking system is flawed and does not correct Apartheid's history of providing bad education to POC students. It gathered its data by reading scholars such as Thiong'o, Robertson and Henson, and having discussions with educators familiar with the Strandfontein area. The conclusion this chapter reaches is that space plays an important role in the habitus of residents of Strandfontein and the POC students who enter white spaces.

Secondly, this paper addresses the placement of Coloured people in Strandfontein, existing power relations between the areas Strandfontein and Kalk Bay and effects of POC students leaving their area, which is deemed 'Coloured' and 'low-income' to receive knowledge in historically, financially and socio-economically privileged spaces. This chapter argued that there are clear markers of power imbalances across spaces in post-Apartheid South Africa and this is felt by POC bodies entering into these spaces. This chapter gathered its data by reading extensively on the power imbalances across space, the historical placement of Coloured people in Strandfontein and South Africa's history of segregation; as well as having discussions with educators familiar with the Strandfontein area and from doing participant observation at the SOSSEC. The conclusion that this chapter reaches is that there are visible power imbalances between the Kalk Bay area and Strandfontein. These power imbalances are reinforced through

labelling Strandfontein and are observed in the habitus of POC students entering the SOSSEC space.

Lastly, this paper highlights the visitor statistics of the SOSSEC and the demographic it has reached in 2019 and 2020, and the barriers that schools in Strandfontein are facing when planning field trips to the SOSSEC. This chapter argued that the reasons for schools not visiting the SOSSEC is due to a multitude of components, including financial, logistical and socio-economical factors, but perhaps the biggest reason is a lack of awareness of the SOSSEC. This chapter gathered its data by analysing the archives of visitor records, interviewing teachers who had visited the SOSSEC and doing participant observation at the SOSSEC. The conclusion this chapter reaches is that the biggest obstacle that is keeping schools from under-resourced areas from visiting the SOSSEC is the lack of awareness of the SOSSEC.

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