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**How do Space and Place Matter? The role of neighbourhood level factors on the everyday lives of children and young people living in a Cape Town community established under Apartheid.**

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**MSSSUS001**

A minor dissertation submitted in *partial fulfillment* of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy in Development Studies

Faculty of the Humanities

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**COMPULSORY DECLARATION**

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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 Date: 31 October 05

## Abstract

This dissertation explores the ways in which neighbourhood and community spaces of Ocean View impact on the lives of children living there. The dissertation comments on how, in the context of continued residential racial segregation, the legacy of Apartheid city planning continues to impact on children's everyday lives. National and provincial policy for community social development draws heavily on the sociological theories of social capital and social disorganisation. These theories construct children as passive, and focus attention on intervention through voluntary organisations and the family unit. By investigating the two-way interaction between children and their environment, this dissertation critiques these theories and policies.

The dissertation draws on qualitative data generated over fifteen months by 373 children aged six to eighteen years. Sixty-three children were involved in the research on an on-going basis through voluntary after-school research groups, and ten children came to constitute a core sample, generating much of the in-depth material drawn on in the dissertation.

The study adopted a child-centred, participatory approach. Two teenagers were trained as co-researchers and helped to develop questions, identify key informants and conduct interviews. Participant observation formed the backbone of the ethnography. Children's use and perception of space was investigated using a combination of participatory group and individual methods, which enabled children to express themselves visually, verbally and through drama.

The ethnography describes how social, physical and economic aspects of the environment within and beyond Ocean View interact to constrain children's access to resources, presenting them with challenges and obstacles that are not always easy to overcome. Children's individual preferences, skills and personalities are shown to affect how they cope with difficulties and respond to available opportunities and supports. I draw attention to how children generate their social environment and attach meaning to physical spaces around them, emphasising the variety and creativity of the tactics they employ to negotiate their everyday environments.

The dissertation draws particular attention to the way in which the legacy of Ocean View's particular socio-political history continues to impact on children, through the interaction of physical, social and

economic features which limit their everyday lives to the spaces and people within Ocean View. This affects children's access to resources, hampers integration, and impacts on their self- and collective-efficacy.

By failing to recognise the specific and dynamic processes in which children's social networks are embedded, I show how traditional approaches to understanding neighbourhood effects over-simplify and over-generalise the operation of social dynamics. The findings suggest that any intervention or support for children must acknowledge that children draw resources from a wide range of social and physical features of their environments, and that these potential resources are embedded in power dynamics internal and external to the neighbourhood context. The dissertation argues for moving away from focussing on the impact of discrete neighbourhood features to a focus on the environmental processes that benefit children. This requires a broader approach to researching 'neighbourhood effects' which encompasses children's perceptions and agency, internal and external power dynamics, and the interaction of socio-political, physical, and economic aspects of children's environments.

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Map<sup>1</sup>

Location of Ocean View in relation to Greater Cape Town

<sup>1</sup> Source: [www.fishhoek.com](http://www.fishhoek.com)

# Introduction

During the Apartheid period, state policies controlled where people could live and the spaces and places they could access, keeping so-called 'racial groups' separate. Moreover, levels of state spending were tallied to these racial divisions and thus residential areas, leading to vast inequalities in the physical and social environments available to children. In this dissertation I investigate children's experiences of 'neighbourhood' and 'community' in post-Apartheid Ocean View, an area previously zoned 'coloured'<sup>1</sup>. It looks at both how children shape their neighbourhoods and communities and how features of these environments impact on their well-being.

It is important to look at the ways in which the legacy of Apartheid city planning continues to impact on children's everyday lives and at the ways in which this legacy is being overcome by children if we hope to facilitate integration. As pointed out by Elaine Salo (2003: 4) most work on communities established by forced removals focuses on what was obliterated by Apartheid and does not indicate how "social webs have been painstakingly re-spun" in these areas or how they have acquired multiple new meanings since the original resettlement.

Currently there is very little literature on how children interact in and influence 'the neighbourhood' and shape their 'community' in South Africa. The tendency has been for research on childhoods to focus on the home and school as the contexts of children's socialisation, despite evidence that non-family networks occupy a significant proportion of children's time<sup>2</sup>. Following the emergent sociology of childhood outlined by James and Prout (1990) there has been an increasing emphasis on children's active involvement in constructing their social environments and society itself through their interaction with adults and other

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'coloured' was coined by the Apartheid government to refer to the population group it defined as neither 'natives' nor 'whites' (Reddy, 2001: 74). Broadly speaking it referred to people with mixed racial heritage and the descendants of Malay Indian slaves (Barbarin and Richter, 2001; Salo, 2004; Erasmus, 2001). The term is still widely used in this way. Chapter 3 of the dissertation looks in more detail at what the construction meant during Apartheid and what has emerged in terms 'coloured identity' in post-Apartheid South Africa. I discuss the everyday meanings of 'colouredness' for the children in Ocean View in Chapter 4.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the Time Use Survey, analysed for black African children indicates that social and group related activities take up more time than household chores for all but girls age 15-17 years, and in all cases except girls age 10-14 years more time is spent socializing with non-family than with family (with amounts ranging between 60 and 85 minutes per day) (Time Use Survey, 2000 in Bray, 2003: 35).

children. However, traditional approaches to conceptualising neighbourhood effects on children, developed predominantly in the United States, tend to construct children as passive, providing top-down analyses in which neighbourhoods are understood to affect children primarily through their effects on parents and other adults.

By providing a detailed look at the impact of a specific neighbourhood in Cape Town on the children living there, this dissertation offers a constructive critique of these theories. Rooted in an ethnographic approach and a child-centred, participatory methodology, this study involved extensive primary research with children<sup>3</sup> aged ten to eighteen over the course of fifteen months. The methodology was designed to, investigate children's understandings, experiences and perceptions of 'neighbourhood' and 'community', as well as the roles they play within these environments, and the features of these environments which impact significantly on their lives.

Chapter one outlines the concepts and theories central to the study. I explain the way in which 'neighbourhood' and 'community' have been conceptualised in this study and outline how different disciplines have approached understanding the role of neighbourhood space and place for children over time. I specifically outline two sociological theories, namely social capital and social disorganisation theory owing to the fact that these have impacted on community development approaches both locally and internationally. Their specific influence on Western Cape provincial policies for fostering social development and empowering people (including children) is outlined, and the questions that arise when applying these theories to children's lives discussed.

These questions arising from the theory and provincial policy inform the research aims. Chapter two covers the research methodology. It includes discussions of the research aims, sample, methodological approach and limitations, the range of methods used, ethical considerations, and the analysis process followed.

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<sup>3</sup> The United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child and the South African Constitution define children as all people under the age of eighteen. With the exception of one participant (who was eighteen in 2004), all the participants in this study were under eighteen years of age. I therefore use the term 'children' when referring to the entire age range of participants. When referring specifically to the primary school participants (ages 10 to 13) I use the term 'pre-teens' or 'primary school children'. I use 'teenagers' to refer to all the high school participants (ages 14 to 18). 'Younger teenagers' refers specifically to the grade 8 participants (age 14 to 15) and 'older teenagers' to the grade 11 participants (age 17 to 18).

Chapter three provides background to the field site and the children living there, locating Ocean View in the historical and current socio-political and economic landscape of Cape Town. I discuss how townships like Ocean View came to exist and with what consequences for the meanings of urban space in Cape Town and identity formation. I then describe the establishment of Ocean View after forced removals were carried out in the South Peninsula in 1968, turning finally to describe the economic and social situation in Ocean View today.

The next chapter turns to the meat of the ethnography. Chapter four begins by looking at how children defined and understood the concepts of 'neighbourhood' and 'community', and with what implications for well-being and identity formation. The next three sections examine the processes involved in children's encounters with physical, social and economic features of their neighbourhood and community environments. The final section places children's experiences in their broader historical, economic and socio-political context, investigating the way in which difference and social divisions are both lived and contested by children in Ocean View.

Finally, the conclusion draws on the fine-grained ethnographic analysis of chapter four to reflect and comment on the theories and policies outlined in chapter one. I argue that these theories are only partially useful for understanding how neighbourhoods impact on children, and that a much broader approach is needed which captures both children's agency and the complex interactions between historical, social, physical and economic features of their environment. In light of this critique I make specific comments on the Western Cape Provincial strategies for social development, providing suggestions for community level interventions which aim to improve children's lives.

## Chapter 1

# Conceptual and Theoretical Background

### **‘Neighbourhood’ and ‘Community’**

‘Neighbourhood’ and ‘community’ can be conceptualised in different ways. Broadly speaking the two concepts together refer to children’s physical and social environments outside of the home and school. In this study, the term ‘neighbourhood’ refers to the geographical area in which children live, and the spaces and places that they go to on a regular basis. These ‘neighbourhoods’ can be described in terms of their physical, social, and economic environments and the impacts of these on children’s lives. ‘Community’, on the other hand, is defined as children’s social networks and the places and people with whom they identify. It has not been assumed that ‘community’ will necessarily fall within a geographically, racially or otherwise bounded area. This is in line with other local research, which has found that young people’s understandings of ‘community’ may not be limited by the racial and geographical boundaries of the past and that the physical boundaries of a ‘community’ are often contested and may be differentially understood (Salo, 2003: 8). This study adopted a child-centred approach in which individual children determined the boundaries of their neighbourhoods and communities. The size of the geographical area to which they refer therefore varies.

### **Understanding the impact of neighbourhoods on children**

Much early research on children’s use of public space (especially that not formally ‘designed for’ children) constructs children either as ‘angels’ to be protected from the various dangers in the street, or as ‘devils’ undermining the moral fabric of places through their own anti-social behaviour (Philo, 2000: 250). Inspired by research from social anthropology, sociology and social history, geographers have investigated children’s use of space, distinguishing between the ‘geography of children’ and ‘children’s geography’ (Hart, 1984 in Philo, 2000: 246). The former

looks at what children actually do in their external environments (consisting of places, people and power relations at the micro- and macro-levels), and highlights the structural determinants of action (ibid: 254). Research on 'children's geographies' looks at how children experience, perceive and represent their surrounding environments, highlighting issues of agency (Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Hart, 1984 in Philo, 2000: 254). Both anthropological and geographic research indicates that place attachment impacts on personal identity formation (Low and Lawrence-Zuniga, 2003: 227; Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004: 163; Matthew and Limb, 1999: 65). Local places are also said to matter to individuals through the personal development that arises from the effective use of local resources, and the sense of social belonging nurtured by participation in public life (Matthew and Limb, 1999: 65). Research also emphasises the diversity of children's environmental transactions, and that children use public space in different ways to adults, carving out their own cultural locations (ibid: 68-70).

A small body of recent local and international ethnographic research has looked at children's perspectives of the places where they live (see Swart-Kruger, 2000; Swart-Kruger and Chawla, 2002; Morrow, 2001a, b; and the various *Growing up in Cities* reports and those of the ESRC funded project, *Children 5 to 16: Growing into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* conducted in the United Kingdom<sup>4</sup>). These studies look at physical and social characteristics within individual neighbourhoods, highlighting factors that support children and those that undermine and pose obstacles for them. The work by Jill Swart-Kruger and Louise Chawla, part of the *Growing Up In Cities* project, highlights the role that children are able to play in analysing their environment to make suggestions for improvements if they are given the opportunity to participate. However, these studies do not account for the historical and macro-level social, economic and political factors which form part of the broader neighbourhood context. The role of these factors in creating and sustaining local experiences therefore remains unexamined, and the studies only suggest within-neighbourhood changes for improvements in children's everyday lives. Geographers such as Holloway and Valentine, argue for a more progressive conceptualisation of place, which understands the global and local to be embedded within one another. They rightly suggest that such an approach would produce more fully contextualised studies of childhood (Holloway and Valentine, 2000: 779)

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<sup>4</sup> For reports from these two research projects visit [www.unesco.org/most/guic/guicmain.htm](http://www.unesco.org/most/guic/guicmain.htm) and [www.hull.ac.uk/children5to16programme/](http://www.hull.ac.uk/children5to16programme/)

The majority of the literature on the ways in which neighbourhood impacts on children and adolescents comes from quantitative research carried out in the United States and Great Britain in the fields of sociology, psychology and economics (see Brooks-Gunn et al, 1997 for an overview of this research). Recent models developed by social psychologists following the ecological-transactional orientation pioneered by Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1986), emphasise the two-way interaction between the child and his/her environment (Dawes and Donald, 2000: 3-6). The role of individual child characteristics (including personality) in children's relationships to their environments and the people within in them are acknowledged (ibid). In this view, individuals are seen as developing within a set of embedded contexts: microsystems, mesosystems, exosystems and the macrosystem (ibid)<sup>5</sup>. Neighbourhoods and communities are understood as influencing individual child development at any and all of these levels, either directly or indirectly (Brooks-Gunn et al, 1997:9).

In contrast, sociological theories rarely consider the way in which children experience neighbourhood and community directly as the analysis tends to construct children as passive rather than actively engaged with their environments. These theories suggest that neighbourhoods affect a range of child and adolescent outcomes (such as teenage child-bearing, dropping out of high school and adolescent delinquency) primarily through their effect on parents and the home environment and whether they facilitate the involvement of other neighbourhood adults as role models and in the supervision, discipline and support of children (Brooks-Gunn et al, 1997; Coleman, 1988; Moore, 2003). Research also suggests the importance of the quality, quantity and diversity of available institutional resources (learning, recreational, social, educational, health and employment) (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2003: 29). Other important mechanisms focused on are the characteristics of the home environment (including parental attributes, social networks, resources, parenting styles and behaviour), which are seen to mediate neighbourhood effects on

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<sup>5</sup> Microsystems are interactive situations in which the child is in face-to-face contact with another person, such as a child's relationship with her parents or friends. Individual characteristics of the child and the other person concerned will influence the nature of the impact of the microsystem on the child. Mesosystems are sets of associated microsystems, and it is suggested that a positive experience in one microsystem, such as a relationship with a neighbour, may offset negative experiences in another microsystem, such as the home. Exosystems are interactive situations involving those who have a relationship with the child but that do not involve the child themselves, and are therefore settings which impact on the child indirectly because they impact on those who have proximal relationships to the child. For example, a parent's relationship with their employer may cause stress or benefits which influence the quality of their relationship with their child. The last context, the macrosystem, refers to the institutional and social/cultural context in which the other systems are embedded. This may impact on child development, through for example, cultural ideas and values about childhood which give rise to different scripts for child-care and adult-child relationships (Brooks-Gunn et al, 1997: 9; Dawes and Donald, 2000: 4-5).

children (ibid). The importance of these specific mechanisms and features are said to vary according to the outcome concerned, and to be complimentary rather than conflicting (ibid).

This conceptualisation of neighbourhood effects tends to reduce neighbourhoods to high and low risk areas, often pathologising the neighbourhoods and people who live in them. It hides the complex and contradictory impacts of neighbourhood characteristics and the various and creative ways in which children respond to these.

I turn now to present two of the major theoretical approaches, emerging from sociology, to analysing the impact of neighbourhood level factors on well-being. The reason for elaborating on these two theories specifically is because they, more than other models, have impacted on community development approaches both internationally and locally. In this section I outline the core elements of the theories and main criticisms levelled against them. The contributions to theory offered by this study will be discussed in the concluding chapter of the dissertation.

### **Social Capital Theory**

Social capital is often used as the theoretical lens through which the impact of community level variables on poverty and well-being are examined. Although the concept of 'social capital' has been used by various authors in differing ways, it is Robert Putnam's (1993) formulation that has been the principal source of the idea for community development practitioners and researchers (DeFilippis, 2001: 784). Putnam defines social capital as "features of social organisation, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (1993: 167). Social capital, understood in these terms, has been described by the World Bank as the "missing link" in global economic development (Harriss and de Renzio, 1997 in DeFilippis, 2001: 784), and has become a popular concept in policy contexts in both developed and developing countries (Morrow, 1999: 745). In light of this, it is a concept which should be considered when approaching an analysis of neighbourhood and community effects on children, as empirical interrogation of the concept will allow for its more useful application in policy and practice.

The concept of 'social capital' was first brought into the mainstream by James Coleman. He defined 'social capital' broadly as an inherently functional "resource for action" (1988: S95).

Coleman (1988) distinguished three forms of social capital: 1) the resources available through the obligations and expectations generated by social structures and networks characterised by a high degree of trustworthiness; 2) the potential for the sharing of information that inheres in social relations; and 3) the constraining and facilitating of action through shared norms.

The notion of 'social capital' as it relates to children was also most systematically developed by Coleman in a study investigating the relationship between available social capital and high school drop-out in the United States in which he concludes that social capital within the family and in the adult community surrounding the school is very valuable in reducing the probability of a young person dropping out of high school (1988)<sup>6</sup>. The social capital that he sees as relevant for children is that found within the family unit (which facilitates children's access to other types of capital available in the family structure), and that which resides in parental networks (1988: S110, S113). He highlights certain kinds of social structure as especially important for children's development through their facilitation of parental access to social capital (1988: S105 – S109). Closed social structures and those in which persons are linked in more than one context, (such as neighbour, fellow worker, fellow parents) increase the number of reciprocal exchanges between a parent and the adults in their networks, allowing for the proliferation of obligations and expectations, which they and their children can then draw on for social support. Linked to this is what Coleman calls 'intergenerational closure', which refers to the linking of children and adults through parents being friends with the parents of their children's friends. This structure increases the social capital available to the parents as it facilitates the development of norms around standards for behaviour and parenting, and parents can rely on these other adults to monitor their children and relay information about their child's behaviour in other contexts. Coleman is criticised for his focus on parental social capital *for* children, which fails to conceptualise

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<sup>6</sup> Coleman relies on survey data which was not explicitly designed to examine the effects of social capital within and beyond the family, and as such uses proxy indicators for parental attention and intergenerational closure. For parental attention he uses the number of children in the household and whether there are one or two parents present, making the assumption that more children and less parents will impact on the within family social capital as children will not receive the same levels of adult attention. A problem with using this as a measure for social capital within families is that it does not take into account the impact of relationships between siblings. To measure intergenerational closure, Coleman looks at the number of times a child has changed schools because the family has moved, assuming that these moves would undermine the parent's networks and relationships with other parents at their child's school. While this may be true, the conclusion drawn that this is the reason for seeing an increased drop out amongst children who have moved is problematic as the impact of a school move on a child's own networks as well as difficulties because of curriculum differences are not taken into account. A more reliable measure for intergenerational closure is also used, that of religious based versus non-religious based schools. However there is no reason to assume that the differences in drop-out observed are a result of parental intergenerational closure as opposed to the multiples relations children themselves enjoy with peers and teachers in these schools.

children as actively engaged in generating and negotiating their own social capital (Schaefer-McDaniel, 2004; Morrow, 2001a).

Following Coleman, Putnam redefined 'social capital' as a key resource either possessed or not possessed by individuals *or* groups (Putnam, 2000: 20). This contrasts with Coleman's conceptualisation of social capital as embedded in social relationships but *realised* by individuals (DeFilippis, 2001: 785). Putnam also redefines the concept as a normative good that is then given credit for promoting good, democratic government and for generating and sustaining economic growth and development (*ibid*). Putnam uses the vagueness of Coleman's definition to emphasise trust-based voluntary associations (one of several examples offered by Coleman) as the key source of social capital for communities (*ibid*: 786). He suggests that civic communities have a "stock of social capital" through the trust, norms and networks that emerge from a social system characterised by voluntary associations, and that these traits are self-reinforcing and cumulative (Putnam, 1993: 177 – 178). Putnam's formulation of the concept therefore emphasises the density of networking between state and voluntary institutions and facilities and the more personal networks focussed on by Coleman. He suggests that a community has high levels of social capital if community members are engaged with and have positive attitudes towards these institutions, and if they have a sense of belonging, solidarity and equality with other community members (in Morrow, 1999: 749). Like Coleman, he also highlights norms of cooperation, reciprocity and trust (*ibid*).

Putnam's more recent writings distinguish plural forms of social capital, namely, 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital (Putnam, 2000: 22-24). Other community researchers, building on Putnam's formulation, have suggested a third form: 'linking' social capital (Morrow, 2001a: 40). 'Bonding' social capital maintains high levels of group solidarity and reciprocity by bonding members together, 'bridging' social capital connects groups of people by bridging divisions such as gender, social class, ethnicity or generation, and 'linking' social capital links groups to influential others (Morrow, 2001a: 40).

The major criticism levelled against Putnam and Coleman is that they present circular and static definitions of the concept which are unable to accommodate or explain social change (Morrow, 2001a: 55). By conflating the social capital itself with the benefits derived there from, one gets a tautological argument that merely says the successful succeed (*ibid*). Coleman is further criticised

for premising his conceptualisation of ‘social capital’ on the model of a nuclear family norm that ignores wider kin relations (Morrow, 1999: 752), and for adopting a within-family framework to explain a resource that is lodged in the socio-organisational structure of communities (Sampson et al, 1999: 634). He is also criticised for not contextualising his argument in terms of social and economic history (Morrow, 1999: 749). Putnam is criticised for disregarding power-relations in his conflation of social capital with a specific conceptualisation of civil society. He treats all voluntary associations as theoretically, politically and morally comparable, rather than as “confrontational encounters based on vested interests” (DeFilippis, 2001: 785-787). The disregard of power-dynamics also makes the concept blind to gender and age differences (Morrow, 1999: 751; Campbell et al, 2002: 42). Finally, these formulations were developed with respect to American and European societies, and it is not clear that the arguments can be transposed onto other societies in a straightforward manner (ibid).

An alternative formulation of social capital is offered by Bourdieu (1985), and addresses the problems of power and economic context. Three important additions to the thinking on social capital are worth mentioning here. Firstly, he sees cultural and social capital as being underpinned by economic capital (although the processes involved in acquiring these forms of capital cannot be reduced to the economic) (Morrow, 2001a: 41). He thus distinguishes between an individual’s social networks and the outcomes of those social relationships, highlighting that social capital is useful when it provides individuals with access to other desired resources (ibid). Secondly, he suggests that accessing resources through social networks requires the necessary individual skills and disposition to sustain networks and relationships (ibid). Lastly, he draws attention to the fact that the production and reproduction of capital is inherently about power (ibid), using the concept in an explicit attempt to understand how the different forms of capital interact with wider structures to reproduce social inequalities, and how the everyday activities of people draw upon and reproduce structural features of wider social systems (Morrow, 2001a: 41).

### **Social Disorganisation Theory**

The theory of social disorganisation builds on the theory of social capital, suggesting that certain neighbourhood structural features (such as high residential mobility, ethnic heterogeneity and concentrated poverty) inhibit networks of social support and value consensus and are therefore associated with poor child outcomes across various domains (Brooks-Gunn et al, 1997: 7-9).

Theorists argue that socio-economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods are most likely to be socially disorganised, and therefore children living in these areas are at greater risk of poor outcomes than their counterparts in advantaged neighbourhoods, independent of individual and family factors (ibid).

Robert Sampson has systematically developed this theory in an attempt to solve the problem of using a within-family framework to explain a community's available level of social capital (as Coleman does), pointing out that "sources of social capital tied to local community context are analytically distinct from (and may be no less consequential than) the more proximate family processes and relationships observed inside the home" (Sampson et al, 1999: 634).

Sampson's theory makes some significant additions to the work on social capital. He builds on Coleman's discussion of significant features of social structure, identifying three dimensions of neighbourhood social organisation that affect the lives of children (1999: 635):

- Intergenerational closure: This extends Coleman's formulation of the concept to include parental relationships with other neighbourhood adults who know their children, such as teachers, religious leaders, neighbours or local business people.
- Reciprocated exchange: This refers to the intensity of interfamily and adult interaction with respect to childrearing (through the exchange of advice, information and material goods) that develops social support that both parents and children can draw on.
- Informal social control and mutual support of children: This refers to the expectation that neighbourhood residents will intervene on behalf of children, and arises through shared norms and residents' sense of a 'collective efficacy'.

'Collective efficacy' is used to refer to "the shared beliefs of a collectivity in its conjoint capability for action" (Sampson et al, 1999: 635). It is an important addition as it distinguishes social capital not only from its outcomes (as Bourdieu does) but from the *process* of activating social ties to achieve desired outcomes (ibid).

Sampson isolates the structural features that are important for social capital formation, social cohesion and collective efficacy for children, namely residential stability and concentrated poverty. He argues that a community's residential stability impacts on social cohesion through

its effect on the density of friendship and acquaintanceship ties and levels of anonymity, and that this is independent of the geographical size, density or composition of the community (Sampson, 1991: 58-60)<sup>7</sup>. Residential stability was also found to increase levels of reciprocated exchange and intergenerational closure thus increasing available social capital. This effect was not dependent on levels of concentrated poverty or the racial composition of an area (Sampson et al, 1999: 656). Concentrated disadvantage however, was found to depress levels of expectations for collective action regarding children (ibid).

Finally, Sampson's work contributes by pointing to the significance of a neighbourhood's spatial positioning within a city, showing that spatial inequalities can translate into local inequalities for children because "some neighbourhoods benefit simply by their proximity to neighbourhoods with high levels of adult-child exchange and shared expectations for child social control" (Sampson, 1991: 657; Sampson et al, 2002: 471).

Sampson's work, like that of the social capital theorists, constructs children as passive, failing to recognise ways in which they negotiate and produce characteristics of their environments and therefore which structural features of social organisation may be important in this regard.

### **Incorporating neighbourhood theory into social policy and rhetoric**

DeFilippis points to a rapid rise during the 1990s of social capital as one of the dominant trends in American public policy, especially in the areas of housing and community development (2001: 781). Within South Africa, at national, provincial and local government level, social capital has been put forward as an important component of economic and social development. It has been included in the 'Social Cluster' of the government's programme of action (Republic of South Africa, 1998; National Treasury, 2003; Western Cape Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation, 2005) and in October 2005 the Western Cape government launched its Provincial Social Capital Strategy.

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<sup>7</sup> Residential instability in a community is found to decrease individuals' opportunities to form friendships and participate in local affairs; decrease the motivation of individuals to make friends as residents know the friendships will not last long; decrease individuals' opportunities for organisational contact through increasing institutional instability; and decrease individual satisfaction with the community regardless of individual residential mobility (Sampson, 1991: 45).

This dissertation aims to investigate how children interact with their neighbourhood and community environments and is therefore in a position to comment on how community development could more constructively engage with children. If this work is to make a valuable contribution, it is necessary to engage with government's current approach to development at this level. The findings of this study that have specific implications for state policies and approaches are discussed in the concluding chapter of the dissertation.

Underlying the move to social capital as a strategy for social development is rhetoric around the need for "moral regeneration" in South African society. The many social problems experienced in South African communities are seen as emanating from "a fractious society" (Western Cape Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation, 2005: 31) which needs to be healed through (amongst other things) the building of social support, rebuilding the family as a strong social institution, delivering services, and establishing shared values (Republic of South Africa, 2000).

The way in which social capital is conceptualized by government draws mainly on the work of Putnam and Coleman and their followers. Social capital is seen as an attribute of communities (that is either present or absent), which allows them to be resilient to economic and other external shocks. The Western Cape government understands reciprocal social networks, civic participation, social cohesion and a 'sense of community' to be important dimensions of social capital, and differentiates between bonding, bridging and linking social capital (Western Cape Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation, 2005: 35-36).

As with Coleman and Putnam, this use and understanding of social capital is circular and conflates causes and outcomes. For example, it is claimed that social capital needs to be fostered in order to increase people's access to resources and information, and that increasing this access is a way of building social capital. Essentially the statement made is that social capital is a tool for building social capital.

Provincial policy documents also show evidence of ideas of social disorganization in that poverty, residential instability, and the disintegration of family structures are all implicated in undermining communities' social capital.

It is under these conditions of rapid urbanization, unemployment and disruption of family unity that social capital significantly disintegrates, resulting in high levels of crime, homicide and trauma (Western Cape Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation, 2005: 6).

The Social Capital Formation Strategy envisages using service delivery as the primary mechanism for building social capital. The following areas for service delivery are highlighted: improving community safety; strengthening family structures; and establishing partnerships with civil society organisations to improve access to information and resources, and build a shared development vision (Western Cape Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation, 2005). The partnership between government and civil society is seen as especially important for building 'linking' social capital (ibid).

The Social Capital Strategy is seen to have particular relevance for youth. Youth are implicated in generating social problems because of a lack of opportunities (such as unemployment) and their engagement in deviant behaviour (such as substance abuse) (Western Cape Department of Social Services and Poverty Alleviation, 2005: 19). Provincial government suggests that youth-specific unemployment and criminal activity, as well as early school leaving, and high teenage pregnancy rates can be addressed through building social capital within and between communities (that is, 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital). It suggests this be done through providing "programmes for youth that will motivate them to participate and derive a sense of value" as well as through family preservation initiatives that will build social cohesion and moral regeneration (ibid: 28).

### **Questions raised by existing theory and policy**

According to Morrow, the concept of social capital has the potential to be useful for research interested in well-being and the everyday because it links micro-social individual behaviour and macro-social structural features, placing these analyses within the social context of children's everyday lives (Morrow, 1999: 761). She states further that it is most useful when approached as a tool for exploring social *processes* and practices around children's experience of their community-level environments rather than for attending to outcomes (ibid, 2001: 58).

Most significant for policy or for any intervention work with children is that these theories say nothing about how children engage directly in communities and neighbourhoods, and therefore how children negotiate their own social capital. However, research in the fields of psychology and anthropology has highlighted children's agency and even pointed to their abilities in analysing neighbourhood environments (for example see Dawes and Donald, 2000; Swart-Kruger, 2000; Swart-Kruger and Chawla, 2002; and Morrow, 2001a, b). Because the focus is on the social capital of parents and other adults, policy tends to be geared mainly towards the family unit and building the social capital of adults. This tendency highlights the need to foreground children's agency in order to understand the factors influencing children's access to social capital that lie beyond parental resources and the home environment.

In applying the concept of social capital directly to youth, national and provincial government policy assumes that it is poor neighbourhoods which have insufficient social capital available for young people, and that the best way to increase these levels is through providing youth activities. This takes Putnam's formulation and applies it to children without any investigation into whether his assertions for (American and European) adults hold true for children and adolescents in local contexts. Lessons from anthropology and geography tell us that children use space differently to adults. This highlights the need for interrogating both the concept of social capital as it applies to children, and our understanding of how neighbourhoods impact on children from the perspective of the children themselves. This can be done by examining how children use neighbourhood spaces, how they perceive the people and places of their neighbourhoods and communities, and the type and degree of agency they see themselves as having in these spaces.

I turn now to outline a number of questions which arise when thinking about the relevance of the theories of social capital and social disorganisation for children in Ocean View (when they are conceptualized as active social agents). These questions largely concern whether the relationships between social capital/social organisation and adult outcomes identified by these theories, hold true for children.

- How pertinent are the following structural features to the lives of children in Ocean View?
  - Residential stability
  - Concentrated poverty

- The density of networking (i.e. whether children are connected to those in their networks through multiple roles)
- The concentration of voluntary associations
- What role do the following dimensions of social organisation play in levels of children's own social capital?
  - Levels of trust, reciprocity, cooperation, solidarity and equality within networks.
  - Levels of shared norms, collective efficacy and sense of belonging,
  - Intergenerational closure
- How are children's experiences of their own social networks (with adults and peers) connected to ideas of 'bonding', 'bridging' and 'linking' social capital?
- How does the spatial location of a neighbourhood impact on children?

Criticisms of social capital theory, and lessons drawn from research carried out in other disciplines, alert us to the importance of paying attention to certain factors, when investigating children's own social capital and the impact of neighbourhoods on children:

- Differentiating social capital from its outcomes and the processes through which these outcomes are realized.
- Attending closely to power dynamics operating at a local and national level, and particularly to the role of gender, as well as the specifics of how children are positioned within these.
- Paying attention to the broader historical, political, social and economic context of children's everyday living spaces and local experiences.

The above questions framed both the aims of the research and the methodological approach adopted for the study. It also informed the themes pursued and coding structure utilised during the analysis process. These aspects of the research form the focus of the next chapter.

## Chapter 2

# Methodology

### Research aims

This study aims to investigate how children living in Ocean View experience and participate in their neighbourhoods and communities. Its purpose is to shed light on both the ways in which features of these environments (physical, social, economic and historical) impact on children's everyday lives and well-being, *and* how children themselves shape and influence these environments. I am interested in both the challenges posed by and the opportunities available in these environments, and the ways in which children avoid and engage these. An improved understanding of the dynamics between children's lives and their neighbourhoods and communities is critical to the development of theory and policies which seek to improve child outcomes through community- and neighbourhood-level interventions.

In order to achieve the above aims, the research posed the following questions:

1. How do children perceive and experience 'community'?
2. How do children engage their community and neighbourhood environments? (Where do children go regularly, for what purposes and with whom? Which places do children avoid, and why? What do they seek in terms of resources and supports? Which resources are children able to obtain within their communities/neighbourhoods and which are inaccessible?)
3. How do communities and neighbourhoods engage children? (What types of environments are available to children? How do communities consider and treat children, in terms of both formal and informal services and supports available to children?)
4. To what extent do the historical divisions in the South Peninsula remain, and where and how are they being eroded? What social networks do children draw on and how geographically bounded are these?

5. How do children's home and family lives mediate their experiences in community and neighbourhood contexts?

## Sample and access

Fieldwork with children in Ocean View began in June 2004 and continued until August 2005. I worked extensively with 3 groups of children in the age ranges 10-13 years, 14-16 years and 17-18 years. Initial group work was also carried out with a group of 6 to 10 year-olds. Access to the children was initially obtained through the Department of Education and subsequently through principals at the high school and the chosen primary school<sup>8</sup>. For practical purposes, the process followed at the high school differed slightly to that at the primary school. At the beginning of fieldwork in 2004, I elected to work predominantly with one grade 8 and one grade 11 class at the high school in order to engage both younger and older teenagers. As a means of encompassing Ocean View's linguistic and cultural diversity, one Afrikaans-medium class (grade 8) and one English-medium class (grade 11) were chosen in consultation with the relevant year's teachers. In order to build rapport, work with the teenagers began through five weeks of observation in classrooms after which I set up voluntary after-school research activity groups. In the primary school, teachers selected a pupil from each class to join an after-school art-based research club<sup>9</sup>. Children ended up self-selecting for participation in the group, however, as those that did not want to be part of the group simply did not turn up, and others, whose friends were perhaps in the group, or who had heard about it and were interested, approached me to join. After a month, once a group of regular participants had emerged, additional children were recruited from a grade 5 class, in order to increase total numbers and address the gender imbalance that had emerged. Observation in classrooms was then conducted in the classes from which the 'Art Club' members came.

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<sup>8</sup> The vast majority of children living in Ocean View attend local schools (approximately 90%). Discussions with the principal at the high school revealed a slight difference in the levels of activities provided at the two primary schools, but no major differences between the types of children attending the two schools. This was subsequently confirmed in my work with the teenagers at the high school who had attended both the local primary schools.

<sup>9</sup> The teacher co-ordinating the selection of participants was instructed to ensure that a range of children (in terms of gender, socio-economic background and individual ability) were selected.

**Table 1: After school research clubs by grade, age and gender<sup>10</sup>**

Grade and age	Girls	Boys
Grade 1-3 (age 6-10)	12	7
Grade 4-7 (age 10 – 13)	10	14
Grade 8 (age 14-15)	9	3
Grade 11 (age 17-18)	4	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>28</b>

A total of 63 children, aged six through eighteen, were involved in the after-school research groups (see table 1), with an additional 310 children participating through school-based observation and activities. Over the course of the year of fieldwork I came to know ten children (two boys and eight girls) especially well. This core sample generated much of the in-depth material drawn on in this dissertation, with data provided by the broader sample used to contextualise and support these findings. Table 2 provides the reader with the names<sup>11</sup> and ages of the core sample.

**Table 2: The core sample**

Name	Grade	Age	Gender
Jumat	4	10	M
Clarisa	4	10	F
Angelique	5	11	F
Samantha	8	14	F
Mina	8	14	F
Charney	11	17	F
Nicola	11	17	F
Veronique	11	17	F
Mandy	11	17	F
Patrick	11	18	M

Although ten participants can never be truly representative of a population, comparison of their living arrangements to the broader sample reveals that the range of household demography, type of dwelling and sources of income are represented. See appendix A for personal and demographic profiles of each member of the core sample and tables outlining the household characteristics of the broader sample.

<sup>10</sup> Age and grade in this table and throughout the dissertation are for the start of fieldwork in 2004. All participants except for one girl and two boys in grade 11, passed at the end of 2004 and moved on to the next grade in 2005. All three grade 11 participants who did not proceed to grade 12, repeated grade 11 in 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Throughout this dissertation, pseudonyms have been used to protect children's identities and ensure confidentiality.

## **Methodological approach**

Using an ethnographic approach, the starting point for this study was to discover children's perceptions of their everyday lives and environments. This approach is informed by an understanding of child well-being that emphasises a two-way interaction between children and their environments, recognising that environmental features are not the sole determinants of well-being, but that children's perceptions of and interactions with their environments also impact well-being (Bray, 2002: 4). South African development psychologists like-wise emphasise the centrality of children's perceptions in this relationship, asserting that "the way [children] perceive their circumstances will influence the way they respond to their human and physical contexts" (Dawes and Donald, 2000: 4). Traditional approaches in development psychology and sociology have failed to conceptualise children as cultural producers in their own right (Stephens, 1995; Matthews and Limb, 1999). They construct childhood as a step on the journey to adulthood, thus focussing on what children lack and directing attention away from children's daily lives (Matthew and Limb, 1999: 68). Recognising children as cultural producers requires understanding children from the perspective of their own 'multiple lifeworlds' and recognising that they may have very different values about place and space than adults do (ibid).

Looking at children's perceptions and experiences of where they live is also important because they are often seen as 'the problem' in urban and suburban environments, with their activities seen as impacting negatively on adults' experiences of their environments (Morrow, 2001b: 266). As such, they are often overlooked in the participation process even though they are, like other interest groups, an essential source of information about neighbourhoods (ibid).

The value of qualitative research of this kind is highlighted by the expressed need amongst researchers investigating children and childhood, for recognising 'multiple childhoods' and acknowledging the sterility of the concept of the 'universal child' (James and Prout, 1990; James et al 1998; Ennew and Milne, 1989). Individual variation in class, gender and even personality, as well as where children come from (both in place and time) all have an important bearing on children's engagement with their environments (Matthews and Limb, 1999: 65).

## Children's participation

Wherever possible the research has adopted a participatory approach. The decision to work within the school environment and thus within its embedded power dynamics posed some initial challenges to researcher and participant roles. However these were soon overcome to the extent that I consistently adopted a non-authoritarian approach with the children over time and was able to draw out children's priorities for discussion and address these issues.

In collaboration with colleagues, Rachel Bray and Imke Gooskens, carrying out research in Masiphumelele<sup>12</sup> and Fish Hoek<sup>13</sup> respectively, six teenagers were trained as co-researchers. This group, who named themselves 'Tri', consisted of two teenagers from each field-site. 'Tri' members helped to develop questions and areas of enquiry, identify key informants and conduct interviews with peers and adults. Both 'Tri' members from Ocean View, Brian and James<sup>14</sup> were seventeen-year-old males in grade 11 at the high school in Ocean View at the start of the research. Working closely with them over the course of the research I came to know these two boys very well. They were therefore involved not only as co-researchers but also as core research participants. See appendix A for their personal and demographic profiles.

## Methods used

The backbone of this ethnographic study was participant observation and informal conversations with children and adults were recorded in a journal. Reliability was ensured through tackling issues using a combination of participatory group and individual methods, and by enabling children to express themselves verbally, through drawing and through drama. In-depth individual

<sup>12</sup> Originally referred to as 'Site 5', Masiphumelele was established in the early 1990s and is located about 3 km closer to the city of Cape Town than Ocean View. Residents are all black Africans, and the vast majority are Xhosa speakers who have migrated from rural areas of the Eastern Cape in search of work. Official statistics put the population at 12,000 whereas unofficial estimates almost double this figure. Approximately 1,700 families live in shacks and although house-building is underway, only about 270 have been built so far. Unemployment and HIV prevalence are both high.

<sup>13</sup> The 2001 Census places the population of Fish Hoek at just under 16 000, of whom 96% were classified as 'white'. Economically, Fish Hoek holds people from a wide range of income groups. Household incomes range from R76 801 to R153 600 per year (approximately three times the average household income in Ocean View, and eight times that of Masiphumelele households). For a long time Fish Hoek was home to mostly seafarers, tradesmen, and fishermen. In recent decades there has however been a steady influx of people from a much wider range of economic backgrounds. Many 'new' residents come from the Western Cape, but also as far a field as Gauteng and Zimbabwe. Fish Hoek has the nearest train station for Ocean View residents, approximately 10km away.

<sup>14</sup> Pseudonyms have been used to protect the children's identities and ensure confidentiality.

interviews were conducted in the final stages of fieldwork so that questions could be informed by existing data and any inconsistencies clarified. Tables 3 to 5 below, outline the methods used, their objectives, and which participants were involved<sup>15</sup>. Full descriptions of key methods used and examples of visuals produced are available in appendix B. All visually based methods were accompanied by discussions with children, allowing them to explain what they had depicted. In all methods, attention was paid to variations by age and gender.

**Table 3: Methods used with children during school hours**

Method	Objective	Total no of children	Total no of girls	Total no of boys
Observation	To meet and get to know children and build rapport. To observe interactions amongst peers and with teachers. To investigate the social and learning environment available to children.	±70 (grade 6)	-	-
		±70 (grade 7)	-	-
		37 (grade 8)	24	13
		27 (grade 11)	17	10
Community mapping • Maps of 'our community' using the categories 'fun places', 'dangerous places', 'important places', and 'places to get things we need'.	To meet children, build rapport, gain insight into their sense of 'community' and its relationship to 'other communities', as well as their use and perception of space and place both locally and beyond Ocean View's borders. I was also interested in the role of children's social networks in their use of space.	170 (6 grade 9 classes)	85	85
Concentric circle diagram depicting 'supports', 'problems' and 'wished for supports/facilities'	To ascertain the type of factors that support children, the types of challenges they face, and the context (home, school or neighbourhood) in which these supports and challenges are located. This method also investigated children's perceptions of these everyday environments and what additional supports they require.	28 (grade 8)	18	10
		27 (grade 11)	17	10
Group discussion on 'dropping out of school'	To find out which aspects of 'community' and neighbourhood life support children and which undermine them in their everyday lives, as well as how these relate to factors in the home and school environments. I was also interested in understanding what factors impact on children's decision-making.	±30 (grade 10)	-	-

<sup>15</sup> As I was part of a team of researchers, it may be useful to elaborate on how methods were designed. Group discussions on the meaning of community, self-esteem and dropping out of school were only carried out in the Ocean View field-site, and as such were designed and implemented by myself. Methods used in all three field-sites, but instigated by myself, were the concentric circle diagram and the diary and photographic project. Other methods were instigated by colleagues and developed collaboratively. In all cases I carried out research activities in Ocean View.

**Table 4: Methods used with children in after school research groups**

Method	Objective	Total no of children	Total no of girls	Total no of boys
Community mapping ▪ Maps of 'our community' using the categories 'fun places', 'dangerous places', 'important places', 'places to get things we need' and any additional categories identified by the children. ▪ Maps of the Kommetjie Road using the above key ▪ Maps of children's mobility in greater Cape Town	As above, but in addition, by encouraging children to add their own place categories, greater insight into their perceptions of where they live was provided. Maps of the Kommetjie Road and greater Cape Town were used to discern children's perceptions and use of space and access to resources beyond Ocean View's borders.	19 (grade 1 - 3)	12	7
		24 (grade 4-7)	10	14
		12 (grade 8)	9	3
		6 (grade 11)	3	3
Concentric circle diagrams depicting 'supports', 'problems faced' and 'wished for supports/facilities'	As in table 3.	17 (grade 1-3)	11	6
		18 (grade 4-7)	8	10
Focus group discussion on the meaning of 'community'	To ascertain where children draw community boundaries and why, as well as what effect different experiences of community have on children's identities.	6 (grade 11)	4	2
Focus group discussion on what contributes to 'good' and 'bad' self-esteem	Identified by children as key in their decision-making, this method was designed to investigate how self-esteem is supported and undermined by aspects of 'community' and neighbourhood life, as well as how these relate to factors in the home and school environments.	5 (grade 11)	3	2
Group discussion on 'dropping out of school'	As in table 3.	7 (grade 11)	4	3
Drama workshops <sup>16</sup> (using role play and children's interpretations of each others' movement and skits)	To gain further insight into children's perceptions of their local social and physical environments, including the facilities theoretically available to them and community dynamics.	12 (grade 8)	9	3

<sup>16</sup> These were run by the company Jungle Theatre in consultation with the researcher. The framework for the workshops was developed according to themes and issues that arose in previous research activities with the grade 8 participants and other research groups.

Table 5: Individual methods used with children in after-school research groups

Method	Objective	Total no of children	Total no of girls	Total no of boys
Semi-structured individual interviews (using a combination of questions arising from previously collected data and the SAHA schedule <sup>17</sup> )	To gain greater insight into children's lives, what they spend their time doing, their perceptions of and experiences of neighbourhood and 'community', and the role of peer, adult, school, and religious networks as well as home in their lives. The SAHA scale focuses particularly on demographic background; children's participation in activities, including formal and informal extra-mural activities; school environment and academic motivation; peer networks and delinquency; religiousness; perceptions of neighbourhood; and exposure to violence.	3 (grade 5-6)	2	1
		2 (grade 8)	2	
		5 (grade 11-12)	4	1
Individual visual narrative method of 'Hero Books' <sup>18</sup> + interview	To ascertain the role of neighbourhood in children's everyday lives. The tool provides information on children's mobility, perception of their community, who the important people in children's lives are (and where they are), and what problems children face and how they overcome them.	15 (grade 5 - 7)	7	8
Diary and photography exercise + interview	To ascertain the role of neighbourhood in children's everyday lives. The tool provided information on what children spend their time doing and where, who they interact with, the nature and quality of these interactions, as well as how children feel about the places and people in their lives.	3 (grade 9)	3	
		5 (grade 11-12)	4	1
Daily timelines	To ascertain what spaces children utilise on a daily basis and with whom, as well as children's perceptions of these places and interactions.	13 (grade 5-7)	7	6
		3 (grade 8)	2	1
Observation (in children's homes and at activities invited to, such as church youth meetings)	To observe children in environments deemed significant by them and to meet those in their networks, as well as to see how children utilise public and private spaces.	3 (grade 5-6)	2	1
		3 (grade 8)	3	
		6 (grade 11-12)	4	2

<sup>17</sup> This is a slightly modified version of the Social and Health Assessment survey, originally developed by Weissberg, Voyce, Kaspro, Arthur, and Shriver (1991) and later modified by Schwab-Stone et al. (1995, 1999).

<sup>18</sup> Adapted from the narrative therapy tool developed by Jonathan Morgan of REPPSI, a 'hero book' is an individual visual method, which allows children to tell their life stories through a series of drawing activities. Interviews were subsequently focused around the information emerging from the children's visual books.

A total of fifteen interviews were conducted with teenagers and young adults by the Ocean View 'Tri' members. Table 6 outlines the interview topics and objectives as well as the ages and gender of the interviewees.

**Table 6: Interviews conducted by 'Tri' members**

Topic	Objective	No and age of girls	No and age of boys
General	These interviews investigated peer relationships; intergenerational relations; teenagers' goals and role models; positive and negative experiences of school; challenges facing teenagers and their coping mechanisms; perceptions of Ocean View; and perceptions of transformation in South Africa ten years into democracy.	1 (age 16)	1 (age 16)
		1 (age 17)	1 (age 17)
			1 (age 19)
			1 (age 22)
		2	4
Access to information and resources	To investigate how teenagers access information and resources regarding health and medical services; problems with drugs or alcohol; conflict in the home and other personal relationships; subject choice and career options; tertiary education and funding; and job opportunities. It revealed the people and places involved, as well as where and how teenagers struggle to access information.	2 (age 15)	1 (age 20)
		1 (age 16)	
		1 (age 17)	
		3	1
Friendship	To investigate the role that friends play in teenagers lives; the dynamics within friendship groups; what qualities teenagers look for in friends; what challenges they face in their friendships and how these are overcome; what friends do together; where friends come from; and how friends relate to other people in teenagers' lives	1 (age 14)	1 (age 16)
		1 (age 16)	1 (age 17)
		1 (age 18)	
		3	2
Total		8	7

Consultation with adults took place mainly through informal chats and semi-structured interviews. Those adults consulted were identified as playing significant roles in children's lives either by the children themselves or through my observation. Table 7 outlines the methods used and the objectives underlying consultation with selected adults.

**Table 7: Consultation with adults**

Adults consulted	Method used	Objective
Various teachers	Informal conversation	To identify adults' perceptions of children and the challenges they face. To investigate the role that teachers play in children's lives and the challenges they face in fulfilling that role; the tactics they use to support children; and their expectations for child behaviour. I was also interested in differences in approach and attitude of teachers who are liked and respected by children and those who are disliked.
Parents	Informal conversation	To identify what parents expect of children; the role they play in their children's lives and challenges they face as parents. To investigate what parents understand as the challenges facing their children, and how they see children responding to these.
Service Providers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 2 Ocean View police officers</li> <li>▪ 3 social workers from a local NGO (one operating from the high school)</li> <li>▪ Adults running a local NPO, Art Vibrations</li> <li>▪ A pastor from one of the local churches.</li> </ul>	Semi-structured interview	To understand how these service providers consider and approach children. To identify the features of the neighbourhood they think place children at risk, what supports them and where the gaps are. To ascertain the norms of expected child behaviour and how adults in the community respond to children in need of help and to those that transgress norms. I was also interested in how this has changed over time and how it varies by age and gender.
A network of local service providers, mandated by the mayor of the City of Cape Town to develop a plan for addressing the phenomenon of 'street children' through both prevention and reintegration.	Observation at the network's meetings	As with the semi-structured interviews above.

## **Ethical considerations**

The steps taken towards appropriate ethical provision prior to and during this study were not unusual in the context of social research with children. Firstly a research proposal was scrutinised and approved by the Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR) and the ethics committee at the University of Cape Town<sup>19</sup>. Permission to conduct the research was then obtained from the Western Cape Department of Education, and the respective school principals.

Information sheets and consent forms were designed for young children, teenagers and adults (see appendix C). The purpose of the information sheet was to give a succinct, accessible overview of the study's aims, scope and activities. Written in both English and Afrikaans (the two languages spoken in Ocean View), these documents also explained my actions towards assuring confidentiality and the right to decline participation. Importantly, they were designed to be used as resources within conversations about the study and the implications of being part of it, not as replacements for verbal explanation and discussion. Acknowledging children's varying abilities to understand what their participation entails (Boyden and Ennew, 1996: 42), the securing of consent did not stop at the signing of forms, but was treated as a gradual and emerging process. These conversations were therefore held at frequent intervals during the early months of the study.

A perhaps more reliable marker of consent was actual attendance at research sessions. Emphasising the voluntary nature of the study in the context of school-related settings in which children anticipate certain types of adult authority was therefore especially important. Participants' queries and wishes to retract were responded to in a supportive manner. Children who stopped attending sessions were not persuaded to return, but were

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<sup>19</sup> This study formed part of a larger study, 'Growing up in the New South Africa: perspectives from children and adolescents in Cape Town' being conducted in the Centre for Social Science Research at the University of Cape Town. The research proposal submitted, covered the proposed aims and methodology of the entire study.

informed that they were welcome should they wish to return in the future. Sessions were made as accessible as possible, by allowing children to choose the day and time, and where possible, the location, of meetings.

Ethical provision is not just about preparing appropriately, but required ongoing sensitivity towards the dynamic nature of power relations and lines of authority. A consistent non-authoritarian approach over 15 months of fieldwork allowed trusting relationships to develop between myself and the participants, evident in the gradual change in the nature and level of information imparted by participants over time. Conflict between participants within research groups were addressed through on-going dialogue and collectively authored solutions.

The emphasis in ethical guidelines for social research with 'minors' is often on children's right to protection from social, emotional and economic exploitation (see for example, Boyden and Ennew, 1996; Greig and Taylor, 1999; Schenk and Williamson, 2005). While this is only sensible and is the reason for following the steps outlined above, most guidelines pay considerably less attention to the implications for social researchers of children's rights to express their views freely in matters concerning them, and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds (Articles 12 and 13 in the UN CRC). Although it is only sensible to attend to the possibility that children may be exploited in the research process, and the various steps outlined above were followed to ensure this, this study also aimed to address the latter set of rights. This was done through the adoption of a participatory approach, and specifically through the recruitment and training of young co-researchers.

The decision to involve teenagers as co-researchers entailed some additional ethical considerations<sup>20</sup>. Considerable support and guidance was provided to members of 'Tri',

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<sup>20</sup> The choice to involve teenagers as co-researchers was partially with an eye towards data quality and partially about conducting research which addresses children's rights to participation. The emphasis in ethical guidelines for social research with 'minors' is often on children's right to protection from social, emotional and economic exploitation (see for example, Boyden and Ennew, 1996; Greig and Taylor, 1999; Schenk and Williamson, 2005). While this is only sensible and is the reason for following the steps outlined above, most guidelines pay considerably less attention to the implications for social researchers of

through both weekly meetings and regular telephone conversations. This was important for providing adequate training in both interview techniques and an awareness of potential ethical issues, for addressing any particular questions or concerns arising in the field, and for maintaining open channels of communication to keep ethics an open subject.

### **Limitations of the study**

The primary limitation of the study was that children were accessed through the school and that the process allowed them to self-select. This created a bias in the sample, especially amongst the older participants, given that there is a high drop out rate at the Secondary School<sup>21</sup>. Self-selection is less problematic in the context of an ethnographic approach, which cannot claim representative sampling. At the same time the bias also provides an opportunity to understand how relatively more 'successful' children succeed. As Boyden and Mann point out, effective intervention requires not only the ability to isolate and ameliorate risk, but also requires enhancing protective factors in children's lives (2005: 21).

Being a female researcher in her twenties it was easier to build rapport with older teenage girls, who I could 'hang out' with in a more natural fashion. For this reasons four out of the ten in the core sample are from this age and gender group. The length of fieldwork however meant that quality data was generated by more than just the core sample as I was able to develop trusting relationships with boys and girls across the age range. Recruiting two male co-researchers also went some way towards addressing this gender imbalance.

Finally the study was exploratory in nature and therefore inevitably involved choices around what lines of enquiry to pursue. In this I was guided by that which was

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children's rights to express their views freely in matters concerning them, and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds (Articles 12 and 13 in the UN CRC). Through the adoption of a participatory approach, and specifically through the recruitment and training of young co-researchers, this study addresses the latter set of rights.

<sup>21</sup> In 2004 there were 323 learners in grade 8 and only 64 in grade 12.

emphasised by children themselves, that which was surprising, interesting and exciting to me and by the original aims of the research.

### **Analysis process**

The analysis process was ongoing throughout fieldwork. At regular intervals summaries of collected data were compiled to identify gaps in the data and inform questions being posed in the field. In January 2005 this study, together with the other components of the larger CSSR project, presented preliminary findings at a seminar attended by both community members and academics. This process informed the final five months of data collection. All data were converted into electronic text on an on-going basis throughout fieldwork, with links made to the original non-verbal data (drawings, maps, photographs and videos) where appropriate. For example, capturing children's drawings involved a description of what had been drawn, the explanations children had given for what they had drawn as well as discussions between children or between the researcher and children that may have arisen as a result. Post-fieldwork, using the Miles and Huberman (1994) approach to analysing qualitative data, I began with a thorough reading of my ethnographic journal, interview and video transcripts, and the textual accounts of children's diagrams and drawings. Together with thoughts from the research aims, this generated a preliminary list of analytical categories. Using the software *NVIVO*, categories were refined and new ones developed inductively. Analytical memos and an analytical journal recorded all thoughts concerning possible patterns, connections and relationships between categories. The main themes to emerge were the role of internal and external factors of the neighbourhood and community environments in Ocean View on children's everyday lives, and children's own agency and creativity in responding to and constructing these environments. Chapter four begins by outlining these features and the way in which children engage with them, moving in latter sections to focus on their combined conflicting and reinforcing effects, as well as their relationship to broader socio-political processes.

In order to contextualise the ethnographic analysis offered in chapter four, the next chapter turns to a brief discussion of the historic and current socio-political and economic context of Ocean View.

## Chapter 3

### Research setting and history

The place occupied by Ocean View and its residents in the social and cultural landscape of Cape Town city and specifically of the South Peninsula, is deeply embedded in the historical, socio-economic and political location of coloured people in the South African nation. Historical debates about the meanings of race and of colouredness shaped and propelled the urban policies that informed the spatial development of Cape Town city, so that urban location became synonymous with race (Salo, 2004: 47). Spatially this trend continues in current day Cape Town, meaning that individual and collective identities attached to urban location continue to be tied to meanings of race and colouredness. These meanings emerge from both contemporary social relations between South Africans and the historical meanings that have been attached to 'colouredness' over time (Salo, 2004: 46).

#### **The (re)making of 'community' under Apartheid**

After the Afrikaner Nationalists' rise to power in 1948, a number of laws were enacted that entrenched the segregationist policies and practises of the preceding 50 years that had differentially marginalised all black South Africans. The Population Registration Act of 1950 which classified South African people into different racial groups, namely 'white', 'African', 'Indian' and 'coloured', was the cornerstone of the Apartheid system which made the 'racial group' the determinant of all social interaction (Reddy, 2001: 73). The purpose of the Act was to eliminate racial integration by constraining the social and economic opportunities available to the different groups (Salo, 2004: 73). Bolstered by other laws (such as the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts of 1950 and the various Group Areas Acts), an individual's racial classification, came to define and determine

where and with whom they could live, work, own land, worship, attend school, have sex, obtain health care, enjoy entertainment or marry (Reddy, 2001: 73). The main racial groups were defined in relation to each other, with a coloured person being defined as “a person who is not a white person or a native” (in Reddy, 2001: 74). Those categorised as ‘coloured’ were thus positioned in the ambiguous and residual position between ‘white’ people who enjoyed full citizenship and ‘African’ people who were defined as “tribalised subjects locked into ‘pure’ cultural traditions” (Erasmus, 2001: 18). This intercalary position was reinforced by legislation covering employment opportunities, and the provision of education, social welfare and housing (Fiske and Ladd, 2005; Salo, 2003). The preferential treatment of ‘coloured’ over ‘African’ people was underpinned by racist ideas that ‘coloured’ people needed to be saved from an otherwise inevitably degenerate state<sup>22</sup>.

The Apartheid plan of ‘Separate Development’ divided South African territory into ‘African homelands’ and ‘white’ areas. ‘Coloured’ and ‘Asian’ people were allowed to remain in ‘white’ areas, but were confined to living in restricted and separate Group Areas (Innes, 1975: 3). The Group Areas Acts (No. 41 of 1950 and No. 77 of 1957) and Group Areas Amendment Act of 1969 created the legal framework for this residential racial segregation. Group Areas for each of the racial groups were created to ensure that ‘white’ people did not have to live amongst other racial groups, and to facilitate the control of non-white people by hampering their organised resistance<sup>23</sup> (ibid: 7). Salo asserts that the creation of townships such as Ocean View, to house ‘coloured’ people being forcibly removed from areas redefined ‘white’, imbued the racial category with “unique physical, spatial and socio-economic meanings” (Salo, 2003: 4). ‘Coloured’ townships were almost always situated in the most barren, wind-swept parts of the Cape Peninsula (Innes, 1975: 15), transforming the meanings of territory and space over time. As with other Apartheid legislation, the racial stratification of urban space in Cape Town,

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<sup>22</sup> For example, Jonny Steinberg describes in his book *The Number*, how post-forced removals, coloured neighbourhoods were inundated by paternalistic welfare programmes in order to “save coloured children from growing up in households dominated by drunken men” (2004: 113).

<sup>23</sup> Between the 1960s and 1980s, Group Areas legislation caused the forced removal of approximately 750 000 people in urban areas around the country (Salo, 2003: 16).

socially and geographically located 'coloured' people in an intercalary position between 'white' and 'African' (Salo, 2004: 82).

Liberalist or pluralist definitions of the South African nation underpinned the ideology of the Apartheid government (Salo, 2004: 52). This school of thought assumes that South Africa is a multiracial society comprised of the four racial groups (those defined by the Population Registration Act), and that each of these groups shares cultural values and practices, religious beliefs and interests (ibid). It is this thinking and its conflation of race and culture that led to the widely held belief that race was a key factor in determining the boundaries of 'community'. The hybrid roots of the coloured population<sup>24</sup> and the historical and regional shifts in meaning of 'colouredness' posed a problem for the Nationalist government, whose ideology demanded that a 'coloured nation' be formed (ibid: 76). "In the absence of a common linguistic or cultural marker, the racial codification of space became the sign for racial homogeneity" (ibid: 78).

Against this backdrop and the racial discourses accompanying it, colouredness as an identity has historically been understood as a residual, in-between, or lesser-than identity, characterised differentially as lacking, supplementary, excessive, inferior or simply non-existent (Erasmus, 2001: 16). Coloured identities have been spoken about in ways which associate them with immorality, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, impurity and untrustworthiness, meaning that identifying as coloured has often been linked to feelings of shame and discomfort (ibid: 17). Erasmus argues that in post-Apartheid South Africa, a tendency to assign moral authenticity or political credibility to a conflated 'blackness' and 'Africanness' has led to some coloured people attempting to reconstruct a sense of purity based on claims to ethnicity and indigenous roots and others to completely deny this identity (ibid: 16, 19). She asserts that these negative characterisations and denials have led to the marginalisation and trivialisation of coloured identities in the processes of

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<sup>24</sup> Historically the term 'coloured' collectively referred to a diverse group of black people. Between the beginning of slavery and racial oppression of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Cape Colony and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the term 'coloured' was adopted to refer collectively to the black population of the Cape Colony. This included Khoisan, Xhosas and Mfengus from the Eastern Cape, slaves from the various Dutch colonies in the East, free black people who had escaped the North American slave trade and sought refuge in the Cape, the descendants of Indonesian Muslims sent to the Cape as political prisoners as well as the children resulting from sexual relations between slave owners and slaves (Marks and Trapido in Salo, 2004: 76).

constructing a post-Apartheid national identity (ibid: 16). What is distinctive about coloured identity is that from its inception it has been produced and re-produced at the margins of society (Erasmus, 2001: 23; Salo, 2004: 56). This has occurred in the context of racialised relations of power and privilege and therefore coloured identities have been made and re-made in relation to the oppressive state, to both white and black African people as well as to the actions, discourses and social contexts of the diverse coloured population itself (Salo, 2004: 56).

### **Establishing community in the local context of Ocean View**

The establishment of Ocean View in 1968 must be understood in the context of these social, political and economic factors operating at the national level as well as the particular way in which they played out at the local-level. The following description of the forced removals that established Ocean View draws heavily on the work of Duncan Innes, who in 1975 conducted extensive interviews with the residents of Ocean View in order to ascertain how this process had impacted on the people living there.

Between the 1920s and 1950s racist labour and education policies had led to class differences among the population of the South Peninsula in Cape Town falling almost exactly along racial lines, with the white group clearly in the dominant economic and social position (Innes, 1975: 17). As a result, racial residential segregation grew to a considerable extent (ibid: 18). However, 'coloured' people continued to live throughout the South Peninsula and were by no means a homogenous group. Those living in Simonstown, Red Hill and Glencairn were mostly English-speaking Muslim artisans, skilled workers and shopkeepers. Farm labourers living on white-owned farms in the semi-rural areas around Noordhoek and Sunnydale spoke Afrikaans and had mostly adopted the Christian religion. Small groups of fisherman were living in Kalk Bay, Kommetjie and Witsands (ibid). The people who came to constitute the population of Ocean View therefore had a range of different traditions, economic activities and standards of living.

In 1968, under the Group Areas Act (1950) all those people living in the South Peninsula who was classified as 'coloured' were disqualified from the land and homes that had been theirs for generations and forced to move to a township called Slangkop in the scrubland area on the Atlantic coast near Kommetjie<sup>25</sup> (Innes, 1975: 19). At the request of the residents, the name of the township was later changed to Ocean View (ibid). Those that could afford to buy their own houses had access to three small bedrooms and a garden. Those people in the lower income groups were assigned to 'economic' houses and sub-economic houses and flats<sup>26</sup> (ibid: 20). The quality of the houses was poor, and residents struggled to get authorities to repair resulting cracks and leaks (ibid). The move to Ocean View meant that the coloured people in the region suffered considerable increases in expenditure on rent, foodstuffs, and transport and many people (especially the lower income group) therefore experienced an actual fall in living standards (ibid: 22-24).

The forced removals affected not only the physical and economic lives of Ocean View's new residents, but also caused immense social upheaval. Innes describes a form of "social crisis" occurring in Ocean View:

Where bitterness and fear mingle with animosity and anger...It is a situation where people, faced with the uprooting of their homes and way of life, are unsure about how to replace these essential securities. Alcohol and dagga provide temporary relief; gang warfare brings with it feelings of momentary power and a sense of belonging; retreat behind closed doors brings with it a limited escape from harshness into isolation. (Innes, 1975: 28).

The social climate is described as being characterised by fear, disillusionment and frustration (Innes, 1975: 27). The township experienced an increased prevalence of cannabis and alcohol usage, increased levels of violence associated with this substance use, poverty and the gang warfare arising out of clashes between the different cultural communities forced to live together (ibid). By 1975 it was clear that these values and life-

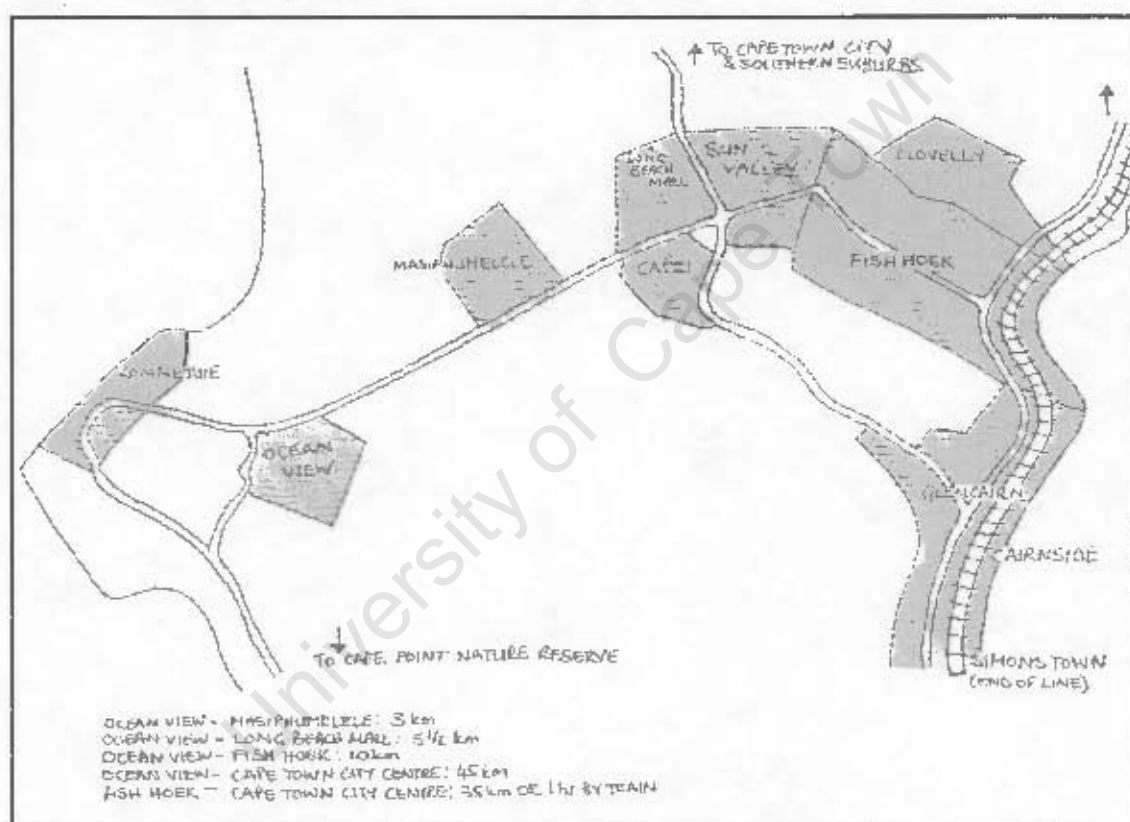
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<sup>25</sup> This was approximately 19 000 people (Innes, 1975: 19)

<sup>26</sup> 'Economic' houses differed from 'sub-economic' houses and flats in that the latter had no inter-leading doors and some had no bathroom or toilet facilities. The vast majority of sub-economic dwellings were flats: large multi-storey matchbox-type buildings facing on to each other, which shared a common cement yard with drying facilities (Innes, 1975: 20). "The dividing line between conditions in the sub-economic zone and slum conditions [was] very thin" (ibid).

styles were being passed down through the generations (ibid: 28). There were growing levels of passivity among residents in the face of a Housing Manager who controlled rent prices, evictions, where one lived, and had the power to call in authorities to deal with 'troublemakers' (ibid: 29). Despite this climate, Innes points to a growing number of residents who were attempting to cope with the situation by building community spirit and identity in an attempt to unify the township (ibid).

### Ocean View Today



**Figure 1: Map of the South Peninsula, locating Ocean View in relation to other residential areas.**

Situated on the Kommetjie Road between the previously zoned 'white' areas of Fish Hoek and Kommetjie on Cape Town's South Peninsula, Ocean View is about 45kms from the centre of Cape Town. Despite the fact that, in post-Apartheid South Africa, people's choice of residential area is no longer restricted by the colour of their skin, analysis of the 2001 national census shows that 98% of households in Ocean View

remain 'coloured'. Official statistics put the total population for Ocean View at 16 161, but unofficial estimates claim a figure of more than 35 000 residents.

The 2001 Census claims 20% unemployment in Ocean View, with most of those working earning wages below R3200 per month. Among adults 20 years and over, only 18% have a matric or post-matric qualification and almost a quarter of the adult population has less than grade 7 schooling. The 2001 census indicates a generally stable population with only 3% of adults having lived outside of Ocean View five years previously. A community profile compiled by a local non-governmental organisation (NGO) paints a picture that is even more dire: as much as 46% of the employable population is said to be unemployed, and of those working more than 60% earn less than R1 500 per month (OVDT, 2004: 1). The area is described as experiencing economic stagnation and deepening poverty. Overcrowding, homelessness, poverty and high unemployment characterise the area, reinforced by Ocean View's peripheral location and physical isolation from centres of economic activity in the region. Overcrowding in homes and on plots is described as leading to ever increasing incidents of domestic and child abuse, substance abuse and health concerns such as Tuberculosis (ibid). Only 15% of Ocean View residents own their own houses, while the rest live in blocks of council flats, semi-detached houses, or in backyards and shacks. Over 1700 families are seeking adequate shelter (ibid). The population of Ocean View is also young, with 46% of residents under 19 years of age (ibid: 7).

In terms of service provision, there are seven formal and four informal crèches, two primary schools, one high school and a school for Learners with Special Needs. Available resources in these schools however, need to be understood in the context of historic and ongoing inequality of resource provision (Fiske and Ladd, 2005)<sup>27</sup>. Average

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<sup>27</sup> In their working paper, Fiske and Ladd outline how inequality in education persists in post-Apartheid South Africa. In 2001 in the Western Cape for example, although inequality in public spending has been vastly reduced, schools formerly reserved for 'African' learners continue to receive less money per learner from the state (R3002), followed by those schools formerly reserved for 'coloured' learners (R3613), with formerly 'white' schools receiving the most public money per learner (R3857) Formerly 'white' schools also have the least learners per state paid educator (35.9), followed by 'coloured' (36.3) and 'African' schools (38.4). Formerly 'coloured' schools in the province fare the worst in terms of both the average qualifications of teachers and the percentage of unqualified teachers (20.9% for formerly 'coloured'

class sizes in both the high school and the primary school are in the 40s and both rely overwhelmingly on state-funded teachers. A number of spaces with playground equipment in various states of disrepair are scattered throughout Ocean View. Other facilities include a soccer field, multi-purpose centre (designed to provide in-door sports and other after-school activities for young people), library, health clinic, civic centre (used for various community events and meetings), police station and a non-profit organisation providing social work services for abused and neglected children, the Open Door.

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schools, compared to 6.5% in the case of 'African' and 0.8% for 'white' schools). For an indication of educational quality in Ocean View relative to other areas in the South Peninsula see the *table in Appendix D*.

## Chapter 4

# Children's experiences of space and place

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how children in Ocean View experience their neighbourhoods and communities and how their social and physical environments influence their lives and well-being. I begin by looking at how children defined and understood 'neighbourhood' and 'community', and what the implications of this are for well-being and identity. This is followed by discussions of how the physical, social and economic aspects of neighbourhood and community life in Ocean View impact on well-being and children's experience of everyday life. In this, the role of children's agency and varied responses to these factors is emphasised. These sections are followed by a separate and focussed discussion of the dynamic interconnection between the physical, social and economic features. Lastly, I examine the local situation in its broader historical, economic and socio-political context in order to better understand the relative experience of children in Ocean View and the progress made in addressing segregation and inequality.

### **1. Children debate the definition and essence of 'neighbourhood' and 'community': Implications for identity formation**

For all the children 'neighbourhood' referred to the physical space around where they lived and did not extend beyond Ocean View's borders. When the boundaries of their neighbourhood corresponded to only a section of Ocean View, they were usually determined by the child's everyday mobility. During individual interviews and a focus group with the grade 11 participants some insights were offered into what makes a 'community'. 'Community' was understood in both social and physical terms. For Veronique, Ocean View is seen as a separate 'community' to Masiphumelele or Fish

Hoek because they are a distance apart and each of them have their own demarcated space and boundaries (see figure 1). The pre-teens in the core sample also understood 'community' as connected to geographical area names such as Ocean View and Masiphumelele and that your 'community' would be the area where you lived. Older teenagers thought that being resident in an area is a necessary but not sufficient part of belonging to a 'community' as certain social conditions need to be present in order for a 'community' to exist at all. The most important of the social factors was solidarity, by which they meant that people of the same area would stand together against problems, support each other and not put each other down. Also important was that people attended and supported local events, such as those held at the school. Those attending these functions would be part of the 'community'. They also felt that people had to be willing to help each other for there to be a 'community'. Nicola specifically rejected Apartheid definitions of community<sup>28</sup>, drawing rather on the social factors of reciprocity and solidarity:

Sometimes people think that a community is, how do I put this, confined to the race... and I want to say a community is not just about your colour, and it's not just about where you come from, because you are part of a community, and if there's love and if you, and if you trust one another and if you can be helpful then that's a community (Nicola, 'community' focus group).

Only two of the girls felt that community did not have to be limited to one's residential area, and thought that where the above social factors existed, there could be a 'community'. Those that challenged this seemed to do so on the basis that these factors do not cross local residential area boundaries as people still lead quite separate and segregated lives:

Ocean View forms its own community, because if we have functions people from Fish Hoek and Simons Town don't come. OK maybe a small minority, but I mean, but all of them don't know. So basically the community is just Ocean View, and Fish Hoek has its own community and wherever else has its own community (Nicola, community focus group).

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<sup>28</sup> Under Apartheid there were frequent references to the "coloured community", by which it was implied that sharing racial classification meant sharing a common culture, and that race was therefore key in defining the borders of communities (see chapter 3).

'Community' is one of the important sources of collective identity, being a powerful everyday notion by which people organise their lives, understand their localities and settlements and the quality of their social relationships (Jenkins, 1996: 105). As identity acquisition is a two-way process between an individual and the people and environment outside the individual (ibid: 58), the way children perceive their local environment will be important for ensuring positive identities. The way that children describe and experience living in Ocean View varied and caused much heated debate amongst the older teenagers. Although 'community' is often used as a feel-good word, the majority of children had a mixture of positive and negative feelings about Ocean View, pointing to the fact that positive notions of community are able to exist side-by-side with wide spread social problems and anti-social behaviour, and that a 'community' can be defined as much by its positive as by its negative characteristics. I elaborate on children's positive and negative perceptions in the later sections examining the physical, social and economic aspects of the community environment.

Despite negative perceptions, feeling that they were part of a community was important for some of the children and they were able to insist on 'community' existing in Ocean View by emphasizing certain factors in their definitions of 'community'. Charney strongly rejects the negative images of Ocean View that are often put forward and has a particularly positive outlook on Ocean View as a 'community', defining it mainly around whether people participate in local events:

Well basically, there is a community, because whenever there's a function and stuff like that, who's there to support you? The community. If the school has a karaoke or whatever, the community is there (Charney, 'community' focus group).

By focussing on the positive aspects of the physical environment, children were also able to resist negative community images. Such resistance, and the factors underlying it, are elaborated upon at various points later in this chapter.

Children's experience of Ocean View is influenced not only by what is happening within Ocean View but also by what other people within and outside Ocean View's borders say

is going on. Certain negative identities and assumptions are imposed on teenagers by virtue of their living and attending school in Ocean View. These identities are experienced as a burden, but at the same time, are fiercely contested and rejected by them in conversation. Negative media coverage and the negative perceptions of Ocean View that it entrenches affect not only the way children feel about where they live, but can also affect what they believe is possible within their community and therefore how they behave. Charney and Nicola spoke eloquently on this issue with Patrick connecting negative images and identity to community-level apathy:

Patrick: And there's so much bad stuff. If you go to somewhere like Claremont and you tell people where you at school and they say 'oh that gangster place' or something like that.

Charney: And there aren't gangs anymore, I mean.

Nicola: And one of the things, I can compare the community to a person; if you always concentrate on the negative of the person then they will actually break down because nobody's actually recognising their potential or highlighting their good points. And the same thing with the community, if you every time you hear bad news you going to say 'Ag I might as well just leave and stop trying to do good' or whatever, and the people might just start collapsing and that's why I think the majority of the people lose hope in actually trying to become a community together because of what they read in the newspaper (grade 11 'community' focus group).

There is a perception that the media likes to perpetuate certain stereotyped and negative images of Ocean View, and Nicola referred to an incident where a local South Peninsula newspaper refused to write an article about the "good thing" people in Ocean View were doing by hosting American exchange students. In this way community-level self-esteem and the accompanying apathy, referred to above, need to be placed in a broader socio-political environment, influenced by local media. Stereotyped and segregated images are created and perpetuated by reporting which locates social 'problems' and deviance in previously zoned 'coloured' and 'African' areas, reserving more nuanced reporting for the predominantly white areas in which the local papers are based. Working on issues located within one geographical space may thus require moving outside of the boundaries of that space to engage with powerful external role-players. At the same time the

teenagers highlight a complicity in perpetuating these stereotypes between the media and local people in positions of power (often because of a desire to attract resources for addressing problems). There have been extensive reports in Cape Town newspapers on the widespread and rapid increase of 'tik'<sup>29</sup> use and abuse amongst the youth of Cape Town. Ocean View is one of the areas that has been singled out in reports as having particularly high levels of tik abuse (see for example, 'Children selling sex to buy tik', *Cape Times*, 4 April 2005; 'Street talk – time to shout out loud about tik before it wrecks new generation', *Cape Argus*, 25 May 2005; and 'Premier goes walkabout to launch anti-tik drive', *Cape Times*, 29 June 2005). Charney was dismayed that her school principal was quoted in a Cape Town newspaper as saying that 60% of the learners at the Secondary School are using tik.

I don't want people thinking I am a 'tik monster' just because I go to this school. I'm also worried that the kids are going to retaliate [against what the principal said], parents might come in to complain and people will criticise the way he runs the school. It actually makes me feel sick because we have already had a lot of bad publicity (Charney, individual interview).

Children both rejected and embraced Ocean View in their visions of the future, and both responses appeared to be adaptive, operating as a resource for coping with everyday difficulties and building the motivation to develop and follow goals. Individual strategies depended on individual personality, circumstance and perception. Ocean View as an 'objective' neighbourhood did not generally facilitate or undermine place attachment. For example, Veronique, who has a particularly difficult set of home circumstances, with an abusive father and a mother who she feels does not support her in this conflict, is adamant that she will live anywhere but Ocean View when she is older. This desire is closely associated with her desire to "get out of this house" and a vision of a happier home-life therefore necessitates that she imagine herself elsewhere. On the other hand, a number of the teenagers, such as James, spoke of wanting to put back into the community, feeling they have a responsibility to improve neighbourhood conditions. This

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<sup>29</sup> 'Tik' is a South African term used to refer to the methamphetamine drug otherwise known as 'speed'.

is connected to a sense of belonging in Ocean View, that living there has contributed for better and worse to who they are and that they should therefore contribute to it in return.

This section has outlined how, based on various criteria, children defined Ocean View as their community, commenting that positive and negative perceptions of this community exist side-by-side in children's experience and understanding of the area. In attempts to form positive identities and motivation for the future children engage with their own and others' perceptions of Ocean View in a variety of ways. The following two sections look more closely at the positive and negative ways in which children experience their environment in Ocean View.

## **2. Experiencing Ocean View: The impact of physical, social and economic features on children's everyday lives and well-being**

The following three sections draw attention to specific physical, social and economic features of the neighbourhood environment in Ocean View. The first section examines physical features such as the size and location of the township, as well as the provision of facilities and services. This is followed by a section on social behaviours and dynamics. The third section draws together the conclusions of the preceding sections to show how both children's engagement with environmental features, and the way in which the features interact, impacts on children's everyday experiences.

### **2.1 Negotiating the built environment**

#### **The effects of community size and demographics**

Ocean View does not cover a particularly large area (approximately 1 square mile) and is very clearly a separate physical space, not sharing boundaries with any other residential areas (see figure 1). As a result of these factors and those discussed above, children experience Ocean View as a 'community' in its own right. Ocean View is further seen as

a close-knit community because it is small, most residents have many relations living there, and a large proportion of families have lived there since it was established. Children are ambivalent about these qualities which they experience as having both positive and negative consequences.

On the one hand, the close-knit nature of the community can operate to monitor and protect children.

Because Ocean View is small everyone knows you and so people will look out for you (Nicola, journal notes).

The forced removals and a history of low residential mobility in the area, has led to a stable population, dominated by extensive extended family networks. These networks improve the quality of children's lives through the provision of emotional support and love, material and economic resources, practical help around child-care, access to information, as well as opportunities for socialising. Kin ties are clearly a significant aspect of life in Ocean View, as many children refer to people by their kin relations, as somebody's aunt, uncle, cousin or grandparent. Levels of residential mobility also affect the bonds children develop with other people in their networks. The length of time one has known a friend, affects how much they are trusted and therefore the depth and quality of communication with them. This in turn affects how much young people feel understood by their friends and therefore the amount of support they draw from these relationships.

I tell more to Z because we have been friends from when we were 7 yrs old (Mina, individual interview).

High individual residential mobility is not common in Ocean View, but does occur. Two girls in the core sample, Nicola and Charney, have not lived in Ocean View all their lives<sup>30</sup>, and spend the least time with friends. On the one hand this mobility has had some positive outcomes. Living in Johannesburg allowed Nicola to develop networks across the class divide, and one woman (a friend of her mother) continues to be an important financial and emotional support to her. Nicola, however, views her experience as atypical

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<sup>30</sup> Charney moved from Kimberly when she was thirteen, and Nicola has moved between Johannesburg and Cape Town (Eerste Rivier and Ocean View) six times in her seventeen years.

and negative compared to her Ocean View peers who have groups of close friends that they have known all their lives. What is important here is that children form ideas about their lives based on comparisons they make with others' lives, and that unfavourable comparisons can have negative emotional impacts on them. Although the comparison group varies, the role of relative perception appears important for various aspects of children's lives and is raised throughout this chapter.

Despite the positive effects described above, Ocean View's small size and close-knit nature increases the chances that children will see people with whom they have conflict. Some teenagers cited this as a reason for not wanting to work within Ocean View because they would not want to have to help one of their "enemies". This consequence of having a close-knit community means that Veronique does not like to go to a certain part of Ocean View.

Veronique: There are people down there who I have had 'beef' with, so I just walk away if I see them so they don't see me.

Researcher: What would happen if they do see you?

Veronique: They would ask you sick questions, like sexual stuff (individual interview).

The small size of the community also affects children's anonymity and therefore what they are comfortable doing in Ocean View. As a result, children may not engage in activities they know their parents or others would disapprove of, with possible positive outcomes. Alternatively, as in the extract below, they may be encouraged to do these things away from the safer spaces in their homes and neighbourhoods.

Most of her friends drink alcohol on the weekends if they go out in Hout Bay or go to other friends living in Hout Bay, but they don't do it in Ocean View. This is because "your parents live in Ocean View and people know people. There [in Hout Bay] you can do your own thing" (Veronique, individual interview notes).

The density of kin networks can also operate to exclude children from spaces within the community. Nicola explained how many churches are "family churches", meaning that they are dominated by the pastor's extended family. According to her, this can result in

non-kin members not being given the same opportunities for participation and development of their talents and skills.

Obligations to kin networks can also lead to children being unable to do things that they would like to do. Both Nicola and Charney complained about not having time to pursue their own interests because they have to help out at extended family homes. This is a daily frustration that comes from a set of obligations and expectations around their roles in the extended family, which both girls experience as unfair. These roles are related to norms around age and gender which make more demands on girl-children's leisure time<sup>31</sup>. Nicola, although recognising the help extended to her by her extended family in providing her with a place to live<sup>32</sup>, feels that her family takes advantage of her and have no respect for her time, sending her on errands to the shop up to six times a day. The proximity of extended family heightens children's experience of family politics, in which jealousy, differences in expectations and values, as well as favouritism all affect the quality of children's everyday lives and interactions.

Most people in Ocean View do not have cars, or if they do, they either cannot afford to use them on a daily basis or adults use them to get to and from work. Children therefore get around Ocean View by walking, and as a result, tend to see more of people who live close by. So even though Ocean View is small, where children live relative to the people in their networks is important. Having family close-by may heighten conflict, but their physical proximity (and that of other significant people) to children's places of residence, also affects the level and nature of the support and resources they can provide. For example, when she was fourteen years old, Veronique lived with an aunt who she now feels could be an emotional support if she did not live a 20 minute walk away, in another part of Ocean View. It is telling that the extended family members, on who two of the 'Art Club' boys, Ronaldo and Matthew draw for everyday support, live very close-by. Matthew's grandmother lives a 1 minute walk away and Ronaldo's aunt lives next door.

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<sup>31</sup> Rachel Bray provides a detailed discussion of age and gender dynamics in the domestic roles of children in the South Peninsula (see Bray, 2003).

<sup>32</sup> Nicola and her mother were temporarily living at her great-aunt's house over the latter part of fieldwork. This move occurred after tension led to them being asked to move out of the flat where they had been living with a lady from their church.

Ronaldo's aunt is the person he goes to if he needs to talk about a problem, if he is hungry or he needs help with homework. Non-kin adults were also identified by children as sources of practical, emotional and financial support. For many of the children, these adults live in the same road or block of flats as they do, pointing to the everyday importance of the space immediately around children's homes.

### **Ocean View's location and its effects on everyday mobility and access to resources**

The peripheral location of Ocean View as well as general low disposable incomes means that for children of all ages, everyday life is limited to the social and physical borders of Ocean View, as travelling the distance to other places in the South Peninsula and beyond is not feasible on a regular basis. In the context of low residential mobility, this means that the majority of children's everyday interpersonal networks are confined to the racial and class profile of Ocean View's residents, excluding them from accessing many of the social, cultural, material and financial resources available in spaces dominated by other races and classes, and making some young people uncomfortable in certain social settings.

The better resourced schools and sports clubs, as well as shopping centres and favourite recreational facilities, are all located in the wealthier neighbourhoods of the South Peninsula. As such, movement between the residential areas occurs in one direction from poorer to wealthier neighbourhoods. Because class continues to fall along racial lines in the South Peninsula, this one-way mobility also follows the old Apartheid hierarchy. For example about 90% of learners at the secondary school in Ocean View are local residents, with the remaining 10% coming from the predominantly black African areas of Masiphumelele and Red Hill. Only 20% of learners at the senior high school in Fish Hoek are not white, many of them coming from Ocean View and Masiphumelele. A minority of children living in Ocean View (mostly boys) travel to Fish Hoek and Wynberg for soccer and cricket clubs, and children identified their favourite places for socialising as the malls, beaches and entertainment centres located in predominantly white and middle-class neighbourhoods.

The majority of children residing in Ocean View do not have the opportunity to attend these better resources schools and sports clubs because of the additional costs involved. These include more expensive fees<sup>33</sup>, as well as the cost of transport from Ocean View's peripheral location<sup>34</sup>. Transport costs are also a barrier to children accessing their favourite recreational resources. Everyday leisure and socialising therefore happens within Ocean View, at the play parks, soccer field, game-shops, friends' houses and in the street, with beaches and malls being accessed infrequently and then only on weekends. It is important to note that Mandy and Patrick, who live in the less peripheral areas of Masiphumelele and Hillside Farm<sup>35</sup>, spoke of regularly frequenting the Long Beach Mall in Sun Valley for dates and just to hang out with friends. Although visiting extended family is one of the main reasons children of all ages travel outside the South Peninsula, there was general agreement that it is the cost of transport that limits these visits to special occasions like funerals, birthdays, weddings, Christmas and New Year. Transport also increases the costs of meeting basic needs as children and their families must travel outside of Ocean View for most of their shopping for food and clothes and to access chain stores offering lower prices.

Boys in general have greater independent mobility than girls of the same age, and as a result, travel further afield and to a wider range of places within and beyond the South Peninsula for both sport and other recreational activities, such as going to the beach or camping.

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<sup>33</sup> School fees for high school in Fish Hoek are R7050 per year as opposed to R350 in Ocean View and R200 in Masiphumelele, and for primary school are R5200 in Fish Hoek, R120 in Ocean View and R100 in Masiphumelele. Appendix D provides a comparison of available human and financial resources at these schools.

<sup>34</sup> A taxi from Ocean View to Long Beach Mall costs R6 return, and to Fish Hoek costs R8 return. A bus from Ocean View to Fish Hoek costs R8.60 return during peak hours and R7 return off-peak. Getting a train from Fish Hoek to Wynberg costs R4.80 return, and to Cape Town costs R11 return. Therefore going from Ocean View to Wynberg will cost around R12 and to Cape Town, R19.

<sup>35</sup> Hillside Farm, located 500m closer to Ocean View than Masiphumelele, accommodates approximately 40 people in two sets of fairly run-down buildings. There is one tap for every two families and two ablution blocks in which each family has been allocated the use of a shower. People occupied the buildings 17 years ago. Tensions broke out between residents and the farm owner in 2004 when he decided to sell the land and therefore needed to evict those living in the farm buildings. The conflict remains unresolved and the farm owner has begun demolishing parts of the buildings that are unoccupied in order to prevent families from settling there.

Although leisure and shopping outings do provide children with access to physical spaces outside Ocean View, these visits are usually made with adult and friend networks from within Ocean View, and are thus bound by the social space of Ocean View. Everyday mobility that extends beyond the bounds of Ocean View, is limited to the South Peninsula and occurs because of a lack of resources within Ocean View (shopping, health care, recreation and sports facilities) rather than because of interpersonal links to these places.

For children who do not have the opportunity to attend school or sports clubs outside of Ocean View, parental and teenagers' work networks are a potential source of interpersonal resources that traverse local neighbourhood boundaries. This is hampered by unemployment and a lack of unskilled and semi-skilled job opportunities in Ocean View and the South Peninsula<sup>36</sup>. Travelling to low-paying jobs further away is not economically viable. The majority of adults working therefore do so at the few supermarket chains and factories within the South Peninsula or as fishermen. Given the area from which work is sourced and the few available options, many people find that their work colleagues are also from Ocean View. Institutions such as the schools and clinic are staffed mainly by Ocean View residents, meaning that these networks are also limited to the local population.

The lack of interpersonal networks crossing Apartheid boundaries was a reason cited for teenagers experiencing 'community' as confined to Ocean View. It is not only the combination of geographical location, economic factors and inadequate resource provision that hampers development of these networks. By perpetuating stereotypes, continued negative reporting in the media<sup>37</sup> exacerbates this by discouraging people in other local areas from going to Ocean View, as explained by Charney during a discussion on 'community':

It creates a negative impact on the community because they're not looking at what the community is good at, they just looking at what the community is bad at, all the

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<sup>36</sup> The reader will recall that given levels of education most Ocean View residents require unskilled or semi-skilled work (see chapter 4).

<sup>37</sup> See examples cited on page 34.

bad points. And I mean you cannot judge a community by what it does badly. I mean there is a balance between the two... But they just continue on running bad press releases over and over and over again. And it's such a negative vibe because no-one wants to come into the community, and then there's no interaction, it's like you isolated, you an island, nobody wants to go there.

'Tri' members living in Fish Hoek and Masiphumelele had largely stereotyped perceptions of Ocean View prior to their involvement in this research project, and spoke of being too scared to go there.

The way in which income, location, resources and the media interact to limit the boundaries of everyday life for children in Ocean View have important implications for issues of integration and equality ten years into democracy in South Africa. It also means that children in Ocean View are not regularly exposed to alternative social environments, reinforcing norms of predicting social behaviours. Many of these behaviours, such as high levels of alcohol and drug use, are rooted in Ocean View's history, connected to the emotional, social and physical trauma of the forced removals and life under the Apartheid regime. For example, children have come to expect teenage girls to become pregnant, and young people to drink and take drugs. As will be discussed later in the dissertation one reaction to these imposed expectations and identities is to buy into them. Expectations of negative behaviours and outcomes can also increase community apathy in the face of the social problems.

The particular experiences of children in Ocean View are made evident if we compare these findings with those from other research. In a study conducted in England children experienced belonging to a 'virtual' community rather than a tightly-bound easily identifiable geographical location (Morrow, 2001a: 54). Young people in Manenberg, Cape Town were found to be transgressing the locally imposed social and physical boundaries that were born out of the Apartheid project's conflation of physical neighbourhood with various markers of race and class by both literally and figuratively accessing more cosmopolitan spaces (Salo, 2003: 9) in ways not evident amongst the young people in Ocean View. Physically accessing such spaces is much more difficult for children in Ocean View because not only is Ocean View a geographically peripheral space within the South Peninsula, but the entire valley is separated from the rest of

greater Cape Town by a mountain range. Life on the other-side of the mountain range or “up-the-line” as the children refer to it, tends to be idealised by them through the infrequent shopping trips made there and general lack of first-hand knowledge of what living and being in those spaces is about. Children clearly compare their situation to the resources and opportunities available to children living in other areas, (both those visited infrequently, such as Fish Hoek or the more affluent areas in the Southern suburbs, and those accessed ‘virtually’ through word-of-mouth and television). Unfavourable comparisons lead to a sense of deprivation and a lack of motivation, pointing once again to the importance of relative perceptions. Children are aware that their chances of success after school are constrained by the lack of resources and opportunities available to them because of where they live.

### **Living somewhere that looks nice**

Having an environment that looks nice was important to most of the children for a variety of reasons. Although many did not mind the litter in Ocean View, they did refer to aspects of the physical environment that either made them feel proud or embarrassed and sad to live in Ocean View. What is important here is that children were able to foreground the pleasant aspects of the built and natural environments in order to resist negative images of where they live.

Samantha's block of flats was being painted when she did the diary and photography exercise. She took many photographs in front of the newly painted flats, and as the following photograph shows this made her feel proud of where she lived:



They finished painting the second block. Now we can take photos here. If people write on the walls now they pay a R500 fine, and if they don't pay, they will *mung* [arrest] them. Now our block will look better than the others because they are written on and ours is not (Samantha, photograph caption).

Many girls and boys pointed to the beauty of the surrounding scenery and the positive role it plays in their perceptions of Ocean View. The following photograph, taken by Charney, shows how claiming the beauty in Ocean View is a source of positive collective identity for her.



A view of the ocean from Lapland [an area in Ocean View]. It makes me angry when people say you can't see the ocean from Ocean View – they are obviously not going to the right parts... if you put aside the drugs and family abuse, then that [the scenery] is a positive thing (Charney, discussion of photographs)

A number of children expressed a wish for the physical environment to be cleaned up so that Ocean View would look nicer. Their perceptions in this regard had clear implications for their own sense of self and identity. Nicola felt that although she didn't mind the run-down look of Ocean View personally, she did think that the dirt, litter and crumbling and unpainted houses made outside people judge Ocean View and its people (and therefore her) badly. During the diary and photograph exercise, Mina recorded how she and her friends were sitting at the multi-purpose centre and talking about how run-down the soccer field is and about the dirty, messy and graffiti tagged toilets in the buildings and said that this made her feel 'sad' and 'bad' about living in Ocean View.

An ugly environment can impact on the investments children are prepared to make in improving their environments, and more generally on their sense of self- and collective efficacy. Nicola spoke of the vandalism that happens in Ocean View making one not want to bother trying to make the area look nice because "if you try and build something other people try and destroy it" (Nicola, 'community' focus group).

### Children's responses in the presence of unsafe spaces

The children consulted do not experience their community as safe and described high levels of violence (including fighting, muggings, rape, and stabbings) when talking about the types of problems that they face and when identifying dangerous places within Ocean View. All age groups wanted a safer environment and better policing. Spaces that are associated with danger by the children, are those that facilitate activities that are either dangerous in themselves or that are likely to lead to danger or violence. As would be expected perceptions of danger and violence increase with children's mobility outside of the home as they get older.



**Figure 2:** A map of 'Dangerous Places', drawn by a group of grade 9 boys depicting (from top left going clockwise) an area of informal housing, Mountain View, where children say a lot of gangsters live and where you can be robbed or stabbed; Soetwater where people go drag racing; the open and unlit space used for dumping rubbish; the flats, where drinking and drug taking cause fighting and people sometimes get stabbed; and a shebeen, which children say exposes them to drinking, drug taking and violence.

Highest on the list of unsafe areas or places where children have witnessed or fear violence within Ocean View are those connected to physical spaces used for selling and consuming alcohol and drugs. These include shebeens, the soccer field, certain flats, the play park, the disco held at the multi-purpose centre, as well as open and unlit spaces,

such as the various open fields, the graveyard and the bush surrounding Ocean View, that tend to be quite unpopulated and therefore ideal for illicit activity. Children also see vandalised and dilapidated buildings, such as those next to the multi-purpose centre, as unsafe spaces because they attract people who engage in these behaviours.

At night people sit in the building and that they can hurt you (Clarisa, individual interview).



Inside the boys' toilets at the buildings; it's ugly and it's a mess and they must clean it. Children go there to smoke (Mina, discussion of photographs).

Drinking and drug-taking affect both the accessibility and quality of public space for children. Being drunk or high leads to fighting over what often seem to be quite trivial things, such as someone swearing at a person. This violence erupts amongst children who themselves are consuming drugs and alcohol and is also perpetrated against children who come across adults doing these things. Discussions with children and adults pointed to an easy accessibility of drugs and alcohol in Ocean View, because of the density of shebeens and drug merchants' wide use of public space. Other research also points to high numbers of liquor outlets (86) and places for selling drugs (42) in Ocean View (Transformation Research Project, 2005)<sup>38</sup>. It is important to note that the use and abuse of drugs and

<sup>38</sup> Although the numbers given for Ocean View are informative, the cited research claims that the number of liquor outlets in Ocean View is proportionately much higher than in other surrounding areas and that all points of drug sales in the South Peninsula valley are to be found in Ocean View. However, extended ethnographic research in other areas of the valley by colleagues, Rachel Bray and Imke Gooskens, suggests there are similarly high numbers of shebeens and other liquor outlets in Masiphumelele and relatively easy access to drugs in both Fish Hoek and Masiphumelele (personal communication). It is likely that in the two weeks of fieldwork allotted for the cited study, alcohol and drugs appeared more prevalent in Ocean View because it is one of the community 'problems' most openly spoken about in the area (as opposed to for

alcohol have many other consequences for children besides increasing levels of physical danger. These are elaborated on in the section below on 'problem behaviours'.

Also high on the list of unsafe places in Ocean View were the various blocks of council flats. In discussions around map work children pointed to overcrowding in flats increasing the amount of conflict and violence that arises out of the drinking that takes place there, especially at night and on weekends. Flats are overcrowded because of the housing shortage (see chapter 4) and because their design results in high numbers of people using one communal yard. Evidence from diary work suggests that overcrowding itself, independent of alcohol consumption, plays a role in the violence associated with and witnessed around the flats, because people spend a lot of time in communal spaces, thus increasing the likelihood of conflict. Samantha recorded three instances of conflict based on people's use of communal space in her diary. One morning she went to complain to people playing loud music at a flat below her who then laughed at her, she and her friends were chased by a man they had been teasing in the communal yard, and a woman threw water on her and her friends who were sitting and singing on her *stoep* [porch] to get out of the rain.

Although night time in general makes space in Ocean View more dangerous, places which are unlit and quiet make easy spaces for attacks and muggings and are therefore especially dangerous. Boys and girls of all ages highlighted the danger involved in walking in the streets alone at night. Although some girls thought that girls were more at risk than boys, because, as Nicola said in an individual interview, "it is especially dangerous for women because you might not be strong enough to fight and can be raped", boys pointed out that they are also at risk, even for rape.

#### The role of children's agency and perceptions of danger

Despite feeling threatened by the dangers described above, most of the children I worked with have experienced very little or no violence against their own persons. This finding

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example, HIV prevalence). Also, the research relies on grossly underestimated population figures, and did not attempt to count liquor or drug outlets in many of the predominantly white areas.

raises questions about the strategies that children employ for avoiding danger and keeping safe.

During map work pre- and young teenagers spoke of home, the Open Door, the police station, churches and the clinic as potential safe places or places they could go to if they were scared. At the same time, however, they expressed some reservations about these places, especially around issues of trust and confidentiality and recognised that 'home' was not safe for everyone. Discussions revealed that children actually seem to negotiate everyday danger with little recourse to these services.

A common tactic is to restrict one's mobility and avoid certain places. For example, all the girls in the core sample choose not to attend the discos at the multi-purpose centre, which are nick-named 'club grab and stab' and '*mes-steek jols*' [stabbing parties]. They also stay away from shebeens. Despite an awareness of the potential danger, some girls and boys do walk around on their own at night. As Ronaldo, a boy in the 'Art Club' explained, although the shootings and stabbings at night make him scared when he is walking alone, he has no choice but to walk if he wants to visit friends or family who live in other parts of Ocean View. Being aware of where the dangerous places are, allows children to use public space more safely without staying at home. Many of the places identified in map work as 'dangerous' were also identified as 'fun' (see below), and children demonstrated the ability to make decisions to protect themselves and others, while maintaining a public social life. Samantha and her female friends, make sure they stay close to the road when they braai in the bush opposite their block of flats, because they know that people go deeper in the bush to smoke drugs and drink alcohol. Although not always possible, walking with groups of friends of ten people or more, or getting an adult to accompany you, are alternative strategies to just staying at home. Children also pointed to the importance of choosing friends who will look out for you, and won't leave you if you get into trouble.

Avoiding dangerous places is easier for some children than for others, and depends on where you live, as some children live in the flats associated with danger or close to a

shebeen. Samantha has witnessed more violence than any of the other boys or girls in the core sample because she lives in a flat which sees a lot of conflict resulting from both drug and alcohol consumption on the premises and territorial battles between gangs of boys from her and others' blocks. She spoke of witnessing a number of stabbings over 'turpies', cloths soaked in turpentine, sniffed to get high. Veronique cannot easily avoid the shebeen down the road from her house, and has therefore witnessed violence there. She does however make a point of not walking far at night, usually only across the road to her neighbour or a few houses down to her best-friend. Having close friends nearby is therefore important in order to be able to socialise safely at night. Jumat cannot avoid walking past a shebeen close to his house if he gets sent by a family member to the shop to buy bread, and says that sometimes people hit you when you walk past.

The dangers associated with drugs are even more difficult to avoid.

The merchants are everywhere, you cannot avoid them. All you can do is say "no"

(Grade 9 girl, class discussion on mapping).

Often the only tactics available are to "just say 'no'", or to walk or look away. In a communal space outside the flat where she lives, Clarisa witnessed an argument over drugs. As the conflict became violent she chose to look away so as not to see a boy's head being hit against a concrete slab. Although by no means adequate protection, children are able to make these small choices and decisions that afford them some protection when faced with these situations.

Perceptions are important for determining the impact of danger on children's everyday lives, as children adjust their behaviour based on their own and others' concern for their safety. Levels of perceived danger varied amongst children. Although they all felt safe in public spaces during most of the daytime, at night some felt very unsafe and others completely safe. Children also disagreed about whether the whole of Ocean View was dangerous at night or whether it was just certain areas. These perceptions were not related to their ages, gender, to where they lived or to how much violence they had witnessed. International research has suggested that children's environmental fears reflect parental values, the role of the media and their own sense of powerlessness (Matthews and Limb,

1999: 76). Children more aware of media reports on Ocean View and those with more limited mobility ranges (and therefore more limited personal experiences of the public environment) appear to be more fearful. For example, Nicola stood out in terms of her knowledge of crimes committed in the area and the little time she spends in the streets. By not spending time in the streets she is not able to develop the same confidence in her ability to safely negotiate outside space, as other children (such as Samantha) who spend more time in public space demonstrated. Personality also seems to play a role. Nicola exhibited high levels of suspicion and distrust, commenting that because “a lot of people in Ocean View practice witch-craft” you should not even trust a drink given to you by a friend or family member. In comparison to the perceptions of other children, this appeared to be quite an extreme view.

Comparing the experiences of children in Ocean View to other research reveals similar experiences in other urban centres in South Africa. In a study conducted in four areas of Johannesburg, real and perceived danger was found to be a significant factor in children leading “severely constrained lives” (Swart-Kruger and Chawla, 2002: 94)<sup>39</sup>. Despite difficulties, the authors point to a similar resourcefulness amongst children, to that found in this study. As in Ocean View, children were found to be carving out spaces for play and socializing in all environments (ibid: 93). Danger however, is not a major constraining factor in children’s use of public space around the world. A study in England revealed that litter and dirt (often left by adults’ use of the spaces), rather than danger, is what reduced the quality of common spaces for children living there, thereby effectively excluding them from the social life of the community (Morrow, 2001a: 265).

### **Having somewhere to ‘hang out’ or play**

The importance of places for children to play and socialise has been highlighted by many researchers who point out that, given a reasonable level of health and security most children choose to play, which in turn activates an enormous potential for learning

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<sup>39</sup> As in Ocean View, researchers pointed to children feeling insecure in public recreational spaces, often due to adults using the spaces for drinking and drug taking and because of vandalism and litter. Real and perceived danger on the streets, itself linked to public drinking and drunkenness which leads to fights, was found to lead to the restriction of children’s mobility (Swart-Kruger and Chawla, 2002: 86-93).

(Bartlett, 1999: 68). Most of the core sample reported spending between two and five hours per day playing or hanging out with friends. As plots of land in Ocean View are small and many houses are overcrowded and do not have any outside space, public spaces are very important and are used extensively by children for this purpose. Primary school children spoke of playing in the communal yards of blocks of flats, in the various play parks and on the soccer field. Quiet streets are also used by boys and girls in this age group for playing cricket, soccer and other games. Utilising the streets in this manner is not unique to Ocean View life however. Angelique plays everyday in the street and park in Masiphumelele where she lives. Observation revealed that children in Ocean View do not use streets as extensively for games as happens in Masiphumelele. Children explain that the parts of Ocean View with wide roads are not suitable because of traffic speed.

Young teenagers spoke of using the public spaces in the flats, mountains, streets, local game- and video-shops and the multi-purpose centre extensively, as well as just walking around with friends to visit people in other parts of Ocean View. Older teenagers also use the soccer field and flats as places for socialising, and they mentioned that the graveyard is a favourite place for couples to hang out.

The previous section outlined how the lack of safety in places used for play and socialising is of major concern to the children in Ocean View and impacts negatively on their quality of life. Some children, such as Mina and Samantha are more comfortable being in environments characterised by drinking and drug-taking and not partaking, than are others. For those, such as Charney, Nicola and Veronique, who are uncomfortable in this type of environment, their homes and those of friends and family are the only options.

Institutional facilities and individual networks play important roles in accessing social spaces. Girls and boys spoke of opportunities and spaces for socialising being provided by the library, church and church youth activities, as well as the occasional school-outing. Friends and family are important for giving children access to social space in Ocean View. Mina knows many of her close female friends because they live in the same blocks

of flats as her cousins, and her social life centres on these flats and people. As with Samantha, these friends have given themselves ‘gang’ names, which define where and with whom they hang out. In this way children resourcefully utilise networks to appropriate and attach their own meanings to spaces. Despite their creativity however, discussions revealed that children of all ages would like to have better public spaces to hang out and do things with friends, like a nice park and safe sporting facilities.

### **Creating private spaces**

Talking and communicating with friends is a big part of friendships involving young and older teenage girls. Trusting someone enough to tell them about intimate and personal matters facilitates a sense of shared understanding and helps girls to realise that they are not alone with their struggles and problems, thus providing support in times of difficulty and confusion.

For Mandy and her two close girl friends, sharing what they have been through in their lives with each other has brought them close and made Mandy feel that she has people in her life who *really understand* her and what she is going through with her ex-boyfriend. It seems to be through the actual sharing of intimate details that she feels she has real and valuable support (Mandy, diary interview notes).

Sharing a personal, secret space with close friends<sup>40</sup> also provides girls with self-esteem, a sense of belonging, encouragement and motivation. Public space is not necessarily needed for this type of interaction, but private space is required. For many girls this is not available at home. For Samantha who shares her bedroom with two sisters, a brother and a niece, privacy is not often available at home. Most of her chats with friends therefore happen “sitting around the corner” from her block of flats. Most girls use a combination of their homes, their friends’ homes and outside spaces, carving private spaces when and where they can, something I witnessed first-hand when arranging and conducting individual interviews. In this way girls creatively protect their intimate selves through a combined use of public and private spaces.

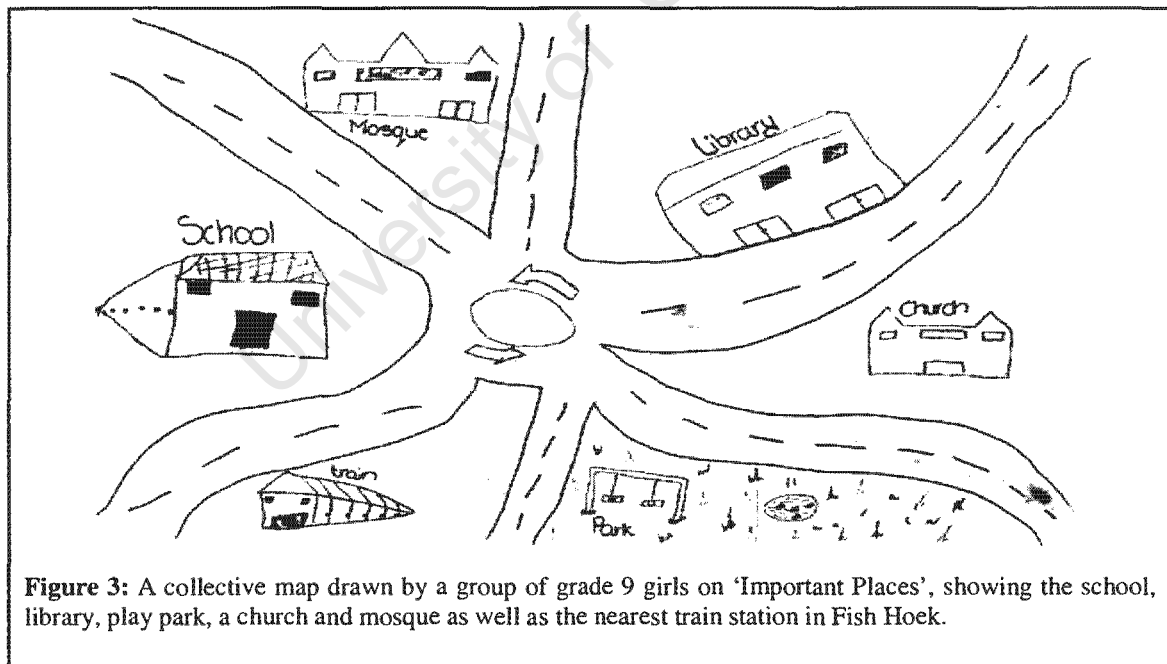
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<sup>40</sup> For the girls of all ages, close friends that you trust with secrets and personal things are other girls.

Teenage boys also talk about the importance of being able to trust and share secrets with close friends. This type of interaction does not dominate their time in the same way as it does with girls, possibly because confidantes are often girls and finding private spaces is more difficult in this context. Patrick does have one close male friend in whom he confides. Because he lives next door they often sit outside their homes and chat, or use the 45 minutes they have walking to and from school each morning and afternoon, again pointing to the importance of proximity in accessing emotional resources.

### Facilities and services

Public resources and facilities are important features in children's lives, and almost all maps identified churches, the Ocean View clinic or False Bay Hospital in Fish Hoek, the police station and library as important. At the same time, the inadequacy of facilities and service provision, especially around recreation, emerged as a major concern for children and young people.



The importance of accessible recreational facilities was highlighted in the *Growing Up in Cities* research project conducted in Johannesburg, where researchers found that the

absence of these facilities impacted negatively on children's mobility and involvement in their neighbourhoods (Swart-Kruger and Chawla, 2002: 86-93). Data from the current study points to the fact that it is not lack of physical facilities alone that excludes children from active involvement in their neighbourhoods. The following paragraphs specifically highlight that provision and accessibility of services rely on the presence and location of physical resources (buildings and equipment), as well as the social relations that characterise and underpin the service.

In map work children criticised the quality of both the physical recreational facilities and the social environment they provide, pointing to the run-down state of play parks and the multi-purpose centre, and to the fact that some of these facilities are used by adults and youths for drinking and taking drugs. Although children make do with what they have, there is a sense of inadequacy, as revealed by Samantha responding that she would be doing "nothing, just stay at home" to a question about her weekend plans, even though she spends most of her time out and about with friends. Her sense of frustration and boredom was a theme I encountered again and again, and was connected to a sense of relative deprivation and wasted talent. Children spoke of there being better provision in Fish Hoek and frequently commented that children in Ocean View are exceptionally talented when it comes to music, singing, dancing and other performing arts, and that this should be developed. The following extracts from diary work and a discussion with grade 11 learners demonstrates the frustration around lack of opportunities:

There is nothing for a girl or 'young women', should I say, to do. I am bored and I don't know what to do with myself...I hate the fact that I have nothing to do...I don't want this stupid life anymore (Nicola reflection on her day in her diary).

Byron: The only thing that I think will bring Ocean View right, that will bring any community right, is sports.

Charney: Ja, they looking into doing that as well.

Byron: Just to keep like youngsters active. I've got nothing to do at home...

Veronique: I've also got nothing to do at home.

Nicola: If you not interested in soccer...

Byron: Why don't they make a soccer club, a rugby team, table tennis...?

Veronique: Is ja. Extra-mural activities by the Multipurpose or at the Civic.

Charney: That's what they were supposed to do with the multipurpose centre, but that hasn't happened.

All age groups wanted better quality and a greater variety of free leisure and recreational facilities and activities for children and young people within Ocean View, and felt this would keep children away from some of the more destructive behaviours they engage in.

Norms around age and gender underlie the way in which services are provided, and have a major impact on service provision and accessibility. The following paragraphs look at how some prevailing social norms work together with inadequate physical facilities to undermine service provision. This is followed by a look at the norms and approaches underlying services which do add significant value to children's lives in Ocean View.

My observations as well as discussions with children revealed a tendency in Ocean View for adult service providers not to consult with children around their needs and interests. This approach fails to recognise the way in which children in Ocean View make decisions about their involvement in extra-mural activities, independent of their parents<sup>41</sup>, and based on their own interests. As a result, a number of children are not being catered for. I had the opportunity to be present during a series of meetings where various local NGOs were planning and developing a sport and recreation plan for Ocean View's children. These meetings demonstrated how adults incorrectly assume that they know what children want. Conversations revealed a reticence to consult children before developing plans, underlined by prevailing age dynamics which say that children do not have the maturity to contribute to such initial planning stages. The organisers chose to focus on providing soccer opportunities, believing that it has wide enough popularity to cater for everyone. In my discussions with children however, many children, especially girls (but not exclusively so), complained that Ocean View is "just a soccer place". They spoke of being interested in a wide range of sports not on offer in the area, and thus felt excluded from the potential benefits children can derive from participation in sports.

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<sup>41</sup> Children's responses to parental consent forms revealed that they were not accustomed to having to ask parents' permission regarding their after-school activities. This held across ages, with the only exceptions being a few of the primary school girls.

Gender dynamics further impact on girls' access to services, as ideas around what girls enjoy doing, mean that even for a girl like Samantha who loves playing soccer, finding a team is difficult. She says all the clubs are full and although she trains informally on almost a daily basis with the boys from her flats, she cannot play matches as it is a boys' team. During the photography exercise Nicola took a photograph of a male cousin practising cricket and chose the caption: "Could go pro". She then said that if it had been a photograph of a girl she would have had to give it the caption: "could go pro if she went outside Ocean View". Nicola's best-friend plays cricket but has to go to Fish Hoek to play for a club, as there are only cricket clubs for boys in Ocean View. As mentioned above, financial constraints exclude many girls from this option. Nicola says "girls my age don't have the same opportunities as boys; they have to travel for them". Other girls indicated that they would participate if there was cricket, hockey and rollerblade hockey available. Volleyball and badminton are theoretically available at the multi-purpose centre, but girls say that "it is not happening". The centre is not always open and many afternoons no activities happen at all. Gender expectations also impact negatively on boys, like Brian, who do not fit the stereotype of enjoying sports, as nothing else is on offer for them.

Available sporting facilities and opportunities (mainly soccer and cricket) are very important to the boys that do participate in them. Sport provides a space for interacting with peers and adults. In a discussion with grade 11 learners about self-esteem, sport was identified as a source of self-esteem because it provides children with encouragement and rewards for doing well. Encouragement can come from a coach, but also from fellow team-mates. Playing soccer (even though informally) is definitely a boost to Samantha's self-esteem, as the boys she plays with encourage her and tell her that she is talented and will 'make it'. Patrick, who was persuaded not to leave his Fish Hoek soccer team and has been recruited for a team in Masiphumelele, explains that being in demand makes him feel good about himself and his talent, and having younger boys look up to him and want to be like him encourages him to do well. By bringing older and younger boys together, sports clubs facilitate the creation of role models, benefiting both younger and older boys who have the responsibility of setting a good example. Sport also provides

role models and heroes on a national level, and identifying as a sportsman allows boys to develop goals to be like their heroes, and therefore to have a future orientation. Many of the 'Art Club' boys identified themselves as cricket and soccer players and spoke of wanting to be like national as well as international stars. The data point to the fact that having goals is important for helping children to motivate themselves. Boys involved in sports also spoke of how it helps them develop personal coping mechanisms as the physical activity helps them deal with the everyday stress encountered at home and school. Sport also provides potential support structures. Various boys identified coaches and peers as people they can turn to about problems at school, home or with friends.

Sport is clearly not for everyone, and as mentioned above children point to the need for variety in recreational activities. Older teenagers highlight that having opportunities to engage in different activities shows children that "there is a brighter future for them" because they learn that there are a number of alternative things they can do with their lives. They also drew attention to the importance of having the opportunity to develop one's talents for self-esteem, something children of all ages identified as a key ingredient for resisting peer pressure and having the motivation to achieve one's goals. The one non-sport recreational activity on offer that was identified by children as important, is a non-profit organisation called Art Vibrations, which offers children the opportunity to develop talents in a range of performing arts (including break-dancing, singing and drama).

Apart from being an alternative to sport, the most significant aspect of the service provided by Art Vibrations, is that a belief in the value of children's contributions underlies the organisation's structure. The organisers recognise the supportive role that they as adults can play in the children's lives, but also value and encourage children to support and be there for each other. Children pointed out that those running Art Vibrations are very invested and involved with the children who attend, showing a genuine interest in them as whole people. They encourage children with their school work, and also talk to them about drugs, providing both information and support to give up or stay away from drugs. They do this through being available for private chats and

through 'open meetings' in which children are encouraged to talk about whatever is on their minds, thus facilitating children to provide support for each other. The value placed on children's contributions has also led to the adoption of a participatory approach. In an interview one of the volunteers explained how the children are given as much creative control of their singing or dance routines as possible, with the adults merely overseeing. This approach therefore encourages children of different ages to interact, thus potentially providing younger children with alternative role models to those teenagers in the community who are engaged in anti-social behaviour. It also builds children's self-esteem and helps them develop a deep sense of pride in their work which means that children motivate each other to achieve a high standard of professionalism.

Having a structure which validates and appreciates children's contributions is not only valuable for building self-esteem but also nurtures mutual respect between the adults and children involved. Across the board and in all contexts children spoke of respecting adults who listen to them, and respect them and their opinions as they experience this as adults being interested in them as individuals. Children's responses thus indicated that participation and consultation are in themselves valuable, something (as discussed above) that tends not to be emphasised by adults involved in the delivery of recreational services in the area. The operation of Art Vibrations and children's opinions of it show clearly that the value of the service is dependent on the quality and type of social relations the approach and structure encourage.

The timing and place of activities is also important for offering child-friendly services and needs to take the broader social environment into account. In discussions with children who do not go to Art Vibrations, one of their reasons was because it takes place at night, and some children live far away from the civic centre and do not want to walk home alone in the dark. They felt it should rather be on the weekend or immediately after school. Unfortunately this is not possible as it is run by volunteers who work during the day. This indicates the importance of having resources for employing co-ordinators to run extra-mural activities.

The type of support friends can provide is sometimes connected to available institutional facilities in neighbourhoods. For Mandy, Nicola and Brian who have formed study groups with friends who share their goal of doing well at school, the libraries in Ocean View and Masiphumelele are key resources. This is another way in which the physical and social environments compliment each other; a library without the friends to motivate and encourage you would not facilitate better learning just as having encouraging friends without resources to utilise would not have the same impact.

As with recreation, physical and social inadequacies can work together to undermine institutional service delivery. Institutional facilities like the police station and health clinic in Ocean View are considered important by children across the board, but were criticised for not being child-friendly in their dealings with children and young people, not having sufficient capacity to deal with the demand for their services, and for problems related to socio-relational aspects of life in Ocean View. For example children thought that the police service would be less corrupt and more efficient if policemen and women did not live in Ocean View. Residential stability and high levels of drug dealings, mean that many police officers are related to or know those involved in the sale and use of drugs, undermining their will to respond to the problem. Children think that this is because police are friends with, or are scared of the drug dealers. In interviews the police themselves acknowledged the role of corruption in undermining their attempts to address levels of drug dealing in the area. Fear of gossip spreading from one's use of a service is another major concern elaborated on in the next section, which focuses on children's experience of prevailing social dynamics in Ocean View.

## **2.2. Negotiating social behaviours and dynamics**

Children outlined both negative and positive social behaviours and dynamics as impacting on them directly and through their individual family and friend networks<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> Social networks bring important emotional, social and material resources into children's lives. In Ocean View these networks consist of extended family, friends and other adults from outside the family networks (such as parents' friends, teachers, priests, neighbours and friends' parents).

They point to the way that levels of ‘problem behaviours’ and negative dynamics make it difficult to form a positive notion of an Ocean View ‘community’, but also to the support provided by the positive dynamics that they encounter. The physical and social closeness of networks enhance both types of effects for children, especially in the context of limited everyday mobility. Having spaces and social norms and dynamics which facilitate positive interaction is important for accessing networks.

### **Problematic and widespread behaviour**

Across methods children raised a variety of behaviours as problems within the community. These include alcohol and drug abuse, gangsterism and vandalism. Although gangsterism was raised as a concern, and gangsters were seen as a threat because they may rob (and in the process stab) you, many children were quick to point out that Ocean View does not have severe gang problems like those experienced in other parts of Cape Town where gangs conduct violent wars on the street. By far the biggest behavioural concern was around levels of substance abuse in the area. This therefore forms the focus for the rest of this section.

#### The use and abuse of drugs and alcohol

Children of all ages highlight the problem of drug and alcohol use and abuse. Besides the association with dangerous places discussed above, they recognise that members of their peer group are affected directly through their own consumption, and indirectly through the bad example being set for them by adults in their families and the community at large. In discussions of her photographic work, Mina said that adults do things like drinking in front of unsupervised small children and therefore don’t set a good example. She thought this was one of the reasons you see small children drinking and smoking. Girls highlighted how consuming alcohol yourself can make you more vulnerable to being attacked or raped because “you don’t know what is going on”, a perception shared by the Ocean View police.

Data generated through a variety of methods indicate that peer pressure to drink and take drugs is one of the main challenges facing young people in Ocean View. Children

attribute this, at least in part, to the prevalence and availability of drugs and alcohol in the area. Teenagers from age fourteen upwards spoke of friends easily buying beer and wine at house shops or drinking at shebeens, and gave details of the cost of drugs and knew where drug dealers hide their drugs, indicating the pervasive and easy availability of drugs and alcohol in the area<sup>43</sup>. Young people recognise that these behaviours can affect how well they do at school and whether they manage to stay in school at all. They also make links between the use of alcohol and drugs and young people's engagement in sexual activity, which they point out, is one of the reasons for the high rate of teenage pregnancy in Ocean View<sup>44</sup>. Although rarely a concern raised by the young people, there are also health implications involved with the use or abuse of alcohol and drugs.

Other problems children connect to substance abuse in Ocean View include child abuse (physical and sexual) and neglect, highlighted by children of all ages. The social, psychological and physical affects of abuse and neglect have been well documented by other researchers and will not be discussed here (for example see Richter et al, 2004; Bezuidenhout, 2004; and Kagan, 2004). Children specifically implicated home circumstances and parents in this but did see these problems as community-wide because of their connection to the social problems of alcohol and drug abuse, and to poverty. Both substance abuse and poverty are seen by children to lead to and aggravate the effects of the abuse or neglect.

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<sup>43</sup> Giving into peer pressure is not a simple thing however as the some girls made clear in their strong objections to a statement by a grade 11 boy, who said "If you have friends, then you've been through peer pressure". How secure one feels in one's friendships, and what is going on in the home environment will all have an effect. Individual factors such as confidence and self-esteem are also important ingredients in resisting peer pressure.

<sup>44</sup> Children and adults referred to teenage pregnancy occurring widely in Ocean View. Many of the 'Art Club' members and grade 8 participants had teenage sisters or cousins who had babies or who were pregnant. Adults point out that this is not a new phenomenon in Ocean View, but that it is becoming more common. According to teenage girls, the reasons for levels of teenage pregnancy (besides teenagers use of drugs and alcohol), include pre-teens wanting to experience what they see on television, peer pressure, a lack of information and a lack of examples of teen girls having to deal with the consequences of their actions. For example, Nicola pointed out that many teenage mothers just give their baby to their mother to look after, and so do not have to deal with the everyday consequences of bringing a baby into the world.

Teenagers recognise that the socio-economic issues of unemployment and poverty play a role in the prevalence of substance abuse in Ocean View, and that therefore policing its use would not be sufficient to reduce its prevalence:

One of the reasons why there are so many drugs in Ocean View and it is difficult to get rid of them is because people rely on selling drugs for a living. One girl said that many of the people in the school, or their parents, were selling drugs and had no other way of making a living (Journal notes on discussion with grade 10 learners on reasons for dropping out of school).

Adults raise the historical context to alcohol abuse, explaining how it has been passed down the generations, since the poverty, living conditions and feelings of deprivation, experienced under Apartheid lead to the use of alcohol as a means of escape. In his study on the effects of the forced removals on the people of Ocean View, Duncan Innes, describes how the fear, disillusionment and frustration generated by the removal led to growing incidents of dagga-smoking and illicit liquor trading within Ocean View (Innes, 1975: 28).

### **Positive social dynamics**

Community dynamics which facilitate a positive experience of Ocean View include people being friendly and willing to help, as well as doing things together and taking pride in the environment. The sections below examine these dynamics and their implications for children in more detail.

#### Helping people

Seeing Ocean View as a helpful place enables children to feel good about their 'community'. There was a general sense amongst children that people in Ocean View are helpful, especially when it comes to the giving and lending of food. The presence of physical resources and facilities appears to fulfil a symbolic function for children, impacting on their perceptions of helpfulness at the community-level. In this regard they pointed specifically to the Open Door, which provides social work services for abused and neglected children as well as various soup kitchens providing food to poor people.

Although many children were wary of using these services themselves, they did feel that through these organisations, 'the community' provided support to children in the area.

Perceptions of Ocean View's social history also affect current perceptions of levels of helpfulness. Part of what makes the older teenagers feel that something is wrong or missing in the Ocean View 'community' is a sense (reinforced by adults) that in the past, values used to be different and people were more generous with help, even if they had nothing. This idealised past causes them to judge the present circumstances harshly.

As mentioned, kin ties are an important feature of the social environment in Ocean View, and their density is the source of much of the everyday help that people receive from outside of the home. Resident and non-resident kin provide child-care for those whose parents work. This assistance is not just about supervision. Clarisa describes the ways in which her aunt and great-uncle have in the past, and continue to, look after her. She used to go to her aunt after school where she was fed, given money to buy chips and a place to play outside. Now that her mother's uncle lives with them, he assists with various aspects of her after-school care by cleaning the house, making her food, and washing the clothes and dishes. Relatives give children material and financial resources, which are not only valuable in themselves, but provide children with the opportunity to feel spoilt, and therefore special and valued, where financial constraints at home often do not allow for this.

Non-kin adults in the community also provide financial and practical support for the children. Nicola's priest offered to pay for her to go on a school trip to Namibia, and Veronique's priest has offered to help her compile a CV so she can look for a job. Samantha's and Mina's neighbours help them by paying them to do errands and housework respectively, which means they have some money to spend on 'luxuries' like sweets and chips. Other girls spoke of getting money for baby-sitting and boys of washing people's cars or working in their gardens to earn some pocket-money. Adult connections can also help young people to get formal employment, as described by one girl who got her current job through a lady in her church.

The built environment can facilitate the forming of the type of relationships that children can draw on for help. The flats bring people into frequent contact with each other, increasing the level of children's involvement and interaction with neighbours. Although this has negative consequences (discussed above), living in the flats means that Samantha interacts with adults and children from early in the morning when she gets up until late at night, and consequently has a very definite perception that they would help her with food, money, and in an emergency. Her own sociable personality also plays a role, drawing attention to the importance of individual characteristics for developing useful social relations.

Children provide help to both adults and other children, with girls especially being involved in child-care. Willingness to help however, can be undermined by negative social dynamics, such as distrust and suspicion. For example, Veronique stopped baby-sitting for her neighbour's grandchild after she was reprimanded by the child's father, who did not want her touching his child. In this way, negative social dynamics (see below for a detailed discussion) can interact to undermine positive dynamics.

### Doing things together

Being involved in formal and informal activities with neighbours and other members of the community, provides children with a sense of belonging and a sense of shared vested interest in the area where they live. This helps children to form positive feelings about the place where they live and to believe in a collective efficacy. It is also a source of fun and entertainment. Children spoke about people supporting fund-raising functions at the school, such as karaoke evenings; going to watch sport events at the multi-purpose centre or the more spontaneous matches happening on the fields or in the streets and yards. Brian said it is important to him to live in an area where people do things together and "things happen in the street", something he thinks does not happen in "rich suburbs". Charney pointed to the value she gets out of her neighbours getting together for braais or working together to clean up around where they live.

### **Negative social dynamics**

I think ['community' is] about people standing together. They mustn't put each other down. Here in Ocean View people talk of each other (Byron, grade 11 'community' focus group).

Many of the children struggle to form a positive notion of the Ocean View community because they perceive the social dynamics in Ocean View to be the antithesis of the social factors required to make a place a 'community'. Teenagers were especially concerned about problems within the community associated with social dynamics, often emphasising these above concerns for safety. The dynamics that were of particular concern to children and those that analysis identified as having an important impact on children's lives are outlined below.

### **Ineffective communication**

Children's supportive relationships with friends and adults indicate that good communication is a key ingredient in enabling networks to function as resources. Children frequently refer to difficulty in communicating with adults and peers and the conflict that this causes. For a lot of children the difficulty around communication begins in the home, where many children report feeling unable to talk to their parents about things that are important in their lives. Poor communication and resorting to violence to solve problems is modelled for the children at the community level where they spoke of problems between adults, teenagers and young children often deteriorating into violence. This tendency was demonstrated clearly in the drama workshops where young teenagers were asked to interpret interactions depicted by their peers<sup>45</sup>. Many interpretations were of arguments turning violent.

I observed how children of all ages were generally unable to solve conflict through constructive talking; resorting instead to violence, bullying, gossip and nasty comments. This type of behaviour was a constant disruption to the 'Art Club' and was also evident in

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<sup>45</sup> Working in pairs, the first person in each pair was instructed to strike a pose. Their partner was then asked to pose in relation to them. The first person was then told to change their position in relation to the one taken up by their partner. This was repeated over and over again until the facilitator chose one couple's interaction for the rest of the group to discuss and interpret.

Charney's experience of exclusion and rejection at the hands of the other youth leaders at her church youth club. Misunderstandings between her and the other youth leaders have not been discussed frankly, leading to her being ostracised and even contemplating leaving the group, an important part of her life. Attempts at 'solutions' only fuel the fire. In one instance, Charney hoped to send a message by running a session on 'forgiveness' at a youth meeting. Her fellow leaders took offence resulting in increased tension. My observations at the youth club revealed how their inability to make collective decisions led to petty verbal fights and a tense and uncomfortable environment for all youth members.

Although they struggle with its practice, young people do realise that good communication is key to maintaining friendships. Those with strong friendships interviewed by the 'Tri' researchers emphasised the importance of communication.

James: Give me one of the techniques that you use to sort out your problems inside your friendships.

Farieda (16): We always talk it out with each other. Like if we have a problem, we always tell each other what we feel and how we feel about it.

Even at a young age we see children sorting out conflict with friends in this way. Clarisa had a friend who started smoking, and thinking this was bad for her she told her friend's mother, making her friend very cross. After she spoke to her friend about it, she apologised and forgave Clarisa and they were able to be friends again.

This analysis therefore demonstrates the importance of individual level skills for enabling children to draw available resources from their social networks. The ability to develop the necessary skills however, must be placed in the broader context of the home and community where certain behavioural norms operate.

### Gossip and rumours

Children's recounting of their experiences suggests that people in Ocean View often deal with interpersonal problems by talking to others rather than dealing with the person concerned directly. Gossiping can lead to false rumours being spread around the

community, as misunderstandings cannot be defended or explained, with very real and negative consequences for children. An example from Nicola's life illustrates this. Nicola and her mother were living with a woman from their church who became unhappy with these living arrangements. Instead of speaking directly to Nicola's mother, she told other women from their church that Nicola and her mother thought they were too good for her place, and spread other false rumours. When confronted, she denied that anything was wrong, but weeks later sent a cellular phone text message asking Nicola and her mother to move out by the end of the week. As a result, Nicola lost her place to live *and* her church, as they felt that people saw and thought of them in a different light, making them uncomfortable in that space. All teenagers refer to girls having physical fights in and outside of school and say that this is usually because of boyfriends or because one has been gossiping about the other. For both boys and girls of all ages, gossiping is experienced as the major cause of conflict within friend groups.

The fear of being gossiped about can even prevent people from asking for help.

Nicola: I think that's why sometimes people don't want other people's help because they say, 'no, just now they talk about it' or whatever.

Charney: It's not so much that people don't want them to know their business; they're just scared that it might leak out (Grade 11 'community' focus group).

One of the main reasons that girls and boys of all ages are reticent about using facilities like the clinic and the Open Door is because they are afraid people will spread stories about them. The children felt that it was both those that work at these places and community members who are using the facilities or who see you go in, who could start rumours. A school social worker however, felt that the main problem comes from community members speculating as to why a child is using the service rather than from service providers breaking confidences.

### Being judged

Children spoke of a tendency amongst people in Ocean View to speculate and jump to conclusions about others' behaviour and/or character. Young people feel that adults, in their attempts to make sense of the social problems facing the younger generation, can

form quick and often inaccurate assumptions about them. When this forms the content for gossip, it can impact negatively on young people's public images.

Mandy: No, if you lose weight, they say you have AIDS [laughs].

Byron: My mother always tells my grandmother, and I used to be a chubby guy, and I'm growing and I'm tall and I'm thin, and my mommy asks me '*Byron, wat goed doen jy? Lyk my jy druk tik.*' En ek sê '*ja, lyk ek so maer, ek doen tik*' ['Byron, what stuff are you doing? Looks to me like you are smoking tik', and I say 'Yes, I look so thin, I'm doing tik'] I don't like my mom accuse me of stuff, because then I'm really going to do it. I don't like it; then I'll show her I'm really going to do it.

Veronique: *Is ja* [It is, yes].

Nicola: Then you'll be like my cousins as well. They always try and prove their parents they were right about them, ja.

Byron: No, I really don't like that.

Mandy: And if you get fat, you're pregnant. (Grade 11 'community' focus group)

Jenkins outlines how as children get older and move into ever-widening social networks, social life becomes more negotiable and negotiated as well as less predictable (1996: 66). He explains how within these networks, "hierarchy must be negotiated and status begins to matter" (Jenkins, 1996: 66). Where conflict arises between how we see ourselves and how others see us, identities are increasingly entered into as projects and are resisted if imposed and unwelcome (ibid). Girls and boys in Ocean View interact with and both buy into and resist the above identities imposed on them by adult's perceptions of what Ocean View's young people are like. For teenagers, wanting to do right by your parents and to have a good reputation is part of the motivation which helps them resist peer pressures. This is taken away when false assumptions are made about a child's behaviour and therefore affects their will-power to resist. The anger that it generates makes some teenagers want to teach their parents a lesson by becoming the 'problems' that their parents fear they are. In this way teenagers may resist these 'deviant identities' by buying into them. Other ways of resisting may also come at a price. For example, Nicola does not hang out in the streets at night for fear of people thinking that she is a prostitute. This comes on the back of reports that Ocean View girls are selling their bodies in order to buy 'tik'<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>46</sup> See reports cited on page 34.

It is often the hypocrisy of adult judgements (saying that their children would not do things when they do, or being reprimanded for behaviour that the person themselves is guilty of) that most infuriates young people, alienating them from adult norms and rules.

The following discussion amongst the grade 11 participants highlights this:

Byron: Ok, if I'm doing something wrong, I'll admit I did it wrong, but don't accuse me and don't blame me and don't tell me to do stuff and I know you doing the same thing.

Charney: You know what bugs me the most, hey, if people see you doing something wrong but they don't see their children doing something wrong...

Gender-based norms differentially judge boys and girls. Girls especially feel that they are judged around issues of sex and sexuality. Interviews revealed teenage girls being called 'jessies' and 'sluts' for kissing their boyfriends in public or wearing a mini skirt to church. The judging of girls in this way is not restricted to those living in Ocean View or to the adult population however. Teenagers are as guilty of judging their peers as adults are of judging the younger generation. In her diary Mandy writes of her experience of people in Masiphumelele talking about her because her boyfriend cheated on her:

I walk down the street people start to gossip about our relationship that he uses me and left me for a 'model c' girl. How do you think that makes me feel? All I do is not go anywhere; I sit at home because I am scared of what people are saying about me (Mandy, diary entry).

The judging and gossiping compounds the hurt she feels and impacts on her feeling comfortable in the public spaces of her neighbourhood. It sends the message that the girl is somehow not good enough or that she did something wrong to deserve this. A discussion with 'Tri' members revealed that similar gendered norms exist across the three areas of Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Fish Hoek. All of them thought it was very common for boys to go out with more than one girl at a time and that generally this was seen as reasonable and even desirable. Boys with multiple girlfriends would be considered 'real men' by their male friends, and although some girls would steer clear of them, others would think they were 'cool' and want to go out with them. Thus promiscuity is reinforced as a status symbol for guys, yet girls doing the same thing would for the most part be considered '*hoes*' [whores] by both male and female peers.

In an interview with a social worker who works with teenagers in Ocean View, we discussed the expectations and norms that exist around boys' and girls' behaviours. She pointed to a different standard for boys, in which transgression is tolerated:

I think there the old saying of 'boys will be boys' is still very much alive, where it would be socially acceptable if a boy spirals out of control or gets someone pregnant, 'oh he's sowing his wild oats' and that kind of thing and he doesn't have to really take full responsibility (Social worker, individual interview).

She went on to describe how although the high prevalence (and resultant predictability) of girls being sexually involved and getting pregnant has led to a certain amount of adult apathy in the face of this behaviour, some parents may not want their children hanging out with a girl perceived to be promiscuous, whereas this wouldn't be the case for a boy.

#### Lack of respect

Boys and girls referred to a general lack of respect for both other people and the community environment, demonstrated through the littering and vandalism that occurs in the streets and public spaces of Ocean View. In particular, the lack of respect between adults and children in Ocean View was of concern to them.

Children in Ocean View is very *onbeskof* [rude], they don't say 'auntie' and 'uncle' and they just shout 'd'jy' ['you!'] (Samantha, individual interview).

Children see this as being connected to feeling judged and labelled, to adults setting a bad example, to ineffective communication across the generations, and to the fact that young people's input is not often valued. The tendency not to consult children was discussed earlier in relation to service providers. These age-related dynamics are experienced by children across other contexts as well however, including with parents, extended family members and even older peers.

And even if you [are] 18 [years old] people still treat you like a child and that's not fair on you as a person, I mean you've come a long way... sometimes people don't recognise you and they think 'Ag you younger than me why should I listen to you', and sometimes you might even be right... sometimes when you are, when you excel in something, sometimes the older people don't recognise it and say 'Ag you young, what have you got to offer or what do you know' (Nicola, 'community' focus group).

Unfortunately this can result in a cycle of children not being respected and therefore not being respectful, which only reinforces perceptions that they cannot contribute constructively.

#### Pulling each other down: A community of 'vision killers'

Charney, the only girl in the sample doing very well at school<sup>47</sup>, is supported and encouraged in this at home, but at school she is often victimised by her peers, who spread false rumours about her having love affairs with people and blame her if teachers find out about others' bad behaviour. During observation in the classrooms I noticed how learners cheered for a boy who had uncharacteristically got one answer right on a math test but had no show of support for a girl who got an A+. Some of the teenagers connect this to feelings of jealousy and competition.

Charmaine, she's also from Ocean View and people, cause she was one day on e-TV, and somebody actually said that *'ja, nou that's she's op die TV, nou dink sy, sy's all that'* ['yes, now that she's on TV, now she thinks she's all that'], and that's not fair because if you have the guts to go somewhere in life then other people always want to put you down (Nicola, 'community' focus group).

Nicola sees Ocean View as full of "vision killers", who may be jealous of your dreams and so put you down. This perception is fuelled by experiences within her extended family where she says her grandmother often puts her and her cousin down saying that they are just like others in Ocean View who have 'gone nowhere'.

Friends putting you down is also a problem described by children. While friends who support and encourage can be a major boost to self-esteem and help children go after their goals, many friends undermine this confidence and ambition. According to the children, friends are often quick to point out your mistakes and often put you down in order to "be on top", saying that they are better at things than you, such as school work or getting boyfriends or girlfriends. Often instead of encouraging you, friends will tell you that "you are not going to make it", something Samantha's diary identified as occurring

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<sup>47</sup> Charney gets Bs and Cs and some As compared to most other older teenagers who were getting Ds and Es for the subjects that they were passing.

frequently. One of the lessons a boy who dropped out of school wanted to pass on to his peers, reveals the impact of this dynamic within friend groups:

Never try to impress a next person 'cause the next person won't encourage you to do that, they will press you down until you down in the gutters and they'll laugh you out and that's not a real friend (boy, age 17, 'Tri' interview).

### **Harnessing the positive and avoiding the negative: The role of children's agency**

Young people's agency and choice play a very important role in their ability to tap into the positive dynamics and protect themselves from the negative. Children are constantly making decisions in their own interests be it to protect themselves or achieve ambitions. For example, Nicola has decided not to share her dreams with others so they cannot be put down and decided to end a friendship with a girl who she felt was judging her because Nicola wants to make money in her career whereas this girl wants to help people. Charney tries to have as little as possible to do with the other youth leaders who judge her, focusing her energy and time on the youth members who she sees as her reason for being there. Choosing 'good friends', is one way of ensuring that you are surrounded by positive dynamics, and as the excerpt below demonstrates, children make these decisions consciously and purposefully.

James: Do you think that in this group of friends you're in now; is there a lot [of gossiping] that you speak of it?

Gerald: Not really, not that I know of. I've never heard the friends that I have now gossiping about me, but if they gossip about me, if I don't hear them, God will. So I don't believe they are gossiping about me, because that is why I chose them as my friends. If they want to tell me something, they'll tell it to my face and if I want to tell them something then I'll say it to their face. I don't think they gossip about me because we love each other (Boy, age 16, 'Tri' interview)

Children are also involved in creating positive social dynamics directly. Mandy and Charney both occasionally get together with other young people to clean up the streets in their neighbourhoods, and James is involved in running holiday programmes for primary school children that are organised by a local NGO. A number of the boys and girls in the

'Art Club', described themselves as 'good friends' because they listen, share and are caring with their friends.

### **2.3 The dynamic interface between physical, social and economic environments**

As has been highlighted throughout the preceding sections, the physical environment interacts with the social and economic environments in Ocean View in unique ways to create particular everyday experiences for the children and young people living there. Factors impacting directly on children's experiences are embedded in and mediated by other factors in their environment. For example, Ocean View's size, location and social demographics are all important in determining the experience of Ocean View as a close-knit community. These factors, together with the fact that the majority of Ocean View is working class or unemployed and that many residents have high levels of perceived danger, mean that children have restricted everyday mobility both within and beyond Ocean View. The socio-economic environment together with the geographic isolation of the area decreases the opportunities available for children, exacerbating the sense of competition and jealousy that leads to the "pulling down" of those that do achieve.

The perception and experience of Ocean View as unsafe by many of the children, is itself rooted in the interaction of physical, social, economic and historical factors. Inadequacies in these domains reinforce their individual negative impacts. Poverty and unemployment affect the availability and use of drugs and alcohol, which leads to both fighting and violence in public spaces and to increased incidents of child abuse and neglect. Overcrowding increases conflict, vandalised and run-down buildings attract anti-social behaviours, and the many unlit open spaces increase both real and perceived danger for children and young people. Danger and 'problem behaviours' affect not only children's mobility, but also quality of life as drug-related danger could occur wherever drug merchants are and play spaces become unsafe. The quality of community space affects not only physical health and safety and capacity to learn but also children's social and emotional well-being, and influences the type of social interaction that is possible

(Bartlett, 1999: 69-71). Certain types of spaces such as well-lit streets, places to sit and socialise, plants and trees, shops and other facilities, all encourage people to use neighbourhood space and thus can inhibit anti-social behaviour (ibid: 71). In contrast the dirty, vandalised and unlit spaces in Ocean View tend to encourage behaviours such as excessive drinking, especially at night. As well as causing direct danger, “physical and social disorder can provide opportunities for youth to be socialized into violent and deviant subcultures, particularly as they move into adolescence” (Dawes and Donald, 2000: 12).

Features of the environment often do not interact to cause *either* positive *or* negative effects, but can result in both simultaneously. For example, the bounded sense of community with its small geographical size and close-knit networks exacerbates the gossiping and judgemental behaviour experienced by the children in Ocean View, but simultaneously increases the resources on which they can draw when they need help.

Children are constantly involved in decision-making to negotiate their physical and social environments and to protect themselves. They are also involved in generating the social environment, often through attaching their own meanings onto and appropriating available space in creative ways. Although the adult focus is often on the negative ways in which children do this through their engagement in various anti-social behaviours, this ethnography also points to the positive ways in which children attach meaning to space in their interactions with friends and adults in the neighbourhood, creating (amongst others) intimate and fun places, and spaces which they can be proud of.

### **3. United and divided: The influence of history, class, colour and language on everyday life and identity**

So far the analysis has looked mostly at factors internal to Ocean View, although the importance of children’s relative perception of where they live, and of the images and identities imposed on their persons and locality from the outside have been highlighted. These external factors indicate a need for placing the investigation of children’s lives in Ocean View in a broader context. Micklewright (2002: 14) in his discussion of how

children experience social exclusion points to the importance of investigating how differences are perceived and hence exclusion is felt. He alerts researchers to the fact that some standards may be specific to a local area, but that communities are aware of each other and have common aspirations (ibid). With the history of institutionalized segregation and inequality only eleven years behind us, it is imperative that we investigate how things have progressed and in what ways integration is being hindered and facilitated. This section examines how, through the interface between internal and external factors, children experience difference, discussing the implications for the quality of their everyday lives. The implications for approaches to improving children's lives in Ocean View are elaborated on in the concluding chapter.

Race, class, language, and colour all cause division within Ocean View and between Ocean View and other areas, pointing to the need to find ways of bridging these gaps. Much of the division is exacerbated by Ocean View's isolation, which not only keeps it separate from other local areas but encourages an inward-looking attitude, which heightens internal conflicts. Some of these divisions around language and colour seem to be hang-overs from the Apartheid past, but have also taken on new meanings in which 'blackness' and 'whiteness' can be both an advantage and disadvantage.

Without a doubt living in racially segregated areas still has an effect on where Ocean View's children feel comfortable in post-Apartheid South Africa. This is heightened by the isolation of Ocean View from other residential areas. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, accessing the types of spaces, such as schools and sports clubs, which facilitate the development of interpersonal networks across race and class only happens in one direction, from predominantly poor and black-African, through coloured, to predominantly white middle- and upper-class areas, and is hampered by individual financial constraints and media stereotyping. Access to this type of network, however, does add significant value to children's lives in a variety of ways, and has important implications for levels of racism. From her time at school in Fish Hoek, Veronique has a very close friend who lives in Capri, a predominantly white area in the Fish Hoek valley. Having a good friend who lives outside of the Apartheid-defined residential area gives

her access to 'other' racial and cultural spaces, helping to make these spaces less 'other'. Veronique is thus included in 'white' South Africa and culture in a way that many of her Ocean View peers are not, going to parties and sleeping over at friends' houses. Veronique explained a coloured friend's discomfort at a party they attended with her white friends from Fish Hoek, by reference to the fact that this friend had never been to a party with just white people before and that her white friends behave differently to her coloured friends. She says her white friends act more childlike, making stupid jokes and laughing at silly things, behaviour which would attract criticism from her coloured friends who always have "a lot to say" and often act older than what they are. It is almost as if the rules for what is 'cool' are different. During observation at the school I witnessed a couple of incidents in which Patrick was reprimanded for responding in kind to other learners' racist comments. Patrick says that everyday he and his black African friends get called 'black' in derogatory ways. Charney said that although many people do not have a problem with race, there are people in Ocean View who believe that policies like affirmative action are taking jobs away from them, and that "black people are getting everything and that they [coloured people] are not getting much". This view was reiterated by a boy in a 'Tri' interview:

I must say we did a great job as far as the ten years of democracy is concerned but I really think that apartheid is going in reverse, especially with this black economic empowerment thing going as far as you must get a job according to your skin colour... I don't want to be looked at as a coloured that's not white enough to be black enough, so I can't get the job. So I think that we sort of, I feel very degraded by that, making me as a person feel that I'm not good enough for this country (boy, age 16, 'Tri' interview).

Despite the lived segregation the reader will recall that teenagers were challenging dominant historical ideas which conflated race with place and 'community'.

Colour still matters within Ocean View, but it is not a simple matter of being 'white', 'coloured' or 'black'. Amongst 'coloured' children in Ocean View 'whiteness' and 'blackness' operate divisively. This can be because of the literal lightness or darkness of one's complexion or through symbols and behaviour. For example, Charney and Veronique singled out a girl they do not like because she "tries to be white". They think

this because she wears skirts over trousers, a style of dressing they particularly associate with white people. The rejection of symbolically crossing racial borders implies that these girls retain an attachment to some form of 'coloured identity'. Some of the girls understand discrimination they have experienced as being related to the lightness or darkness of their skin. For example, on her grandmother's birthday, Charney was given R400 less than some cousins and attributed it to her "not being dark enough". And Nicola says that her father used to favour her younger sister because she was fair and Nicola was not.

Experiences of divisions within Ocean View also occur around class. While official descriptions of Ocean View paint the picture of a homogenous area, children's discussions of their maps revealed their experience of class difference. There are perceived differences between those living in the council blocks of flats and those living in houses. Those living in the flats call children living in houses 'sturvies', and feel that these children think they are better than them because they have "*kwaai* [cool] clothes" and other material things. Children in houses are often derogatory about children from the flats because they think they are rude. Different types of houses and different residential areas within Ocean View are indicators of poverty or wealth. One way of contesting this label is for people to buy nice televisions, DVD-players, brand clothing for their children and the latest cellular phones. The girls in the 'Art Club' identified this as a problem within Ocean View that can cause children to go without their basic needs being met. Other children also criticised people for wanting to have more than they can afford. Because of the transport costs discussed earlier in the chapter, class differences also affect children's opportunities for socialising.

The open economy and media of democratic South Africa places internal and external class differences firmly within a consumer culture and young people struggle with the pressures and identities attached to owning certain things. Having the right clothes is simultaneously a way of resisting and adding to the burden of being working class and poor. In the context of poverty this can have very real consequences for children whose families cannot afford these things. Having brand clothes is a way of feeling included

with both local and global peers, but can lead to exclusion from school because of financial constraints; not having them can mean exclusion from local peer groups. The pressure to obtain these symbols and markers of wealth is felt strongly by children, and is seen to have very real consequences. In the drama workshop, grade 8 girls acted out a scene where a girl was dumped by her boyfriend because she went to shop at Pep Stores instead of Edgars<sup>48</sup>. Brian told me about a friend he was very close to, who suddenly changed and became “uppity” when she became rich. He says they are not friends anymore because she now thinks she is “too popular” for him. A school social worker related stories of children being sent home in Levis, Nike trainers and Adiddas tracksuit-tops because they do not have school uniforms, which parents then claim they cannot afford.

The same social worker suggests that people’s tendency to prioritise buying brand names or visible markers of wealth over paying school fees, buying uniforms and even providing adequately for basic needs is rooted in the history of apartheid which robbed Ocean View’s people of their self-worth and self-esteem and so now people attempt to have “more than” on the outside’ because they “feel less than” on the inside. I suggest that self-esteem is further undermined by the lack of economic opportunities for people in the area. Ocean View has experienced long-term and widespread unemployment (see chapter 4). Few work opportunities exist because of both local and national factors. Locally, Ocean View’s geographical position plays a role, and at the national level macro-economic policies have decimated industries like the textile industry, traditionally an employer of many coloured women in Cape Town. Max-Neef *et al* explain how people dealing with extended unemployment go through a series of emotional upheavals resulting in pessimism, frustration and finally apathy. At this lowest point declining self-esteem can generate an identity crisis (Max-Neef et al, 1991: 19). He goes on to explain that when extended unemployment is the result of generalised economic crisis, it is necessary to recognise the existence of “collective pathologies of frustration” (ibid).

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<sup>48</sup> Pep Stores slogan is ‘low prices for everyone’ and it is one of the cheapest places to buy clothes. Edgars is a department store which stocks brand-name clothing and is significantly more expensive than Pep.

Language is also a symbolic marker of space. Historical divisions between English and Afrikaans speakers in Ocean View placed English speakers above Afrikaans speakers in the Apartheid hierarchy, and afforded them certain privileges such as being allowed to board the school buses first. Today there is ongoing rivalry, especially between the girls of the English and Afrikaans classes, something Nicola's mother, who was at school in Ocean View, says was happening 25 years ago. Language divisions occur not only within Ocean View but also between Ocean View and outside spaces. Most of the children speak a mixture of English and Afrikaans, using slang words often particular to the 'coloured' population of the Western Cape. Some feel that this excludes them from 'white areas' where people speak English or what they call "proper Afrikaans", as not understanding each other creates a barrier. Veronique thought this was part of the reason for her friend feeling out of place at the Fish Hoek party, as the white children were all English speakers and her friend is a first language Afrikaans speaker who struggles with English. Young people also spoke of feeling uncomfortable on some public transport because they do not understand Xhosa and worry that people are talking about them.

Meaningful interaction appears key for moving away from stereotypes and suspicion. Children live out their everyday lives in a context where pressures and perceptions from the outside play a significant role and impact on the way in which power dynamics and division are played out in the local context. Any attempt at addressing these inequalities therefore must address the broader social, economic and political context which fuels these pressures and perceptions.

## **Conclusion**

### **Implications for theory and practice**

In this conclusion I comment on the theoretical and practical implications of the ethnographic findings outlined in the previous chapter. The first section outlines the value of detailed local knowledge for understanding the role neighbourhoods play in children's lives. The second section comments specifically on the way theories of social capital and social organisation, as well as current national and provincial policies that draw on these theories conceptualise neighbourhood effects. I also highlight the implications of this critique for practical interventions with children at the community level. In the final section I suggest ways of moving towards a broader approach to conceptualising how neighbourhoods affect children.

#### **1. Local experiences in a global context**

In this section I examine the particularity of children's experiences of Ocean View in the context of them sharing many similar experiences with children living across South Africa and throughout the world. Children in Ocean View are certainly not alone in having to contend with drug and alcohol abuse, poverty, violence, high rates of teenage pregnancy, exclusion from public space, and intergenerational and peer group conflict. This study suggests that although correlations between neighbourhood features and child outcomes may hold across various sites, the mechanisms by which the one influences the other may vary from site to site. The specificity of local processes and factors which underlie and interact with shared neighbourhood features and experiences may affect the way in which children experience them in everyday contexts. If interventions hope to tackle the roots of problems facing communities rather than just the symptoms thereof, understanding these local variations will be necessary.

Two examples from the current study illustrate this. Firstly, similar gender-based norms, which differentially judged boys' and girls' sexual behaviour, were found to exist across areas of the South Peninsula. When interacting with a different set of social dynamics, and historical and socio-economic settings, however, the behavioural outcomes associated with these norms appear to differ. Children in Ocean View and Masiphumelele spoke of higher levels of violence within and surrounding romantic relationships. Secondly, poverty and a lack of affordable transport has less of an impact on everyday mobility for children living in areas, such as Masiphumelele and Hillside, which are less geographically isolated than Ocean View. What is important for the practice of development at the community level is that any intervention aimed at improving children's lives locally, needs to take account of the specificity of local dynamics and the interaction of physical, social and economic features of the environment, if it hopes to adequately address problems.

In the light of the above, the question remains as to what this study has identified as unique characteristics of Ocean View that impinge directly on children's lives. These are outlined below.

- The particular socio-political history of Ocean View which determined its peripheral location, size and demographic make-up (including race, class and density of kin networks).
- The absence of affordable transport systems, which interacts with class (general low incomes) and Ocean View's spatial location to limit everyday mobility, meaning that children are excluded from everyday participation in the broader social environment of the South Peninsula and are less exposed to alternative environments.
- Children engage with a negative image of their community, reinforced by local newspapers which focus on 'problem behaviours' and reserve more nuanced reporting for the predominantly white areas in which they are based. In this way they contribute to the negative stereotyping of Ocean View and its residents.

The impact of these factors is dependent on their myriad and complex interactions with other social and physical features of the Ocean View environment which one could expect to find in other South African neighbourhoods and neighbourhoods around the world. Their effects on children's everyday experiences in Ocean View must therefore be understood as part of dynamic processes, subject to change over time, and to create both positive and negative experiences for children. The following features of the Ocean View environment that are not unique to this area were found to be particularly significant:

- Current and historic socio-economic status of Ocean View.
- The social problems of drug and alcohol abuse (themselves connected to current and historic poverty) and the associated violence.
- Gender norms and expectations in Ocean View mean that girls have fewer recreational opportunities, more constraints on their leisure time, and that promiscuous girls are judged more harshly than their male counterparts.
- Norms around generational difference and the devaluing of children's contributions tend to exclude children from decision-making processes related to services directed at their own well-being. The result is that services do not cater for all needs and preferences.

## **2. Complexity and individuality: Neighbourhood features, children's agency and power dynamics**

This section offers a detailed comment on the theories of social capital and social disorganisation in light of the ethnographic analysis offered by this study. I argue that, social networks are undoubtedly important to children's everyday lives and well-being. However, these theories over-simplify the role that networks play by failing to recognise how they interact with other micro and macro neighbourhood features.

### **The contradictory impacts of neighbourhood features**

This research has drawn attention to how the complex interaction of factors internal and external to the neighbourhood environment can lead to individual physical and social

features having contradictory impacts on children's lives. In light of this, theories such as social disorganisation, which imply that certain structural features are desirable in all contexts, are only partially satisfactory for explaining children's experiences. For example, Sampson highlights the importance of residential stability for community social cohesion. Community residential stability is important for social cohesion in Ocean View, and has some important positive effects for children such as providing monitoring and support. However, the low levels of anonymity resulting from Ocean View's small geographical size and residential stability mean that some children place themselves in greater danger in order to do things that are not approved of by local adults, and also feel excluded from certain places because of personal conflicts. In the context of Ocean View's location, general low incomes and continuing race and class segregation in the area, residential stability also means that children have limited networks which are not always able to give them access to the resources they require (especially in terms of practical, material and information resources). The case of Ocean View also demonstrates that residential stability and cohesion can operate to mitigate against combating crime, as in some cases residents rally around criminals. This is again connected to broader issues of poverty and unemployment, and challenges the cross-context applicability of Sampson's argument around the constitution and impact of socially organised communities.

Children are ambivalent about features of their social networks in Ocean View, such as the close-knit nature of the community and the obligation and expectation they experience within kin-networks. On the one-hand these features provide them with access to positive feelings for identity, as well as emotional, practical and material support. On the other hand, children see the density of networks as contributing to negative social dynamics such as gossip, judgement and being put down by others, and experience obligation and expectation as excluding them from participation in other spheres of life. Although Coleman and Bourdieu both recognise that social capital can have negative as well as positive outcomes, I suggest this idea needs to be taken further to incorporate an understanding that accessing social capital can *simultaneously* have positive and negative effects for children, and that children's perceptions and experiences need to be taken into account in this regard.

This finding focuses attention on the potential for environmental features to operate as both a source of support and an obstacle to children's well-being in any neighbourhood context. All interventions aiming to tackle problems facing children by building on the strengths of a community should not only be aware of the specificity of factors underlying children's experiences in a particular context, but should be aware of this potential contradictory dynamic.

### **Reinforcing positive and negative effects**

Another central theme raised in this study has been the reinforcing impact of interactions between historic, economic, physical and social features of the environment. Positive features can interact to reinforce their individual positive impacts, with the interaction of inadequacies having the same effect for negative outcomes. This research found that the way in which services at local facilities are provided can increase both their accessibility to children *and* the potential resources available through them. Structuring organised activities in ways which facilitate the mutual support of peers and respect children's competence allows them to develop skills and a sense of self- and collective-efficacy and fosters mutual respect between adult service providers and child clients, increasing service accessibility and the benefits derived by the children and adults involved.

In the same way that positive aspects of the physical and social environment can reinforce each other, so too can negative aspects. For example, children highlight the importance of spending time with friends and of having places that facilitate this. Children's access to service provision in this regard in Ocean View is undermined by a lack of physical infrastructure (connected to historic and current socio-economic status in Ocean View); the peripheral location of Ocean View and cost of transport; the prevalence of drug and alcohol abuse as well as the age and gender dynamics discussed above. The interaction of these factors serves to exclude many young people from active participation in community life and leads to widespread feelings of boredom and frustration among teenagers, many of whom "just stay at home". As has been found elsewhere around the world (see Bartlett, 1999: 71), the tendency to vandalise and use

drugs and alcohol spoken of by the children can at least in part be attributed to boredom and the lack of opportunities for them in Ocean View. This in turn reinforces perceptions amongst adults of a deviant youth population and therefore inhibits the creation of structures for children's participation in decision-making around service provision. Negative perceptions of Ocean View's children held by both local adults and people living outside of Ocean View can further impact on children's will to resist adopting these behaviours. In this way negative features of the physical and social environment can reinforce each other, creating a self-perpetuating cycle, which sustains levels of 'problem behaviours' in the area.

Unlike the picture painted by social capital and social disorganisation theory, this study demonstrates that these negative outcomes are not inevitable. Many of the children make different choices, despite the boredom and frustration, and do not engage in this type of behaviour. Personal networks in the family and beyond, as well as children's individual characteristics and agency all play important roles. These processes are discussed in the following three sections.

### **How family matters**

This research has demonstrated that it is not only support from within the family that matters, pointing to the importance of Sampson's contribution (together with other critics of Coleman) which focuses attention on investigating the role of extra-family processes in children's lives. In Ocean View some of the children making 'positive choices' had very supportive families, but this was not the case for all of them. Both those with and those without support from family, were able to draw on friends, neighbours, aunts, uncles, priests and teachers for emotional, practical and financial resources. Most important in the efficacy of these relationships for children are not who they are with, but that they are characterised by open communication, mutual respect and supportive and encouraging attitudes. These relationship features were found to be especially important for building children's sense of self-esteem and self-efficacy, both essential for helping children to develop and pursue goals and engage constructively with the community.

In Ocean View processes occurring within and outside of family settings are connected but also have independent effects on children. Parental networks can be of direct value to children in Ocean View (as opposed to merely increasing parents' resources for parenting as suggested by Coleman). For example, Nicola's mother's friend who lives in Johannesburg is a great source of emotional and financial support to her. Adults in children's lives who are unconnected to their parents (such as a best friend's mother or a priest) are also important sources of practical, emotional and even financial support. It is also important to note that relationships within and outside the family do not necessarily compensate for each other. Positive and negative experiences within the home or the community impact on children in their own unique ways, and continue to do so regardless of the type of experiences they have access to in other settings. Children are able to draw on both internal and external resources where they find them.

#### **How children's individuality matters**

Individual preferences, skills and personalities all play a role in how children cope with difficulties and respond to available opportunities and supports. The limited range of activities on offer in Ocean View will inevitably appeal more to some children than to others, giving these children access to potential resources. Communication skills and sociability were also shown to impact on children's ability to create and draw resources from networks. These findings suggest that Bourdieu's emphasis on the role of individual level skills and factors in realising the resources inherent in social networks is critical to understanding how social capital works. By redefining social capital as possessed by individuals or groups, Putnam fails to capture this.

Children's perceptions are also important. Sampson makes an important contribution to understanding neighbourhood effects by drawing attention to the role of collective efficacy. However, he only focuses on collective efficacy *for* children (that is, whether adults believe that collectively they can influence child outcomes). This study has repeatedly highlighted the importance of children's own belief that they, both alone and together with others, can influence their lives and environments, and that these beliefs are impacted on by children's perceptions of their community.

At the same time however, the analysis offered here suggests that children's perceptions and their acquisition of skills must be placed in a broader context and understood in terms of norms operating at the community-level and what is modelled for the child at both the home- and community-level.

### **Children's agency**

Recognising the role of children's individuality in the above ways is a step towards fully recognising their agency in community and neighbourhood environments. A major criticism of much of the work on social capital is that it constructs children as passive recipients of culture, failing to account for how they generate, draw upon and negotiate their own social capital, support others and influence their environment (Morrow, 1999: 751). By failing to construct children as actively engaged in their neighbourhoods, Sampson fails to move beyond a conception which says that neighbourhoods impact on children through their effects on the adults in children's lives. This study suggests that a better conceptualisation is one which recognises that children engage directly in the neighbourhood environment, forming their own independent social relationships, and contending with aspects of the built and social environment.

The neighbourhood impacts directly on children in Ocean View as they live out everyday lives in public spaces, where they interact directly with physical and social aspects of community life. Children's independent mobility in Ocean View is an important factor in this direct relationship as their public lives are largely scripted by themselves. Children are also involved in creating the social environment in which they live, and although they do perpetuate some of the negative dynamics modelled around them, they were also found to challenge these dynamics and generate alternative ones, for example, through choosing friends who do not gossip and whom they can trust. Children also attach their own meanings to spaces through the ways in which they use public space with friends. This often contrasts with adults' and other children's use of the space and means that space can operate in often conflicting ways for children as demonstrated by the way that many places are both 'dangerous' and 'fun'. Although this research cannot comment on

the role of parents' social capital *per se* (because it has not focussed on within-family processes), it does show how neighbourhoods impact directly on children rather than only through parental social capital.

This study also noted high levels of individual variation and creativity in the nature of children's agency and the tactics they employ to negotiate everyday life. Children's personal relationships to Ocean View were often constructed in ways adaptive to that child's circumstances and personality. Individuals differentially emphasised characteristics of the area, and when discussing aspirations and plans for the future, some rejected Ocean View as a future home, whereas others embraced it. Each of these ways of positioning themselves allowed children to have a more positive outlook on both the present and the future. Children, such as Veronique, who did not feel that a better life is possible for them within Ocean View, were able to use the idea of living elsewhere as a coping mechanism for the present. All children were actively engaged in attaching their own meanings to spaces and places, and used a variety of tactics to keep themselves and others safe. What is important here is that there is not one answer to negotiating everyday life, and that all these strategies could have both positive and negative outcomes for children.

Recognising children's agency means that interventions can learn from and build on the everyday tactics they employ. For example, access to a positive community image is one of the ways in which children develop a sense of belonging, solidarity and equality, and can be facilitated through the same tactics children use to hold onto a positive collective identity. The tactics employed by Ocean View's children suggest that having opportunities to focus on and be part of positive aspects of both the physical and social environment develops a sense of pride and positive feelings about where they live, thus activating internal resources on which they can draw. Interventions would thus do well to find ways of drawing on these positive aspects, which, as discussed below, would involve engaging with processes both internal and external to the micro-social locality.

### **Incorporating internal and external power dynamics**

Bourdieu alerts us to the importance of power dynamics when thinking about people's access to social (and other) capital. Likewise, this research has highlighted the importance of acknowledging the internal and external power dynamics in which Ocean View's children are embedded. In this regard, norms operating at a community-level concerning age and gender expectations are important. It is difficult for children to build self- and collective- efficacy when prevailing norms say that they are unable to contribute to decision-making or community building and when there are widely held perceptions of a deviant youth population. These internal power dynamics and hierarchies are embedded in wider social structures, which include the powerful actors of the media and state who perpetuate certain ideas about places and the children who live there. The types of community images available for children to draw on are therefore not only affected by internal processes as suggested by Putnam and Coleman's conceptions of social capital.

External processes (including the generation of stereotyped community images as well as national and provincial economic policies) also inhibit two-way movement across old Apartheid boundaries in the South Peninsula, therefore affecting the development of interpersonal networks across these divides. Meaningful interaction that crosses old boundaries was found to be important for a number of reasons. Firstly, these networks provide children with access to additional material, practical and social resources. Secondly, a two-way movement would help to reduce some of the negative stereotyping, which both inhibits integration in the South Peninsula as children feel uncomfortable in spaces dominated by other racial and class groups, and imposes negative identities on the young people of Ocean View. This finding points to the relevance of the concept of 'bridging' social capital in the historical and political context of a decade of democracy in South Africa. However, any intervention intending to stimulate 'bridging' networks to benefit and empower children, would first of all need to acknowledge and build children's competence, and secondly would need to take into account the way in which internal and external norms and processes may be inhibiting the growth of networks which cross the divides of class, race, gender and age in meaningful ways.

### Significant features of social networks

All definitions of social capital focus on benefits that can be derived from social networks. Features such as trust, obligation and expectation, emphasised by all three theorists, were important for children in Ocean View, but once again the theories fail to adequately explain children's experiences. Trust in adult and peer confidantes was important for the reciprocation of emotional support and creation of a sense of belonging. The ambiguity experienced in connection with the obligation and expectation that characterises the reciprocation of help within extended families (discussed above) can at least partially be explained when children's agency is taken into account. Children seem to benefit less ambiguously from these features when they are not directly involved in the network (for example, when a child benefits indirectly through an aunt providing after-school child-care out of obligation to the child's mother). Obligation and expectation in relationships *directly* involving children are connected to age-, gender- and kin-related norms that are often experienced in negative ways. The reader will recall how both Charney and Nicola resented their roles in extended family networks which dictated that they be available to assist in the running of various households.

This study has also found that features of social networks, not discussed by social capital theory, affect whether and how children are able to use their networks to access resources, and also what types of resources are available. Open communication and mutual respect were found to be important for any useful engagement to take place. Other important features include proximity, which is important for children's access to social and emotional resources in Ocean View because of their limited everyday mobility<sup>49</sup>. Some of these features, such as open communication and respect we would expect to be important for children's networks everywhere, others such as proximity are more specific to the Ocean View context. Social capital theory neither makes provision for child-specific features nor acknowledges that important features may vary across contexts; the latter failure resulting from a focus on social networks in isolation from the physical and political environments in which they are embedded.

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<sup>49</sup> The proximity of networks did not directly affect children's access to financial resources in the same way, but networks which provided access to financial resources were more likely to be those in which an emotional bond existed between the child and the other person. The bond formed is at least in part affected by the amount of time spent together, which in turn is affected by children's limited mobility.

### **The importance of physical, economic and socio-political context**

The conceptual and practical problem that arises when one extracts the resources inherent in social networks from the broader physical, economic and socio-political context in which they are embedded is the over-simplification of the operation of neighbourhood social dynamics. As a result, people are unfairly blamed for their difficult circumstances. For example, Coleman and Putnam's focus on social norms providing access to resources fails to acknowledge the two-way interaction between norms and behaviour, the contradictory way in which norms can operate, and hides the many social, physical and economic factors underlying anti-social behaviour. It also problematically constructs young people as in need of being controlled. The analysis offered by this study has shown how shared norms change over time and with the predictability of behaviour. In the Ocean View context, it was clear that norms around teenage drinking and teenage pregnancies, two phenomena defined by children and adults as 'social problems', were both shared and conflicting. Most people thought that these behaviours were bad for the community and for the children involved, yet most had also reached a level of acceptance or apathy in the face of these problems. This apathy was part of broader feelings of helplessness in the face of some of the underlying reasons for the pervasiveness of these problems, problems such as poverty, a lack of varied opportunities for children, and a lack of available and accessible safe places to facilitate positive interaction. Social capital theory works well with ideas of 'moral regeneration' precisely because it implies that problems can be solved if people's ideas of what is acceptable are changed. Crucially, such an approach ignores entirely the underlying structural features which sustain apathy, and does not allow for people sharing norms which contradict each other. Acknowledging the role played by broader economic and socio-political factors supports the current call by social geographers, Holloway and Valentine (2000), for a more progressive conceptualisation of place that links the global and local, in order to more fully contextualise children's experiences.

### **The role of voluntary organisations**

Children in Ocean View draw resources from a wide range of social relationships at the community level. As discussed above, a sense of belonging can be drawn from much more private spaces within the community than the formal networks suggested by Putnam<sup>50</sup>. Rather than being the main source of social capital for communities as suggested by Putnam, voluntary organisations are perhaps better conceived as practical sites for interventions wanting to enhance children's available resources, and can certainly be valuable if they take into account the following issues.

The analysis in this study has demonstrated that voluntary associations are not all equal in their value as resources for children, as assumed by Putnam. Those with participatory structures and approaches are both more accessible and more likely to contribute positively to children's lives. Also important is that there is diversity in terms of the activities offered to children through non-governmental services, and that these are based on children's actual interests and preferences. When children are positively engaged in organisations and activities, they are able to accrue many benefits, including developing goals and a future orientation, building self-esteem and motivation, accessing support structures and information, fostering intergenerational respect, and the provision of an outlet to help children cope with stress. Providing these types of services also requires an awareness of the broader neighbourhood dynamics in which such organisations are embedded as the relations and networks established in the context of an organisation will not operate in isolation from the dynamics of daily life. If, as is the case in Ocean View, gossip and rumour are problematic social dynamics operating at the community level, they are also likely to pose problems within the organisation.

Extrapolating from Putnam's focus on voluntary organisations, provincial and national governmental policy emphasises building social capital through partnerships with civil society organisations. It is envisaged that this will build both 'linking' social capital by improving people's access to government and 'bonding' social capital by developing a shared development vision within communities. The policy not only suffers from the

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<sup>50</sup> Bourdieu's addition of shared identities providing access to resources better captures this idea.

same limitations as the theories on which it is based, but also erroneously assumes that neighbourhoods have sufficient numbers and variety of organisations, and that those organizations that do exist have sufficient financial and human capacity to engage with government in this way. Certainly this is not the case as far as service provision for children goes in Ocean View. It also fails to take into account local power dynamics that often give voice to only the most powerful. In the case of Ocean View, intergenerational norms mean children often have very little active engagement with organisations, thus partnering with most service providers would be unlikely to increase children's social capital or access to resources. On a positive note, the policy does emphasise delivering youth activities in ways which builds networks across communities. Although not specifying how this should be achieved, the lessons from this study point to the importance of a two-way movement between communities, which would need to take into account both differences in class and income as well as the perceptions different communities have of each other and the role of the media in these.

### **Linking social and economic capital**

Putnam's emphasis on coordinating action to achieve common goals, struck a chord with children's criticisms of Ocean View as a community which does not stand together against its problem with drugs. On examination however, it is clear that the failure to do this is not about a lack of social capital, but rather it cannot be divorced from the lack of economic capital that underlies it. The children themselves explain how poverty creates conflicting interests in the community when it comes to drug sales. As many people rely on drugs for their livelihood, or as an escape from difficult circumstances, social capital may actually be drawn upon to prevent people from rallying together against drugs. This study therefore reinforces both the importance of Bourdieu's emphasis on the connection of social to economic capital, as well as the recognition by both Coleman and Bourdieu that social capital is not always related to positive outcomes.

Provincial policy likewise fails to understand the relationship between social and economic capital. Social capital is constructed as the missing link between structural features of the environment (specifically rapid urbanisation, unemployment and the

disruption of the family unit) and negative behaviours, such as crime. The case of Ocean View, however, demonstrates how areas characterised by crime and unemployment can have high levels of social capital and that this social capital can be used by children to successfully negotiate their way through this type of environment. One possibility, highlighted by children, may be to use social networks to access alternative (and criminal) sources of income and sense of belonging. Alternatively this analysis has shown how children draw on networks for the practical and emotional support required to make other choices and keep themselves safe. Thus, as pointed out by Morrow, people in poorer areas may rely in many ways on their social networks, but the resources obtainable through them may not be economic and therefore may not allow people to rise above the poverty they experience (Morrow, 1999: 750).

#### **Understanding the impact of history in the present day**

By failing to take into account the impact of history on geography and the socio-politics within and between communities, Sampson fails to appreciate the extent of the role played by a neighbourhood's spatial position within a city<sup>51</sup>. He asserts that spatial position is important because communities can benefit from proximity to areas with high levels of adult-child exchange and shared expectations for child social control. The story of Ocean View indicates it is important for much more than this.

The location of Ocean View as a racially homogenous and isolated residential area affects children's access to resources, and is the direct result of Apartheid city planning, ideas held about race and current economic opportunities. By reducing everyday contact with other environments, it also increases the predictability of behaviour, making it harder for children to imagine different outcomes, thus affecting levels of self- and collective-efficacy. The way people position themselves against, and feel positioned by, others is also important. Children in Ocean View are acutely aware of how they and their neighbourhood are perceived by outsiders and form ideas about Ocean View based on their perceptions of life beyond those borders. Ideas around what a 'coloured community'

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<sup>51</sup> This is especially surprising given that he conducted his research in the United States where economic and socio-structural resources are also unevenly distributed along race and ethnic lines.

is like are applied to Ocean View and perpetuated in the media. The focus on deviant behaviour in these ideas comes from a long history of defining 'coloured identity' in negative terms. Because non-coloured people rarely enter Ocean View, these stereotypes persist. In the local context children buy into and resist these identities in a variety of ways with both positive and negative impacts for their well-being.

### **A focus on process**

Taken together with Bourdieu's formulation of social capital, Sampson's most valuable contribution for understanding how neighbourhoods impact on individual children is his separation of social capital from its outcomes and the processes through which these outcomes are achieved. This study has shown that when children engage with networks that facilitate certain processes, such as good communication and encouragement, these processes help to build individuals' sense of self- and collective-efficacy as well as self-esteem. These attributes are important resources which help children to create positive experiences for themselves and others (see the examples given above on the ways in which children in Ocean View stay away from 'problem behaviour'). Good outcomes often depend on the types of resources that the networks give children access to, which in turn depend on the quality of the relationships and types of processes that they activate.

### **3. Towards a broader approach to conceptualising the impact of neighbourhoods on children**

All the theorists' formulations of social capital and social organisation add some value to the understanding of neighbourhood effects for individual well-being, and are therefore most useful when taken together. As they are currently explained and applied however, they are not able to capture the complexity of the picture. This study has shown that children are able to draw resources from not only a wide range of social networks, but also from physical aspects of their environment and from their perceptions of the social and physical environments. The types of resources available through these means are affected by historical, political and socio-economic processes operating internally and externally to the local community environment. As pointed out by Morrow (2001a: 58)

social capital theory is therefore only able to capture part of the relationship between neighbourhood and children's everyday lives and well-being. On the basis of my findings, I argue that a much broader approach is needed to conceptualise and investigate this relationship.

As a final contribution, I summarise those points that emerged from this ethnographic analysis that deserve attention when considering neighbourhood and community effects on children's everyday lives and well-being. Incorporating the following dimensions into theory would go some way to more accurately and completely understanding how neighbourhoods impact on the children living there:

- Children's understandings of their neighbourhood and 'community' boundaries.
- Internal and external understandings and representations of a locality and of the young people living there.
- Intergenerational and gender norms and dynamics operating within the local 'community'
- The role played by peer group networks and dynamics.
- Historical and socio-political background.
- The geographical spatial location of an area relative to other residential areas and local resources.
- The way in which physical features of the environment (including size, location and physical infrastructure) interact with prevailing social dynamics and economic variables.
- Who children's reference groups are and how they perceive their own circumstances relative to those of others around them.
- The potential for physical and social features of the environment and children's responses to these to have contradictory impacts on their lives.
- Internal and external processes and power dynamics in which children are embedded, and the ways in which they inhibit the formation of networks that could potentially connect children to needed resources (social, emotional or material).

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## Appendix A

### Personal and demographic profiles of participants in the core sample<sup>1</sup>

The three youngest participants in the core sample were members of the art-based research club. Clarisa is ten years old and in grade 4. She lives with her mother, father, one-year-old sister and her mother's uncle in a two-bedroom flat on the ground floor of a council block across the road from her school. Her father is disabled and makes leather goods at the disabled centre in Ocean View which are sold both there and a farm stall across the road from Ocean View. Her mother is a cleaner at False Bay Hospital.

Jumat is also ten years old and in grade 4. He lives in a three-bedroom row-house, with his mother, grandmother and sixteen-year-old sister. His mother works at the Navy store in Simonstown, and his grandmother draws a pension and volunteers at a local NGO. Jumat does not know where his father lives, and sees him only sporadically when he comes to visit Jumat in Ocean View.

Angelique is eleven years old and in grade 5. She lives with her mother in Masiphumelele<sup>2</sup> where they share a one-room shack with a curtain dividing the bedroom from the kitchen and living space. Her mother worked for a catering company at the start of the research but subsequently became unemployed. Prior to living in Masiphumelele, Angelique lived in Muizenberg with both her mother and father. Her father is Angolan and returned to Angola in 2003. Angelique has two uncles still living in Muizenberg who she goes to stay with almost every weekend.

The two young teenagers were both fourteen and in their first year of high school at the start of the research. Samantha lives with her mother, step-father, two sisters, brother and a sister's child (the mother lives elsewhere) in a two-bedroom flat on the third floor of a council block just down from the high school. Samantha's father was shot and killed when she was only a small child. Only her mother works in the household. She is a butcher at a supermarket in Fish Hoek.

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<sup>1</sup> Pseudonyms have been used to protect children's identities and ensure confidentiality.

<sup>2</sup> Originally referred to as 'Site 5', Masiphumelele was established in the early 1990s and is located about 10 km closer to the city of Cape Town than Ocean View. Residents are all black Africans, and the vast majority are Xhosa speakers who have migrated from rural areas of the Eastern Cape in search of work. Official statistics put the population at 12,000 whereas unofficial estimates almost double this figure. Approximately 1,700 families live in shacks and although house-building is underway, only about 270 have been built so far. Unemployment and HIV prevalence are both high.

Mina lives in a three-bedroom freestanding house with her mother, father, three sisters, a niece, nephew and her sister's fiancé. Her father works at the Navy in Simonstown and is the only one employed in the household.

The four older girls were all seventeen and in grade 11 at the start of the research. Charney lives with her mother, father and fourteen-year-old brother in a flat above the main Ocean View supermarket. She also has an older brother (28) who lives in Ocean View with one of her aunts. Her father works as a manager at the bakery on Kommetjie Road and her mother as an educator at one of the local pre-schools.

Nicola lived in two places over the course of the research. Initially she and her mother were living with a lady from their church in her flat. After a series of misunderstandings with this woman, they moved to live with her mother's aunt in a three-bedroom freestanding house where she now lives with her mother, two great-aunts, a great-uncle, and her great-aunt's daughter and child, a five-year-old boy. Nicola's mother is unemployed and money comes in to the household from the pensions drawn by the three pensioners.

Veronique lives in a three-bedroom, freestanding house with her mother, father and ten-year-old brother. Her mother is a nurse and her father, trained as a panel-beater and works irregularly. Veronique has a very strained relationship with her father, referring to him as her "mother's husband" even though he is her biological father. She says that he is emotionally abusive towards her and can be violent. She tries not to be around when he is at home and so spends much of her time at her best friend's house or at her neighbour.

Mandy lives in Masiphumelele in a two bedroom freestanding house with her mother, father, 21-year-old sister and two brothers (13 and 26). Her mother works as a domestic worker and her father is the janitor at a private school in the southern suburbs. Her sister is studying Human Resource Management at a college in Cape Town. Her older brother was working but was recently retrenched. He has a girlfriend who spends a lot of time at the house and is very close to Mandy. This couple have a son who spends weekends at Mandy's house.

Patrick also in grade 11, was eighteen in 2004. Originally from Zambia, he lives in three rooms of what used to be workers' accommodation on Hillside farm<sup>3</sup> on the Kommetjie Road

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<sup>3</sup> Hillside Farm, located 500m closer to Ocean View than Masiphumelele, accommodates approximately 40 people in two sets of fairly run-down buildings. There is one tap for every two families and two ablution blocks in which each family has been allocated the use of a shower. People occupied the buildings 17 years ago.

between Masiphumelele and Ocean View. He lives with his mother, two sisters (13 and 17), two brothers (16 and 22) and his eldest sister's one-year-old daughter. Both his mother and his eldest sister work; his mother as a domestic worker and his sister at McDonalds. Patrick's father who was born in the Western Cape, lives in Masiphumelele. They recently became close and Patrick visits him every week.

### **Personal and demographic profiles of the Ocean View 'Tri' members**

Brian was living in Retreat<sup>4</sup> and attending school in Ocean View at the time of the study. He had chosen to move from his grandmother's house in Ocean View in 2002 because he was finding it difficult to do school work in the noisy environment, and because he had had to take on a lot of the everyday household responsibilities, including shopping, cooking and cleaning. These responsibilities had fallen to him as his grandmother is old and suffers from diabetes and his mother is mentally unstable and therefore only sporadically present at the house. He now lives with his aunt, uncle and two teenage cousins in a three-bedroom house with a lounge, dining-room and garden in Retreat. He maintains a close relationship to his grandmother, taking her breakfast every morning before school starts, and spending Muslim holidays at this home<sup>5</sup>. Brian's father lives in Ocean View with a new wife and their children. Brian mostly sees him when he goes to get money from him.

James lives in Ocean View with his mother, step-father, older brother, older sister and her six-year-old child. They are currently living in a temporary structure at the back of their property, as a brick house is in the process of being built. Construction on the house has been interrupted a number of times because of financial difficulties. He does not currently know where his biological father is. James is actively involved in community organisations and development. He sits on the high school's Representative Council of Learners (RCL), participates in various initiatives undertaken by Cape Town City involving high school learners across Cape Town, as well as being a youth co-ordinator for the children's holiday programme run by a local non-governmental organisation. He is also an avid musician who plays at talent shows and functions within and beyond Ocean View's borders.

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Tensions broke out between residents and the farm owner in 2004 when he decided to sell the land and therefore needed to evict those living in the farm buildings. The conflict remains unresolved and the farm owner has begun demolishing parts of the buildings that are unoccupied in order to prevent families from settling there.

<sup>4</sup> Retreat is located in the southern suburbs of Cape Town (see map). Like Ocean View, under Apartheid, Retreat was reserved for those people classified as 'coloured'. It takes approximately one hour to get to Ocean View by train.

<sup>5</sup> Brian is Muslim and he goes to spend religious holidays in Ocean View because his grandmother is Muslim and his family in Retreat are born-again Christians.

Table A1: Composition of participants' households

Household Type	Number of participants <sup>6</sup>	Percentage
Single mother	14	18.92%
Single mother (with extended family)	9	12.16%
Single father	0	0%
Single father (with extended family)	2	2.70%
Nuclear family <sup>7</sup>	29	39.19%
Nuclear family (with extended family)	6	8.11%
Nuclear family (one step-parent)	7	9.46%
One biological and one step-parent (with extended family)	0	0%
Living with extended family only, no biological/ step parents present	7	9.46%
<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

<sup>6</sup> Forms were filled in by children in the art-based research group at the primary school and by the grade 8 and grade 11 classes where observation was carried out at the beginning of the research process.

<sup>7</sup> Nuclear family is used here to refer to households consisting of two biological parents and their children. In some of the households included in this category siblings were present and in others they were not. It was not possible on the basis of the forms filled in by participating children to determine whether the absence of siblings was due to the participant being an only-child or because siblings were living elsewhere. For this reason no distinction has been made regarding the presence or absence of siblings.

Table A2: Primary school participants: household size, income source and dwelling type<sup>8</sup>

Number of Participants	Total number living in the household	Number working	Person working and type of work <sup>9</sup>	Type of dwelling
Girls n=8	4	1	Father - Builder	Row house
	6	4	Mother - teacher Father - dockyard worker Sister (27 <sup>10</sup> ) - nurse Sister (17) - kitchen supervisor	Freestanding house
	10	1	Uncle - at Lewis Stores Both grandparents receive pensions	Freestanding house
	5	3	Mother - teacher Father - at Furniture store Sister - chef	Freestanding house
	10	1	Father - works at Lewis Stores Both grandparents receive pensions	Freestanding house
	2	1	Mother - catering company	Shack
	4	1	Mother - informal job making ornaments	Freestanding house
	4	2	Mother - cleaner at a hospital Father - disabled, makes leather goods at disabled centre	Flat
Boys n=9	5	4	Mother - Pick 'n Pay Father - Navy Brother (22) - Pick 'n Pay Sister (21) - Pick 'n Pay	Freestanding house
	4	2	Mother - Engen Quick Shop Step-father - Petrol attendant	Freestanding house
	4	2	Father - bricklayer Mother - at bakery in Pick 'n Pay	Freestanding house
	5	1	Mother - nanny	Flat
	5	Not known	Not known	Freestanding house
	5	2	Sister (24) - Pick 'n Pay Sister (18) - Part time at Woolworths	Shack
	7	5	Sister (24) - nurse Mother, Father, Brother (22), Brother-in-law (25) - all informal fishermen	Freestanding house
	4	1	Mother - navy Diving Store	Row house
	5	4	Step-mother - not sure Father - Navy Brother (21) - Vodacom Brother (20) - part-time at Standard Bank	Row house

<sup>8</sup> These participants were those in the art-based research group (age 10-13).<sup>9</sup> These data were provided by children who completed forms on who lives in their household, who works and what work they do. As such, some children stated the place of work rather than the type of job.<sup>10</sup> Where provided by children, ages of working siblings are given.

Table A3: Grade 8 participants: household size, income source and dwelling type<sup>11</sup>

	Total	No working	Person working and type of work	Type of dwelling
Boys n=10	5	1	Father - Groundsman	House
	3	1	Father - Painter	House
	5	2	Father - Mechanic Mother - Top Stones	House
	6	3	Grandmother - cleaner Father - unspecified job Mother - unspecified job	House
	5	2	Father - Builder Mother - Domestic Worker	Flat
	3	1	Mother - unspecified job	Unknown in Muizenberg
	4	3	Mother, Father and Aunt - all unspecified jobs	House
	10	4	Grandfather - Builder Sister - at bakery Aunt - fisherman Cousin - taxi fare collector	House
	2	1	Mother - Domestic worker	Flat
	6	2	Father - Plumber Mother - unspecified job	House
Girls n=19	5	1	Step-mother - cook	House
	7	1	Father - fisherman	House
	10	1	Uncle - Builder	Flat
	5	2	Mother - Manager at Top Stones Father - factory foreman	Flat
	5	1	Mother - Food service at Simons Town waterfall	House
	3	1	Mother - Leatherwork	House
	4	2	Mother - Domestic worker Father - unspecified job	Flat
	3	1	Father and Mother - unspecified jobs	House
	5	2	Cousin - Security Guard Uncle - Navy	House
	4	1	Mother - at bakery	House
	9	1	Father - at the Navy	House
	5	2	Father - Cleaner Mother - Cook	House
	7	1	Mother - Butcher	Flat
	5	1	Father - Electrician	House
	5	1	Cousin - Sales assistant	House
	3	2	Mother - dress maker Sister - accountant	Flat
	5	2	Mother - at crèche Father - carpenter	House
	2	1	Mother - cashier	House
	7	1	Father - Landscaping work	House

<sup>11</sup> These participants were the grade 8 learners in the class where observation was carried out.

Table A4: Grade 11 participants: household size, income source and dwelling type<sup>12</sup>

Participants	Total number living in the household	Number working	Person working and type of work	Type of dwelling
Boys n=10	7	2	Mother - domestic worker Sister - McDonalds	Workers' housing on Hillside Farm
	4	1	Mother - domestic worker	Unknown in Masiphumelele
	5	1	Uncle - Woolworths	Workers' housing on Hillside Farm
	4	2	Father - Carpenter Mother - Bookkeeper	House
	3	0	Two grandparents draw pensions	House
	6	2	Father - Carpenter Mother - Nurse	House
	5	3	Father - Carpenter Mother - Machinist Brother - Merchandiser	House
	4	1	Father - TV Licence Inspector	House
	5	1	Father - Taxi Driver	House
	4	2	Brother - Shop assistant at Edgars Himself - shop assistant at Edgars	Flat
Girls n=18	7	0	Three people bring in pensions	House
	6	2	Father - Fisherman Brother - Driver	House
	4	1	Father - Electrician Aunt draws a pension	House
	4	1	Mother - sorter at Top Stones	House
	4	3	Mother, Sister and she work at unspecified jobs	House
	5	2	Step-father - Mechanic Brother - Carpenter	House
	4	2	Father - Manager at bakery Mother - educator at pre-school	Flat
	4	2	Mother - nurse Father - panel-beater	House
	5	1	Mother - driller at Top Stones	House
	4	2	Mother - domestic worker Brother - Electrician	Unknown in Masiphumelele
	4	2	Mother - domestic worker Brother - Cashier at Pick 'n Pay	Unknown in Masiphumelele
	3	1	Sister - domestic worker	Unknown in Masiphumelele
	6	2	Two step-siblings work at unspecified jobs	House
	4	2	Father - bricklayer Mother - debt collector	House
	6	2	Sister - at False Bay hospital Father - builder	House
	4	2	Mother - clerk Aunt - TB Coordinator	Unknown in Masiphumelele
	6	2	Mother - domestic worker Father - School Janitor	Freestanding House in Masiphumelele
	7	2	Uncle - Carpenter Aunt - domestic worker	Unknown in Masiphumelele

<sup>12</sup> These participants were the grade 11 learners in the class where observation was carried out.

## Appendix B

### Methods used

This appendix provides examples of the visual methods used to allow children to express their views. These methods formed part of a process of getting to know children and their lives. More impersonal and therefore 'non-threatening' group methods were used in the initial stages in order to build rapport and trust with children and allow them to get accustomed to the research aims, process and visual methods. Over the course of the research the focus shifted from collective representation to investigating individual life histories. Using individual methods was more appropriate once time had allowed trusting relationships to be built between myself and the individual children. Part of the value of these visual methods was that children enjoyed participating in them and therefore engaged constructively with the methods. Importantly, these visual methods were always accompanied by discussion between myself and the child/children who had drawn the picture, written the text or taken the photograph, allowing them to explain what they had created. In this way they functioned as prompts to further investigate the issues raised by children.

### Community Mapping

Community mapping was the first method to be used. Children found this method accessible and worked constructively in their groups. The method was piloted with grade 9 classes in 2004. Working in groups, children drew maps of 'their community' according to agreed upon categories. These were: 1) places we go to have fun, 2) places we go to get things we need, 3) important places, and 4) dangerous places<sup>13</sup>. When used with the after-school research groups, children were encouraged to alter or add categories as they saw fit. Both the primary school group and the grade 8 groups added a category for 'safe places' or 'places we go when we are scared'. The grade 11 group chose to use the categories 'places we go for activities' and 'places we go for socialising' instead of using 'fun places'. Participants were told that their maps should contain the places that they go to and use rather than be a map of Ocean View *per se*. In this way children were not confined to a predetermined idea of community boundaries, allowing their own experiences and boundaries to emerge. The maps were not only useful in terms of depicting the physical spaces affecting children, but the discussion

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<sup>13</sup> When prompts were needed for 'places we go to get things we need' children were encouraged to think of where they go to get food, clothes and money, or if they are sick or sad. For 'important places' children were encouraged to think of places that are important for people their age as well as places where people make decisions that affect them.

and explanations for what they had drawn highlighted social aspects of their environment as well. Figure B1 provides an example of a map drawn by the grade 9 participants.

Figure B1



**Key:**

Yellow - 'Fun Places' (soccer field and play park in Ocean View)

Green - 'Places to get things we need' (shops and bank in Fish Hoek)

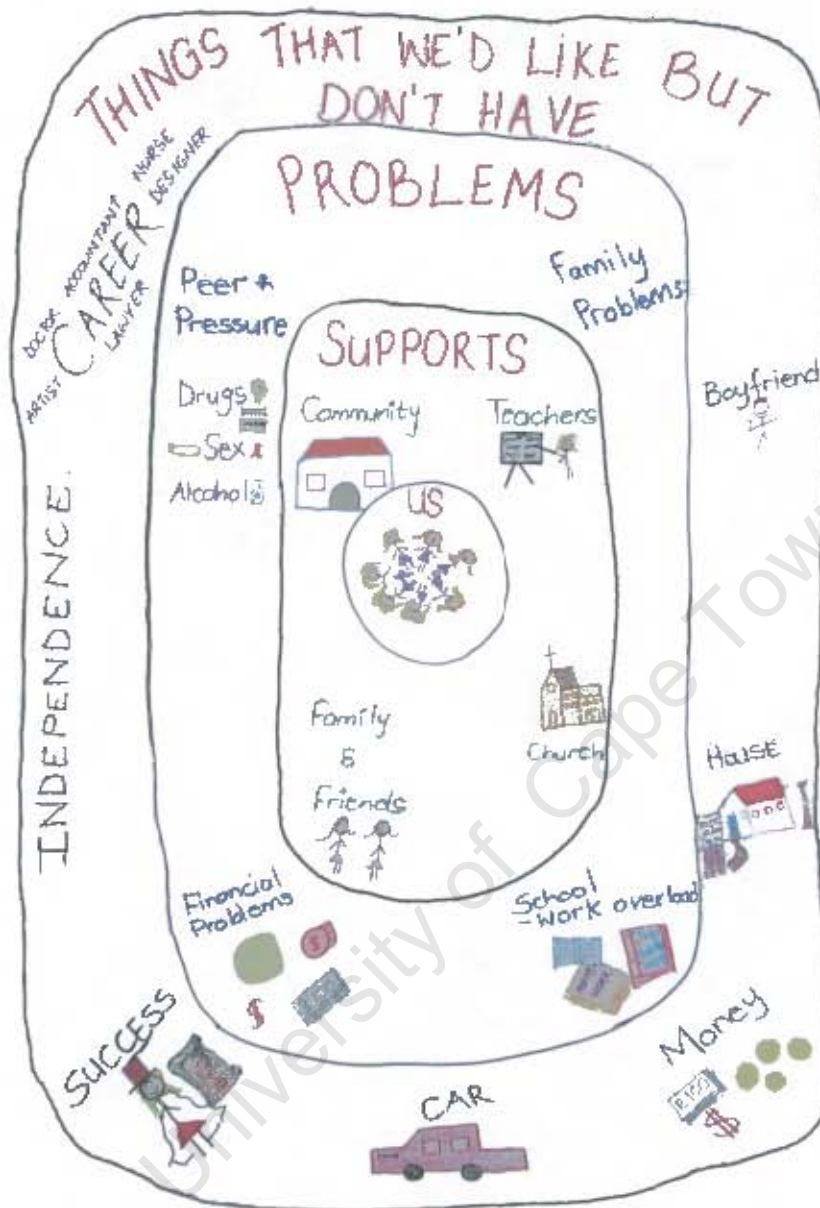
Red - 'Dangerous Places' (a shebeen and the bush surrounding Ocean View)

Blue - 'Important Places' (the Ocean View primary and high schools and Ocean View police station)

### Concentric Circle Diagram

This was also used as an initial method. Children worked in groups to draw and write about 1) the problems and challenges they face (things that they do not like in their lives or that they find difficult); 2) the people and places that support them (where they go for help, when they are scared or upset, as well as where people their age can go if they cannot get help or support at home); and 3) wished for supports (the people and places they would like children in Ocean View to have access to, but currently do not). The discussion around these drawings was not only useful for understanding challenges faced and the supports available, but also revealed children's own agency in the face of difficulty and more broadly their perceptions of where they live. Figure B2 provides an example of this method.

Figure B2: Concentric circle diagram



### Hero Books

After getting to know the individual children in the research groups through group activities, I wanted to capture their individual stories and experiences. In working with the primary school children I used an adapted version of the Hero Book method: a narrative therapy tool developed by Jonathan Morgan of REPSSI. The process is designed to “learn more about the person’s inner world and everyday life” (Morgan, 2004: 2). Through drawing and writing according to exercise guidelines, this tool generated data on role models, children’s social networks, children’s backgrounds and residential mobility, the challenges they face and the way in which they deal with them. Individual interviews were conducted with all children

who completed the Hero Book exercise in order to clarify the meaning of drawings and explore the issues uncovered by the visual method. Figure B3 to B5 are examples of pages from two of the participants Hero Books.

Figure B3: Hero Book exercise on overcoming a problem or difficulty



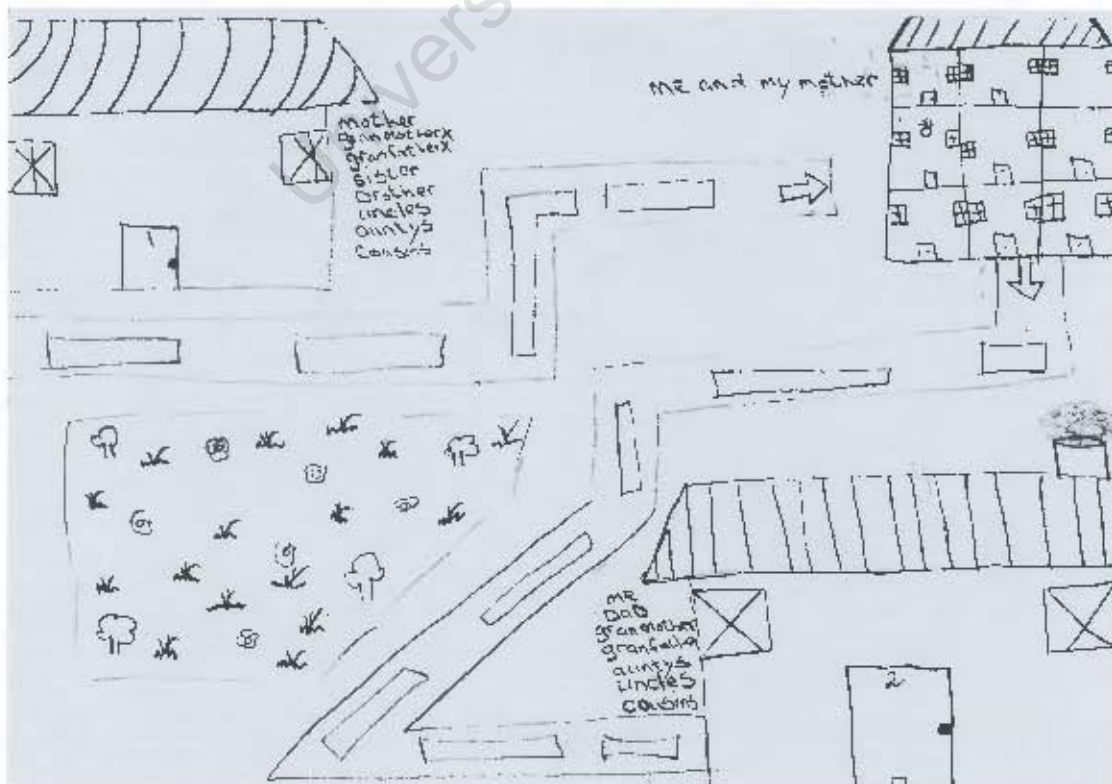
Figure B4: Hero book exercise on 'A Hero in My Life' explaining why they are a 'hero' and mean so much to the child



My Pa en Ma. Gelysa die huis. Hulle kyk altyd na my  
 wanneer hulle uit die werk uit kom dan gee hulle my geld  
 en somtyd food. My Pa en my Ma kan.

"My mom and dad live in the house, they always look after me. When they come home from work they give me money and sometimes my mom and dad buy food."

Figure B5: Hero book exercise on "My Family Road" depicting children's residential mobility and who has lived in different houses with them over the years.



### Photography exercise and diary keeping

This method was designed in order to work more closely with individual teenagers. Teenagers were given disposable cameras and diaries with which to capture their daily lives for the period of one week. Guidelines for diary keeping were given which instructed children to document what they did (including what they may consider mundane activities) and with whom, the type of interaction that occurred between them and others as well as their feelings concerning the above. The teenagers were told to use the space in any other way they wished, that it was a space for them to be creative and express themselves. This was a valuable instruction, as discussions around poems, artwork and memorabilia included by the teenagers revealed aspects of their emotional lives that they may not have felt comfortable writing about. Teenagers were instructed to use their cameras to document their daily lives, to comment on their surroundings and the places and people that play important roles in their everyday experiences. Examples of photographs taken by the teenagers can be found in chapter four of the dissertation. Figures B6 to B8 below are examples of the teenagers' diary keeping.

Figure B6

DAY:					
Where was I and what was I doing	Who else was there	What were some of the things we spoke about	How I felt and why	Any special things that happened	How long I was doing this for
I was at my girlfriend's place and we were laying on her bed.	my girlfriend (Vicky)	we were talking about us and how our future is going to end up.	I felt good talking about it.		2.00 hours
then we went to visit my father, to ask him for something very important.	my girlfriend	we spoke about how lonely my father is and how much he misses us.	I felt very sad because I hate seeing my father in that situation.	my father told me how much he really loves us, his children	20 minutes
We decided we were going to walk to the mall and get something or things.	my girlfriend	things that might go wrong in our relationship and what might cause it.			45 minutes
I went home, and took after walking a long distance with my girlfriend.	Alone		I felt strange walking alone.		15 minutes
sitting at home watching tv and listening to music.	my brother(s) and my sister(s)	we made jokes about other people.			3.00 hours

## DAY 4

I Woke up want to have a bath, had a miss call from a person I don't know!! Come back checked my room and the bathroom. I had breakfast don't like eating in the morning my mom made me eat.

At home it was me and George and my sister Brian

you did I feel

I don't like to eat breakfast because I putted my self in a diet that my parents do not like. but my mom says that the is soup thing but she can't put her fingers to it

Later on I went to my friend's house we had coffee and (we) talked about how we feel about people in school that like to bring us down and make us feel like nothing. We all feel the ~~same~~ <sup>some</sup> way about this problems and we started to motivate each other and telling only self that we are no will not ~~start~~ <sup>stand</sup> to they level.

I come back from that of and me, Naxola, Simelisa and my sister, sited out side and listened to music and Naxola was telling us the reason she come to Cape town. The reason was that her ex boyfriend shout her boyfriend in the back, so her boyfriend's family was blaming her for what had happened and she had to run away, before they <sup>would do</sup> something to her.

DAY:					
Where was I and what was I doing	Who else was there	What were some of the things we spoke about	How I felt and why	Any special things that happened	How long I was doing this for
I got up and had a bath we to my aunts again at 10:00am	My Mom	Nothing I did not feel like talking	I hate <del>everything</del> everything around me	No	I don't know
We watch a other movies for two hours and			I was scared it's was a Creepymovies	No	2 hours
I went to the shop in between the movies		Rugby	I can never watch anything finish	No	2 hours and a half
We all had lunch my family (some of them) was also there	My family		watched without me going along something	No	an hour
We play cards	My family		I still hate them!!		

P.T.O.

Notes:

There is nothing for a girl or "Young women" should I say to do.

I am bored and I don't want what to do with myself.

We went home (My mom & I) to fetch clothes to sleep by my aunts I did not want to but we did.

I play 6 games for about 2 hours before

go to bed at 11.30 pm.

## Appendix C

Figure C9: Information sheet for primary school children (age 6-13)

**GROWING UP IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA:  
Perspectives from children and adolescents in Cape Town**  
Research project run by: The Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town

**Who are you?**  
Hello, I am Sue. I am from the University of Cape Town. We are doing a project about children in the South Peninsula, including their views on school, family life and the surrounding community.

**Why are you doing this project?**  
We plan to write a book about children growing up in Cape Town, and we hope that this book will help people understand how to improve children's lives. We cannot be certain that children's lives will definitely be improved as a result of our project, or when this might be.

**Who is taking part?**  
Children who live in Fish Hoek, Musiphumelele and Ocean View.

**What will you be doing in this study?**  
We will be running some group activities, including art sessions, projects and drama, some of which will take place in school time, and others after school. In these sessions we will talk about people and places that are important to you, what you think you need to do well at school, and some of your hopes for the future.

**How will you remember all this information?**  
Sometimes, we will make drawings together. Other times we will make a tape recording or video of us talking together.

**What will be done with our drawings and the recordings?**  
They will be kept in a locked room, and we will not show them to anyone else. We will use them to write about children in the South Peninsula, but when we do this we will not use anyone's real name or address. We use imaginary names.

**How might I be involved?**  
We would very much like you to join in some of these activities. Your parent / carer has given us permission to invite you to join the activities, but this does not mean you have to do it. It is not a problem if you don't want to - just let us know. Also, even if you agree, you can decide to leave the group whenever you want.

**What will happen at the end of the study?**  
Once we have finished, we will come back to this area and let you know what we found. We will also be talking to teachers, school principals, social workers, parents and health workers about things that are most important to children.

**What do I do now?**  
If you would like to join the group activities, please sign your name on the form. I will read it to you before you write your name. If you are not sure about something, please ask me - now, or at any other time. You can phone Sue on 021 422 4596 or 072 453 6303.

Figure C10: Consent form for primary school participants (age 6-13)



GROWING UP IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA:  
 Perspectives from children and adolescents in Cape Town  
 Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town

## CONSENT FORM

We will read this to you, then ask you to sign.

I would like to join the group activities for this project. I understand that I am not being forced to do this, and that I can leave at any time if I don't want to continue. I know I will not be punished for this.

I understand that I will not get anything for myself if I join the activities.

I understand that the project leaders will not tell anyone about personal things that we talk about in the group.

.....  
 Your Signature

.....  
 Date

**Figure C11: Information sheet for high school participants (age 14-18)**

## **Growing up in the new South Africa: Perspectives from children and adolescents in Cape Town**

The Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town

### **Introduction for young people**

Hello, I am Sue. I am from the Centre for Social Science Research at the University of Cape Town. We are studying the everyday lives of children and young people in the South Peninsula, including their experiences of school, family life and the surrounding community. We are working in Fish Hoek, Masiphumelele and Ocean View. When the study has been completed, we will make the results available to young people, their family members, schools and community leaders. We will also make recommendations about how community members, state services and NGOs could work together to provide young people with maximum opportunities.

As part of our study we want to speak to a group of young people from this community who are aged between 6 and 17 years. We want to involve them in group activities (such as art work, drama etc) in order to discuss issue affecting their everyday lives. For example, we will talk about what they need to do well at school, to get along with their friends and neighbours, and to achieve their aims for the future.

Our research activities will last not more than 1.5 hours at a time. They will be arranged at a time that is convenient for you and your family.

We will record some of the children's discussion using tape recorders and video. These recordings will be kept in a secure room and will not be shown to anyone outside the research team without your permission.

No sensitive personal questions will be asked in these group sessions. Any personal information that might emerge in the discussion group will remain confidential.

We are giving you this information to see whether you would like to take part in this study. You are free to make your own choice, and if at some point you do not want to continue, you can tell us that you do not want to carry on. You will not be punished for this.

We are also giving this information to your parent or guardian, to make sure that she/he agrees that you can take part.

**If you have any questions now or later, please contact me on 072 453 6303 or 021 422 4596.**

**Figure C12: Consent form for high school learners (age 14-18)**

**Growing up in the new South Africa: Perspectives from children  
and adolescents in Cape Town**

The Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town

**YOUNG PERSON'S CONSENT**

I agree to participate in the group activities for this research project. I understand that I am not being forced to do this, and that I can leave at any time if I don't want to continue. I know I will not be punished for this.

I understand that I won't get anything for myself if I join the group discussion.

I understand that the researchers will not tell anyone about personal things that we talk about in the group.

I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.

.....  
**Signature of participant**

**Date:**.....

**Figure C13: Information sheet for child guardian**

## **Growing up in the new South Africa: Perspectives from children and adolescents in Cape Town**

The Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town

### **Introduction for child guardian (parent, carer, teacher or NGO staff member)**

Hello, I am Sue. I am from the Centre for Social Science Research at the University of Cape Town. We are studying the everyday lives of children in the South Peninsula, including their experiences of school, family life and the surrounding community. We are working in Fish Hoek, Masiphumelele and Ocean View. When the study has been completed, we will make the results available to children, their family members, schools and community leaders. We will also make recommendations about how community members, state services and NGOs could work together to provide children with maximum opportunities.

As part of our study we want to speak to a group of children from this community who are aged between 6 and 17 years. We want to involve them in group activities (such as art work, drama etc) in order to discuss issue affecting their everyday lives. For example, we will talk about what they need to do well at school, to get along with their friends and neighbours, and to achieve their aims for the future.

No sensitive personal questions will be asked about the child or her / his family in these group sessions. Any personal information that might emerge in the discussion group will remain confidential. If your child tells us of any problems that we feel you should know about, you will be informed.

We are now asking you whether you, as the child's guardian, agree to your child participating in this study. Please understand that **if you consent to the participation of your child, we will also explain the study to the child and ask her/him whether or not she/he wishes to participate. The child's participation is entirely voluntary** and he or she will not be forced to take part in this study. Please note that we will record some of the children's discussion using tape recorders and video. These recordings will be kept in a secure room and will not be shown to anyone outside the research team without your permission.

If you do not wish your child to participate, you will not be affected in any way. If your child agrees to participate, and at some point he / she does not want to continue, he or she may tell the group facilitator that she / he does not want to carry on. If your child does this there will be no penalties for you or your child.

The research activities with children will last not more than 1 1/2 hours at a time. They will be arranged with the child's family and school at a time that is convenient for all. Refreshments will be provided for the children.

If you have any questions now or later, please contact me on 072 453 6303 or 021 422 4596.

**Figure C14: Consent form for child guardian****GUARDIAN'S CONSENT FOR THE CHILD'S PARTICIPATION**

I hereby consent to my child's participation in this research. I understand that my child will be asked whether or not she or he wishes to participate, and that he / she will participate freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that the child can leave the group discussion at any point, and that this decision will not in any way affect me or my child negatively.

I understand that this is a research project that will not benefit me or my child personally.

I have received the telephone number of a person to contact should I need to speak about any issues which may arise from my child's participation in this study.

I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.

.....  
**Signature of participant**

**Date:**.....

University of Cape Town

## Appendix D

Table D1: Demographic and economic features of the schools in Ocean View, Masiphumelele and Fish Hoek.

	Marine Primary (Ocean View)	Ocean View Secondary	Ukhanyo Primary (Masi)	Masi High School	Fish Hoek Primary	Fish Hoek Middle School	Fish Hoek Senior High
Fees per year in Rand	120	350	100	200	5200	7060	7050
Total no of learners	1128	1169	1250	850	670	667	712
Total no of educators	32	36	30	27	29	35	39
Average class size/ range of class sizes	41 - 46	30 - 52	49 - 75	38 - 70	24 - 35	± 28	± 30
No of learners/ educator	35.25	32.5	41.5	31.5	23	19	18.25
No of educators paid by the state	30	35	30	27	11	18	20
No of educators paid by the school's governing body	2	1	0	0	18	17	19