

**CHILD POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA:
CONTRIBUTIONS OF A PARTICIPATORY CHILD POVERTY ASSESSMENT PROJECT TO
IMPROVING UNDERSTANDINGS AND MEASUREMENT**

BY

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**PHD THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT (ISD),
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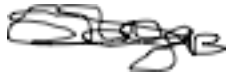
SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR JULIAN D. MAY

MARCH 2018

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis titled "Child poverty in South Africa: Contributions of a participatory child poverty assessment project to improving understandings and measurement" is a product of my own research and that no part of it has been submitted to any University for examination or the award of a degree. All references have been duly acknowledged.

Signed:



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DEDICATION

To my parents, HRH Oba & Olori A.A. Adefehinti for owning and supporting this dream.

Also to Abiola – you were there when this dream was just the faintest thought in my heart. I am deeply pained that you didn't witness its completion.



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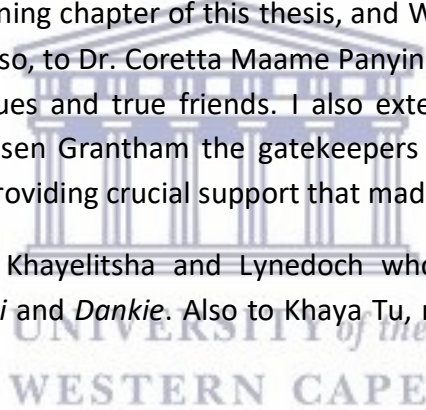


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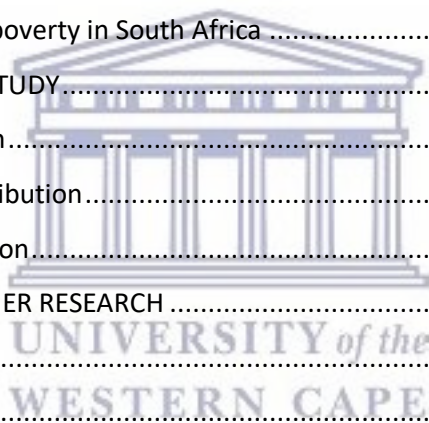
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACEs	Adverse Childhood Experiences
ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
ANC	African National Congress
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BICs	Built-in-Cupboards
CA	Capabilities Approach
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CI	Children's Institute
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CRM	Child Rights Matrix
CSG	Child Support Grant
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
CYCC	Child & Youth Care Centres
DA	Democratic Alliance
DfID	Department for International Development
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DSD	Department of Social Development
DSTV	Digital Satellite Television
ECD	Early Childhood Development
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGT	Foster-Greer-Thorbecke
FPL	Food Poverty Line
GHS	General Household Survey
GINI	Generalised Inequality Index



GNP	Gross National Product
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IDS	Institute for Development Studies
IES	Income & Expenditure Survey
LBPL	Lower Bound Poverty Line
LCS	Living Conditions Survey
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
MMR	Mixed Methods Research
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NIDS	National Income Dynamics Study
NPOs	Non Profit Organisations
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
OPHI	Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative
OVCs	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PCPAW	Participatory Child Poverty Assessment Workflow
QLFS	Quarterly Labour Force Survey
RBA	Rights Based Approach
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SALDRU	Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit
SAPPA	South African Participatory Poverty Assessment
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SL	Sustainable Livelihoods
SPN	Socially Perceived Necessities
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
STATS SA	Statistics South Africa

STC	Save The Children
TB	Tuberculosis
UBPL	Upper Bound Poverty Line
UCT	University of Cape Town
UN	United Nations
UN CRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WSSD	World Summit on Social Development



ABSTRACT

Involving children in studies about complex social issues like poverty is not common practice. While child poverty is a subjective matter, most studies rely on adult opinions to conceptualize and measure it. This study addressed this problem by obtaining children's conceptualizations of poverty and the dimensions they deem important for child poverty measurement vis-à-vis existing studies. With majority of poor children living in developing countries, and a context where historical structures of colonialism and apartheid preserve the incidence of poverty along racial divides, South Africa presents a fitting example for this study.

A mixed methods research design and methodology entailing participatory child poverty assessment was adopted. Methods used include drawing, storytelling/writing, sentence completion, scenario vignettes, thematic questioning, focus group discussions and interviews. The output from this, guided analysis and measurement of child poverty using South Africa's nationally representative survey - the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS), designed to track and understand poverty dynamics in South Africa. Findings from both qualitative and quantitative phases were theoretically framed and analysed using an integration of Sen's Capabilities Approach and Children's Rights.

Findings revealed children's concepts of poverty as: (i) basic needs/absolute deprivation (ii) monetary inadequacy/material lack, (iii) relative deprivation (iv) capability deprivation (v) psychological strain and (vi) social exclusion, thus reinforcing existing notions of poverty. The children extended the discourse on essential dimensions for measuring child poverty by proposing Family Belonging, Appearance, Jobs & Employment, and Social Protection: Child Support Grant (CSG) and Safety as new/additional dimensions. These were identified alongside conventional dimensions of Education, Health, Food, Water, Housing, Finances, Material Possessions, Technology, Play/Leisure and Transportation used in existing studies.

Other findings included that in South Africa, poverty has a racial face worn by Black Africans and Coloureds. Also, in identifying structural, personal and external factors as causes of poverty, apartheid was fingered as the fundamental and sustaining cause of poverty, with personal and external factors emerging only as secondary. The children's proposed solutions to poverty included an emphasis on the indispensable role of government, the importance of social policy provisions and comprehensive social protection, and the value of a truly equitable society. Regarding coping strategies to manage poverty, at the individual level, sharing food with friends, learning to persevere and deferring the fulfilment of certain non-food needs were popular approaches. At the household level, strategies including cutbacks, borrowing, sharing and resource pooling were adopted to manage food and financial shortages. These findings contribute to improving contextual understandings of child poverty in South Africa.

By using children's perspectives to affirm and expand existing approaches to conceptualising and measuring child poverty, the results of this study make a significant contribution to child poverty assessment. The qualitative findings also highlighted significant areas for expanding the range and quality of data collected in NIDS, thus improving the quantitative process of poverty measurement. It is noteworthy that the study also proves, secondarily, that children are capable of contributing new knowledge, even on complex issues when their unique experiences and perceptions are perceptively explored. By extension, the study proffers insights which can be adapted to other countries, developing or developed.

KEYWORDS: Capabilities, Children, Child Poverty, Children's Rights, Conceptualisation, Multidimensional Poverty, National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS), Participatory Poverty Assessment, Poverty Measurement, South Africa



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CHAPTER 1

1.1. INTRODUCTION

“The people that have no money. They have nothing to eat; even now, maybe they don’t know what they are going to eat in the evening. They ... sleep under the bridge – no houses – if it rains, they get cold. They are not washing¹ – for two or four years with the same clothes...they were thrown away by their family or they ran away for something and never came back. And now they are in a dark place” (Statement by Khulu, a 13-year old participant in this study. He was speaking about poor people in South Africa).

²*“When I was young, poverty was so common that we didn’t know it had a name” – Lyndon B. Johnson (Dallek 1991)*

“Poverty is a lot like childbirth – you know it is going to hurt before it happens, but you’ll never know how much until you experience it” – J.K. Rowling

The opening statement by Khulu paints a vivid picture of the dire situations faced by over 900 million people worldwide living (in extreme poverty) on \$1.90 or less daily, 46% of whom are children aged below 18 (United Nations Children’s Fund - UNICEF 2016). The severe consequences of this reality are a strong motivation for the focus on child poverty by national governments, international development institutions and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The physical, psychological and socio-economic effects of poverty on children limit their current development and future outcomes. So, a logical argument for focusing on child poverty is to ensure children’s wholesome development, and prevent life-course poverty transmission (i.e. a poor child becoming a poor adult - Harper et al 2003:535, UNICEF 2005:15, UNICEF 2007:5). Statistical backing for the global focus on child poverty includes that: (i) 1 billion of the 2.2 billion children worldwide live in poverty (UNICEF 2005:10) (ii) 18,000 children aged under 5 die daily with 6.6 million such children dying in 2012 from preventable causes (iii) 15% of the world’s children are involved in child labour (UNICEF 2014:3-5) (iv) global poverty rates are highest among children (v) children aged below 13 represent over a third of the extremely poor worldwide and (vi) half of children in low-income countries live in extreme poverty (Olinto et al 2013:2 & 5). Also, child poverty typically receives more attention than adult poverty based on the moral argument that children in poverty did not choose their circumstances and should not bear the consequences of a condition that they were born into. Essentially, “questions of child poverty have particular ethical and political resonance” (Bradbury & Jantti 1999:1).

However, contrary to the philosophy of the English Poor Laws (1349-1601)³, poverty (including for adults), is now situated within the structures of ownership and control of

¹ Term meaning ‘bathing’

² General Note: Quotes are used at the beginning of each chapter, to communicate the chapter’s general theme and/or key findings. The quotes are not necessarily referred to, later in the chapter.

socio-economic resources, access to which depends on individual and societal factors. Moreover, although poverty affects the individual directly, it also impacts his/her society and restricts national economic growth. So, poverty alleviation is prioritised to improve both individual and societal welfare. For instance, the World Bank's goals for 2030 are to (i) "end extreme poverty by decreasing the percentage of people living on less than \$1.90 a day to no more than 3%" and (ii) "promote shared prosperity by fostering the income growth of the bottom 40% for every country"⁴. This is similar to the United Nations' (UN) vision of "a world free of poverty" driven by its global initiative, the concluded Millennium Development Goals (MDG 2015) project.

The succession of the MDGs by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs 2030) project indicates the continued will to devote efforts to poverty alleviation and eradication, given that it is a complex problem. In fact, SDG 1 with the aim of "no poverty" has a target (1.2) to 'by 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions'. The complexity and persistence of poverty is perhaps due to its multidimensionality as recognized in the SDGs, and previously recognized at the United Nations Copenhagen World Summit where absolute poverty was defined as:

"...a condition characterised by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to social services" UN (1995:41).

Just like poverty affects various aspects of one's life, it affects different groups of people in related ways with respect to its causes, but sometimes in distinct ways, with respect to its present and long-term effects. For instance, an adult and child in the same household may be poor because the adult is unemployed and without income. While this may result in current burdens for the adult, the possible consequences of this on the child are extensive, including nutritional deficiency resulting in stunting, lack of education resulting in illiteracy and a bleak career future. This creates poverty traps and increases the complexity of eradicating poverty (Carter & May 2001:1991-1992), especially for that child.

The mixed success of the MDGs at its conclusion in 2015 further demonstrated poverty's complexity:

"unprecedented progress... uneven achievements and shortfalls in many areas", with about 800 million people still living in extreme poverty (on less than \$1.25/day) and suffering from hunger (UN MDG Report 2015:5 & 8).

As well, "despite impressive progress in reducing poverty in the past three decades, a substantial proportion of people in developing countries remain poor" (World Bank 2014:4). Moreover, while the MDG achievements are commendable, they could be misleading if not disaggregated (Alkire et al 2013:2). For instance, while the global poverty headcount has

³ The English Poor Laws guided provision of relief to the poor, premised on the themes that poverty was caused by individual inadequacies and the poor were a slothful group who needed coercion to work to improve their living standards - Quigley (1998:103).

⁴ <http://www.worldbank.org/en/about/what-we-do>

reduced, the number of people living in extreme poverty has risen steadily only in Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) (Omilola & Van Lerven 2014:3). This situation drew attention to the most vulnerable regions like SSA and Southern Asia which both account for about 80% of the global poor living on less than \$1.25 a day (UN MDG Report 2015:15). The case of SSA is noticeable because besides it being the region where poverty is most severe, as at 2011, it was the only region yet to meet the target of halving the proportion of people living in extreme poverty (UN MDG Report 2015:11 & 15).

The nature of different countries' contexts and problems, ranging from natural disasters, terrorist attacks, internal displacement, and politically-based conflict contribute to this uneven progress. In South Africa's case, the historic apartheid period is a key contributing factor. Gumede (2014:2-3) acknowledged that economic inequality and income poverty have remained unacceptably high in South Africa due to the entrenched legacy of apartheid colonialism. Specifically, Gumede (2014:20) attributed South Africa's constraints in achieving the MDGs to "inappropriate policies in the context of redressing apartheid colonialism" i.e. pursuing universal rather than targeted strategies to balance the already inequitable socio-economic system of resource ownership and control. South Africa's development challenges thus have deep racial and class undertones, created by imperialism and continued by apartheid. These challenges are discussed briefly below and more in Chapter 2.

1.2. POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa has one of the most developed economies in SSA (UNCTAD 2013:69 & 80, IMF 2013:3, World Bank 2013a:3). With a population of 55.91 million as at mid-year 2016 (Statistics South Africa - STATS SA 2016:1), and a Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.666 in 2016, South Africa is a medium human development country (United Nations Development Programme - UNDP 2016:199). South Africa is stigmatised for its apartheid rule from 1948 to 1994 (Coetzee et al 2012:14), when resource ownership and socio-economic power were racially organised with Whites being in control and Blacks being disadvantaged (Indians, Coloured and Black Africans in that increasing order)⁵. This structure remains despite various post-apartheid development programmes. UNDP (2014:6) acknowledged that, "persistent vulnerability is rooted in historic exclusions...of Blacks in South Africa". Aliber (2003:473&488) noted that Black Africans especially suffered from chronic poverty as the apartheid strategy denied them human capital improvement opportunities (access to good quality education and formal jobs) and isolated them in infrastructure-deprived townships. Coloureds shared a similar (though slightly better) fate as Black Africans.

⁵This study adopts the phrasing of previous studies (Wilson & Ramphole 1989:23, Carter & May 2001:2003, Terreblanche 2002:21, Southall 2004:522, Seekings & Natrass 2005:ix) by using 'Black' to collectively refer to Black African, Coloured and Indian populations in South Africa who suffered racial discrimination during apartheid. 'Black African' is used to denote native Black South Africans including Xhosa and Zulu speaking tribes, while 'Coloured' is used to denote mixed-race individuals with diverse ancestral links including European, Asian and African (Khoisan and Bantu/Xhosa) origins. On occasion, the term 'African' is used interchangeably with 'Black African', to preserve usage as in works referenced.

Available World Bank data (1993-2009 - see Table 1 in appendix) provides a trajectory of poverty and inequality during and after apartheid. It shows that while the poverty gap and headcount ratios improved, the number of poor people remained high and income inequality (measured by the GINI Coefficient⁶) worsened overall. Disaggregated findings by STATS SA (2014a:27-28 & 35) reaffirmed important differences in poverty levels among population groups. Rounded figures in the table below show that while the poverty headcount, poverty gap/intensity and poverty severity⁷ improved in absolute terms, Black Africans consistently had the highest rates, followed by Coloureds leaving the Indian/Asian and White population groups in the least deprived category. Specifically, at the Upper Bound Poverty Line (UBPL) of R620 in 2011, 54% of Black Africans were living in poverty and 94.2% of poor people in South Africa (more than 9 out of 10) were Black Africans. This signified an increase from the 2006 and 2009 figures of 92.9% and 93.2% respectively.

Table 1.1. Percentage poverty measures by population group

	Poverty Headcount (P ₀)			Poverty Gap/Intensity (P ₁)			Poverty Severity (P ₂)		
	2006	2009	2011	2006	2009	2011	2006	2009	2011
Black African	67	67	54	32	33	24	18	20	13
Coloured	42	38	28	17	15	10	9	8	5
Indian/Asian	13	12	3	3	2	1	2	1	0
White	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total Population	57	57	46	27	28	20	15	17	11

Source: STATS SA (2014a:28)⁸

Inequality remains widespread across South Africa and one of the highest globally (World Bank 2013b:25), with STATS SA (2014a:35) reporting the highest inequality of 0.55 for the Black African population closely followed by a GINI coefficient of 0.53 for the Coloureds as at 2011. In fact, Leibbrandt et al (2010:4) showed that post-apartheid, aggregate inequality and poverty in South Africa was mainly driven by intra-African inequality and poverty trends. Also, STATS SA's Quarter 1 unemployment statistics (2017b:42) revealed unemployment is highest amongst Black Africans (40.9%) followed by Coloureds (28.9%)

⁶ GINI is an abbreviation for Generalised Inequality Index.

⁷ P₀, P₁ and P₂ are a class of poverty measures developed by Foster, Greer & Thorbecke (1984). They measure (i) the percentage of people who are poor or live below the poverty line (ii) how poor the poor are and (iii) who the poorest of the poor are and how they compare to the averagely poor.

⁸ In 2007, STATS SA was commissioned by government to develop a national poverty line. STATS SA used the cost-of-basic-needs approach, to develop a poverty line consisting of 2 parts: food and non-food components. In 2012, STATS SA then published three national poverty lines – the Food Poverty Line (FPL), Lower-Bound Poverty Line (LBPL) and Upper-Bound Poverty Line (UBPL). The FPL related only to food needs while the latter two relate to both food and non-food components. This helped for realistic poverty measurement in the country, because the poverty lines are based on average costs of living, and the Rand value of each poverty line is updated annually using CPI prices data.

and less so by Indians (15.8%) and Whites (8.5%). Thus, given these statistics on the rates of poverty, inequality and unemployment, Black African children and Coloured children respectively are most likely to be poor.

1.3. CHILD POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA

In this study, a child is defined as set out in Article 1 of the United Nations Convention on the rights of the Child (UN CRC 1989 ratified by South Africa on 16th June 1995 - Triegaardt 2005:253): as “every human being below the age of 18 years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier”. Likewise in Section 28 of the South African constitution, children are defined as persons aged under 18.

It is important to note that the focus of this thesis and supporting discussions often fluctuate among various ages from 0 to 18, but never beyond the upper age limit of 18 years. It is also pertinent to state that in South Africa as elsewhere, the definitions of children’s ages in relation to educational level/achievement may be problematic. For instance, children aged above 18 may still be attending high school while teenagers as young as 17 may be in University. Interpretating the findings and discussions in this study should therefore take this fuzziness into consideration.

Studying child poverty in South Africa is significant in itself and when compared with adult poverty because the incidence, depth and severity of poverty among children is much higher than among adults (STATS SA 2013a:3 & 2014a:29). The South African government is committed to ensuring the survival and development of all children as stated in the United Nations Convention on the rights of the Child (UN CRC 1989), the South African Constitution (1996) and the Children’s Act (2005). This commitment is being implemented through various social welfare schemes for children including the Child Support Grant (CSG), which reduced child poverty from 43% to 34% (UNDP 2014:5)⁹. Other interventions include The School Fee Exemption Policy, The National School Nutrition Programme and Free Primary Healthcare (Monson et al 2006:33).

Notwithstanding, children in poverty in South Africa still suffer from apartheid’s legacies, with Black African children being most disadvantaged. Russell (2004:8) argued that apartheid increased sensitivity to acknowledging racial classifications in formal circles and academic research work. Of significance is that stratification is gradually being based on class rather than race and a Black middle class has emerged, but most Black people still live in extreme poverty (Coetzee et al 2012:14).

While equality is a founding value of the South African Constitution and a fundamental right (Hall et al 2012:22), the racially discriminatory policies of apartheid and the HIV/AIDS pandemic caused relatively higher levels of poverty and inequality for Black African and Coloured children today (Monson et al 2006:19). In the table excerpt below, STATS SA (2013a:41) reported that for children (individuals aged below 18), across all three national

⁹Attributing such improvements solely to the CSG is constantly questioned (Triegaardt 2005:253, Coetzee 2011:30 and Proudlock 2014:63-64), as the CSG excludes over 2 million vulnerable children (babies, orphans, children in child-headed households, refugee children and teenage mothers - Coetzee 2011:9, Proudlock 2014:2-3) catered for by NGOs.

poverty lines - food, lower bound and upper bound, Black African children suffer most followed by Coloured children.

Table 1.2. Child poverty headcount by population group on three national poverty lines (per capita per month in 2009 prices)¹⁰

Population Group	Food Poverty Line at R305	Lower Bound Poverty Line at R416	Upper Bound Poverty Line at R577
Black African	39.5	56.0	71.3
Coloured	12.5	24.4	39.5
Indian/Asian	*	2.0	10.2
White	1.0	1.6	2.1
Overall	34.5	49.5	63.9
* = Less than 0.1%			

Source: STATS SA (2013a:41)

The effects of growing up poor are extensive, and particularly disturbing due to the far-reaching and damaging effects of poverty on the range and quality of life opportunities that an adult who had an impoverished childhood can reasonably access. For instance, the UN (1995:41) noted that “children growing up in poverty are often permanently disadvantaged”, and in South Africa, a child with educational attainments below matriculation level¹¹ will likely be unemployed (STATS SA 2014b:vi). This supports Carter & May’s reasoning (2001:2002) that the end of apartheid signalled only one kind of freedom, and many South Africans (*including children – addition mine*) are trapped in poverty with neither time nor markets being able to liberate them.

1.4. RESEARCH PROBLEM

Since Lyndon B. Johnson’s statement above (*see opening quote*), knowledge and events have transpired, and poverty has been named. Still, opinions differ about poverty’s meaning, measurement and solutions. Indeed, “poverty is a complex matter in terms of ideological orientations, conceptual issues, causation and its nature” (Triegaardt 2005:249). For instance, Townsend (1979a:31) argued that poverty can only be defined objectively and applied consistently in terms of relative deprivation. So, he described relative poverty as when individual or family “resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are in effect, excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities”. In contrast, Sen (1983:153) defined poverty as “absolute

¹⁰ STATS SA used the poverty lines linked to the 3 surveys used in their report: Income & Expenditure Survey (IES) 2005/2006, Living Conditions Survey (LCS) 2008/2009 and Income & Expenditure Survey (IES) 2010/2011. The poverty lines are inflation-adjusted and benchmarked to March 2009 – the midpoint of each survey.

¹¹ In South Africa, attaining matric i.e. completing high school/Grade 12 is a celebrated achievement as it is a minimum entry requirement for most low-skill jobs. So, many people can opt for jobs with a matric certificate or choose to study further if they can afford it.

deprivation in terms of a person's capabilities but relates to relative deprivation in terms of commodities, incomes and resources”.

For Townsend, poverty renders poor individuals/families unable to participate in their immediate society as expected, simply because they lack the comparative means to do so. For Sen, he focused his definition of poverty first on the individual, by describing absolute poverty as rendering an individual unable to become/do/achieve anything (i.e. become incapable) by himself/herself. He elaborated on this by describing relative poverty as what an individual can or cannot become/do/achieve in relation to what his/her peers are becoming/doing/achieving with their means (commodities, income and resources). Essentially, for poor children, deprivation of means renders them unable to access opportunities to become/do/achieve like their peers who are not deprived.

In relation to approach(es) for evaluating child poverty, Noble et al (2006a:42) further observed that most child poverty studies adopt the monetary approach by expressing child poverty as:

“a headcount of children living in households where resources fall below the minimum subsistence level or an equivalent poverty depth measure”.

In contrast, the United Nations’ (UN) internationally accepted definition of child poverty is that:

“children living in poverty are deprived of nutrition, water and sanitation facilities, access to basic health-care services, shelter, education, participation and protection, and that while a severe lack of goods and services hurts every human being, it is most threatening and harmful to children, leaving them unable to enjoy their rights, to reach their full potential and to participate as full members of society” – United Nations General Assembly (UNGA 2006:11).

Both descriptions are relative poverty inclined but Noble et al (ibid) observed that most studies emphasise (monetary) resources, while the UN adopted multidimensional socio-economic indicators (Noble et al 2006a:43). The UN definition also makes linkages between the limiting effects of poverty on children enjoying their rights fully, as well as the negative effect of poverty on children’s capabilities to become/do/achieve the best in life, without any hindrances, and as full-fledged members of their societies.

From a theoretical perspective, the deficiency of money metrics to exclusively assess and explain child poverty has been flagged (Bradbury 2003:10, Gordon et al 2003:3-4, Biggeri et al 2010:2), alongside the flawed definition of child poverty solely by household income/expenditure. This approach is narrow, neglects the diverse aspects of child poverty not dependent on resources/income and confines notions of wellbeing to survival. Moreover, while children depend on household income, they are usually neither income earners nor active players in economic and labour markets. As well, an analysis of child poverty using only household incomes does not give a realistic representation of intra-household resource distribution. Also, poverty of the household and poverty of children therein are neither coterminous nor coexistent i.e. a poor child can live in a rich household, and therefore be deprived in terms of his/her personal capabilities. Child poverty also has non-financial consequences and different causes besides low/no household income (Wust & Volkert 2012:439). According to White et al (2002:3), for the poor, poverty varied by context

but was generally defined in terms of basic needs and security rather than income. May (1998b:4) was cognizant of this viewpoint and defined poverty as:

“...the inability to attain a minimal standard of living, measured in terms of basic consumption needs or the income required to satisfy them”.

Nevertheless, the monetary/income approach to measuring child poverty (relative to standards in the child’s society) still remains relevant as affirmed by recent studies (Gordon & Nandy 2016, Kelleher et al 2016, Main & Bradshaw 2016, Neckerman et al 2016 and Bitler et al 2017), but only when used in combination with multidimensional and non-income measures.

From the methodological angle, Bradshaw & Finch (2003:513) noted that the subjective approach to measuring poverty has been put to little use in official or academic research compared to the popular income measurement or deprivations approaches. White et al contended that although child poverty is a significant subject given the global statistics, children’s voices are still not heard on the subject (2002:1). Nandy & Gordon (2009:221) elaborated that children’s perspectives are lacking in empirical and scientific literature on poverty, and children are often ignored in academic studies of poverty and poverty measurement. This relegation of children in society is rooted in the belief that children are incompetent ‘human becomings’ rather than ‘human beings’ (Qvortrup 1994). Relatedly, discussions of children’s capabilities are focused more on what they can or cannot do now that they are children, rather than also considering what they may or may not be capable of being/doing/achieving when they are adults, due to the effect of limiting experiences/situations in childhood like poverty.

Nevertheless, Bessell (2009:527) echoed Woodhead’s caution that “children’s views and experiences must be taken seriously if policy and services are to be children-centred, context appropriate and sustainable”. In fact, Alkire & Foster (2011b:306) noted, “both welfare and poverty analyses need to reflect individuals’ experiences”. This lends credence to J.K Rowling’s quip above, with consensus gradually being reached that a practical chasm separates conceptualising poverty by presumption and conceptualising it through experience.

Several authors (Redmond 2009:541, Roets et al 2013:536) noted the rare and relatively recent inclusion of indigent people (including and especially children and youth – Adato et al 2007:257) in poverty research. The South African Participatory Poverty Assessment (SAPPA - *Experience and Perceptions of Poverty in South Africa* - May 1998a) alongside others in Zambia, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar and Mozambique were inputs for the World Bank’s seminal global study by Narayan et al (2000) - *Voices of the poor – Can Anyone hear us?*. They employed participatory methods (a subjective approach) as “an unprecedented effort to understand poverty from the perspective of the poor”¹². These studies however focused more on adults than children¹³, and while they explored opinions of the poor about poverty solutions, their objective was not to utilize/extend findings quantitatively. South African

¹²<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/0,,contentMDK:20622514~menuPK:336998~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:336992,00.html> .

¹³ The SAPPA only involved street children (May 1998a:125)

President, Jacob Zuma acknowledged that poverty levels among vulnerable groups including children...remain a major challenge in the country (MDG Country Report 2013:3). Besides, the effects of discriminatory apartheid policies, an incomplete understanding of child poverty in South Africa may be responsible - a proposition that warrants testing. This claim is however based on the knowledge that while some studies have undertaken subjective or multidimensional approaches to studying child poverty in South Africa (Bonn et al 1999, Noble et al 2006a), they have scarcely been executed at the grassroots level with participatory research and mixed methods as intended in this study.

Clacherty & Donald (2007:148 & 154) noted that while child participation is being recognised and accepted in academic research in developed societies, children's voices have not been welcomed in South Africa due to power relations. Moses (2008:328) also referred to findings (Berry & Guthrie 2003; Bray 2002) that there has been a lack of research around children's rights to participation, and children's roles in South African society need to be better understood.

Furthermore, Noble et al (2006a:40 citing Bradshaw & Mayhew 2005) echoed that children's experiences of poverty are intrinsically important and children are instrumental links in transmitting intergenerational poverty. As Fargas-Malet et al (2010:175) stated: children should be viewed as 'experts' on their own lives. So, I posit that children in poverty have experiences necessary for successfully eradicating child poverty because:

"understanding how poverty is produced, why it persists and how it may be alleviated is essential to devise effective, appropriate strategies for social and economic development" (Narayan et al 2000:14).

Thus, the problem is that child poverty is often:

- Misrepresented, by expressing it mainly in terms of family income or measuring it by the reflection of family circumstances.
- Misinterpreted as a uniform issue e.g. all African children are poor, discounting differences within and between regions and countries in Africa, and forgetting that poverty measures should be contextually adapted.
- Mistreated because different conceptions of child poverty result in different prescriptions for its alleviation or eradication. Most importantly, the opinions and input of the subjects – children themselves - are often neglected. This relates to a larger problem faced by the field of childhood studies within academia: that children's opinions about complex issues are not sought. Where obtained, the value of children's knowledge (for independent use) is often belittled.

Moreover, over a decade ago, Bourguignon & Chakravarty (2003:25) noted:

"Many authors have insisted on the necessity of defining poverty as a multidimensional concept rather than relying on income or consumption expenditures per capita. Yet, not much has actually been done to include the various dimensions of deprivation into the practical definition and measurement of poverty".

The situation remains unchanged, as more recently, Kim (2016:229-230) noted that while many scholars agree that poverty is multidimensional, not many studies have thoroughly examined the exact dimensions of poverty that can be widely accepted/applicable. Also,

most studies assess child poverty in relation to the implications for child's immediate and short-term welfare, but usually not in relation to the potential long-term consequences of childhood deprivations in later life/adulthood. This study is an attempt to address the said gaps in the South African context.

1.5. GENERAL RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This study engages with child poverty thus: (i) theoretically from a multidimensional stance which also considers the potential limiting consequences of child poverty on children's rights, as well as its negative effects on children's capabilities (what children can become/do/achieve in adulthood) (ii) methodologically through participatory poverty assessments with the most disadvantaged population groups of children in South Africa - Black African and Coloured children only - and (iii) empirically via mixed methods to identify areas of improvement in the type and extent of data currently used to assess child poverty in South Africa. The aim is to make a tripartite contribution to theoretical understandings, methodological processes and empirical outcomes respectively.

Note on racial restriction of research participants: The reported prevalence of poverty among Black African and Coloured children who are at greater risk of poverty (compared to Asian/Indian and White children who are less likely to be poor) informs focusing on them as research participants. The breadth, depth and contextual specificities of poverty among Black African and Coloured children (and their families) following a long history of segregation, discrimination and marginalization inform the need to focus research on them, as a means of exploring the complexities of their lives in light of this history. Besides a crucial aim being to conceptualize poverty from experiences at individual and household levels, it is also pertinent to clarify that the aim of involving Black African and Coloured children is not to compare their views and experiences – as distinct racial groups, but to synthesize them for holistic reflection.

The detailed objectives and questions of the study are as follows:

1.5.1. Specific research objectives and questions

1.5.1.1. Primary data gathering: Dimension & indicator selection

1. To explore Black African and Coloured children's experiences and views about child poverty and how it should be defined and assessed, while uncovering any congruencies with or divergences from traditional and existing approaches to child poverty conceptualization and assessment. Specific questions are:
 - i. How do Black African and Coloured children understand and define poverty – from experience and perception, and how does this reinforce, expand or challenge existing knowledge about child poverty?
 - ii. What dimensions of poverty matter to Black African and Coloured children, and which indicators do they deem appropriate for measuring poverty, and how do these impact children's rights and capabilities to become/do/achieve now and in the long-term?
 - iii. What linkages exist among the dimensions of poverty suggested by Black African and Coloured children, the list of capabilities as proposed in existing studies and children's rights as set out in the UN CRC (1989)?

- iv. What similarities and differences exist between Black African and Coloured children's perspectives on important dimensions and indicators of child poverty and those adopted in existing studies?
2. To unpack Black African and Coloured children's assessments about the incidence, peculiarities, causes and solutions of child poverty in South Africa, and explore how children navigate within the socio-economic environment as individuals and as household members by using some individual case studies. Questions are:
 - i. What reasons, characteristics and solutions do Black African and Coloured children identify as important in the context of child poverty in South Africa?
 - ii. Which processes are employed by Black African and Coloured children to manage poverty in individual experiences and in shared circumstances at the household level?

1.5.1.2. Secondary data analysis using National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS Wave 3 Survey): Dimension & indicator assessment

3. To assess the opportunities and limitations of NIDS, a nationally representative household survey, to quantify, transform and measure children's notions of poverty as expressed in the dimensions and indicators that the children offer versus those in NIDS. Simultaneously, this assessment will highlight the manifestations of poverty among South African children as a heterogeneous group. The specific question is:
 - i. What is the data picture of child poverty in South Africa according to social typologies (e.g. age, race, location and province)?
 - ii. What differences exist between the dimensions and indicators used in NIDS and those identified (by Black African and Coloured child participants in this study), as important for measuring child poverty in South Africa?

The main purpose of research objective 3 (question ii) above is to identify possible areas of improvement in the scope of data collected in NIDS. Findings (on dimensions and indicators of child poverty) from participatory assessments with the children will be compared to NIDS data. The intended contribution to improving child poverty measurement is to use qualitative findings to enhance quantitative methods in the scope of data collected.

1.6. SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY – RESEARCH GAP

A decade ago UNICEF issued a statement that:

“... measuring child poverty can no longer be lumped together with general poverty assessments which often focus solely on income levels, but must take into consideration access to basic social services, especially nutrition, water, sanitation, shelter, education and information”. (UNICEF 2007)¹⁴

Most studies (Barnes et al 2007, Gordon & Nandy in Minujin & Nandy 2012) also argued that child poverty can neither be defined nor measured like general poverty but then only filled the gap by expanding the dimensions used to measure child poverty. They still relied mainly

¹⁴ See link: http://www.unicef.org/media/media_38003.html

on expert prescriptions or adult-defined methods. A notable study was by Noble et al (2006a:45) who developed a multidimensional model of child poverty for South Africa via a consensual element involving children and their parents/primary caregivers and a normative element involving professional judgment. The model identified 8 dimensions for conceptualising child poverty and noted access to good quality services as essential to address poverty but did not separate the outcomes per element (see Figure 1 in appendix). In a study of *Children's Perspectives on Child Well-Being*, September & Savahl (2009) also worked with South African children aged 9 to 16 to briefly identify basic needs (food, clothing and shelter) associated with poverty, but mainly in relation to assessing general well-being.

This study is designed as an inclusive response to these concerns and with the aim of shedding light on the grey areas of potential knowledge that can be discovered by involving children in child poverty research in South Africa. The study responds to Fattore et al's observation (2009:58) that:

“despite the call to include children in research efforts, few child indicator frameworks have been developed using children's understandings as a basis for, or a contribution to, conceptualising the framework”.

The study also aligns with Main & Bradshaw's argument (2012:519) that children's views were better than adults' conventional ones in explaining subjective wellbeing which is a personal matter rather than an externally perceived situation. It agrees with Noble et al (2006a:47) that poverty indicators should be defined by combining direct research with children and high quality research evidence because “indicators and domains used often by social scientists don't always match the concepts put forth by children themselves” (O'Hare & Gutierrez 2012:623 citing Fattore et al 2009). Moreover, the study highlights children's opinions about how experiences of childhood poverty could affect a child, both now and in adulthood.

Motivation for this research therefore stems from the paucity of research on child poverty in South Africa that do the following:

- iii. Adopt participatory research methods.
- iv. Value the child as the focal source of knowledge.
- v. Engage with child poverty holistically as a national concern, but contextually at a grassroots level.
- vi. Explore and juxtapose conceptualizations of child poverty from particular contexts (Black African and Coloured children) while engaging in wider quantitative analysis at the level of all children.
- vii. Link qualitative findings to quantitative findings, with a view to improving the scope and quality of data collection.
- viii. Examine the possible effects of childhood deprivations on a child enjoying his/her rights, and on the quality of opportunities that a child could have in the short-term and long-term.

This study aims to fill the void of a lack of South African children's experiences and perceptions of poverty, and the absence of their contributions to efforts to conceptualise and measure child poverty. These are all done to contribute to improved policy planning and implementation of child poverty eradication efforts in South Africa.

1.7. DISSERTATION OVERVIEW

This thesis is divided into 3 broadly linked sections:

Section 1 introduces and situates the study by giving a global and specific (South African) background to poverty in general and child poverty in particular (Chapter 1). It presents the literature on children's wellbeing before and during apartheid and presents the general provisions for children's welfare in South Africa (Chapter 2). It also reviews the conceptualisation and measurement/analysis of child poverty alongside some outcomes of children's participation in poverty research (Chapter 3).

Section 2 comprises the theoretical orientation (Chapter 4) and the research design and methodology including a discussion on the ethics of conducting research with children (Chapter 5).

Section 3 presents the findings of the study (Qualitative findings - Chapters 6 & 7 and Quantitative findings – Chapter 8) and the conclusion (Chapter 9).

The chapter contents are explained briefly below and summarised in the subsequent diagram:

Chapter one has introduced global and child poverty in general, and given an overview of the child poverty situation in South Africa. A detailed background to the research inquiry, problem statement, general and specific objectives alongside research questions, significance of the study and research sites preceded the thesis structure being discussed now.

Chapter two presents an important historical background to the issue of child poverty in South Africa by discussing children's wellbeing before and during apartheid and highlighting the framework (social, economic and legal) for children's welfare in South Africa.

Chapter three reviews conceptions of poverty, discusses issues of measurement and analysis of child poverty and examines the findings of previous studies that involved children in the study of poverty. This chapter aims to foster an understanding of established knowledge on the subject of child poverty through an examination of the methods/processes and findings of existing studies of anticipated value or challenge to this study.

Chapter four presents and discusses the primary theoretical framework of this study – Sen's capabilities theory and the secondary framework - Children's rights. Used in combination, both frameworks help anchor the study in reasoning and practice. These theories also provide direction for the selection of dimensions and indicators to be used in the measurement/analysis of child poverty in South Africa in subsequent research findings chapters.

Chapter five details the research design and methods that this study adopts. Being a mixed-methods study, the qualitative and quantitative research methods and tools used are discussed alongside the ethics of conducting research with children. Reflection on the fieldwork process including difficulties encountered is also discussed alongside study limitations, validity of research procedures and fieldwork findings administration are also presented here.

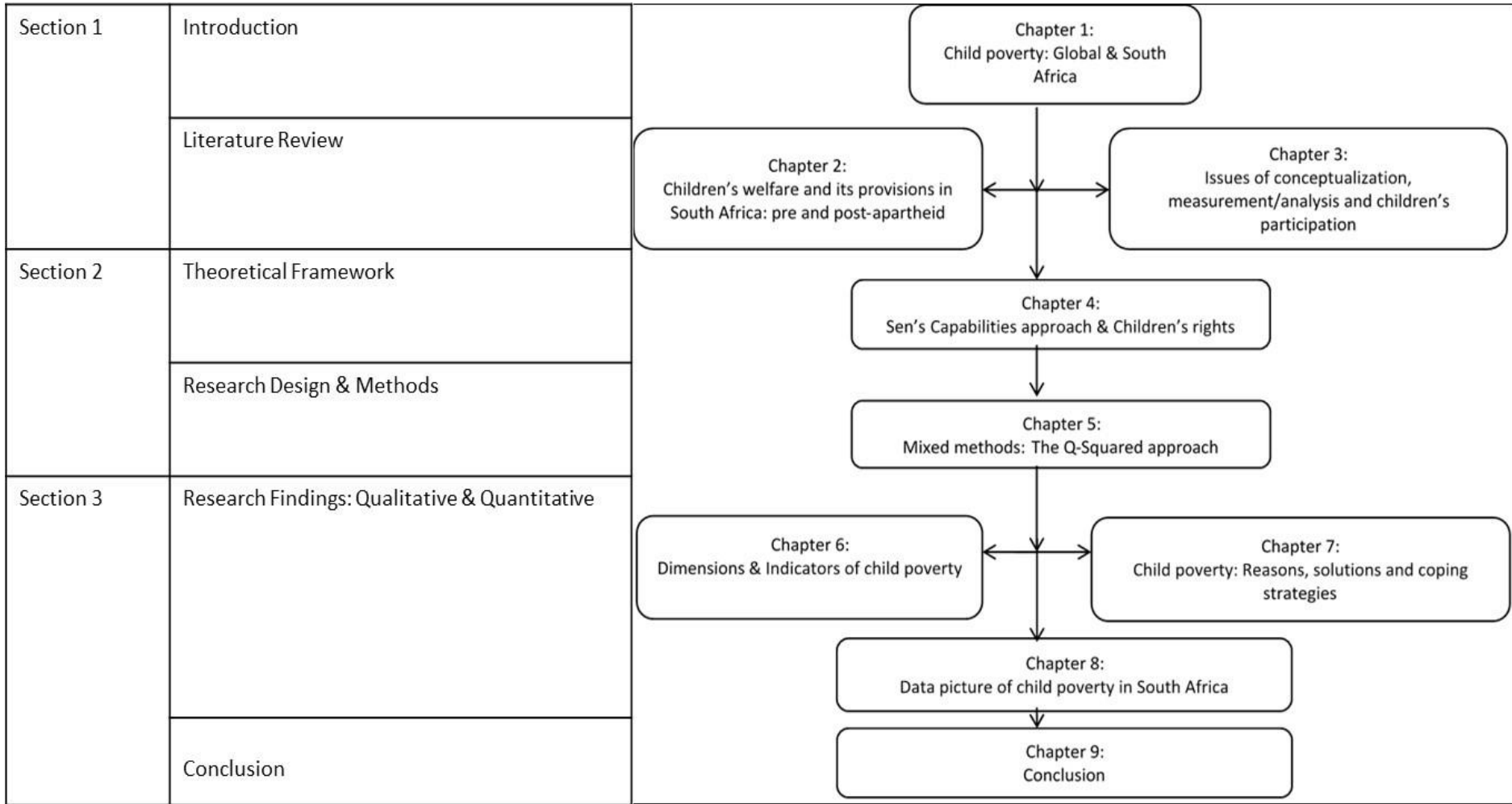
Chapters six and seven shift attention from history and theory to the present by discussing findings from fieldwork. Outcomes of the participatory poverty assessment sessions with the children are analysed to address research objectives 1 and 2. The dimensions and indicators emerging from fieldwork are defined and held as an input for further quantitative analysis in Chapter 8.

Chapter eight incorporates output from chapters 6 and 7 by analysing data from NIDS using STATA statistical software as in research objective 3. The essence of this is to employ descriptive statistics and tools to give a holistic yet decomposable view of child poverty in South Africa across various social classifications e.g. age, location, province etc.

Chapter nine concludes the thesis, with a contextual interpretation of findings and an assessment of their implications for the eradication of child poverty in South Africa



Figure 1.1. Schematic workflow of thesis



CHAPTER 2 - CHILD POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA: DISCUSSING SHADOWS OF TIMES PAST

“Poverty is the worst form of violence” - Mahatma Gandhi

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the nature, degree, particularities and racial dynamics of child poverty in South Africa - from the periods of colonialism and segregation but mainly during apartheid and immediately after. The actions, processes and policies that created, contributed to and sustained child poverty are also briefly discussed – all these to the extent to which information is available.

2.2. FOUNDATIONS OF CHILD POVERTY: APARTHEID’S LEGACY OF RACIAL DIFFERENTIATION

The high level of poverty in South Africa today is partly being sustained by the typical model of intra-country inequality where an affluent minority owns and controls key socio-economic resources to the inter-generational detriment of a poor majority. As with many other countries, the effects of decades of colonialism and the failure of succeeding nationalist governments (democratic and dictatorial) to progressively redress the imbalance are also contributing factors. Described by Fanon (1963:10) as “countries where colonialism has deliberately held up development”, South Africa’s case is peculiar because the end of colonialism marked the beginning of segregation and apartheid. And, despite it being one of the most developed economies in Africa, apartheid (and its strategies) have deliberately sustained selective poverty and racial inequality in South Africa (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:230).

During apartheid, a strategic system of land dispossession, forced exploitation/isolation and cheapening of Black labour, physical isolation and racial discrimination/exclusion in state-provided infrastructure and benefits was established. Specifically, Wilson & Ramphele (1989:204-230) posited that apartheid, which began formally with the election of The National Party in 1948, simply continued and intensified the system of the previous three centuries of conquest, slavery, racial discrimination and dispossession. Policies pursued by the National party did nothing to alleviate citizens' poverty, but rather impoverished them further. It essentially sustained and extended the practices that ensured Whites' economic and political privileges. This was done by employing various subjugation tactics including prevention of Black urbanisation (through pass laws, a family-splitting migrant labour system, housing construction quotas and destruction of Black communities during police raids and arrests), segregation via forced removals, expulsion and relocation to the ‘reserves’¹⁵, selective education privileges reserved for Whites and the implementation of the inferior Bantu education system for Blacks among others (ibid). The effects of inflation

¹⁵ Reserves were locations of physical segregation of Blacks on the basis of ethnicity and language. 10 in number (Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Ciskei, Lebowa, Venda, Gazankulu, Qwaqwa, KwaZulu, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane), they were later known as ‘Bantustans’, then ‘Homelands’. Today, most ‘Tribal Authority Areas’ (under traditional/tribal rule) are located in the former homelands.

on the already meagre earnings of Blacks worsened this, with some employed mostly in menial jobs and others unemployed (Wilson & Ramphele 1989:254).

Various seminal studies in the 1970's (Bundy 1972, Wolpe 1972, Legassick 1974, Legassick 1975, Legassick & Wolpe 1976) and subsequent reports (Wilson & Ramphele 1989 (including the various contributing papers for the 1984 Carnegie conference on poverty), Terreblanche 2002, May & Woolard 2005, Seekings & Nattrass 2005 and May & Woolard 2007) have documented, in detail, the events and effects (immediate and eventual) of the apartheid period on the poor South African majority. These accounts however, did not focus on the conditions of children before and during apartheid and relate more to adults. Some provide valuable insight, intermittently, into how children fared then. Notable reports by Jones (1993) and Ramphele & Richter (2006:73-81) focused on the effects of forced resettlement and fragmentation of children's families during apartheid and their experiences living in migrant hostels¹⁶. Other studies on children's welfare during these periods were mainly on their health status in early childhood (mortality and morbidity) than on the wider issue of poverty. Relevant details on this and other child-related concerns have been culled from various accounts and are presented below.

2.3. CHILDREN'S WELL-BEING – ISSUES BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER APARTHEID

The discussion of (Black) South African children's socio-economic welfare before and during apartheid in South Africa is a complex subject. It is embedded in the wider discourse on the still contentious subject of the origins/history of racial poverty in South Africa (which is debated from various ideological perspectives – capitalism, racial superiority and class dynamics inter alia). Below, I attempt to explore and navigate these, without an overt allegiance to a single viewpoint.

Terreblanche (2002:30) identified 4 traps responsible for perpetuating poverty for the poorest South Africans (despite increased social spending) namely: (i) high unemployment in a sluggish economy (ii) institutionalised inequalities in the distribution of power, property and opportunities between Blacks and Whites (iii) disrupted structures (family, culture and social life) and perpetuation of chronic community poverty and (iv) reinforcing dynamics of crime, violence and ill-health.

These factors in turn affected children's well-being in different key aspects including the quality of and access to basic needs like health and education, and other concerns at the community and household level like social life and family structures respectively. It is important to clarify that scholarly work on issues of children's well-being before and during apartheid were mainly focused on the basic aspects mentioned above. Aspects that were deemed less important (as at then, and in relation to children) like Play/Leisure, Transportation and Financial Livelihoods were often discussed in relation to adults or the general household. So, these areas of children's well-being as discussed next, are not intended to constitute a selective review, but depend on the availability of information

¹⁶ Dormitory-like accommodation in urban areas used to house men from rural areas that provided cheap migrant labour for the mining industry during apartheid. Despite their extremely poor living conditions, migrants and foreigners (refugee and asylum seekers) use hostels till date, mostly for permanent residence, as they have no alternative accommodation.

across Black African and Coloured children's situations. Centring the discussion on these areas is neither intended to indicate any assumptions about their relative importance nor to imply conclusions reached from an expert perspective. The discussion is simply based on available information about children's well-being in the stated periods. Overall, the discussions across the various aspects aim to offer a historical perspective to the conditions of children mostly before and during apartheid.

2.3.1. Health

For children, health is an important factor because it necessarily impacts their physical and cognitive outcomes in later years. The impact of poor childhood health is crosscutting. For instance, Blackwell et al (2001) found that poor childhood health increases morbidity in later life. Other studies including Poulton et al (2002) and Power et al (2007) also reported that poor socio-economic status in childhood affects health outcomes in adulthood. Smith (2009) also noted that poor health as a child has significant and direct effects on certain markers of socio-economic status in adulthood including adult education, income and wealth.

Hinting on the desirable standards of children's health and related conditions, Victora et al (2003:234) noted, "in an ideal world, coverage levels for preventive interventions such as vaccination, vitamin A supplementation, and insecticide-treated mosquito nets would be highest in the poorest households to offset these higher risks". So, desirable health indicators and outcomes include no or low infant/childhood mortality, absence of preventable diseases supported by timely and complete vaccination, balanced nutrition and development, higher life expectancy etc.

Giving historical evidence, Wilson & Ramphela (1989:174-176) identified the vulnerability of children (especially Blacks) in pre-apartheid South Africa as being prone to: (i) malnutrition in the form of stunting/wasting and (ii) high mortality rates due to the prevalence of diarrhoea and persistent hunger – both conditions brought about partly by inadequate family incomes and unstable family lives due to the migrant labour system. This higher tendency of malnutrition and mortality for Black children demonstrates the uneven development in pre-apartheid South Africa. As Aber et al (1997:470) noted, "an important indicator of a society's development is the mortality rate among infants.

Using available data, various studies (Wyndham & Irwig 1979, Irwig & Ingle 1984, Moosa 1984, Bourne et al 1988, Rip & Bourne 1988, Rip et al 1988 and Yach 1988) documented the infant mortality rate (IMR) and causes of death among White, Asian and Coloured infants before and during apartheid (between 1929 and 1985). Such findings were not accurately available for Black infants (or where provided, e.g. Chimere-Dan 1993 & Dorrington et al 1999), were based on estimates because of a reported absence of any/reliable data (ibid). This was due in part to an under-reporting of Black infant deaths and under-registration of births (Moosa 1984, Rip & Bourne 1988, Rip et al 1988), as well as an exclusion of data from Black squatter and informal settlements in urban cities like Old Crossroads and Site C, Khayelitsha (Cape Town), Kwamashu (Durban) and Diepkloof and Meadowlands (Johannesburg) - Yach 1988:232&234).

With infections, perinatal, respiratory and congenital causes identified as being mostly responsible for deaths among both Coloured and White infants, in 1983, the mortality rate

for Coloured infants was 44 times higher than that for Whites, and Coloured infants were 28 times more prone to dying from infections compared to White infants (Bourne et al 1988:231-232). This higher incidence was attributed to poorer hygiene and nutrition, lower prevalence of breast-feeding and more crowding in the Coloured community (ibid), as well as the unequal distribution of resources during apartheid (Goduka et al 1992:509). While reconfirming infectious diseases as a leading cause of under-5 mortality, Bradshaw et al (1992:237) also identified trauma, poverty-related diseases and chronic lifestyle-related diseases as responsible for the high incidence of adult mortality among Blacks.

Using combined demographic techniques, Bradshaw et al (1992:237-238) estimated the IMR and life expectancy of South Africans, and compared their results with selected countries – developed and developing. While the IMR for Whites was comparable to those for developed countries, the IMR of Black Africans and Coloureds were about 7 and 5 times respectively higher than those for Whites (ibid). As well, life expectancy of the general South African population was comparable to that of less developed countries, with Black Africans and Coloureds having the lowest estimates. Wilson & Ramphela (1989:106 & 108) also reported that Black African and Coloured children were 8 and 4 times respectively more likely to die before their first birthday than White children. The foregoing situations connote overall poorer health outcomes for Black African and Coloured children before and during apartheid.

2.3.2. Education

Ideas about desirable education include being one that translates into improved socio-economic conditions for the child in the short-term (e.g. learning) and into adulthood (e.g. success in the labour market). For poor children, the possibly being freely provided or at least subsidized, and not compromising on minimum standards is another desirable element.

In pre-apartheid South Africa, the Bantu Education Act of 1953 established the Bantu education system, a substandard arrangement for Blacks (especially Black Africans), but “segregationist and unequal educational structures...were firmly entrenched before 1948” when schools were being run by missionaries (Christie & Collins 1982:62). The overall purpose of the Bantu education system was to provide Blacks with just enough education to remain proletariats: an unskilled labour force that the capitalist system needed (Christie & Collins 1982:63). This was a central strategy to keep them as ‘hewers of wood and drawers of water’ (Terreblanche 2002:47).

With a central vision of teaching Blacks the value of their tribal culture, and as an avenue to ingrain the cultural difference and social inferiority of the Black race in the South African pecking order (Christie & Collins 1982:60), the Bantu system was (deliberately) deficient in many ways. Wilson & Ramphela (1989:138-145) noted the staggering degree of illiteracy (amongst Black Africans relative to Whites) in South Africa despite its high urbanisation rate and industrialisation level. This was due to a lack of quality arising from increased provision of access to schooling for Black African pupils in the 1970's and 1980's but a planned deficit of corresponding resources to fund this expansion (ibid). Specifically, there was a shortage of teachers, who lacked adequate (or sometimes, any) qualifications, a lack of furniture, books and equipment, and the adoption of a ‘double session per day system’ to allow the use of school facilities by two groups of Black children which invariably resulted in the shortening of school hours by one-third (Christie & Collins (1982:62-63 & 70). High pupil-

teacher ratios, overcrowded classrooms, poor learning infrastructure and the associated fact that most pupils were learning on hungry stomachs also adversely impacted the progress of Black African pupils (Wilson & Ramphele (1989:138-145).

Seekings & Nattrass (2005:331-332) also noted that under apartheid, inequality was being reproduced via education as social provisioning favoured schools attended by rich children over schools attended by poor children. Besides, already poor Black children were required to make compulsory financial contributions to their schools and pay for their own books and stationery (White children were not required to do so) – (Christie & Collins 1982:73). This resulted in poor children dropping out of school due to poverty: inability to pay school fees, buy school uniforms or the need for children to work to supplement household income.

Recognising the central place of education in impoverishing the Blacks, Christie & Collins (1982:74) noted,

“1948 brought a change in the ruling class grouping which in 1949 set about creating a social formation more consonant with their needs. Apartheid was their mask and Bantu education was their best means for reproducing labour in the form they desired”.

2.3.3. Social life & environment

Identifying ‘adverse childhood experiences’ (ACEs) as including abuse, domestic violence and other forms of household and community dysfunction, Chapman et al (2004) noted that exposure to ACEs is associated with increased risk of depressive disorders up to decades after their occurrence. Greenfield & Marks (2010) also noted that physical and psychological violence result in poor mental health in adulthood. These negative effects highlight the importance and value of a violence-free childhood on balanced development in adulthood.

Dawes (1990:14) however noted that political resistance against apartheid since 1976 exposed numerous Black children and youth in South Africa to repressive practices by the state as it sought to curb citizen’s opposition. These included brutal evictions of Blacks from squatter communities by vigilante groups and South African security forces; one such event near Crossroads in The Cape Province in mid-1986 resulted in several deaths and left scores injured and thousands homeless (Dawes et al 1989). Children growing up during apartheid were thus being socialised to find violence completely acceptable and human life cheap (Chikane 1986 cited in Hickson & Kriegler 1991:149).

From research conducted in the 1980’s, which entailed some interaction with child minders (usually grandmothers or aunts), Cock et al (1984:27) noted, “the social world of many young African children is limited to a grey, colourless backyard”; implying that the children’s play spaces and opportunities were restricted. In connection, Wilson & Ramphele (1989:156) stated that during apartheid, children were socialised into a life of crime and gangsterism because due to a lack of parks and fields, they opted for role-playing of known criminals in their community during leisure/playtime¹⁷. Renowned for his insightful works on

¹⁷ While such play may be akin to the popular ‘cops and robbers’ game, in South Africa, children had first-hand exposure to these criminals in their neighbourhoods; they were not imaginary or cartoon characters as in the typical game.

gangsterism in South Africa, Pinnock (1984) in *“The Brotherhoods: Street Gangs and State Control in Cape Town”* warned that the rise of youth gangs (due to apartheid’s activities/consequences including poverty, poor education, broken families and relocations of Blacks) would continue if communities did not take these gangs under control. Unfortunately, because sufficient measures (preventive and restorative) were not put in place, gangs multiplied. Elaborating on the issue, Pinnock & Douglas-Hamilton (1997) reported that most acts of gang violence and criminality were mostly ritualistic performances stemming from bowing to pressures to conform and win the approval of their peers and criminal mentors. In fact, for many committing crimes and violent acts were for initiation or acceptance into their associated gangs. Noteworthy is that gang initiation activities were similar to widely practised traditional rites of passage to initiate boys in to manhood. So for most boys who generally sought social belonging (beyond familial relationships), gangsterism – belonging to the brotherhood – was the solution, particularly because they often lacked healthy emotional attachment to their biological families (Pinnock 1998).

Noting that South Africa's history over centuries has been exceptionally violent, Terreblanche (2002:400-401) argued that the syndromes of violence, poverty and criminality) are being handed down between generations because children - especially Black children - are greatly exposed to them. Essentially, these syndromes have become the norm. Furthermore, “exposure to political violence is a form of adversity” (Dawes 1990:14). These norms/cultures of poverty and violence have thus been continually handed down to poor children, conceivably because “in South Africa, political protests and subsequent police action are most common in poor areas which often have high crime rates” (Dawes 1990:22). Overall, Hickson & Kriegler (1991:141) noted that the White-affluence vs. Black-poverty gap, racism and violence legacies of apartheid have had a negative impact (which they termed ‘*childshock*’) on all South African children, especially Black children.

2.3.4. Family structure(s), childcare & household systems

Several studies (including Berrick et al 1994, Schofield & Beek 2005) have recognized that family-based care arrangements including fostering (biological or non-biological) and kinship care, are preferable and ideal for children’s all-round development. This notion is hinged on the notion that being a family setting could help a child overcome past experiences of adversity and improve his/her chances of better outcomes as an adult. The creation and careful management of foster care programmes by governments of several countries including The United Kingdom, USA and South Africa attests to the importance of family-based care for children.

The household system in most of Africa is generally known to differ from conventional Western patterns of strict nuclearity. Still, it fits multiple descriptions as:

- “A complex unit involved in a web of social relations and networks” (Adato et al 2007:259)
- “Non-universal, culturally-loaded and historically-specific (Russell 1993:755)
- “The occupants of a house regarded as a unit” (Oxford Dictionary definition).

Pinning or defining the boundaries of households is difficult due to (i) member’s fluid origins (ii) nature and duration of members’ residency (iii) differences in institutional classifications and individual criteria for defining household membership and (iv) blurred household compositions due to circular movements amidst different proximal

and distant households sharing social and economic resources (food, labour, shelter etc.) - (Adato et al 2007:251).

While the communal existence of nuclear and non-nuclear family members is a pervasive African occurrence (Lloyd & Desai 1992), the motives differ especially when placed in historical and individual country contexts. In some instances, it is either as a favour (or in implicit repayment of an earlier courtesy, or as Madhavan (2004:1449) observed: “fosterage patterns are part of larger kinship obligations that are bounded by rules”. In South Africa’s case, Madhavan noted that apartheid necessitated family separation¹⁸ and caused impoverishment in both rural and urban areas; fluid child mobility was therefore a response/survival strategy for managing the hardship and oppression:

“apartheid forced people to be resourceful in creating productive networks made up of both kin and non-kin in order to develop social capital”(2004:1447-1449).

In corroboration, Lund (2008:2) noted that colonialism and apartheid dismantled stable families and settlements, first through the migrant labour system when men left their families behind (in villages) to work in cities and mines, and second, through resettlement of millions of people in the quest for “separate development”. Clark et al (2007:35) also attributed mobility patterns and population settlement systems in South Africa to the historic need for migrant Black labour supply in mining activities, which was controlled by restrictive mobility arrangements (pass laws) and assigned residence in ‘homelands’ based on ethnic identities. Expectedly, high levels of household poverty/deprivation existed amongst the Black population due to unemployment or low wages when jobs were available. So, apartheid distorted established patterns of social/communal parenting, and amplified its negative consequences by curtailing its positive attributes.

Diverging from Madhavan, Lund & Clark et al’s perspectives, Russell (2004:44) opposed the notion that the tendency of Black South African parents to ‘disperse’ their children to live with kin was politically spurred (by the apartheid regime) and argued instead that it is rooted in African traditional expectations and practice, which coincidentally but conveniently accommodated the newer economic pressures of apartheid. In support, Russell reasoned that in Africa, children are expected to circulate between kin, as required, for errands and companionship, and specifically in South Africa, in the household of their grandparents – maternal (because their birth and early childhood is likely to have occurred there) and paternal (because it is their line of descent and belonging). They could also be sent to parent’s siblings and childless relatives, thus indicating a constant cycle of child fostering amongst different households with familial ties (ibid). Russell (2004:38, 52&54) however recognised historical practices involving Black parents dispersing their children to safer rural areas during the times of great political tension and resistance in the Johannesburg metropolis and especially as the right to permanent urbanisation was denied to Black people, both in principle and in practice. Circular migration of children (which occurs till date, though less frequently)

¹⁸ There was a social disruption and forced separation of Black South African families when parents (usually fathers) had to migrate for work - Madhavan (2004:1446).

was therefore developed as a response to white resistance to permanent Black urbanization.

This disruption of nuclear family structures increased the burden of childcare on women and significantly altered household compositions. From research with working African mothers in apartheid South Africa, Cock et al (1984:7) affirmed, “the household in African urban working class areas does not refer to the small, relatively isolated monogamous unit termed ‘the nuclear family’”. Many households comprised 8 to 10 people, across different (age) generations, with a large number of women being single mothers living outside stable marital relationships, sometimes by choice. Russell (2004:14-15) also noted that compared to white conjugal couple households with independent (and individualistic) marital structures, Black households in South Africa are pervasively marked by the absence of a conjugal couple and formally ordered kinships determined by age, gender and descent. Rising inflation (owing to decline in subsistence agriculture), “the massive disorganization of African family life in contemporary South Africa”... and the need to cater for pre-school children also increased the numbers of Black women compelled to seek wage labour (often the lowest-paying, least-skilled and most insecure jobs in the service and agricultural sectors), especially between 1973 and 1981 (Cock et al 1984:3-4&8). In corroboration, Hickson & Kriegler (1991:144) reported that economic necessity during apartheid saw the fusion of mother/worker roles for many African women who had to return to work before their babies turned 3 months old. This had implications for the extent and quality of care that their children received, and the child-care arrangements mothers resorted to given the absence of fathers who were usually at work in the mines and cities.

The AIDS pandemic in South Africa, which increased the headcount of orphans, and inevitably resulted in the need for increased child fosterage across provincial boundaries, also expectedly exacerbated the incidence of child mobility. The death of parents in urban cities warranted the child moving back to live with kin in rural areas or more rarely, elderly kin moving to the city to take care of the children. Recognising the consequences of the AIDS outbreak, Madhavan (2004:1446) noted that most fostered children stayed with maternal grandparents, and also acknowledged the importance of women’s networks (i.e. female kin) in child fostering e.g. children staying with their aunts. As Madhavan (2004:1445) pointed out, the choice of the foster parents however usually depended on the objectives of fostering e.g. Grandmothers – to meet labour and companionship needs or Parents’ educated siblings - for education, apprenticeships or urban acculturation etc. In substantiation, while analysing the impact of parental & household AIDS mortality on children’s mobility, Ford & Hosegood (2004:7) noted that multiple household membership across South Africa which entails members residing in different places concurrently is a social phenomenon that has been reported by ethnographic research.

Regardless of the motivation for fluid child rearing, it is clear that this age-long practice of social rather than sole biological/natal parenting has persisted and matured to influence contemporary practices of child rearing in South Africa. This practice has implications for the nature and extent of care (and deprivation) that children experience. It also bears consequences for this study as explained next.

The fluid mobility of children in South Africa has significant implications for obtaining parental consent required for this study, and for the emotional security of child participants in non-natal households. This is especially if the child rearing arrangement

is imposed (due to pressures including parental loss, cultural norms or indeed for parental convenience). Nevertheless, such flux does not necessarily imply emotive insecurity for the child but may well result in self-security and precocious independence obtained from dwelling with an assortment of caring kin (Russell 2002 cited in Russell 2004:44).

Furthermore, although children are the main unit of analysis in this study, this exploration into the history, nature and peculiarity of South African household patterns is vital. It is premised on the knowledge that the origins, composition, interrelationships and economic status of potential child participants' households could impact the processes and findings of this study. It justifies ethical concessions in method execution e.g. consent obtained from guardians/kin in loco parentis, as applicable. It also helps understand children's contexts: their experiences of poverty and efforts to manage it as individuals and at the household level.

2.3.5. South African children's reaction(s) during and after apartheid

In South Africa, children have been at the forefront of initiating social action for change not only on issues that directly concern them, but also on wider societal problems. Terreblanche (2002:351) noted that although the famous June 1976 uprising by Black African high school students' in Soweto was directly caused by a rejection of Afrikaans as the language of teaching, it spurred a string of intermittent protests (countrywide) that lasted into 1980. These ensuing protests were mainly in reaction to the economic downturn, which since 1974 had increased unemployment and poverty in Black townships, and in revolt against stricter influx control measures and serious housing shortages.

The Soweto protest point indicated the structural problem of poverty and displeasure with the sustained designation of race and class as delineators of privilege or determinants of access to ideally equal opportunities.

As Wilson & Ramphela (1989:293) noted: "by their own actions in recent years the children of South Africa have thrust themselves into a position where they can no longer be ignored". Children's actions have therefore contributed to spotlighting the need for paying specific attention to children's issues in South African society. The direct and indirect responses (legal, socio-political and economic) of the South African Government (and society) to this need are discussed below.

2.4. THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK (LEGAL, SOCIO-POLITICAL & ECONOMIC) FOR CHILDREN'S WELFARE IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.4.1. The Legal Framework

The 1996 South African Constitution: As with most processes aimed at redress (in this case, making amends for the damaging effects of colonialism, segregation and apartheid in South Africa), ensuring human rights are important. With the backing of the law (i.e. constitution), human rights ensure and protect the freedoms of every South African regardless of racial origin. Given that human rights are based on values including dignity, justice, impartiality, respect and independence, they act as a levelling instrument across the populace. In South Africa, human rights as enshrined in the constitution are a guarantee that racially based injustices won't occur again, and are punishable by law in the unlikely event that they occur. Specifically, human rights ensure that all opportunities (social, economic, physical, religious, cultural etc.) are freely available to all South Africans regardless of their history, background and personal characteristics. Also, human rights aim to make all individuals equal with

respect to their opportunities to access enabling resources and government assistance (without exception or partiality). However, in addition to human rights, redistributive efforts have to be put in place to redress the imbalance.

The rights of children in South Africa are enshrined at various levels of accountability: (i) nationally – in the South African Constitution of 1996, (ii) internationally – in the United Nations Convention on the rights of the Child (UN CRC) 1989 and (iii) regionally – in the African Charter on the rights and welfare of the Child (ACRWC) 1999. South Africa ratified the UN CRC and ACRWC in 1995 and 2000 respectively. These 3 treaties collectively cover the entire spectrum of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights enjoyable by humans.

In this thesis, the provisions for children's socio-economic welfare in post-apartheid South Africa as set out in the South African Constitution are explored mainly because the Constitution incorporates and localises the provisions of the UN CRC and ACRWC. Furthermore, the Constitution was "drafted in the context of a legacy of extensive and racially-biased poverty linked to apartheid and the coming to power of a democratic government deeply committed to poverty eradication" (Streak & Wehner 2004:54). Moreover, in the preamble to the Constitution, it is stated that,

"we, the people of South Africa recognise the injustices of our past ...believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it...adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to – heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights".

The South African Constitution devotes Section 28 to children, specifying a range of socio-economic rights due to them including: rights to family/parental care, basic nutrition, shelter, healthcare and social services, rights to be protected from abuse/neglect and exploitative labour, rights to not be detained (with specific exceptions), right to have legal support in civil proceedings and rights not be involved in armed conflict. Other rights applicable to children (and sometimes everyone else) are specified in Section 26 (housing), Section 27 (healthcare, food, water and social security) and Section 29 (education) amongst others. Children also enjoy other rights under the Bill of Rights of the Constitution including the right not to be discriminated against on the basis of age (Sloth-Nielsen & Mezmur 2008:1-2).

Streak & Wehner (2004:52) noted that a central aim of socioeconomic rights as set out in the South African Constitution is

"to create an environment in which all poor people and in particular, vulnerable groups such as children have basic necessities – including adequate healthcare, education, water, shelter, sanitation, food and income" - ... all justiciable rights that are enforceable through the judiciary (ibid).

This implies that government is and should be held accountable, legally, for ensuring that the full socio-economic rights of all children in South Africa are fulfilled. The extent of this accountability is fundamental for children's socio-economic welfare because government's responsibility to children becomes more pronounced when parents and families are unable or unwilling to fulfil their own responsibilities to their children. The history of poverty in

South Africa and the existing associated problems of chronic poverty, racial inequality and structural unemployment have directly affected parents'/families' ability to meet their obligations, thus shifting significant responsibility (and legally so) to the South African government. However, Streak & Wehner (2004:54) identified this fundamental element as the major shortcoming of the Constitution: its failure to specify the exact content or scope of any socio-economic rights and the extent of government's obligations to fulfil them. This impinges on the adequacy of the law as a basis for establishing minimum expectations, standardising citizens' benefits and holding stakeholders accountable for their performance, at least to the extent to which they are expressly liable. But where no standards are stated, it goes without saying that no wrongs can be assumed.

Despite this major flaw, over the years (especially those following the advent of democracy in South Africa), government has made concerted efforts to specifically ensure and promote children's socio-economic well-being. The focus on children's wellbeing above others' is perhaps because the fulfilment of obligations to everyone else is "qualified with reference to progressive realisation, available resources and reasonable measures" Streak (2004:2). But government's obligations to children must be unhindered by any constraints – financial, political or cultural. The need to realise rights by designing and implementing a range of measures including strategic plans, policies, laws, programmes, budgets and services (Proudlock 2014:1), may also drive these efforts. A few of the most prominent of these measures (laws, policies and services) are discussed below.

The Children's Act (No 38 of 2005): The Children's Act makes provision for social services that support the care and protection of children by their families and communities, or state alternative care where the former fails; these services range from protection services for abused children, foster care, adoption, child and youth care centres (CYCC), early childhood development (ECD) programmes, support for child-headed households etc. (Proudlock & Jamieson 2008:35-36). Bosman-Swanepoel & Wessels (1995:1) noted that the first legislation for children's protection in South Africa was accepted by the then Cape Parliament in 1856, but the Children's Act came into being partly because of a constitutional imperative to draft a new law (aligning with the system of a constitutional democracy instead of the discriminatory apartheid structure) Proudlock & Jamieson (2008:35). The nature, complexity and consequences of arising social challenges in post-apartheid South Africa (including prevalent poverty, social fragmentation, the culture of violence, high unemployment and the HIV/AIDS pandemic) was also identified as another motivation for enacting the Children's Act (ibid).

The Children's Act has been lauded as signalling a new era of childcare and protection because it provides and specifies guidelines for the services needed to realise children's rights, puts government in the centre of responsibility for the delivery of children's rights and defines how the services should be financed (Proudlock & Jamieson 2008:36-39). Moreover, "the Act as a whole provides the strong legislative foundation that was so desperately needed to enable the country respond adequately to the needs of vulnerable children" (Proudlock & Jamieson 2008:40). This is especially because enacting the law (in this case, The South African Constitution) is just the first step; the management, coordination and implementation of the services required by the law is a second step and often a bigger challenge (Proudlock 2014:1).

However, challenges exist with the implementation of the Children's Act. Budlender & Proudlock (2011:4) noted that the national Department of Social Development (DSD) has

the primary responsibility for policy-making and coordination of the Children's Act. However, consistently insufficient (and sometimes reduced) budget allocations by provincial DSDs over the years pose a significant challenge to its successful implementation (see Budlender & Proudlock's annual assessments of provincial DSDs budgets). As well, a lack of a sufficient number of social welfare workers affects the delivery of social services to children. (See Budlender & Proudlock 2010:43). Funding challenges facing NPOs delivering social services related to the Children's Act is another problem (Budlender & Proudlock 2011:61).

Overall, the Children's Act is an indispensable instrument for fool proofing children's well-being and development. Deliberations (between 2015 and 2016) on its amendment will hopefully strengthen its implementation¹⁹.

2.4.2. The Socio-Political Framework

This section presents a selective overview of some key public, welfare and social policy structures/institutions concerned with child poverty in South Africa:

Departments of Government (National, Provincial and Local): The state's responsibility for promoting children's welfare is spread across 3 distinct tiers of government: National, Provincial and Local that are yet interdependent and operate based on a cooperative governance structure. The administration and monitoring of children's welfare across these tiers is supported by operations of various Departments of Government across the 3 tiers, which collectively have mandates (direct or supporting) to ensure, promote and sustain the wholesome development of all children in South Africa. These include the Departments of Social Development, Basic Education, Justice, Health, and Home Affairs amongst others²⁰.

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) – Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) & Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs): A number of CSOs, international and national, are actively involved in matters relating to children's welfare and development in South Africa. Their interests and focus include physical and emotional care, educational support, healthcare, nutrition, child protection, children's rights governance/monitoring, research and advocacy. Their operations span the various phases of childhood including early childhood development (ECD) to late teenage and youth years and focus on a range of children – abandoned, orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), physically and mentally-challenged children, street/homeless children, HIV/AIDS infected children, malnourished children, school drop-outs, children in child-headed households etc. While International NGOs like Save the Children South Africa and UNICEF operate on a large scale, many national NPOs have a community-based grassroots focus. They include Child Welfare South Africa, Jo'burg Child Welfare, Cape Town Child Welfare Society, Philani, Children's Rights Centre (CRC), Chubby Chums, Afrika Tikkun, The Johannesburg Children's Home, Children of South Africa (CHOSA) and Baphumelele. Most of them have centres and site offices in impoverished townships like Khayelitsha and Philippi (Western Cape Province), Eldorado Park, Slovo Park and Soweto (Gauteng Province) and OR Tambo District (Eastern Cape province) etc. Some operations of

¹⁹ For latest developments on the Children's Act, see:

http://www.ci.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=886&Itemid=192

²⁰ See <http://www.gov.za/about-government/government-system/national-departments> for more details on the specific functions of government departments.

NPOs in South Africa are administered by the DSD, which represents the State in ensuring children's welfare²¹.

A key organisation in the frontline of civil action, knowledge creation and advocacy concerning children's issues in South Africa is The Children's Institute (CI). Its origins and activities are discussed next.

The Children's Institute (School of Public Health, University of Cape Town): The situation and actions of Black children during and after colonialism and apartheid informed Wilson & Ramphela's recommendation that a Children's Institute/Centre be established to monitor their welfare. They reiterated the need for "establishment of a new organization for the purpose of focusing specific and continuing attention on the problems facing children in Southern Africa". Proposals for the functions of the suggested Children's Institute/Centre were: (i) to publicly express concern for the rights of children in all aspects of society, (ii) to focus attention on law(s) that infringe children's rights (ii) to monitor, expose and strive to correct anything detrimental to children, (iv) to stimulate research, thinking and writing about the best ways to mitigate the consequences of poverty, racism, sexism and oppression as they affect children, (v) to promote the establishment of a stimulating environment (general environment, schools, recreational places and libraries) for children to grow, and (vi) to create centres of concern countrywide, to support children's issues and encourage the creation of an environment that allows children to be children. (1989:297-298).

The Children's Institute²² was eventually established in 2001 and currently fulfils these functions amongst others. With a mission "to contribute to policies, laws and interventions that promote equality and realise the rights and improve the conditions of all children in South Africa, through research, advocacy, education and technical support", the Children's Institute works on a variety of short, phased and long-term projects focused on children's development in South Africa. This meets the need for timeous research that monitors and reports on children's well-being, predicts trends and recommends directions for government action/intervention via policies and programmes.

The informative output of the Children's Institute includes an annual report: 'South African Child Gauge' published since 2005 that thematically monitors and reports on the situation and well-being of children in South Africa, particularly the realisation of their rights. Themes reported on include: 'Children and HIV/AIDS', 'Children and Poverty', 'Children's right to social services' and 'Children and Inequality'. Also, via the *Children Count - Abantwana Babalulekile* website (<http://www.childrencount.org.za>), the Children's Institute develops, presents and tracks child-centred statistics via an interactive database of 40 indicators of children's well-being in South Africa (including living conditions, health status, care arrangements, school access etc.).

²¹ For details, see:

http://www.dsd.gov.za/npo/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=66&Itemid=114

²² See www.ci.org.za for more information on the projects and reports of The Children's Institute.

In the most recent edition of the South African Child Gauge (2016:8), Francie Lund, (Chair of the former Lund Committee on Child & Family Support, which recommended the Child Support Grant – CSG, discussed next) described the Children’s Institute as producing hallmark work comprising an invaluable stock of research-based publications on social and child support policies in South Africa.

2.4.3. The Economic Framework

The Child Support Grant (CSG): Historically, Black Africans and Indians were excluded from receiving pensions as provided by The Old Age Pensions Act of 1928, which covered only Whites and Coloureds²³; the principle of parity in social pensions was only introduced in 1993. Social security has long been regarded as a core element of the welfare system aimed at reducing and preventing poverty (Triegaardt 2005:250). The South African Constitution therefore designates access to social security as a right for any persons unable to support themselves and their dependants (Section 27(1c)). It is however evident that the child poverty situation in South Africa is at variance with the ideals pertaining to the quality of life of children (and their families) as expressed in the South African Constitution (Streak 2004:2-3). One of the social security measures that the South African government employed to bridge this gap (between actual and ideal child well-being) is the Child Support Grant (CSG).

The Child Support Grant (CSG) launched on 1st April 1998 was the outcome of the report of the Lund Committee commissioned in 1996 to explore policy options for social protection for children in poverty and their families. With the central objective to ‘follow the child’ i.e. every child would be eligible to receive the grant regardless of his/her family structure, the CSG was designed to give poorest children opportunities to access resources (Triegaardt 2005:249-252). Designed as a means-tested social grant, the CSG was aimed specifically at the poorest 30% of children aged 0 to 7 years in South Africa regardless of race (Coetzee 2013:429 & Triegaardt 2005:250). A substantive replacement for the existing State Maintenance Grant (SMG for single-parent families²⁴), the CSG was received with mixed reactions because it was perceived to be less financially liberal, was dependent on age restrictions as a condition for access and would subsequently exclude some current recipients of the SMG (Triegaardt 2005:249).

The CSG has however had a significant impact on poverty since its inception. Coetzee (2013:427, citing Leibbrandt et al 2000 and Van der Berg et al 2010) stated that most reviewers have argued that the post-2000 decline in poverty in South Africa is attributable to the introduction of the CSG. Based on empirical findings of a performance review of the CSG, Gomersall (2013:541-542) lauded the CSG that it has been implemented well, has

²³ Lund (2008:9) noted that welfare systems and social assistance were racially discriminatory with a complete lack of state provision of any sort for most Africans, especially those in the Bantustans who were the poorest. There was virtually no form of state support for young African children who were the most vulnerable population group.

²⁴ The SMG was failing to reach the poorest people (especially Black Africans who were almost entirely excluded) and was phased out as part of the South African Government’s reform of the social security system (Kruger 1998 cited in Coetzee 2011:2)

achieved excellent reach, and is an appropriate choice amongst various primary options to alleviate children's deprivation.

Given the positive feedback about the effect of the CSG on poverty, government spending on it has increased over the years, and the eligibility criteria has been expanded to allow inclusion of more beneficiary children and their caregivers: from the start-up cash transfer of R100 monthly, the value of the CSG has increased steadily to its current amount of R360 monthly²⁵. Although the CSG is unconditional²⁶ as no evidence of its spending or impact is required, government promotes the need to spend the cash transfer on items that directly benefit the child such as education or feeding, and requires bi-annual proof of children's school attendance (Coetzee 2013:430). The payment of the CSG to primary caregivers (not necessarily the biological parents) of beneficiary children also contributes greatly to the success of the CSG. This practice is informed by the fluid living arrangements of many children living in poverty in South Africa (Gomersall 2013:526), as was discussed earlier in this chapter.

The CSG's impact on poverty alleviation is undeniable and ranges from increasing children's access to food/nutrition, school enrolment/education and healthcare (Case et al 2005, Agüero et al 2006, Coetzee 2013); but it still fails to reach the most vulnerable and poor children (Cassiem & Kgamphe 2004:203; Goldblatt et al 2006:8), including infants. This is largely because there will always be compromises on the extent of coverage of the CSG: between the amount of the grant and the number of children it can reach (Triegaardt 2005:253). Still, improvements in the implementation of the CSG are needed to enhance the realization of peoples' rights to social assistance and bring current practice in line with the law as set out in the South African Constitution, legislation and common law (Goldblatt et al 2006:8).

The Foster Care Grant (FCG): the foster care grant was introduced to supplement foster parent's financial provisions for the children who had been placed in their care by the children's court. These children who have been removed from their nuclear families due to abuse or neglect are the responsibility of the state but are placed in foster care with substitute families. This is because family home settings are considered preferable to government institutions for providing holistic and balanced care for children. Besides differing from the CSG in purpose, the FCG is funded from the social assistance budget and directly linked to the child-protection programme. The FCG is automatic and not means-tested, but is paid only for two years, after which it may be renewed subject to successful assessment by a social worker and the children's court (Hall et al 2016:68). Also, the FCG at R890 per month is almost thrice the CSG in value. A major concern with the FCG is that it has increasingly been used as a poverty alleviation grant, whereas it was intended as the state's contribution to the cost of caring for the foster child (ibid). Nevertheless, the FCG has contributed significantly to the success of South Africa's child protection system.

²⁵ See <http://www.gov.za/services/child-care-social-benefits/child-support-grant> for further details.

²⁶ See Gomersall (2013:526) for a discussion of the complications of describing the CSG as conditional or unconditional.

2.5. CHAPTER SUMMARY

The entire narrative of this chapter drives one major point home: that South Africa is a country where one necessarily has to look at the past to understand the present (Ball & Hughes 2011), because the shadows of times past have a lingering influence on today. Above, the review of children's status before, during and after apartheid clearly uncovers implications for the quality of life that Black children have today. It also raises valid concerns and urgent questions about the feasibilities of an equal South Africa for children (of today and those yet unborn) of all races and origins.

In a recent expression of such concern, while celebrating the 10th anniversary of The South African Children's Gauge and delivering the UCT Vice-Chancellor's open lecture, Emeritus Professor Marian Jacobs, founder and first Director of The Children's Institute reiterated the need to "put children on the front pages of our visions, plans and actions"²⁷. This thesis is one of the responses to this call.



²⁷ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WIHDCXUBuLM> for the full lecture recording.

CHAPTER 3 – CHILD POVERTY: AN INQUIRY INTO ISSUES OF CONCEPTUALISATION, MEASUREMENT/ANALYSIS & CHILDREN’S PARTICIPATION

“Not everything that can be counted counts, and not everything that counts can be counted” - Albert Einstein

“What gets measured gets managed” – Peter Drucker

3.1. THE DEBATE ON CONCEPTUALISATION

The conceptualisation and definition of poverty has evolved over time. Progress has been made since the basic (though founding) works of Charles Booth (*Life and Labour of the People*) and Seebohm Rowntree (*York Studies of Poverty*) in Britain. Both were instrumental in the shift from perceiving poverty as an individual fault to viewing it as a consequence of low wages. This progress is the consequence of debates among social scientists. The scholarly rejoinders (on absolutist vs. relativist approaches to defining poverty) between Peter Townsend and Amartya Sen (see Townsend 1979a and 1979b -> Sen 1983 -> Townsend 1985 -> Sen 1985a) are a notable case in point of such debates. The bone of contention in these debates often revolve around whether poverty should be defined or measured in either absolute or relative terms, or some combination of both approaches. To buttress the introductory explanations of these approaches presented in Chapter 1, they are elaborated on below.

3.2. CONCEPTS OF POVERTY

Townsend (1987:33-41) identified 3 “alternative established or professionally supported conceptions of poverty” in Europe as follows:

- **The Idea of Subsistence:** rooted in the ‘New Poor Laws’ (where the rich ruling groups wanted to ensure that the poor had just enough to survive), and allowed them access only to basic needs of food, shelter and clothing. This notion was used to set minimum wages & social security rates e.g. in South Africa wages of Blacks were fixed according to the poverty datum line. The main problem of this notion of poverty is its designation of human needs as being mainly physical (food, shelter, and clothing) rather than also social even though humans are social beings.
- **Basic Needs²⁸:** said to include 2 elements – (i) minimum family requirements e.g. food, shelter, clothing and furniture (ii) essential services like water, health, education, transportation etc. It should not be equated with the idea of the needed minimum for subsistence but should be interpreted in the context of national independence and individual freedom/dignity. Still, it is not ideal because the availability of physical needs and services don’t cover social roles.
- **Relative Deprivation:** an improvement over the first 2 approaches, this concept incorporates the social aspect by including the relativity of poverty/wealth per person and location. The focus shifts from income to resources, and a minimum living standard rather than minimum income is recognised. The poor are defined as

²⁸ Also known as Absolute Poverty as elaborated in Streeten & Burki’s (1978) Basic Needs Strategy to abolish absolute poverty.

individuals or families whose resources (goods, cash income, plus services from public and private) are so small as to exclude them from the minimum acceptable way of life of the society in which they live.

The relativist approach acknowledges that humans are social beings with physical and psychological needs, and goes beyond counting the poor to pointing out the structural issues that need to be addressed in order to deal with poverty (Townsend 1987:41). It is a more widely accepted approach. Sen (1983:154) noted that a change in emphasis on the notion of poverty from an absolutist view to a relativist view occurred in scholarly circles in the context of “lots of people who were in misery and clearly deprived of what they saw...as necessities of life”. The strength of the relativist approach was further revealed in The World Bank’s (Narayan et al 2000) seminal participatory poverty assessment project, *Voices of the Poor* (Volumes 1 to 3) where the poor conceptualised poverty as powerlessness and social exclusion.

3.2.1. Bringing it together: An eventual consensus?

The outcomes of the poverty conceptualisation/definition debate were captured by Townsend’s (1979a:31) notable statement in his seminal work *Poverty in the United Kingdom*:

“Poverty can be defined objectively and applied consistently only in terms of the concept of relative deprivation...The term is understood objectively rather than subjectively. Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when they lack the resources to obtain the types of diet, participate in the activities and have the living conditions and amenities which are customary, or at least widely encouraged or approved, in the society to which they belong”.

The elusive consensus in defining, measuring and analysing poverty was also aptly summarised by May (2001), who from a review of over 40 national poverty studies, found that poverty is often defined in a combination of 3 ways:

- As being unable to attain a minimum standard of living reflected by a quantifiable and absolute indicator of poverty.
- As the lack of resources to attain a quality of life that is socially acceptable.
- As constrained choices, unfulfilled capabilities and social exclusion.

Recognising the individual merits of the 3 approaches, May et al (2002:3) noted that:

“rather than seeing these as competing methodologies, it has become accepted that this situation arises from the multidimensional nature of poverty. The different approaches thus reflect different aspects of poverty in society, and should be used in combination”.

The decision to combine these approaches or not impacts on the results of poverty measurement efforts as it determines what dimensions of poverty would be included in the assessment. Issues of dimensions and indicators to be used for child poverty measurement are discussed next.

3.3. DIMENSIONS & INDICATORS USED IN EXISTING STUDIES

In relation to the conceptualization of poverty, some authors (O'Hare & Gutierrez 2012, Fernandes et al 2012) have attempted summary reviews of domains, dimensions and indicators used in existing studies to measure children's wellbeing.

O'Hare & Gutierrez (2012:617) acknowledged the progress of and the need for a common language in the child indicators research field. They reiterated Moore et al's (2008:19) stance that a consensus on dimensions to be included in the overall index had not been reached often times, perhaps because personal values, cultural differences, and definitions about children's well-being vary. The UN 2006 definition of child poverty, though internationally accepted, still does not address the full spectrum and specificity of child poverty in certain countries, in light of their history and current situation. For instance, while the definition mentions poor children as being deprived of participation and protection, in war-torn Syria, protection could mean security of life, while it could mean an education-based cash transfer to a child in a remote Indian village.

Exploring the range of domains/dimensions used in 19 studies on child wellbeing, they noted that 61 unique domain/dimension names were used. This defied the expectation that there would be replication (and implied general acceptance) of domains/dimensions. The implication of this as they noted could be that the child indicators research field was not recognising past research efforts in using domain/dimension names consistently. It could also be indicative of the possibility that child wellbeing researchers had very diverse ideas of the main concepts of child wellbeing to be included in indices.

O'Hare & Gutierrez created a tiered classification as shown below (based on their usage of domain/dimension names), and noted that the prominent domains featured were Health, Education, Material Resources and Risk/Safety/Behaviour; 26 other domains were used only once. They thus concluded that there are a few domains that are widely used and many domains that are only used by a few researchers (2012:620-621). They also noted that 11 out of the 19 studies used either 6 or 7 dimensions/domains in formulating their overall indices (O'Hare & Gutierrez 2012:616).

Reviewing dimensions used in 4 prominent child wellbeing indexes, Fernandes et al (2012:250-251) concluded that there is no definite rule/consensual framework for defining dimensions, probably due to the difference in theoretical conceptualizations adopted by the various studies. A part summary of their findings has been reproduced in the table below:

Table 3.1. Dimensions used in formulating child wellbeing indexes

Dimensions	Expanded Child & Youth Wellbeing Index in the USA 2007 (Land et al)	Index of Child Wellbeing in Europe (2009) – Bradshaw & Richardson	A Microdata Child Wellbeing Index (NSCH) (2008) – Moore et al	A Composite Deprivation Index (2009) – Bastos & Machado
Material situation/Socio-economic context	√	√	√	X
Housing & Environment/Neighbourhood context	X	√	√	√
Health/Physical Health	√	√	√	√
Education/Cognitive Achievement	√	√	√	√
Social relationships/Social health	√	√	√	√
Subjective wellbeing/Psychological wellbeing	√	√	√	X
Risk and Safety/Behavioural concerns	√	√	X	X
Civic participation/Place in the community	√	X	X	X
Other domains: Family processes/Family context	X	X	√	X
Total number of indicators	44	43	69	20

Source: Adapted from Fernandes et al (2012)²⁹

A ground-breaking method of child poverty measurement known as *The Bristol Method* was developed and introduced by a team of researchers from the University of Bristol and the London School of Economics in 2003 (Published as *Child Poverty in the Developing World* - Gordon et al 2003). Being the first scientific assessment of child poverty in developing countries and having received global endorsement by UNICEF, the Bristol method is regarded as the “gold standard for measuring child poverty and deprivation”³⁰. The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and UNICEF Regional Office for the Americas and the Caribbean have used the Bristol method for child poverty measurement in their region since 2008³¹.

²⁹ Fernandes et al (2012) compared the 4 indexes between 2 time periods each, but the table above only includes the more recent year/index.

³⁰ <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/research/impact-stories/2015/gold-standard-for-measuring-child-poverty.html>

³¹ <http://dds.cepal.org/infancia/guide-to-estimating-child-poverty/introduction.php>

The Bristol multidimensional study defined poverty according to the UN Copenhagen World Summit on Social Development (WSSD) definition (1995) (see Chapter 1), and empirically assessed children's welfare (severe deprivation) in 7 areas/dimensions: food, water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information across all developing countries. For the Bristol method, two thresholds of deprivation across the 7 dimensions and their indicators were used as shown in the table below:

Table 3.2. Dimensions and indicators used in Bristol Method

Dimension	Thresholds of deprivation	
	Less severe deprivation	Severe deprivation
Shelter	Children living in (i) dwellings with 4 or more people per room or (ii) a house with no flooring or inadequate roofing.	Children living in (i) a dwelling with 5 or more people per room or (ii) a house with no floor material
Sanitation	Children using unimproved sanitation facilities (pour flush latrines, covered pit latrines, open pit latrines and buckets)	Children with no access to a toilet facility of any kind
Water	Children using water from unimproved sources (open wells, open springs or surface water) or where it takes 30 minutes or longer to collect water (walk, fetch and return)	Children using surface water (rivers, ponds, streams, lakes) or where it takes 30 minutes or longer to collect water (walk, fetch and return)
Information	Children (aged 3 to 17 years) without access to a radio or TV	Children (aged 3 to 17 years) without access to a radio, TV, telephone, newspaper or computer
Food	Children more than two standard deviations below the international reference population for stunting (height for age) or wasting (weight for height) or underweight (weight for age)	Children more than three standard deviations below the international reference population for stunting (height for age) or wasting (weight for height) or underweight (weight for age). This is known as severe anthropometric failure
Education	Children (aged 7 to 17) of school age not currently attending school or who did not complete their primary education	Children (aged 7 to 17) of school age who have never been to school and who are not currently attending school
Health	Children who have not been immunised (at least 8 out of 9 childhood vaccines) by age 2 or children who were not treated for a recent illness – acute respiratory infection or diarrhoea	Children who have did not receive immunisation against any diseases or children who were not treated for a recent illness – acute respiratory infection or diarrhoea

Source: Gordon & Nandy (2012:61)

Also, a summary of dimensions and indicators reported in 2012 on multidimensional child poverty across 5 developing countries and 2 developing regions shows that most studies used 7 dimensions (range of 5 to 8 dimensions) as in the table below.

Table 3.3. Dimensions & indicators used in existing multidimensional child poverty studies

Author(s)	Country or Region (Survey)	Number of Dimensions	Dimensions	Indicator summary/example
Minujin & Delamonica (2012)	Tanzania (Demographic & Health Survey 2004/2005)	7	Education	Children aged between 7 & 18 never/not in school
			Nutrition	Children with heights and weights more than 3 standard deviations below the median of the reference population
			Health	Children with no immunization or recently ill with diarrhoea and had not received treatment
			Information	Children aged between 3 & 18 without access to Radio, TV, Telephone or newspapers
			Sanitation	Children without access to any toilet
			Water	Children with access to only surface water (e.g. rivers) or with water sources more than 15 minutes away
			Shelter	Children in overcrowded dwellings (more than 5/room) or with no flooring material
Notten et al (2012)	Republic of Congo (Congolesse Household Survey 2005)	8	Money	Spending below national poverty line
			Education	Children not in school or with delay of 2 or more grades
			Work	Children working outside household for wages
			Nutrition	Frequent or constant inability to meet food needs
			Health	Lack of access to/use of health services
			Water & Sanitation	Distance to and type of water source; Type of Toilet and Sewage Disposal
			Housing	Type of wall, flooring, Electricity and cooking

				source, Number of people per room
			Integration	Distance to public transport, Means of transport, Ownership of Radio, TV, Telephone
Roelen & Gassmann (2012)	Vietnam (UNICEF Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey – MICS 2006)	7	Education	% of children not enrolled in correct grade & % not completing primary school
			Health	% of children not fully immunised
			Shelter	% of children in dwellings without (i) Electricity (ii) Proper roofing (iii) Proper Flooring
			Water & Sanitation	% of children in dwellings without (i) hygienic sanitation (ii) safe drinking water
			Child Work	% of children working
			Leisure	% of children without (i) toys (ii) at least 1 book
			Social inclusion & protection	% of children without registered births
Faal Deghati et al (2012)	Iran (National Income & Expenditure Survey 2009)	6	Education	School Enrolment
			Housing	(i) Number of people per room (ii) House materials
			Water & Sanitation	Access to safe drinking water and sanitation (bathroom)
			Child Labour	Working status of children
			Child Marriage	Marital status of children
			Information	Access to means of information (Radio, TV, Computer & Internet)
Gordon et al (2012)	Haiti (Haiti Demographic & Health Surveys 2000 & 2005)	7	Shelter	Indicators used in the Bristol method
			Sanitation	
			Health	
			Water	
			Information	
			Education	
Advis & Rico (2012)	Latin America (18 countries) (Household surveys, Demographic & Health Surveys, UNICEF Multiple Indicator Cluster	5	Nutrition	(i) Weight to age ratio (ii) Height to age ratio
			Water & Sanitation	(i) Access to potable water (origin, supply, access time) (ii) Connection to sewer

	Survey - between 1985 & 2008)			system (Excreta elimination)
			Housing	(i) Number of people per room (ii) House materials (floor, wall and roofing)
			Education	(i) School attendance (ii) Number of school years completed
			Information	(i) Access to electricity (ii) Possession of Radio, TV or Telephone
Nandy (2012)	(i) Sub-Saharan Africa (19 countries in 1995 & 38 countries in 2000) (ii) South Asia (3 countries) (Demographic & Health Surveys, UNICEF Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey – 1995 & 2000)	7	Shelter	Indicators used in the Bristol method
			Water	
			Health	
			Sanitation	
			Education	
			Information	
			Food	

Source: Author's construction (2017)

There was consistent use of some specific dimensions (and indicators) including: Education, Health, Information, Water & Sanitation, Shelter and Food/Nutrition. Less-used dimensions include: Money, Child Work/Labour, Integration, Leisure, Social Inclusion & Protection and Child Marriage. However, a critique of some of these studies is that they did not cover food/nutrition as a dimension, despite it being a basic need for children's survival and a pre-requisite for the success of several other dimensions.

Still, the recycling of these dimensions is indicative of the current scope/focus of many surveys i.e. available data. Participatory research with children as intended in this study would help uncover new areas on which data should be collected – thus improving the quality and coverage of surveys. The preceding discussion on dimensions/indicators used for measurement in existing studies and a subsequent discussion on poverty measurement methods alongside the index-indicator debate in sections 3.5 and 3.6 respectively below address the quantitative phase of this study. A background literature

review to related findings of children's views about poverty - the qualitative phase of this study - is broached next in section 3.4.

3.4. CHILDREN SPEAK: CONCEPTIONS, CAUSES & CONSEQUENCES OF POVERTY

The central idea of this study is that it is important to obtain South African children's views and voices on the issue of child poverty, in order to gain insight from their world view i.e. seeing poverty through children's eyes. The importance of this is not far-fetched given the priority accorded poverty eradication in the international development arena and the legal obligation to consider the views of children (Articles 12 & 13 of the UN CRC 1989). The logic 'to address poverty while it is young' (to prevent it from affecting future life chances and trajectories) also makes this imperative. This study is focused on giving South African children a prominent voice, as did Barnes (2009). Although this approach is increasingly being advocated in global development circles and in academic research (childhood studies), it still does not enjoy the same privileges and attention accorded to research with adults. As a case in point, the groundbreaking World Bank publication, *Voices of the poor series* (Narayan et al Volume 1 (1999), Volume 2 (2000) and Volume 3 (2002) only fleetingly and indirectly reported on children's experiences of poverty. Child poverty was oftentimes presented, discussed and researched as an offshoot of parental or household poverty; there was no extensive amplification of children's views, relative to adults'.

This gap is even more pronounced in developing countries where children are schooled in a culture of silence and deference to adults (compared to developed countries). In attestation, Camfield (2010:86) referred to Boyden et al's identification of "an absence of children's voices in the literature on child poverty" in developing countries, and the implication that "there is still far too little understanding of how children experience poverty, what impoverishment means to them or how their perceptions and priorities interact with those of local communities and the agendas of international agencies" (2003). Camfield (citing Bennet and Roberts 2004) attributed this to the ethical precariousness of asking children in the Global South about poverty. I would add that it might well be characteristic of the culture of docile respect for structure, gerontocracy and traditionalism that is predominant in the Global South. Whatever the reason, this practice veils the uniqueness children's of views and casts shadows on the scope and depth of their knowledge.

Specifically, Clacherty & Donald (2007:148 & 154) noted that while the importance of child participation is being increasingly recognised and accepted in academic research and in developed societies, the validity of children's voices has not been warmly welcomed in South African social space largely due to the cultural entrenchment of power relations between children and adults. In similar language, Moses (2008:328) referred to findings by earlier studies (Berry & Guthrie 2003; Bray 2002) that noted that in South Africa, there has been a lack of research around children's rights to participation, and children's roles in South African society need to be better understood.

As a preliminary compass for this study, it is significant to explore the findings of studies that adopted a child-centric focus to understanding child poverty. This is not so much

about the paradox of enquiry in Plato's *Meno*³² but about the fact that child poverty is a real, non-static and contextual socio-economic phenomenon that requires constant researching to uncover new knowledge vital for its eradication. A perusal of country studies that explore child poverty directly from children's perspectives is presented hereafter; children's conceptions of poverty are underlined as they occur.

In a study of *Indonesian Children's views and experiences of work and poverty*, Bessell (2009:528-535) reported that although most of the children who participated in her study³³ defined themselves as poor, they did not relate to images of themselves as victims of poverty, and the depth and nature of poverty varied significantly between them as well as amongst the different groups. For instance, while some described their poverty experience solely in the context of economic hardships of their families, others with less familial attachments (and more independence) defined their poverty mainly in relation to themselves and their needs. She however noted that the children defined their poverty statuses in relative terms, both negatively and positively i.e. as worse in comparison with children attending expensive schools and as better than their peers who remained in the village respectively.

Likewise, in reviewing children's understandings of poverty (from existing parallel studies³⁴, Camfield (2010:87 - citing Ridge 2003) recounted that children valued 'the relational impact of poverty'. This entailed:

- "A personal endeavour to maintain social acceptance and social inclusion within the accepted cultural demands of childhood – a struggle that was defined and circumscribed by the material and social realities of their lives" (ibid).
- "Not a lack of resources per se, but exclusion from activities that other children appeared to take for granted, and embarrassment and shame at not being able to participate on equal terms with other children" (citing Redmond 2008).

A fusion of these two meanings broadly implies that for children, poverty is defined not so much by physical or material inadequacy but by the feeling of difference and inferiority emanating from falling short of implied (uniform and minimum) societal standards of children's wellbeing.

Yet, lending credence to the money-metric and food poverty schools, Bessell (2009:529) also averred that contrary to adopting a uniform definition of poverty the children provided various poverty definitions including a lack of money, lack of food, inadequate shelter or housing difficulties and insecurity. Likewise in Bonn et al's study (1999:601) of

³² This paradox is: 'that no one ever seeks to learn anything': (i) he either knows what he is looking for, so he need not look for it or (ii) he does not know what he is looking for, so how would he find it? (Allen 1959:165). Nussbaum however retorted that it is essential to have preliminary hunches about what is significant (2011:15).

³³ Boys and girls in Jakarta aged between 10 and 16 working in small factories, involved in street vending and service provision, rubbish picking and other auxiliary activities.

³⁴ Please see Camfield (2010) for details.

South African children's views of wealth, poverty, inequality and unemployment, children described being poor as (i) having no money (ii) having absolutely nothing i.e. lacking everything (iii) starving/having no food (iv) suffering and (v) being unemployed.

Shedding light on the mixed stance, Camfield (2010:95&98) extracted poverty indicators important for Ethiopian children (based on a participatory field study conducted by *Young Lives*³⁵). She pointed out that Appearance, Clothing, Education, Food, Housing, Non-orphan hood, Non-compulsory work (in no particular order) were of priority to the children, as well as more specific indicators like the quality of clothing they wore. This suggests that as much as conventional poverty parameters (e.g. income-related requirements, food availability & adequacy etc.) mattered to children, matters of non-pecuniary & subjective value including the ideality of family life/household structure, quality of social relationships & interactions, social perception and acceptance (belonging & blending) etc., were of similar if not superior importance. As well, Camfield (2010:87) avowed that material deprivation might not be as important to children as the undermining of their social interactions and relationships with others due to their poverty. So, for the Ethiopian children, social isolation (a consequence of poverty) was the real problem, not poverty per se.

Reporting on *Children's perspectives and interpretations of poverty and wellbeing in rural Zambia*, Phiri & Abebe (2016) noted the prominence of the following dimensions: (i) Material (appearance/clothing, resources and food) (ii) Productive & Reproductive (farming output and the burden of farm work on girls) and (iii) Social-relational (household unity and welfare).

The aforementioned authors also identified salient issues from their studies: For instance, Bessell (2009:529) reported 3 main themes in Indonesian children's accounts namely: (i) that children's family experiences shaped their experience of poverty (ii) that education was expensive and thus excluded them, resulting in an apathy to/negativity of schooling for them³⁶ (iii) that the children were quite aware that their poor situations smacked of inequality and injustice especially because they knew their life situations deviated from the legitimate childhood approved and promoted by the government (as seen in public education campaigns).

Camfield (2010:88-89) also outlined 3 distinguishing characteristics of children's understandings of poverty in developing countries, namely:

- The intricacy of children's understandings i.e. the level of detail and attention to nuanced poverty e.g. how children who eat rice with salt and sesame differ from those who eat rice with fish or meat, as well as how a rich child can be poor due to lack of shared quality time with his/her parents.

³⁵ A 15- year, 4-country (Ethiopia, India, Peru & Vietnam) longitudinal study of child poverty using the deprivation approach & quantitative and qualitative data collection methods, funded by the UK Department for International Development.

³⁶ This was complicated on two fronts – besides problems of access to school, poor children would also have to deal with problems of exclusion at school (by Teachers and other children) if they eventually gained access.

- The grounded and context-specific nature of children's experiences such that their understandings are relative first to their families, and then to their environment. For instance, Black South African children's attribution of their poverty to the fact that their forefathers worked as servants to the Whites in exchange for food and thus lacked money to educate their children. Similarly, Furnham (1987 cited in Bonn et al 1999:595) in an investigation of the perception of economic justice and workers' monetary entitlements among White English-speaking South African children discovered that the children remunerated White workers more than Black workers – invariably expressing the socio-economic reality of their highly unequal society as well as the fact that they had been conditioned to accept this viewpoint. Likewise, Bonn et al (1999:609) noted that rural South African children regarded 'the rich' as 'the Whites'.
- Thematic breadth spanning personal, emotional, spiritual, family and historical factors i.e. an extensively broad knowledge of different facets and origins of their poverty.

Likewise, Redmond (2009:542-544) identified three recurring themes from studies with children in poverty: (i) that they are active agents that employ diverse coping strategies to manage little incomes (ii) that poverty itself is not the problem, but the appendage of social exclusion and symbolism (labelling) that accompanies it, and (iii) that children's families are of crucial importance – for giving and receiving support and promoting resilience. Phiri & Abebe (2016) also concluded that children viewed poverty in very relative terms that were contextual and socially embedded (ibid).

Concerning children's perspectives on the causes of poverty, Bonn et al (1999:595-597) in a dialectic assessment of previous studies of children's constructions & descriptions of poverty and wealth, established the existence of three streams of ideology namely: (i) Personal/Individualistic (i.e. the poor person is to blame for his/her poverty), (ii) Structural/Economic (i.e. the poor person's socio-economic environment is to blame for his/her poverty) and (iii) Fatalistic/Bad luck and fate (i.e. the poor person's destiny is to be poor). In addition, Bonn et al (ibid) noted that social class³⁷ and cultural differences influenced children's types and degrees of understandings about poverty/economic inequality. Also referring to social difference, Furnham (1982:144), earlier proposed that schooling/educational differences also impacted children's conceptions of what constitutes poverty. His insight into British schoolboy's explanations for poverty revealed that public schoolboys attached more importance to individualistic explanations for poverty while comprehensive³⁸ schoolboys attached more importance to societal explanations for poverty.

Referring to socio-spatial diversity, Bonn et al (1999:600-606) observed that children's responses to various questions (e.g. on the meaning of poverty & wealth, why there are

³⁷ Earlier proposed by Emler & Dickinson (1985:196) in a study where middle-class children judged income inequality as fair/desirable, while lower working-class children judged it as unfair; also reiterated by Redmond (2009:547).

³⁸ In British parlance, public schools are more expensive 'private boarding' schools while comprehensive schools are less expensive 'government' schools with admission criteria based on catchment/residence.

rich and poor people, if everybody can become rich etc.), varied by their residential location and societal setting i.e. rural vs. urban vs. semi-urban. For instance, rural children drew more causal linkages between God/fate and inequality relative to non-rural children. Also when asked whether everybody can become rich, semi-urban children responded more affirmatively compared to rural and urban children (according to Bonn et al (1999:610), their semi-urban environment probably provided them with evidence that Blacks could also become rich). Noteworthy is that in response to the reason for why some people are poor (and others rich), children identified: (i) Lack of education (ii) God's will (iii) Unemployment (iv) Inequality (unequal amounts of money) (v) Differences in individual characteristics/efforts (Bonn et al 1999:602-603).

3.4.1. Identifying correlations between existing conceptions & children's conceptions of poverty

The causes and effects of poverty in children's views tally with existing 'adult' characterizations (basic needs, absolute poverty, relative poverty, income-related, social exclusion, capabilities/future life trajectories) but also appear to be particular in some areas of significance for children (e.g. importance of family connections not just social networks in navigating poverty). It also seems that children place more responsibility on the individual than on government/external assistance in the poverty alleviation task – this suggestion needs further substantiation.

Children appear to define poverty as the fundamental disparity between 'having and not wanting to use' and 'not having at all irrespective of whether you want to use or not'; the freedom of choice and availability of options is a key issue. This is aptly relayed by Sen's example of two people – one fasting and the other starving (referred to in Nussbaum 2011:198); while there is no difference between their levels of achieved wellbeing, there is a difference in their respective freedoms i.e. the liberty to choose is a separator. Also, the stigma of 'being different from the rest' seemed more important relative to the fact that they lacked food, clothes or adequate shelter.

Overall, this exploration has highlighted the fact that children are quite capable of making objective assessments, drawing coherent linkages and credibly positioning the poverty discourse in relevant historical context and current socio-economic milieu, all from different viewpoints.

3.4.2. Acknowledging the shifts in child-poverty measurement: (Monetary to Multidimensional to Child-specific)

It is important to clarify that while children-specific conceptualisations of poverty extend beyond monetary poverty measurement and are multi-dimensional, this does not mean that multi-dimensional poverty measurement is always child-specific – it could be household-based and therefore not adequately represent the child. Specifically, the preceding discussions in sections 3.3. and 3.4., attest that from both expert and children's opinions, child poverty includes other areas of concern besides monetary considerations (food/nutrition, shelter, sanitation education, information, social interaction, family belonging, health, child work etc.) which significantly affect children's well-being and development,. This justifies the shift from a limited monetary-focus to a multi-dimensional focus. However, the shift to a multi-dimensional focus may also be limited if it is not child-specific but household-based. Household and child poverty are not matching occurrences; the existence of a poor child is not confined to

poor households, but could also reach into non-poor households. The unclear boundary between household welfare and child welfare however tends to cause some conflation, as both are co-dependent and changes to one affect the other. This makes a stronger case for all child poverty measurement approaches and efforts to use the child as the unit of analysis. Intervention efforts targeted at the child should be compulsorily linked to the child and not necessarily to the child's household. As we have seen, in the South Africa, household boundaries continue shifting and a child could have several households at various points in time (see Chapter 2).

Essentially, the fact that multi-dimensional poverty measurement encompasses various non-monetary areas does not mean that it is automatically representative of children's conditions – it could subsume children's well-being under household welfare and therefore not create the crucial child-based perspective to the analysis. These shifts (monetary to multi-dimensional and multi-dimensional to child-specific), though linked should not be combined as they are individual components of child poverty considerations and address two different concerns.

How current poverty measurement methods utilize and translate dimensions and indicators into quantitative measures of child poverty is discussed next.

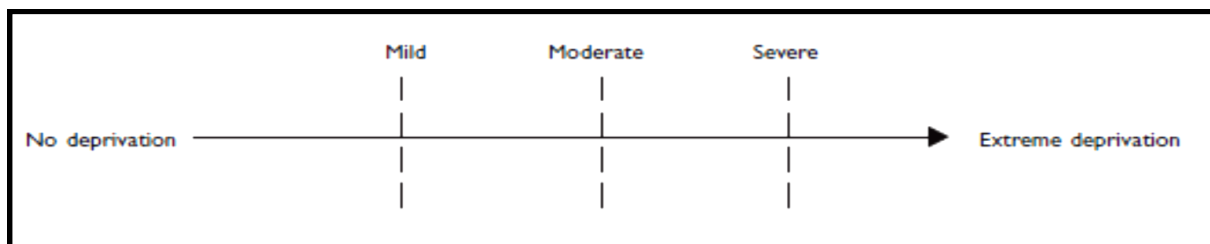
3.5. POVERTY MEASUREMENT METHODS: CONTRIBUTING TO IMPROVED CHILD POVERTY MEASUREMENT

A number of poverty measurement methods have been developed, and some widely adopted, for poverty analysis. Some of these include, in time sequence from the 1960's: (i) Watts Poverty Index (Watts 1968) (ii) Sen's Poverty Index (Sen 1976) (iii) Takayama's relative deprivation index (Takayama 1979) (iv) Kakwani's poverty index (Kakwani 1980) (v) FGT class of decomposable poverty measures (headcount, poverty gap and squared poverty gap) (Foster, Greer and Thorbecke (1984) (vi) Townsend's Deprivation Index (Townsend 1987) (vii) World Bank's \$1 a day purchasing power parity (PPP) method. Some of the works following Sen's 1976 method were improvements on (and critiques of) his technique and/or assumptions.

Most of these methods are however designed for poverty measurement in household and/or per-capita income terms, and do not adequately address some fundamental concerns of meaningful child poverty measurement. These concerns include that children are not active income earners, and are often dependent on other household members for their survival and development (physically, emotionally and socio-economically). Measurement of their welfare by monetary standards therefore fails to represent their realities. As well, their needs are specific, more urgent and require tailored attention relative to adults' needs. Moreover, children are more vulnerable, immediately and especially in the long run to the effects of poverty and deprivation. Poverty measurement methods that subsume children under households instead of regarding them as individuals in and by themselves are therefore inadequate. These concerns alongside the fact that children are overrepresented among the poor ("the majority of children are poor, and also the majority of the poor are children" Minujin et al 2006:495) encouraged a scholarly shift to child-focused methods of child poverty measurement.

For the popular Bristol method of child poverty measurement, deprivation was conceptualised as a continuum ranging from no deprivation to extreme deprivation as shown in the diagram below:

Figure 3.1. Continuum of Deprivation



Source: Gordon et al (2003:7)

After defining threshold measures of deprivation as per the levels in the continuum above, it was assumed that “a child is living in absolute poverty *only* if he or she suffers from two or more severe deprivations of basic human need” (Gordon et al 2003:9).

Findings for South Africa presented in Gordon et al (2003:36) are shown below:

Table 3.4. Bristol method results for South Africa

Child (<18) Population (000s)	(%) Food Deprived*	(%) Water Deprived	(%) Sanitation Deprived	(%) Health Deprived	(%) Shelter Deprived	(%) Education Deprived*	(%) Information Deprived
17,589	-	28.5	16.2	3.5	25.8	2.1	12.9
* - Percentages for food deprivation are for population aged <5; percentages for education deprivation are for the population aged 7 – 18							

Still, the Bristol method has been criticised as not accounting for the average intensity of deprivation, much less for depth or severity (Delamonica & Minujin 2007). Simply put, the Bristol method doesn’t capture when children who are already poor become poorer (e.g. move from moderate deprivation to severe deprivation or when they become deprived in the health dimension in addition to previous deprivations in the shelter and food dimensions). Belonging to the traditional ‘counting category’ of poverty measures, it identifies the poor based on the total number of dimensions they are deprived in, but this headcount method “provides no incentive for policy makers to prioritise the poorest children of all” (Alkire & Roche 2011:4). Gordon & Nandy (2012:29) also identified a limitation of the Bristol method as not including any indicators of social deprivation (i.e. the social needs of children), though “children are social beings who in all societies have social roles and obligations ...”

Sabina Alkire and James Foster (2007, 2009) at The Oxford Poverty & Human Development Initiative (OPHI) of The Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford developed another significant advance in child poverty measurement. Known as The Alkire-Foster method, it builds on FGT methods and consists of a 12-step methodology that aims to develop a multidimensional index of child poverty. The Alkire-Foster method combines the counting approach widely used in multidimensional poverty measurement with axiomatic approach(es) to multidimensional poverty; it “uses the average number of deprivations poor children experience – called the ‘intensity of poverty’ to supplement the ‘incidence of poverty’ as captured by the headcount ratio” (Alkire & Roche 2011:5).

The Alkire-Foster method was applied as a working example to Bangladesh, but can be widely applied to other contexts. Gordon & Nandy (2012:16-18) criticised the Alkire-Foster method as lacking an explicit definition or theory of poverty, and essentially making it difficult to ascertain the validity of the method and results therefrom. Extending their criticism, Gordon & Nandy (ibid) argued that “child poverty measurement is not in the eye of the beholder”, and scientific method requires that deprivation indicators and dimensions of a multidimensional poverty index need to be tested to demonstrate that they are reliable, valid and additive. They posited that the Alkire-Foster method is unclear about the following: (i) the number of dimensions (ii) how the dimensions are related and (iii) the imperfection of the indicators (e.g. how a child not attending school may relate to the education dimension but also relate to the health dimension in an instance when the child is ill). They also acknowledge that there are solutions to the latter problems (ibid). It therefore appears that Gordon and Nandy’s critique relates more to theoretical and methodological issues with Alkire-Foster’s application of their method to Bangladesh, and not technical criticisms of their method per se.

This study engages with these issues of child poverty measurement more from a process improvement angle than adopting a core focus on measurement. Gordon & Nandy’s criticism of Alkire-Foster method’s lack of an explicit definition/theory of poverty can be tempered by arguing that poverty is implicitly defined in the selection of dimensions & indicators and specification of deprivation thresholds by Alkire & Foster. Nevertheless, this mixed-methods study contributes to addressing this criticism with its central aim: engaging in participatory research with Black and Coloured South African children to define child poverty (including its dimensions and indicators) from their experience and perceptions. This aim directly responds to Minujin et al’s (2006:498) argument that “the participation and “voice of children” should be integrated as part of any child poverty approach and poverty reduction strategy (which is different from including them in the definition of poverty). As well, poverty, which is a social fact, has a definition in all cultures (Gordon & Spicker 1999 cited in Gordon & Nandy 2012:5). So, this study seeks to uncover South African children’s cultural definition of poverty.

Moreover, Carter & May (1999:2, citing Ravallion 1996) noted the lack of consensus on the best method of measuring poverty. The existing consensus is therefore that there is no infallible poverty measurement method, and progress is made when existing methods are improved as this study aims³⁹. The onus of the researcher should therefore lie in justifying the assumptions and steps of a chosen method and acknowledging its limitations.

Another contentious area of poverty measurement is the subject of adopting a set of indicators for poverty measurement or alternatively compressing the indicators into an index. This is discussed next.

3.6. ANOTHER DEBATE OF POVERTY MEASUREMENT: INDEXES VS. INDICATORS

The adequacy of an index to measure poverty is mainly contested in two ways: first in its sufficiency as a reliable poverty measure and second, in practical comparison with a

³⁹ Wagle (2014) criticised the Alkire-Foster method, but still only proposed improvements that expanded on it.

set of multidimensional indicators. Bericat (2012:3) defined an index as “a cognitive instrument capable of recording, in nature and magnitude, a given object, aspect or feature of reality”. Whether this reality includes such a complex multidimensional condition like poverty remains a divisive matter in academic and development research. This difference of opinion is rooted in the inherent difficulty of measuring socio-economically important phenomena like poverty, because of the several theoretical, methodological and empirical problems involved. Also, as has been realised by Economists, Development practitioners/Researchers and Government, poverty is multidimensional and irreducible solely to the income dimension⁴⁰ (De Muro et al 2011:1; Notten & Roelen 2012:335).

Several studies (Barnes et al 2009, Lind 2010, Noble et al 2010, Alkire & Foster 2011a & 2011b, Jose 2012, Bericat 2012, Fernandes et al 2013 etc.) endorsed or adopted the index-approach, but the pro-indicator school flaunt shortcomings of indexes (including the issues of invisible prioritization, opaqueness, indicator weighting, masking averages, shrouded methods, methodological complexity, faulty omissions due to the need for simplicity etc.). The pro-index school on the other hand responds by citing issues associated with poverty assessment at the indicator level (e.g. needless elaboration, oversimplification & underestimation of otherwise complex phenomena, excessive detail/information, and difficulties in assessment, efficient applicability and trend monitoring).

In relation to aggregation, Brandolini (2008 cited in Coromaldi & Zoli 2012:38) referred to the use of indicator sets as ‘non-aggregation’ and the use of indexes as ‘aggregation’. While the former reduces arbitrary choices and information loss, the latter allows a simplified representation of poverty’s complexity (ibid). Spicker (2004:5) however noted that indicators are usually aggregates in themselves, or proxies for aggregates i.e. based on aggregated data. This linkage feeds the instinctive but incorrect suggestion that for an indicator to be improved, its constituents should be improved in terms of accuracy. The fallacy however lies in the truth that attempts at ‘improving precision’ may ironically ‘increase complexity and reduce usability/understanding’, because the endpoint of more precise constituents is still aggregation. The index vs. indicator debate is elaborated on below.

3.6.1. The Pro-Index Idea

Jurado & Perez-Mayo (2012:276) noted that arbitrariness is unavoidable in construction of economic wellbeing indexes in 2 ways - (i) in the selection of multidimensional indicators to configure the index and (ii) in the weighting of indicators. With reference to the first area, De Muro et al (2011:4) recognised Sen’s (1999b) description of it as ‘the problem of the appropriate informational basis’ – i.e. what information should be incorporated or omitted. They noted that this problem is often resolved by using available statistical information - despite the deep theoretical implications.

⁴⁰ Coromaldi & Zoli (2012:37) also recognised the shift of poverty research towards multidimensionality, incorporating a range of indicators – some of a financial nature and others of a socio-environmental sort.

For the second area, index-developing studies like Noble et al's (2006b) *The Provincial Indices of Multiple Deprivation for South Africa* avoided the issue of indicator weighting by obtaining an easy to interpret single summary measure (e.g. proportion of people or households experiencing a particular form of deprivation) while other studies (including Hagerty & Land 2007, Noble et al 2010, Roelen et al 2010, Wust & Volkert 2012, O'Hare 2014) assumed equal weights in a bid to reduce bias⁴¹. These two areas are discussed further below.

3.6.1.1. Indicator & dimension/domain selection⁴²

Buttressing the importance of *conceptual coherence*, Bericat (2012:3) posited that for an index to meet its objective, a clear conceptual definition of the subject must be in place in addition to a precise delimitation of its information content i.e. dimensions/domains. This is particularly because index quality and outcomes are a function of its validity, which in turn depends on its conceptual soundness (ibid). The process of indicator and domain selection however is always highly subjective as 'any choice implies judgments about values' (Wust & Volkert 2012:442). For instance, methods of domain & indicator selection for multidimensional poverty analysis & measurement include: (i) following the researcher's assumptions (ii) adopting expert opinions (iii) assessing available data (iv) using public consensus (v) engaging in participatory assessments and (vi) using empirical evidence about people's preferences (Alkire 2007 & Biggeri 2007, cited in Roelen et al 2010:132; Wust & Volkert (2012:442). All these methods involve some value judgment.

Furthermore, Bericat (2012:13) identified the index-indicator dilemma whereby too few indicators affect the stability, reliability and robustness of the index and too many indicators diminish conceptual coherence. The question of how many indicators are appropriate therefore remains, alongside the decision on whether or not dimensions/domains should have an equal number of indicators.

3.6.1.2. Weighting

Bericat (2012:12) recognised the subjectivity in using weights even when they are backed by meticulous theoretical arguments or thorough empirical calculations. He therefore proposed/adopted an equal weighting system, as did previously mentioned studies. Coromaldi & Zoli (2012:40) shed light on the alternative: unequal weighting procedures. They noted that while some studies assign higher weights to attributes in which fewer people are deprived (relative frequency), others adopt multivariate statistical methods that allow the data to dictate the optimal weight per attribute (ibid).

⁴¹ It is my opinion that an equal weighting system is implicitly biased in itself and neglecting of the truth that some indicators & dimensions are logically of more importance than others e.g. Health is perhaps more important than Education as it can preclude the attainment of education.

⁴² It is noteworthy that the choice of indicators & dimensions is also a concern for the pro- indicator school, as is the decision of the number of indicators per dimension.

It is also important to standardize the directionality of (i) index constituents (e.g. using reverse coding to unify their impact and derive a meaningful total or average – for instance, household income has a positive effect on child poverty while infant mortality has a negative effect) and (ii) measurement units/scales of indicators (e.g. using percentages to report income and infant mortality instead of dollars & per 1,000 births respectively) – (O’Hare 2014).

Overall, it is imperative to note the double subjectivity inherent in index creation – (i) subjectivity in indicator and dimension selection (ii) subjectivity in weighting (equal or not) because these carry considerable implications for the objectivity, accuracy and reliability of indexes. Index construction can thus be conceived of as a complex task that requires making diverse and important conceptual, analytical and empirical decisions (Bericat 2012:1), while attempting to manage/minimize subjectivity.

There are tests that have been developed, to test the reliability of an index or scale (comprised of valid and reliable components – dimensions and indicators). These tests include Guttman’s Lambda (Guttman 1945), Cronbach’s Alpha (Cronbach 1951), Tarkkonen’s rho and Raykov’s reliability estimate (MacDougall 2011), McDonald’s coefficient omega (Dunn et al 2013). There are previous and ongoing critiques of these tests, with recent ones being presented as improved alternatives to earlier ones. Nevertheless, they all provide reliability estimates of indexes/scales – it is left to the researcher to recognize and manage their limitations. This and preceding issues of dimension/domain selection and weighting discussed above, contribute to the complexity that the pro-indicator school attempts to avoid as discussed below.

3.6.2. The Pro-Indicator School – Paul Spicker’s Discourse

A prominent critic of poverty indexes, Spicker (2004:1) recognised the lack of unanimity in defining poverty, and thus the existence of different clusters of meaning. These clusters include: (i) definition by material circumstances (ii) definition by economic position (iii) definition by social relationships and (iv) definition based on a normative view⁴³.

As noted earlier, the multidimensional nature of poverty renders it a particularly complex condition to adequately capture and accurately assess. Still, as May (2012:71) posited, poverty measurement is not a naïve attempt to quantify the unmeasurable. The difficulty of poverty measurement basically lies in its non-static and normative nature. Poverty is a web which people move within, out of and at times back into, fairly constantly due to circumstances like death of parents, divorce, marriage, job loss, natural disaster etc. (i.e. it does not affect a constant set of people). It therefore necessitates the inclusion of some people and exclusion of others based on certain standards. This amoebic nature of poverty is the basis of Spicker’s argument, which essentially proposes that it is highly aspirational to attempt developing a measure for such a phenomenon.

⁴³ This distinction is quite significant as the definition of poverty carries implications for the success (and indeed failure) of poverty eradication strategies.

In addition to arguing that: “poverty cannot be summed up in a single measure”, Spicker criticised indexes as concealing issues, hiding implicit values/concepts and being susceptible to mathematical accidents/errors (2004:1-2). Fernandes et al (2013:827) noted that Bronfenbrenner and Morris’ (1998) popular ecological model of human development, identified the existence of ‘synergistic interdependencies’ between different spheres of children’s lives – how they mutually reinforce and challenge each other. This lends some further credence to the injustice that aggregation into a single index of child poverty might cause – how it mutes some important interrelationships in the name of simplification. Likewise, noting that combining a series of indicators into an index may mask important issues rather than uncover/simplify them, Spicker (2004:7) specified that:

“in the measurement of child poverty, in particular, major issues affecting large numbers of people, like income, poor health and social exclusion, may dwarf smaller numbers in important problem areas, like homelessness, school exclusions or serious unintentional injury”.

Spicker’s alternative (to an index), was the creation of a set of indicators/pointers to signify poverty based more on the knowledge that poverty is an underlying factor for all the chosen indicators, than on the understanding that it is defined by a shifting set of multidimensional phenomena. Moreover, poverty has patterns and elements, which may be better understood through indicators and dimensions/domains respectively. Moore et al’s (2008:18) definition of indicators as “statistical markers that can be used to track patterns and trends over time” buttresses Spicker’s stance.

Erring on the side of caution, and in a bid to be objective, Spicker however mentioned the irony of indicators: that despite their pervasive use, many users are vague about the meaning and appropriate use of indicators (2004:1). Arguing that an indicator is a pointer and not a measure, he asserted that indicators should be accepted with a degree of uncertainty, and always in conjunction with other pointers (i.e. a system of cross-confirmation through the use of multiple indicators), for more reliability and validity in principle, methodology and practical application (ibid). He disproved the tendency to view indicators as foolproof and ‘self-sufficient’ markers, and instead proffered them as proxies for guesstimating poverty (2004:2&13). The central proposition is that indicators need not be exact; they should only estimate their focus matter because the usefulness of an indicator lies in how well it relates to or describes/mirrors what it is indicating, not how well it measures it (Spicker 2004:2-3).

In distinguishing indicator prototypes, Spicker (2004:7-12) recognised three methods of presenting indicators namely:

- **Headline indicators:** a simple and selective view entailing indicators acting as proxies which though not perfect, are helpful e.g. income inequality to indicate poverty, infant mortality to indicate child health etc.
- **Summary indices:** a set of indicators subsumed into a single composite index after standardising its constituents using (i) percentages & proportions (ii) simple averages (iii) weighting in a point’s scheme and (iv) mathematical weighting.
- **Multidimensional indicators:** which retain and depict several dimensions of indicators, and are helpful in methodological, practical & principle ways explained thus:

- **Methodological:** multiple indicators help in cross-referencing or triangulation from different perspectives. For such a multidimensional and complex issue like child poverty, multiple indicators would be particularly helpful, significant and applicable.
- **Practical:** multiple indicators provide more detail and disaggregated information; the use of several domains/dimensions allows for the production of more robust findings and reliability in policy application.
- **Principle:** while aggregation into an index reduces complexity, this simplification is usually achieved by sacrificing seemingly minor issues or indicators & dimensions of relatively lower importance/impact e.g. shelter quality, educational achievement etc. Multiple indicators avoid this forfeiture by recognising a multidimensional set of issues, all of which make a normative claim for attention.

Favouring the use of multidimensional indicators due to its robustness and flexibility, Spicker however noted that they might be too complex to understand. This difficulty can be solved by classification or profiling according to groups e.g. children, women, elderly, retired etc. Another demerit is that the more indicators used, the more the people qualifying as poor increases. Moreover, no set of indicators can be exhaustive or truly representative due to selectivity bias. Indicators may also usurp their subject e.g. focus may shift to food insecurity or lack of education instead of remaining on poverty.

3.6.3. This study's approach

An understanding of measures (indexes) & indicators (pointers) can be illustrated with an analogy to a measuring cup: it can be used to ration 1kg of flour for baking i.e. to measure (index), but it can also be used to define when flour is too little or too much for a baking purpose, as it tells the level/weight/quantity of flour i.e. to mirror (indicator). So, although the measuring cup has dual functions, the use to which it is put per time depends on the perspective and need of the user i.e. research aims/objectives.

Having considered the indicator vs. index debate, the choice of developing a child poverty index or a set of child poverty indicators is guided by this study's objective(s), broadly summarised as: defining and assessing poverty as a contextual reality in the voices and views of South African children. This objective would be best realised by a set of multidimensional child poverty indicators obtained through participatory methods of data collection for the following reasons:

- The emphasis on child-centricity as a defining theme of the research requires simplicity and straightforward methods. This is not because children are incapable of understanding the formulation of an index (which in school terminology is simply a score/grade), but ideally because 'entities should not be multiplied beyond necessity' (Occam's razor principle - Domingos 1998:37).
- Indicators differ per children's age subgroup (toddlers, older children, and adolescents) due to the different developmental tasks and needs in each age group (Moore et al 2008:20). It would therefore be untidy to combine indicators without consideration for differences across age groups. Alternatively, attempting to develop indexes per age group is a cumbersome process with remote outcomes in the light of the research objectives. Moreover,

disaggregated analysis of children's welfare according to social classifications (e.g. age, gender, province/region etc. - see Research Objective 3) is best-achieved and expressed using dimensions and indicators.

- In addition, it is intended that children's definitions of child poverty would be used as the driver of the data (i.e. indicators and dimensions) that is sought from them, not the other way round i.e. this study's approach is neither to be driven by available data on child poverty (Spicker 2004:6, Betz 2013:655), nor by findings of existing studies on child poverty. Rather the aim is to use first-hand understandings and practical experiences of children themselves, to add to knowledge about the child poverty issue in South Africa. This approach is the suggested resolution to the earlier highlighted problems in footnotes 41 and 42 above. It is also an attempt to reduce subjectivity and imposition of researcher predispositions, by adopting an ex-post selection of dimensions and indicators based on outcomes from fieldwork. This choice also aligns with May's call to recognize the specificity of the South African situation (in the aftermath of four decades of apartheid policies) as well as his recommendation that "when we measure poverty, rather than relying on a simple 'basic needs' measure we must rise to this challenge by combining methods, indicators and thresholds" (2012:67&71).

Beyond analysing child poverty at indicator level, this study also seeks to establish differences between dimensions/indicators of poverty used in existing studies (discussed above) and dimensions/indicators proposed by child participants in this study (to be presented in Chapter 6).

3.7. CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, a methodological background and related empirical findings across the quantitative and qualitative phases of this study respectively have been presented. This has provided some direction and justification for the methods used in the study which would be elaborated on in Chapter 5 (Research Design & Methodology).

It is now relevant to discuss the theories informing this study, as they are the frame supporting the interpretation and relevance of potential empirical findings. They also serve as a bridge of motive between philosophy and reality. The theoretical frames of Sen's Capabilities and Children's Rights that encompass the full extent of human freedoms and liberties crucial for children's wellbeing and wholesome development are discussed in the next chapter. This entails further positioning the 'freedom to choose' discourse mentioned above within the context of child poverty. The chosen theoretical frames of capabilities and children's rights are also practically relevant in this particular study because they are instrumental in the discussion of the dimensions and indicators of child poverty.

CHAPTER 4 – THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SEN’S CAPABILITIES APPROACH & CHILDREN’S RIGHTS

“Overcoming poverty is not a gesture of charity. It is an act of justice. It is the protection of a fundamental human right, the right to dignity and a decent life . . .” – Nelson Mandela

“We owe it to our children to equip them with all the capabilities they’ll need to thrive in the limitless world beyond the classrooms” - Naveen Jain

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and discusses the practicalities of applying and extending the theoretical frames supporting this study. This is because the reliance of all poverty approaches on theoretical frameworks, either implicitly or explicitly is indisputable (Kanbur & Shaffer 2005:4). This study is theoretically framed using Sen’s Capabilities Approach (hereafter CA) and the Children’s Rights discourse, both instrumental in bridging the gap between the ideal and actual situations of children. The value, critique and methodological relevance of Sen’s CA are discussed. The capabilities frame while generally applicable to all individuals, directs attention to how the lack of capabilities (caused by poverty) affect the functioning’s (outcomes) of children now and in adulthood, thus helping identify causes and predicting consequences of child poverty. The significance of children’s rights as defined in the UN CRC is also presented, as it will help unpack child poverty and streamline the dimensions and indicators. These frameworks are adopted because they are multidimensional, complementary and foster individual and social development as discussed below. The theoretical frameworks of the Capabilities Approach and Children’s Rights are first discussed individually, and then integrated at the end of this chapter and also in the discussion and analysis of findings in Chapter 6.

4.2. SEN’S CAPABILITIES APPROACH – CONCEPT/DEFINITION, LINKAGES WITH AND VALUE-ADDED TO POVERTY STUDIES & HUMAN WELLBEING/DEVELOPMENT

The CA – comprising capabilities and functioning’s, is a renowned approach for discussing and assessing human wellbeing⁴⁴. Amartya Sen who developed the CA, noted that:

“a functioning is an achievement, whereas a capability is the ability to achieve. Functioning’s are, in a sense, more directly related to living conditions, since they are different aspects of living conditions. Capabilities, in contrast, are notions of freedom, in the positive sense: what real opportunities you have regarding the life you may lead” (1987).

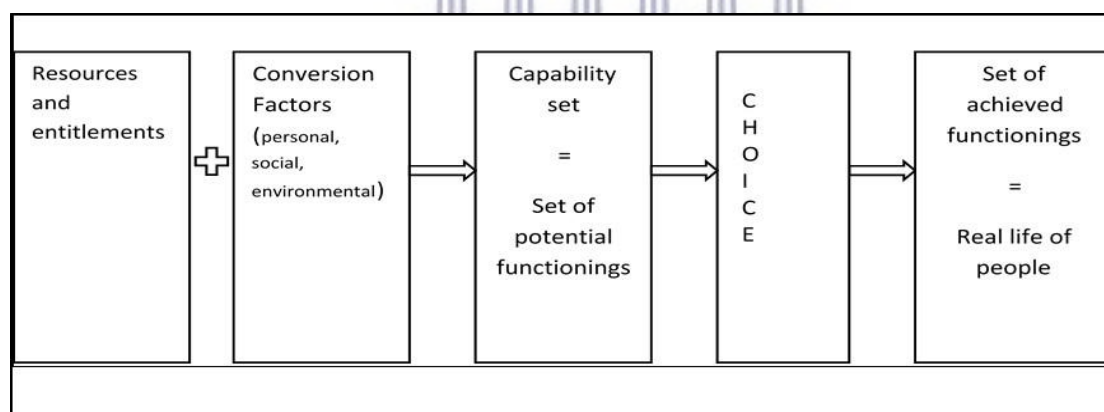
Sen (1992) also described capability as “the various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that the person can achieve”. He (1992:150) described the capability set as comprising the overall freedom that an individual has to pursue his/her wellbeing.

⁴⁴ Jones & Sumner (2009: 33-34) noted that the difference between wellbeing and poverty is still highly debated but held the view that this dispute is likely overdrawn as poverty is largely now acknowledged as being multidimensional (to include socio-cultural and psychological dimensions of deprivation). This study shares Jones and Sumner’s opinion.

Building on Sen’s seminal work, some scholars have offered their definitions of capabilities and functionings. These include: Martinetti (2000:4) who designated capabilities as “the real opportunities for a person to have wellbeing and include also the freedom to have alternatives other than the chosen combination”. The capability set is “a set of vectors of functionings that reflects the person’s freedom to choose what kind of life to live” (ibid). As put by Anand et al (2005:12), “capability refers to the feasible alternative combinations of these functionings”. Conradie & Robeyns (2013:560) also defined capabilities as “real opportunities people have for states of being and doing”, with these states of being and doing denoting functionings. For Conradie (2013:194) as well, functionings are achieved beings and doings, while capabilities are functionings with the potential of being realised. Alkire (2015:3) also noted, “functionings are beings and doings that people value and have reason to value” e.g. being safe, adequate nourishment, having a secure job etc.; capability is “the real opportunity that we have to accomplish what we value”.

Capabilities can be explained as things a person can possibly achieve, while functionings are a sub-set of capabilities – things that the person actually achieves. The difference between an individual’s functionings (achieved capabilities) and his/her unique capability set (the full range of possible alternative achievements) therefore arise from the individual’s choice(s), as well as constraints imposed by personal characteristics (age, gender, health etc.), household conditions and societal factors. As Conradie (2013:189) rightly recognised, humans’ utilization of the full range of opportunities available to them is constrained by different and complex reasons including individual choices and status, societal values, history, individual agency and personality etc. The complementary relationship among resources (means), capabilities and individual choice is shown in figure 4.1 below:

Figure 4.1. The basic sequence of the capability approach



Source: (Pelenc 2016:4 - Adapted From Robeyns 2005; Bonvin and Farvaque 2008)

It is important to note that conversion factors: social, environmental and personal influence if and how well an individual is able to generate capabilities from goods, services and resources (Robeyns 2005a:36). As well, personal choice greatly affects the extent and quality of capabilities that an individual eventually realizes.

Relating capabilities to poverty, Sen (1999b:87-90) defined poverty as ‘deprivation of basic capabilities’ (or basic capability failure), because individuals’ choices are necessarily constrained by poverty and deprivation. This implies (from preceding definitions of capabilities), that poverty is the lack of achievements and/or lack of the ability to achieve. Sen (1992:109) also described poverty as “the failure of basic capabilities to reach certain

minimally acceptable levels". He thus recommended that incorporating capabilities in poverty analysis enhances understanding of the nature and causes of poverty/deprivation by shifting focus from means (usually income) to ends (outcomes) and the freedom to satisfy these ends. Similarly, from the CA perspective, Pelenc (2016:3) described poverty as a lack of life choices. Piron (2003:21) also broadly defined poverty "as the lack of basic capabilities to live in dignity".

Engaging with foundational concepts of poverty as being 'absolute' or 'relative', Sen (1983, 1985a) further argued that poverty is 'relative' when considering income and resources, but is 'absolute' when considering capabilities and functionings because there is a minimum level of wellbeing to be attained (for survival), independent of the wellbeing of others. Implicit in this latter definition is a reference to a minimum individual (not societal) standard because capabilities and functionings are defined and/or assessed largely with reference to the individual/self than with respect to a societal standard (i.e. what an individual achieves or fails to achieve, takes priority over considerations of what society he/she is a part of).

In this study, the CA provides a structure for the conceptualisation/definition and assessment of child poverty and its prevalence in South Africa. Martinetti (2006:93) designated the CA as an important reference point for researching poverty because it provides a broad and rich perspective for situating multidimensional poverty, understanding its causes and consequences and examining often ignored aspects of poverty. As Robeyns (2006:353) clarified:

"the capability approach is not a theory that can *explain* poverty, inequality or well-being; instead, it provides concepts and a framework that can help to *conceptualize* and *evaluate* these phenomena".

Nussbaum (2011:18) also provisionally defined the CA as "an approach to comparative quality-of-life assessment and to theorising about basic social justice". Essentially, the CA has contributed to improvements in approaches to thinking about poverty⁴⁵. Wagle (2009:510) noted that: "this substantively rich but still abstract concept of capability has expanded the traditional definitions of poverty and deprivation focusing on income or consumption to a multidimensional construct".

As previously noted, the income and consumption approach to measuring poverty is faulty because it fails to fully describe what people can achieve with resources, hides inequality among people and neglects that quality of life transcends simply being a given level of resources (Martinetti 2000:3). Resources (monetary and non-monetary) are inadequate for assessing wellbeing because they are not ends in themselves but simply means to ends of achieved functionings i.e. they are valuable not for being owned, but for what and how they are used. Essentially, resources still have to be converted into possible capabilities and achieved functionings (Alkire 2015:6-7). And individual abilities to convert resources into functionings vary (Nussbaum 2000:228). Still indicators of resources (money, access to social

⁴⁵ For example, Sen (1995:19) argued that targeting based on low education or poor health (i.e. capability handicaps) would likely improve individuals' quality of life than exclusive targeting based on low income because such benefits (e.g. free education or personal medical care) are non-transferable/'error-proof' compared to income.

goods) are quite relevant to wellbeing assessments as they can be used to investigate limitations on capability sets (Alkire 2015:6-7). Robeyns (2005a:31 & 42) also argued that the 3 evaluative approaches: (i) Income Metrics (ii) Resourcism (e.g. use of Gross National Product - GNP per capita, Individual disposable income, social primary goods - income, wealth opportunities) and (iii) The CA can be used to assess wellbeing, poverty and inequality; she further insisted that the 3 approaches are not pure substitutes but should be seen as complementary and thus used together. Sen's CA however recognised the multidimensionality of poverty by extending the discourse to consider functionings (i.e. what a person can be and do i.e. available opportunities and (potential) achievements/outcomes) and *Development as freedom* to achieve desirable functionings (Sen 1992 & 1999b). The CA thus provided an effective alternative (*and/or complement – addition mine*) to monetary and utilitarian assessments of wellbeing (Pelenc 2016:2).

In evaluating wellbeing and development, Wagle (2009:509) identified Sen's CA as regarding capability as the central focus in human development. Therefore, coming from Sen's theory of development as the expansion of capabilities, Fukuda-Parr (2003:303) conceptualised development as "removing the obstacles to what a person can do in life"; obstacles including illiteracy, lack of freedoms, ill health etc. Thus, capabilities are especially relevant as a marker of progress because people's values, interests, preferences and needs differ within and among societies; moreover capabilities (means) have instrumental value in making functionings (ends) happen (Wagle 2009:509-510). Furthermore, the CA "argues that wellbeing should be conceived directly in terms of functionings and capabilities instead of resources or utility" (Alkire 2015:3). And besides allowing the extension of evaluations of wellbeing beyond variables other than income, Sen's CA "is a radically different way to conceive wellbeing" (Martinetti 2000:3). In summary, Sen's CA has helped develop a vast conceptual literature about how to think about quality of life, development and poverty (Qizilbash & Clark 2005:103). Its relevance for evaluating children's welfare and development is discussed next.

4.3. ARE CAPABILITIES RELEVANT TO/FOR CHILDREN – WHEN, HOW AND HOW LONG?

The applicability of the CA to children has been raised by critics (Macleod 2010) and advocates (Saito 2003, Biggeri et al 2006) alike. The main issues revolve around when and how capabilities could be applied to and/or understood by children, plus the distinction between and difficulties of utilising capabilities in childhood vs. adulthood.

In response to his reflection on the applicability of the CA to children (given that they are mostly unable to take decisions by themselves), Saito (2003:25-26) reported Sen's proposition that focus should be placed thus: (i) not on the freedom that the child has now, but on the freedom which he/she will have in the future and (ii) on the fact that children have functionings despite their lack of decision-making power. The important thing to consider is not whether an individual is enjoying the preferred alternative, but whether the individual actually has freedom to choose (which a child would eventually have in future). Thus in discussing and assessing children's capabilities, emphasis should be placed on what they can do or be in future rather than now. This validates Biggeri et al's (2006:63) definition of children's capabilities as potential functionings – with functionings comprising 'achievements' and 'outcomes'.

James. J. Heckman, a Nobel Laureate and protagonist of the view that capabilities are shaped decisively at a very early age, emphasised the time-value of capabilities for

children's development (Nussbaum 2011:194). Heckman (2004:34) advocated for significant investment in early childhood development; he argued, "early environments play a large role in shaping later outcomes and that their importance is neglected in current policy". Nussbaum (2011:194) cited Heckman's⁴⁶ contention that human potential is being wasted by the failure to intervene early, since human capabilities (skills or potentials for achievement - including cognitive and non-cognitive skills) are shaped decisively at an early age by a range of environmental influences as well as prenatal factors. It is therefore important to make adequate social investment in children's lives at the early childhood stage to improve their social value/contribution potential but more importantly to secure their futures in adulthood.

Like child poverty that carries significant implications for the quality of life that an individual can enjoy in adulthood, capabilities also impact extensively on the life course of individuals. Biggeri et al (2006:63) cited Sen's (1999) view that "...capabilities that adults enjoy are deeply conditional on their experience as children". Nussbaum (2011:26) also noted: "children, of course, are different; requiring certain sorts of functioning of them (e.g. compulsory education) is defensible as a necessary prelude to adult capability". The far-reaching significance of children's capabilities was buttressed by Klasen (2001:422) cited in Biggeri et al (2006:63) that deficiencies in important capabilities during childhood extend beyond negative impacts on the individual to bearing implications for larger society. As well, Gordon (2008:166) noted that investing in children (health, nutrition and education) is important so that, in future, they can add value to society through their labour. Moreover, "childhood itself is a critical period that offers opportunities for disrupting the intergenerational transfer of poverty" – (Camfield et al 2009:73)

Biggeri et al (2006:63-65) also identified 5 key issues that are related to children's (and sometimes adult's) capabilities and worth considering namely that:

- Parents' capabilities impact (directly or indirectly) on children's capabilities (e.g. links between maternal education and child education or between maternal health and child's birth-weight).
- Children's potential to convert capabilities to functionings are constrained by adult's (parents, guardians and teachers) decisions.
- Certain capabilities could enable or constrain the realization of other capabilities (e.g. the capability to be healthy is an outcome, but in turn affects the child's capability to be educated).
- Age and even gender could define and determine the relevance of a capability at different times in children's lives.
- Children are potential change agents for influencing the realization of capabilities for their own children when they become parents in the future.

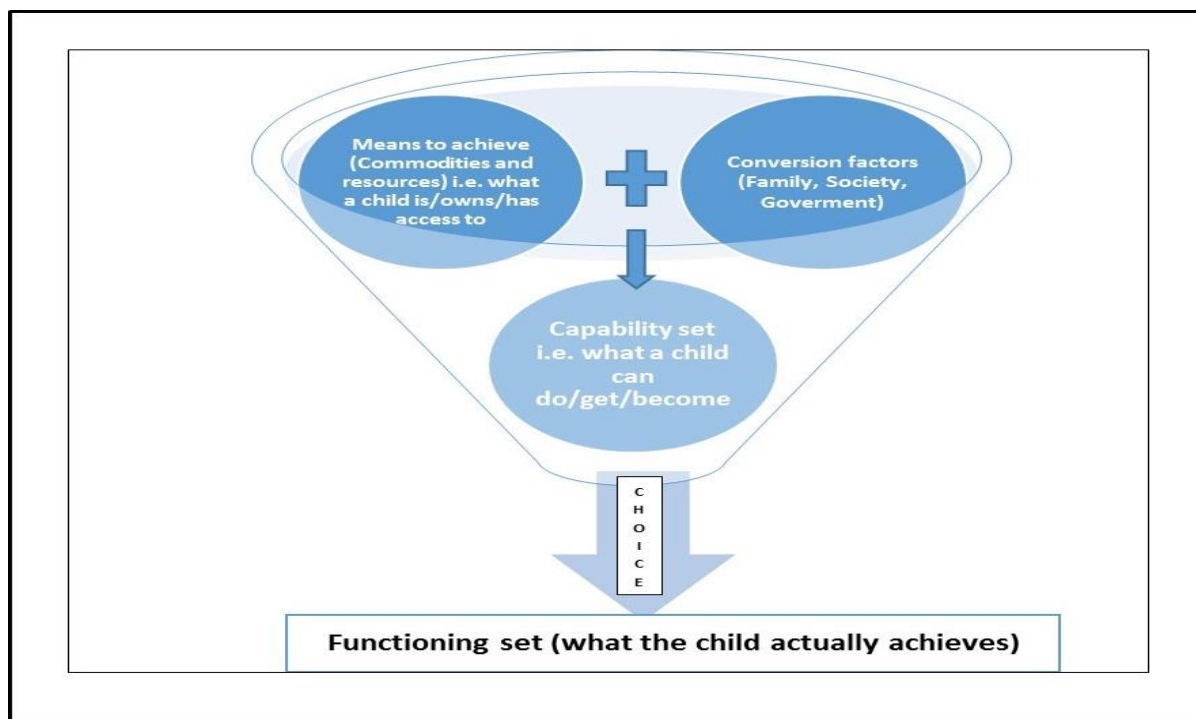
Overall, just as it is important to invest in the development of capabilities from early childhood (as they influence the child's entire lifespan), the potential value of capabilities and functionings should also be a central consideration in applying the CA to children's

⁴⁶ James Heckman is an American Economist & winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics (2000) who focuses on life course human development as a function of happenings from early childhood.

wellbeing assessments. Moreover, “well-being for children can neither be limited to their condition in the present nor can it be conceived as an outcome – it is a process” (Phiri & Abebe 2016:381).

Given the above discussions, the conceptual framework of the CA in relation to analysing child poverty is illustrated in Figure 4.2 below. It is a central reference during data presentation and analysis because it places emphasis on both processes and outcomes.

Figure 4.2. Conceptual framework of the capabilities approach



Source: Author’s Construction 2017 (adapted from Robeyns (2005c:98) and Martinetti (2006:96-97)

In this diagram, the means to achieve comprises the child’s socio-economic, physical/ demographic characteristics and accessible material resources while conversion factors include elements that influence the child’s ability to utilize available means, dependent on his/her age. The capability set encompasses the range of opportunities available to the child given his/her means, and which depending on individual choices⁴⁷, determines the outcomes that the child achieves. Essentially, the element of individual choice is what transforms capabilities into achieved functionings. And an individual’s choice(s) are as important as the opportunities (capability set) available to that individual. The applicability of the CA to child poverty and well-being assessment is discussed next.

⁴⁷ Conradie (2013:194 & 212) highlighted the “adaptive preference problem” whereby individuals opt for less ambitious options because of their circumstances e.g. a low level of formal education could impact an individual’s ability to exercise choice.

4.4. RELEVANCE OF THE CAPABILITIES APPROACH TO CHILDREN'S WELLBEING & CHILD POVERTY ASSESSMENTS

As explained above, children's capabilities are what they are able to do and be i.e. opportunities that children have during their lives. These are in turn determined by their freedom and ability to do so. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR 2004:6-7) explained 'capability' as "a person's freedom or opportunities to achieve wellbeing", with poverty restricting opportunities for individuals to pursue their wellbeing. This relates to the definition of child poverty "as the deprivation of basic capabilities and related achieved functionings" (Biggeri et al 2010:2). Child poverty is thus a primary impediment to the full (or partial) and timely realization of children's capabilities.

Biggeri et al (2006:62 &77) noted that the potential of the CA as a means of understanding children's wellbeing has not been well explored. They argued that:

"the capability approach *per se* is a powerful tool for understanding a child's wellbeing since we are forced to think about the complexities that characterize a child's life..." and "could become the theoretical base for the measurement of a child's wellbeing ... e.g. the definition and measurement of child poverty ...and for the design of social policies for children's human development".

In an innovative approach to conceptualising and understanding children's capabilities, Biggeri et al (2006) reported on a study that considered children as not just recipients of freedoms but as participants in delineating a core set of capabilities. They affirmed based on their findings, that "the capability approach can be used as a conceptual framework and as a normative tool, in analysing ...child poverty" (ibid). The implementation of the CA by developing a list of capabilities to assess is discussed next.

4.5. OPERATIONALISING THE CAPABILITIES APPROACH: PROPOSED CAPABILITIES – CATEGORIES, CRITERIA, LISTS AND CRITIQUES

An important starting point for operationalising the CA is to develop a list of capabilities (Nussbaum 2003:40, Robeyns 2003, Biggeri et al 2006:60). An operationalization of the CA is necessary because the CA is often regarded as a theoretical scheme rather than an operational tool for objectively assessing human wellbeing. Amartya Sen (1980, 1984, 1985b, 1987, 1992, 1993, 1999a, 1999b) introduced and developed the CA but is criticised for not specifying or defining the list of capabilities that are relevant or indispensable to achieving a high quality of life or wellbeing, social justice etc. (Robeyns 2005b:191-192, Nussbaum 2011:19). Scholars, notably Nussbaum (1997, 1999, 2000, 2003 and 2011) and Robeyns (2003 and 2005b) have extended Sen's CA by developing (evolving) lists of capabilities and/or functionings. By extension, another criticism is the legitimacy of any proffered list of capabilities – how is the democratic validity of any list ensured? This problem is addressed in this study through participatory research with children. The significance of this study's methodological approach is further buttressed by Sen's (1993, 2004) intentions and justification for not specifying list of capabilities: (i) so that the CA can be contextualised instead of being used as a rigid standard and (ii) the importance of agency, choice and independent reasoning in selecting capabilities. Essentially, "the capability approach needs to engage with theories of deliberative democracy and public deliberation and participation" (Robeyns 2005b:196).

As shown below, Robeyns (2005b:193-194) identified modes of capability analysis based on epistemological goals/ends across various academic disciplines (as functionings and capabilities are used differently in various types of analysis e.g. wellbeing indicators measurement, descriptive analysis or normative theorising - Robeyns (2005b:196-198).

Table 4.1. Modes of capability analysis

Epistemological goal	Methodology	Role of functionings and capabilities
Welfare/Quality of life measurement	Quantitative empirical	Social indicators
Thick description/Descriptive analysis	Qualitative empirical	Elements of a narrative
Normative theories	Philosophical	Part of the philosophical foundations

Source: Robeyns (2005b:193-194)

The use of capabilities in this study cuts across all 3 epistemological goals identified by Robeyns (to different extents) but dwells largely in the quality of life measurement goal of social indicators analysis. From relating with indigent women in India, Nussbaum developed a critique-response to Sen's non-specification of a list. She (2000:78-80; 2011:33-35) proposed a list of 10 central capabilities as ideal entitlements for all individuals in a just society (they are all important, individually and together i.e. you can't satisfy the lack of one by giving/gaining more of the other). They are presented and briefly explained as follows:

- Life – longevity and worthy living.
- Bodily health – good health, adequate nourishment and shelter.
- Bodily integrity – freedom of movement, security against assault etc.
- Senses, Imagination & Thought – 'truly human' reasoning and free self-expression.
- Emotions – love and social attachments/belonging.
- Practical reason – conscience to identify good and objective ability to plan one's life.
- Affiliation – social interaction including respecting others and being respected.
- Other species – living with and relating to animals, plants and nature.
- Play – laugh, leisure and recreation.
- Control over one's environment – (i) political – freedom of speech, association and participation (ii) material – access to asset ownership and dignified work.

Alkire (2005:35-43) identified 3 overlapping difficulties in Nussbaum's approach: (i) it was too prescriptive despite her intention that it should be applied universally (ii) it is epistemologically questionable: her source(s) and processes of knowledge creation are vague and (iii) it is unclear who specifies her approach. Robeyns (2005b:199-202) also criticised Nussbaum's list as lacking legitimacy as it was not democratically agreed upon with the people it was intended for (poor Indian women). Nussbaum however asserted that her list was fashioned to be broadly universal, reflect common human values and be contextualised at the grassroots (Nussbaum 2000:231). Still, Robeyns (2005b:196-198) argued that Nussbaum's list is restricted to the philosophical domain of normative theorising while Sen's CA is the umbrella framework under which all modes of analysis (including Nussbaum's list) fit.

Robeyns (2003:70-71) further argued that all capabilities lists must meet the following (non-exhaustive) criteria as a form of 'check and balance' against personal bias:

- *Explicit formulation*: the list should be explicit, discussed and defended.
- *Methodological justification*: the method used in drawing up a list should be justified.
- *Sensitivity to context*: the aim of the research e.g. socio-economic analysis of inequality or philosophical discourse should determine how abstract the list would be.
- *Different levels of generality*: two levels exist: (i) the ideal list and (ii) the empirically feasible list⁴⁸. (This further lends credence to the phased execution of methods of this study whereby an ideal list of child poverty dimensions is first developed through participatory research with children, and thereafter, child poverty assessment using available and accessible data is conducted).
- *Exhaustion and non-reduction*: all important elements must be included in the capabilities list.

Robeyns (2003) further proposed an ideal capabilities list (for conceptualising gender inequality in post-industrialised Western countries thus:

Table 4.2. Robeyns' (2003) proposed list of capabilities

Life and Physical Health	Paid Work and Other Projects
Mental Wellbeing	Shelter and Environment
Bodily Integrity and Safety	Mobility
Social Relations	Leisure Activities
Political Empowerment	Time-autonomy
Education and Knowledge	Respect
Domestic work and Nonmarket Care	Religion

While some capabilities appear conventional (e.g. health, social relations, paid work, shelter etc.), religion stands out especially because it is not generally applicable to all individuals. Furthermore, like respect, religion lacks tangibility relative to other listed capabilities.

Biggeri et al (2006:65-66) noted that only a few studies (Di Tommaso 2003, Biggeri 2003 and Biggeri 2004) have examined and proposed a list of relevant capabilities for children. For instance, in the context of developed countries (benchmark comparison of Canada, Norway and the USA), Phipps (2002) used the following 10 specific (indicators of – *addition mine*) functionings to measure children's wellbeing:

⁴⁸ "If the specification aims at an empirical application, or wants to lead to implementable policy proposals, then the list should be drawn up in at least two stages. The first stage can involve drawing up a kind of "ideal" list, unconstrained by limitations of data or measurement design, or of socio-economic or political feasibility. The second stage would be drawing up a more pragmatic list which takes such constraints into account." (Robeyns 2003:70-71).

Table 4.3. Phipps' (2002) proposed list of functionings to measure children's wellbeing

PHYSICAL HEALTH FUNCTIONING	PROBLEM BEHAVIOURS FUNCTIONING
Low birth weight	Trouble concentrating
Experience of accidents/injuries	Disobedience at school
Activity limitation	Anxiety/Fear
Asthma	Lying/Cheating
	Cruelty/Bullying
	Hyperactivity

Di Tommaso (2007) applied Robeyns approach to select relevant capabilities for children in developing countries generally, and specifically India⁴⁹; she juxtaposed the list of capabilities proposed by Nussbaum (1999), Robeyns (2003) and Phipps (2002). Di Tommaso's (2007) final list of 7 capabilities (considering gender issues relating to Indian girls) included: Life, Bodily Health, Bodily Integrity, Sense Imagination and Thought, Leisure activities & play, Emotions and Social Interaction. Noteworthy is that material deprivation did not explicitly feature in Phipps (2002) and Di Tommaso's lists – the reason for this is unclear given the indispensable nature of material assets to human (children's) survival.

Also using Robeyn's approach, and linking each selected capability with the substantive articles of the UN CRC, Biggeri 2004 proposed a list of 14 capabilities for children below:

Table 4.4. Biggeri's (2004) proposed list of capabilities for children

Life and physical health	Freedom from economic and non-economic exploitation
Love and care	Shelter and environment
Mental wellbeing	Leisure activities
Bodily integrity and safety	Respect
Social relations	Religion and Identity
Participation	Time-autonomy
Education	Mobility

Source: Biggeri (2004b:6-9) cited in Biggeri et al 2006:65-66)

Given the reflective process of selecting children's capabilities in Biggeri's (2004) approach, linkages are made with Biggeri's list of capabilities later on in this thesis.

Overall, the idea of an open-ended list that can be adapted per (cross-cultural) context holds no water, as questions about when and how the list can be modified remain unanswered, and the epistemological process of the original list remains questionable (Robeyns 2005b:196-198). Other possible concerns I identify include: (i) whether the list would be applicable to and meaningful for children in opposing situations (e.g. chronic poor vs. extremely wealthy, internally displaced vs. settled, physically challenged vs. able-bodied etc.), (ii) whether the list can be modified to take into account the rapidly changing social/technological environment and (iii) if and how any tensions between subjective knowledge/experiences and objective measurement/realisation can be resolved.

⁴⁹ The functionings selected by Di Tommaso (2007) were however specific to India, and thus appropriate only for assessing the wellbeing of children in India.

Nevertheless, this study will draw on the empirical validity of the aforementioned lists as a guide in operationalising the CA, but ultimately utilize the findings from children participating in this study to identify capabilities relevant for assessing child poverty in South Africa. However, a challenge with operationalising the CA is that it “has structural limitations in measurement, because there are many morally relevant functionings, and because many nonmaterial functionings, such as the quality of parental relationships, are very hard to measure” (Robeyns 2005a:42). It is therefore pertinent to state that not all functionings that are identified as important will be measured, if data is unavailable or the functioning is fuzzy. Considerations in the practical application of the CA (generally and for children) are discussed next.

4.6. PRACTICAL/METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN APPLYING THE CA

The practical application of the CA in wellbeing and poverty assessments requires addressing certain methodological steps/processes. Martinetti (2000:5-7) identified and discussed 5 such issues that need to be addressed in an empirical application of the CA namely:

- Choosing the adequate evaluative space: capability vs. (achieved) functioning. Using achieved functionings appears more practical than using a capability set (the full list of options available to an individual) which is difficult to accurately determine⁵⁰.
- Choosing a list of (essential, relevant) capabilities or functionings: this often involves a compromise between a fully comprehensive list of functionings and a practically assessable list of functionings. The socio-economic context (developing vs. developed) also influences the setting of minimum thresholds e.g. availability of and access to basic needs of food, clothing and shelter, a tolerable IMR, access to primary education etc.
- Choosing a set of indicators related to the selected dimensions of wellbeing and adequate criteria to measure and represent them: relates to identifying and selecting indicators derived from primary or secondary data sources e.g. statistical data (sample or large-scale surveys) or conducting interviews, depending on which is more reliable and adequate in the given context.
- Choosing how (and if) to aggregate the elementary indicators to obtain an overall evaluation for each single dimension (functioning/capability) of wellbeing.
- Choosing how (and if) to add up all the dimensions and to reach an overall evaluation of wellbeing.

In this study, these issues have been addressed thus:

- Issues 1 & 2 entail using (i) the dimensions of child poverty (emerging from fieldwork) as the evaluative space and (ii) available indicators per dimension as the list of (essential, relevant) functionings respectively. The elusiveness in determining children’s (and indeed adults’) full capability set informs this as well as Alkire’s (2015:18) identification of functionings as the best possible indicators for groups like

⁵⁰ Moreover, most data reflect achieved functionings rather than capabilities (Alkire 2015:18).

small children, severely disabled etc. Moreover in the quantitative aspect of this study, the descriptive analysis at the level of indicators mainly helps to assess the children's actual state - what they are, rather than their potential states - what they can be and what they can do. As well, given that this analysis is mainly driven by the outcomes of fieldwork in relation to available data in NIDS, the extent of analysis is restricted to the ambits of practically assessable functionings.

- Issue 3 relates to the methodological approach of the study, which is elaborated on in Chapter 5 but essentially involves mixed methods using both primary qualitative and secondary quantitative sources. Given that two of the primary aims of this study are to: (i) discover the dimensions (and indicators) of child poverty that matter to children and (ii) create a child poverty profile of South Africa's children, the most reliable and adequate sources are (i) research with children as active participants and (ii) a large scale survey with national-level data. This essentially allows the comparison of qualitative outcomes with quantitative findings, by establishing linkages between individual opinions and national circumstances.
- Issues 4 & 5 relate to aggregation, including its processes and suitability vis-à-vis its pros and cons. Concerns about aggregation in this study's context were discussed in Chapter 3, where the decision not to aggregate was presented and justified. Moreover, the study's aim to analyse and depict child poverty per social typology (age, gender, race, province etc.) warrants descriptive analysis that allows for presentation of disaggregated findings.

Martinetti (2000:8) further clarified that Issues 1 & 2 ultimately depend on a compromise between the concerns/interests of the researcher and available statistical information, while the remaining 3 issues are methodological concerns, not just practical or empirical in nature. In this study, all 5 issues are largely methodological concerns given that participatory child research is the working research method used in shaping the CA for child poverty analysis.

4.7. CHILDREN'S RIGHTS FRAMEWORK

The importance of rights in children's holistic development is often broached, first from a moral perspective of children being deserving of high living standards, then from the legal angle of government(s) being the only institution equipped with the capacity to ensure the fulfilment of children's rights. For instance, Pemberton et al (2007:1569) posited, "the international framework of children's rights is a useful theoretical and political tool in taking action to reduce child poverty and improve child health". Freeman (1992:52) also advanced the moral argument that "the conditions experienced by many children make it important that their rights should be taken seriously". Building on the essence of both moral and legal perspectives, I engage with rights from the rational angle that no person, child or adult, should live in poverty because this goes against the grain of humanity and calls the relevance of government (and society) into question.

Moreover, in relation to poverty, rights are now regarded as a vehicle for enhancing the status of the poor (Grugel 2013:27), and Maxwell (1999:4) argued that a rights focus to development is compatible with the priorities of poverty reduction and human development efforts. Specifically, Grugel (2013:25) noted, "rights have changed the tone of child poverty debates and professionalised the way in which it is studied". More reliable data on child poverty is available, and poverty is regarded "as an absence of interlinked sets of entitlements" instead of a narrow focus on income (ibid). This, I suggest, is facilitated by

the fact that like poverty, children's rights are multidimensional, encompassing the various aspects – social, economic, cultural, physical etc. – of children's lives.

Still, ideological and relational critiques about invoking children's (human) fundamental rights exist. For instance, O'Neill (1988:463) noted,

“all rights-based approaches are incomplete in that they tell us nothing about what should be done when nobody has a right to its being done: they are silent about imperfect obligations. The view we get from the perspective of rights is not merely indirect, but blurred and incomplete”.

The children's rights discourse thus suffers a fundamental problem of the promise for its execution being fulfilled. As Minow (1995:297) noted, “in a basic sense, all rights - for adults as well as for children - require a commitment by others to recognize the claims of others and to behave accordingly” (see also Raz 1984 cited in Eekelaar 1986:186). I believe that this blurriness and need for commitment informs why the responsibility for rights implementation has been vested in government - the supreme institution that manages, formulates and executes the law. It is therefore left to government to decide the nature/scope of imperfect obligations and the extent of commitment that would adequately cater for its citizen's rights.

Reynaert et al (2009:525) also cautioned that for children, a 'myopic focus' on 'rights-thinking' exalts individualism over relationships because it implies that children are autonomous and can take decisions independently; yet they can't. This carries disadvantages for children in the welfare system (ibid). Offering an alternative, O'Neill (1988) argued that a focus on fundamental obligations (of society, institutions and parents) rather than on fundamental rights for children might yield more effective achievements. Freeman (1992:56-59) & (2007:10) however counter-argued that an emphasis on obligations places parents at centre stage instead of children. Others, coming from the angle that promoting children's rights undermines the interest of others, prioritise parents' rights as the ultimate (e.g. Guggenheim 2005 cited in Freeman 2007:12 & 16); but this does not always guarantee the welfare of the child.

As well, Freeman (2007:12) noted that another school of thought against children's rights argues that “children are just not qualified to have rights; they lack the capacity to do so”. For O'Neill (1988:463), because children are dependent on other parties – institutions, parents etc., the only remedy for them being able to independently claim their rights is to grow up. Freeman (1992:58-59) however disagreed, and posited that O'Neill underestimated the capacity and maturity of many children who reach adult-levels of moral and cognitive development between ages 12 and 14. He (2007:10) also argued that O'Neill's perspective ignores the impact that parenting and socialization leave on adult life. Without taking sides for a focus on rights or obligations and children or adults, I posit that a focus on processes and outcomes of rights implementation would yield better gains and diffuse the struggle for prominence. This is especially because we know for whom what is to be done, and by whom.

Another critique of children's rights is that they are trivial, so we should look to other morally higher values like love, friendship and compassion (Kleinig 1982 cited in Freeman 2007:11). However, I consider the success of these seemingly higher values as dependent on

the wellbeing of the child/individual which in turn can be guaranteed or at least improved by children's rights.

Other critiques relate to the practical implementation of children's rights, informing Morrow & Pells (2012:909) statement: "in practice, approaches to tackling child poverty have rarely engaged with rights". The difficulties of children's rights implementation relate to (i) interpreting the universally ideal provisions of the UN CRC in development practice and policy of different contexts, (ii) absence of justiciability⁵¹ (possibility of being subjected to trial in court) and (iii) open framing of the UN CRC - the absence of defined targets and the possibility for State parties to obtain exemptions on some articles (Grugel 2013:26)⁵². A major practical difficulty relates to poor active political commitment to children's rights, because the passing of laws and implementation of the UN CRC is only the beginning (Freeman 1992:60 & 69). Writing as at 2001, Fernando (2001:11) observed, "none of the 191 nations that ratified the CRC have developed an integrated strategy for its implementation"⁵³. Van Bueren (1999:683) aptly summarised the problem thus:

"However, what has so far been lacking is a determination of how human rights law can contribute to combating poverty by translating the international norms concerning poverty into action in national parliaments, domestic courts, and when negotiating with the international financial institutions".

Worse still, the UN CRC lacks real teeth for enforcement, as the monitoring body – The UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, "has no real powers of enforcement; its judgments are morally not legally binding" (Thomas 2005:16). In response to this critique, I would suggest that rights should not be viewed so much as a separate obligation, but as a supplement to ensuring that the government fulfils its responsibilities for its citizens' welfare. More so, the provisions of various human rights instruments are very similar to the provisions of various countries' constitutions which government already has primary obligations to fulfil.

Morrow & Pells (2012:909) also raised the practical critique that many child poverty specialists invoke the UN CRC in a partial manner – selecting some articles, thereby prioritising some rights, while ideally, rights are indivisible and interdependent. I contend that some rights are unarguably more important than others, and/or are in fact instrumental to their existence e.g. a child's ability to enjoy the right to education depends on ensuring that the child's right to healthcare is available when needed. It is important to note that over the years, critiques of children's rights have been on a decline owing to the almost universal ratification of the UN CRC and the accompanying clout of childhood

⁵¹ Expounding on justiciability, Van Bueren (1999:696) noted that a major problem facing the judiciary is distinguishing between a government's inability to implement a right and its unwillingness to do so.

⁵² For these 3 issues, the drafting committee for the UN CRC may have shot itself in the foot in a bid to make the convention open to ratification by as many State Parties as possible.

⁵³ The failure of UNICEF's 2005 'Make Child Poverty History' campaign which took a rights-oriented approach to persuading State Parties to commit (in deed and financially) to ensuring the eradication of child poverty is another example (Grugel 2013:25).

scholars and researchers who with their work, have made a strong case for the validity and value of children's rights.

Nevertheless, Pemberton et al (2007:1568) also noted that a human rights approach can help alleviate child poverty because (i) the UN CRC has been widely ratified by most countries, (ii) these countries are thus legally bound to fulfil their obligations to children, and (iii) focus can be shifted from personal failures of the poor to institutional failures of the state. Thus, child poverty can transmute from being a "social problem" to being a "violation of rights" (ibid). Based on the international human rights law perspective, Costa (2008:81) however argued that the intuitive ideology that "poverty itself is a violation of numerous basic human rights" is a *fallacy of exaggeration* because "not every denial constitutes a violation of human rights". Moreover, Pemberton et al (2003:51) noted, "a significant methodological problem is that the CRC does not contain a specific right to freedom from poverty". The relationship between child poverty and children's rights therefore remains unclear. Costa (2008:81-82) also noted that the designation of poverty as a human rights violation exists because of a lack of conceptual clarity, with the rhetoric being torn between qualification as a moral condemnation or a legal claim.

To provide clarity, Costa (2008:85-95) classified existing approaches to analysing the relationship between poverty and human rights into 3 conceptual frameworks namely: (i) poverty itself as a violation of all or several human rights (ii) freedom from poverty as an independent human right and (iii) poverty as a cause or consequence of the violation of some human rights. Favouring the third approach because of its clarity, current relevance and general acceptance, Costa (2008:96) criticised the first approach as being at risk of oversimplifying the issue and losing clarity in its attempt to link poverty and human rights. Adopting an encouraging stance on the second approach, he recognised its potential for promoting social change and recommended that more attention should be paid to it. The OHCHR (2004:5) also criticised the first approach as lacking conceptual and practical substance because when viewed as a social problem, poverty has acquired a meaning related to a lack of command over economic resources, rather than a random deprivation of any sort. Reading et al (2009:337) however argued thus:

"... poverty itself can be represented as a violation of children's rights. The universal declaration of human rights grants the freedom from want; article 27 of the UN CRC recognises the right to "a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development", and the concept of rights as capabilities for living (e.g. the capability to be alive, healthy, and have self-respect) justify the argument that poverty infringes on children's rights by prevention of their optimum development".

Establishing a causal or defining relationship between poverty and rights violations is difficult as proven by Costa's arguments, and the value added by this is rather scant. What remains clear however is that poverty and rights violations mostly occur simultaneously i.e. rights violations are likely to occur where there is poverty and vice-versa. It thus goes without saying that tackling one reduces the odds of the other. Moreover, noting fundamental divergences (moral and legal) among the 3 frameworks, Costa (2008:95) averred to the consensus they share: that a rights-based approach to poverty reduction (as adopted by the United Nations in its development efforts) is an efficient method. Also favouring the rights-based approach, OHCHR (2004:18) argued that "a human rights approach to poverty also requires the active and informed participation of the poor in the

formulation, implementation and monitoring of poverty reduction strategies". This aligns with a commonly identified general principle of the UN CRC – children's participation, and as well buttresses the key viewpoint of this research project. The operational framework of children's rights re its fundamental principles and classifications is discussed next.

4.8. CHILDREN'S RIGHTS FRAMEWORK USING THE UN CRC

This study adopts the UN CRC as a secondary/supporting theoretical, moral and legal frame for discussing children's welfare in the context of child poverty. This is because the UN CRC marries law and ethics, and human rights have transcended being ordinary legal instruments to becoming expressions of our moral identity (Ignatieff 2000:2, cited in Bell 2008:8). The four principal tenets of the CRC explained below are engaged with in this study:

- Rights to life, survival and development (Article 6): children have a right to life and governments must ensure their survival and development as much as possible.
- Best Interest (Article 3): in considering matters relating to children, their best interest takes priority over all other interests.
- Non-discrimination (Article 2): children's rights apply to every child, irrespective of the child's race, origin, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion. Every child must be protected from discrimination.
- Respect for the child's views/Right to Participation (Article 12): children have the right to express their opinions for consideration in matters pertaining to them.

Specifically, the methodological approach of this study is anchored in Articles 12 and 13 that support children's participatory rights to seek, receive and impart information via any means and express their views freely in matters affecting them. These views also have to be considered (according to their age and maturity) in decisions affecting them. In support, based on empirical research, Mayall (2000:255) reported that children regarded their rights to protection and provision as generally being met, but their right to participation as not being acknowledged/respected by adults. In addition, these '3 P's of children's rights' (Alderson 2000:440) were invoked as guiding principles while executing the research:

- Protection – the rights of children to total safety and protection from abuse and exploitation.
- Provision – the rights of children to have their basic needs (including food, shelter and education).
- Participation – the rights of children to have their views considered in decision making and their rights to act in certain instances.

The 3 P's⁵⁴ are also used to categorize children's rights, but Quennerstedt (2010) argued that such grouping is insufficient for theoretically driven analyses, and that the grouping of human (adult) rights as civil, political and socio-economic, forms a better base for research. I however find individual value in each approach: the 3 P's approach promotes an easy understanding of children's rights, and the 'civil-political-socioeconomic' grouping helps

⁵⁴ Some scholars (e.g. Van Bueren 1999) recognize another group of rights: **Prevention** – the right of 'children at risk' to be shielded from the materialization of the risk; thus renaming the approach 4 P's.

reify children's rights as human rights. Van Bueren (1999:684-685) identified the 4 P's approach as a holistic one that integrates civil and political rights with economic, social and cultural rights. Intersections therefore exist between both approaches: socio-economic rights largely fit into the provision category while civil and political rights fit the participation category.

I have developed the '*Child Rights Matrix*' (CRM) below to show these intersections and further clarify the indivisibility of children's rights. Consisting of 54 articles, (41 being substantive articles – Arts 2014:271), I have sub-divided the UN CRC⁵⁵ using both approaches in the CRM below. I use Pemberton et al's (2007) categorization and explanation of human rights thus:

Box 4.1. Definitions of categories of rights

"Social and economic rights relate to guaranteeing individuals a minimum standard of living, such as a minimum income, housing, health care, and education".

"Cultural rights relate to the recognition and safeguarding of ethnic/religious groups' practices and beliefs".

"Civil rights relate to personal freedoms, such as the right to privacy, freedom of movement, and right to a fair trial".

"Political rights relate to political participation, such as the right to vote and the right to peaceful assembly".

Source: Extract from Pemberton et al (2007:1569)



⁵⁵ See <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/crc.pdf> for full text of UN CRC.

Table 4.5. Child Rights Matrix (CRM)

Category	Socio-Economic	Cultural	Civil	Political
Provision	Article 18 – Parental provision & State Assistance Article 23 – Disability Care & Support Article 24 – Health & Health Services Article 26 – Social security Article 27 – Adequate Living Standards Article 28 - Education			Article 40 – Access to Juvenile Justice
Participation		Article 15 – Freedom of Association Article 30 – Own Culture, Language & Religion	Article 12 – Self Expression Article 13 – Freedom of Expression Article 17 – Access to information/Mass Media Article 31 – Leisure & Play	
Protection	Article 6 – Survival & Development Article 9 – Parental Contact & Habitation Article 10 – Family Reunification	Article 14 – Freedom of Thought, conscience & Religion	Article 7 – Registration, Name, Nationality & Care Article 16 - Privacy Article 20 – Foster & Institutional Care Article 21 – Adoption Article 37 – Protection from Detention/Punishment Article 39 – Rehabilitation of Child Victims	Article 22 – Refugee/Asylum Care Article 38 – Protection from War/Armed Conflict
Prevention	Article 32 – Freedom from Exploitative Labour Article 35 – Protection from Trafficking Article 36 – Protection from all exploitation		Article 8 – Identity Article 11 – Non-abduction Article 19 – Protection from violence & abuse Article 25 – Review of Treatment in Care Article 33 – Protection from Drug Abuse/Use Article 34 – Protection from Sexual Abuse	

Source: Author’s Construction (2017)

With the CRM, I recognize that some rights overlap across categories, but classify them according to their order of first relevance, and with the knowledge that none of these rights can be substituted for others⁵⁶. The CRM is used in a categorical analysis of the dimensions of poverty identified by the children, to help uncover what kind of rights children prioritize. Beyond categorization of children’s rights, it is equally important to understand how they are/can be applied. This is addressed next.

4.9. OPERATIONAL FRAMEWORK OF (CHILDREN’S) RIGHTS

Morrow & Pells (2012:915) noted that a broad understanding of how rights can, and do function is needed. Identifying that rights operate as rules, structures, relationships & processes, box 4.2. below presents a simplified adaptation of Galant & Parlevleit’s (2005) ideas about rights operations.

Box 4.2. Operational framework of children’s rights

<h2>Rights operate as ...</h2>			
<p>Rules</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •defined in law (International :e.g. UN CRC) and (Local: e.g. socio-cultural norms) 	<p>Structures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •to understand the interactions and intersections among various factors (e.g. well-being, poverty, social services - health & education etc.). 	<p>Relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •that demonstrate how family and social belonging are crucial for children's balanced development. 	<p>Processes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •for children's participation in the context of adult domination/power dynamics

Source: Author’s Construction 2017 (adapted from Galant & Parlevleit’s (2005) thoughts cited in Morrow & Pells 2012: 915 – 916)

So in this study, children’s rights operate as:

- Rules set out in the UN CRC (which South Africa ratified) and the South African Constitution.
- Structures to help assess the dimensions of poverty individually and collectively.
- Relationships showing how family belonging and social interaction contribute to improving children’s wellbeing.
- Processes to legally advocate for and allow children participate in issues reserved for adults, in this case, poverty, a complex socio-economic issue.

⁵⁶ UNICEF (2000:4) dismissed opinions that civil and political rights should be ensured first, as social, economic and cultural rights may not be as affordable. Van Bueren (1999:681) also recognised that “emphasis has been placed on inequalities in the civil and political sphere to the exclusion of economic, social, and cultural rights”.

UNICEF (2000:4) also noted that human rights instruments including the UN CRC provide a coherent framework for practical action aimed at poverty reduction. Redmond (2009:548) however noted the reluctance of policymakers and researchers (in rich countries) to link poverty and human rights. He recommended that such linkages be established to plug the rhetoric-action gap in human rights implementation. This study is envisioned to respond to Redmond's counsel and fulfil the ethical and legal duty of childhood researchers to ensure that children enjoy the right to self-expression. Overall, the importance of children's rights for child poverty reduction is well summarised in Van Bueren's (1999:706) statement below:

“Unless it is believed that all child poverty is natural or divinely ordained, then some or all is man-made and, therefore, capable of being remedied by man. The CRC provides an opportunity to develop a coherent philosophy and policy for impoverished children. Through the eyes of the CRC, children are not a problem: they are the solution”.

So, this study employs children's rights as a supporting lens (for the capabilities approach), through which findings are interpreted.

4.10. BRINGING THE FRAMEWORKS TOGETHER: THE NEXUS OF THE CAPABILITIES APPROACH AND CHILDREN'S RIGHTS IN CHILD POVERTY ASSESSMENT

Like the concept of child poverty, both the CA and children's rights take a multidimensional stance in their provisions/structure. Just like Nussbaum designated capabilities as indivisible, UNICEF (2000:4) noted that “poverty encroaches on a set of rights that cannot be divided into subsections: human rights are interdependent and indivisible”. The OHCHR (2004:3) posited that Sen's CA provides a conceptual bridge between the human rights and poverty discourses. In fact, both Sen and Nussbaum connect the CA closely with human rights (Nussbaum 2003:36). Also, OHCHR (2004:6) recommended that poverty should be defined in relation to the non-fulfilment of human rights, but without disconnecting it from the constraint of economic resources; it further identified Sen's CA as appropriate for meeting both requirements simultaneously. Moreover, when used together, the human (children's) rights approach complements and gives strong legal support to the CA. As Nussbaum (2003:37) argued, “the language of capabilities gives important precision and supplementation to the language of rights”.

Children's rights as set out in the CRC would be used as follows:

- To categorize dimensions and indicators of child poverty proposed by the children and identify priority rights (if any). Practically, the CA helps to position children's rights along dimensions, by defining the range of opportunities that a child has (capability set) as a function of means available to the child (resources), and comparing these to the child's (possible) achievements (functionings/outcomes set) based on individual choice. For instance, using education (a socio-economic right) as a hypothetical dimension, a child's access to and utilization of quality education in school depends on costs and the child's learning ability (means) which may result in the child being uneducated, semi-educated or highly educated (capability set). The child may thus become highly educated (functionings/outcomes set) if he/she

chooses to learn (choice)⁵⁷. Thus, the CA adds value by enabling projections of life trajectories of children in poverty and highlighting foregone alternatives (thereby capturing unused capabilities) and unavailable opportunities (due to poverty).

- In methodological improvement that simultaneously upholds children's participation rights through the Rights-Based Approach (RBA). The Department for International Development (DFID 2003:1) interpreted the RBA as that:
 - "Citizens can hold governments to account in regard to human rights obligations".
 - Discrimination in legislation, policies and society can be addressed to ensure that the rights of poor people are not sacrificed for aggregate gain.
 - "Poor people's perspectives will be linked with the national and international policy processes".
 - "Poor people are both empowered and engaged in the decision-making processes which affect their lives".

These aims serve to improve children's rights implementation, especially for poor children. Citing previous authors, Arts (2014:295) noted, "an obvious generic example of a root cause, or at least a frequent context of many child right violations is poverty". OHCHR (2004:6) however recognised the caution of international think tanks dealing with poverty (including The World Bank and United Nations Agencies) in using the language of human rights. It also acknowledged the existence of a natural transition from capabilities to rights (ibid). This is because the enjoyment of most human rights is undeniably linked to the existence of basic human freedoms – e.g. freedom from hunger, homelessness etc. It is essentially the focus on human freedom that links the human rights and capabilities approaches (ibid). The CA and children's rights are therefore suitable, together, to explore South African children's concepts about what poverty (and freedom from it) means. Both approaches are also of relevance in a country like South Africa where a structural/historical selectiveness of opportunities exists per racial group(s). Essentially, a South African child's functionings can be limited simply due to his/her race/population group.

4.11. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the combination of Sen's CA and children's rights as defining theoretical frames, by adopting them as conceptual and explanatory tools for child poverty assessment. Their methodological relevance has also been discussed. The specific research design and methods adopted in this study are discussed in the following chapter.

⁵⁷ Noteworthy is that the child's choice can also be constrained by non-personal factors beyond his/her control e.g. poor quality of schools, teacher absences, prolonged strike action etc. So, besides a child's choice, external factors can also limit a child's means, capability set and functionings set.

CHAPTER 5 – RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODS

“If you can’t explain it simply, you don’t understand it well enough” - Albert Einstein

“If you do not know how to ask the right question, you discover nothing” – W. Edward Deming

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a detailed account of this study’s approach to conducting fieldwork, explains and justifies the methods adopted for data collection, describes how the study (child) participants were accessed and explores practical and ethical considerations in conducting research with children (generally and during the study). Some limitations of the study are also discussed.

This is done to clarify why and how certain decisions were taken (plus the extent to which some activities could be pursued or not), and how these may impact on the research process and its elements including the scope and quality of outcomes.

5.2. RESEARCH DESIGN: MIXED METHODS - THE Q-SQUARED APPROACH

Given the study aims, mixed methods involving a consecutive combination of qualitative and quantitative data collection and analyses are adopted with the former serving as input for the latter. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004:17) defined mixed methods research (MMR) as “the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study”. Elaborating further, Johnson et al (2007:123) defined MMR as,

“the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration”.

As well, MMR “represents research that involves collecting, analysing, and interpreting quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or in a series of studies that investigate the same underlying phenomenon” (Leech & Onwuegbuzie 2009:267). It is essentially an integrative approach (Tashakkori & Creswell 2007:4).

This approach of fusing methods generally designated “Q-squared or Q2⁵⁸” (Qualitative-Quantitative) has been used in studies of poverty due to individual and combined benefits of qualitative and quantitative methods. “The qualitative data provide a deep understanding of survey responses, and statistical analysis can provide detailed assessment of patterns of responses” (Driscoll et al 2007:26). Or, “their strengths complement each other while their weaknesses should cancel each other out” (Devereux et al 2013:20). Also, Adato et al (2007:261) noted that qualitative findings helped fill in gaps in understanding

⁵⁸ 'Q-squared' was coined by Economist, Ravi Kanbur at a workshop in 2001, *Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches in Poverty Analysis* (Roelen & Camfield 2012:1).

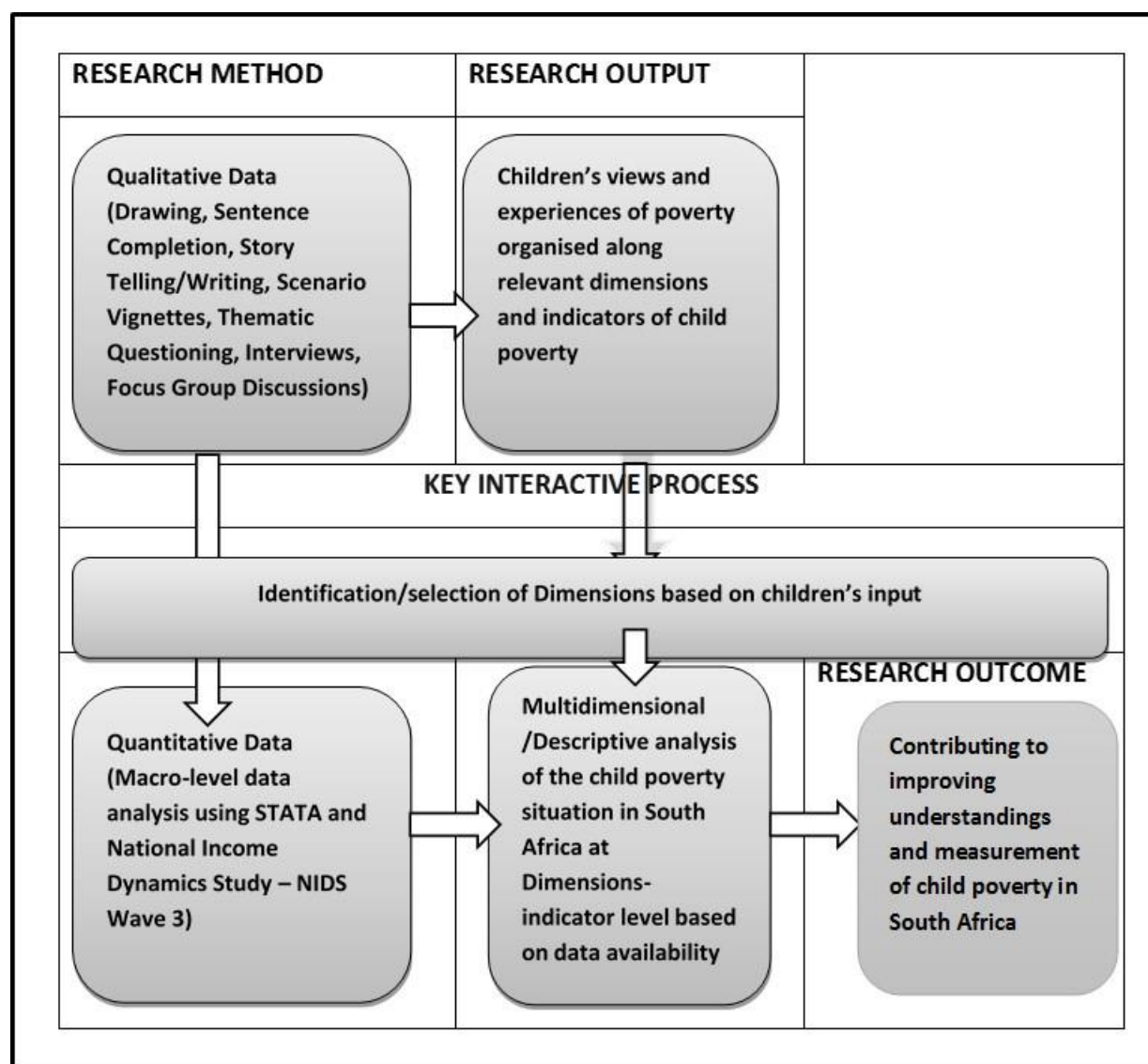
social phenomena, unpack certain meanings and ambiguities in survey data and nudge research towards paths of further questioning – dividends that quantitative data misses despite its clear rules of interpretation and ability to measure change across different points of time. Highlighting the potential payoffs and trade-offs, Kanbur & Shaffer (2005:1-2) noted that as much as the Q-Squared method in poverty analysis brings benefits (e.g. in understanding and explaining poverty), it also carries tensions (e.g. the tendency to underplay differences between both approaches and the friction in combining them successfully), which have received inadequate attention. Jones & Sumner (2009:38) described this tension as ‘the criteria to judge what is rigorous’, which differs between qualitative and quantitative studies, and across disciplines. But as Hakim (1987:11) noted, “no single type of study is inherently inferior or superior to others”.

Therefore, qualitative and quantitative methods are combined not because they can’t stand alone but because they complement each other (Sale et al 2002:50). To achieve this complementarity, Carvalho & White (1997) noted that both methods can be combined by (i) “integrating methodologies (ii) confirming, refuting, enriching, and explaining the findings of one approach with those of the other and (iii) merging the findings of the two approaches into one set of policy recommendations”. This study embraces all three combinations by adopting a sequential QUAL > quan⁵⁹ design, with major emphasis on the qualitative phase because the unique contribution of this study stems from children’s voices about poverty in South Africa. “Sequential mixed methods data collection strategies involve collecting data in an iterative process whereby the data collected in one phase contribute to the data collected (*or analysed – addition mine*) in the next” (Driscoll et al 2007:21). Specifically the study is a ‘*Sequential Exploratory Strategy*’ entailing “a first phase of qualitative data collection and analysis, followed by a second phase of quantitative data collection and analysis that *builds* on the results of the first qualitative phase” (Creswell 2009:211). A diagrammatic summary of the execution of research methods, expected outputs and final research outcomes, which I term, *Participatory Child Poverty Assessment Workflow (PCPAW)* is shown in the diagram below:

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⁵⁹ The arrow indicates the sequence of methods and the use of CAPITAL Letters indicate dominance of a method over the other (Morse 2003 cited in Brannen 2005:14).

Figure 5.1. Participatory Child Poverty Assessment Workflow (PCPAW)



Source: Author's Idea & Construction (2017)

Building on clarification offered by Jones & Sumner (2009:35) and as shown in the diagram above, Q-squared (in this study) refers collectively to the types of (i) methodology (ii) data analysis methods and (iii) data output.

Overall, mixed methods are adopted, again considering May's counsel (2012:71) that "when we measure poverty, rather than relying on a simple 'basic needs' measure we must rise to this challenge by combining methods, indicators and thresholds". Also, the Q-squared approach is deemed suitable for this study given the research subject, the research aims, the ontological and epistemological perspective and the theoretical framework of analysis (Kura 2012:16). Moreover, for this study, solely using either approach to measure and analyse poverty is likely to be less desirable than combining both (Carvalho & White 1997). The fieldwork sites are presented next.

5.3. RESEARCH SITES

South Africa is constituted of 9 national provinces – Gauteng, Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Mpumalanga, Limpopo, Free State, North West and KwaZulu-Natal – with each in turn comprised of municipalities. STATS SA (2014c:16) reported that the Western Cape Province had the lowest poverty headcount countrywide, in both 2001 and 2011, with a reduction from 6.7% to 3.6% respectively. The province however had the second highest poverty intensity at 42.6% (after Gauteng at 43.8% and higher than the national poverty intensity figure of 42.3%) in 2011 (STATS SA 2014c:11). And, although both Western Cape and Gauteng provinces were relatively prosperous and urbanised and had smaller numbers of poor children, poor children still comprised more than 44% of children in each province (STATS SA 2013b:31). Considering provincial inequality, the Western Cape Province had the highest GINI coefficient of 0.61 alongside Mpumalanga and Northern Cape provinces (STATS SA 2012a:13). More so, with children comprising 35.5% of the national population in 2012, and Black African children comprising 84.2% of all South African children, the child population of the Western Cape Province comprised Coloured children (57.4%), Black African children (29.5%), White children (12.4%) and Indian/Asian children (0.8%) (STATS SA 2013b:5).

It was in relative and combined consideration of these provincial characteristics (high poverty intensity, high child poverty headcount, the highest inequality level and high population composition levels of Black African and Coloured children) that the Western Cape Province was chosen as the research site for this study. As further support for focusing on Black African and Coloured children, STATS SA (2013b:67) based on an analysis of the 2012 General Household Survey (GHS), reported the continuous racial differences in South Africa as a legacy of apartheid. Even at young ages, Black African and Coloured children are being perpetually disadvantaged relative to their Indian/Asian and White counterparts. Moreover, the study is designed for children to define child poverty from experience and perception – a task statistically justified to be more feasibly achieved with Black African and Coloured children.

5.3.1. Western Cape Province Municipalities

The Western Cape is constituted of 6 District Municipalities – (i) City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality (ii) West Coast District Municipality (iii) Cape Winelands District Municipality (iv) Overberg District Municipality (v) Eden District Municipality and (vi) Central Karoo District Municipality. Within these district municipalities, two sites of historical and current relevance for poor Black African and Coloured child populations were chosen namely: (i) Khayelitsha Township⁶⁰ (Site C) in the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality and (ii) Lynedoch in the Cape Winelands District Municipality. These districts

⁶⁰ Khayelitsha is an isiXhosa phrase meaning ‘new home’ (Tshehla 2002:47). Dawes et al (1989:16-17) noted that Khayelitsha was founded in 1986 when thousands of displaced Black refugees/migrants from 4 squatter communities near Crossroads (Nyanga Bush, Nyanga Extension, Portland Cement and KTC) that were deliberately demolished by security forces of the apartheid state relocated to start a new life in the newly designated ‘Black’ area.

are highlighted in Map 5.1 below, and the specific research sites are discussed further below.

Map 5.1. Western Cape Municipality Map



Source: Maps of World (<http://www.mapsofworld.com/southafrica/provinces/western-cape.html>)

5.3.2. Background of specific research sites

(i) Khayelitsha is a densely populated informal settlement in Cape Town housing mostly Black African (Xhosa-speaking) inhabitants, and where Austin & Mbewu (2009:149) noted that besides health problems, conditions associated with poverty (e.g. inadequate sanitation, inadequate housing and lack of access to safe drinking water) account for a substantial proportion of deaths of children aged under 5. Khayelitsha gained historical significance in South Africa as one of the townships created by the apartheid spatial planning strategy, which mandated housing all Black residents in Cape Town in Coloured Labour Preference Areas (Cook 1986:57). The establishment of townships helped monitor and restrict the movement of Blacks via pass laws⁶¹. Consisting mostly of makeshift shacks, Khayelitsha is described as being 'in but not of Cape Town' (Du Toit & Neves 2007:18) which is in turn described by De Swardt & Theron (2007:22) as a 'polarised city'.

Based on a visit to Khayelitsha in 2003, Fox (2005:70) described it as a 'resource-poor' community with a mainly Black African population living in corrugated tin shacks without water and electricity, with high unemployment, crime and violence rates, where HIV/AIDS is

⁶¹ Pass laws were influx control laws which restricted movement and residence of Black citizens within South Africa; Blacks could not live in or visit White-designated areas except under specified conditions e.g. having a job contract – Dawes et al (1989:41).

prevalent and often coexistent with Tuberculosis. As well, in a cross-sectional study of Black African children in Khayelitsha (N=499), Liang et al (2002:257&259) found that 23.6% of the children were not attending school, and suggested that alleviating poverty is crucial in addressing the inequality in education just as education is important in aiding people to break free from the negative consequences of poverty.

The situation is unchanged as more recent studies (Ndegwa et al 2007, De Swardt & Theron 2007, Austin & Mbewu 2009, Brunn & Wilson 2013, and Jury & Natrass 2013) and fieldwork visits by the researcher confirm. Moreover, while the Western Cape province has one of the lowest incidences of poverty (STATS SA 2014a:31 Triegaardt 2005:251), disaggregation (as in the South African Index of Multiple Deprivation for Children – Barnes et al 2007) revealed pockets of deprivation within it with children in Khayelitsha experiencing severe deprivation (Hall et al 2012:38). It was thus envisioned that siting this study in Khayelitsha where poverty and deprivation have historical resonance and the risk/prevalence of child poverty is high, would help gain insight into the dynamics of the child poverty situation in South Africa.

(ii) Lynedoch Ecovillage in Stellenbosch Local Municipality is an intentionally ecological and socially mixed community which has a primary school attended by Black African and Coloured children of mostly Afrikaans-speaking farm worker families living on the surrounding farms (Swilling & Annecke 2006:315). This site was chosen due to the racial composition and the averagely poor socio-economic status of the children's households, thereby providing a fitting sample population across race and class considerations. Although not intentionally chosen as a contrast or a complement to Khayelitsha, Lynedoch fits both descriptions by providing a sample population of children who are not as resource poor and whose life experiences and world views are primarily rural and relatively unexposed in scope due to their 'protected' existence on farms. Moreover, Lynedoch remains a relatively unresearched location.

It is important to clarify that both sites - Khayelitsha and Lynedoch, individually and together, are not representative of the Western Cape Province or South Africa and the children therein, whether Black or Coloured. This limitation implies that findings to be discussed in subsequent chapters cannot be generalised, but can help to develop hypotheses, which can be further tested on a more representative sample of children across the mentioned geographies. Further discussion on specific execution of the research methods occurs next.

5.4. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Inquiries about people's experiences, perceptions and lived realities can be sufficiently captured via qualitative methods that allow for detailed and in-depth exploration. They are particularly suitable for this study that examines the complexities of child poverty in South Africa, because they aid a tailored analysis of subjects relevant in the local context as intended in Research Objectives 1 & 2. Moreover, the flexibility of adapting qualitative methods as the study progresses is another incentive.

On the other hand, quantitative methods entailing basic descriptive analysis of household-level data from a large-scale survey (using the child as the unit of analysis) are suitable for answering Research Objective 3. The specific methods are discussed briefly below.

5.4.1. Qualitative methods

To minimize or avoid participation distress, this study uses age-dependent and child-friendly methods. This aligns with James' model of the social child (Children & Social Competence Conference, Guildford 1995 - cited in Morrow & Richards 1996:100) which views children as "research subjects comparable with adults, but understands children to possess different competencies, a conceptual modification which...permits researchers to engage more effectively with the diversity of childhood". This view suggests that children can actively and meaningfully participate in research, and what matters is the 'child-centricity' of the research methods employed. Barker & Weller (2003:52) also noted that children-centred research methods could aid glimpses into children's diverse and complex lives.

Furthermore, Punch (2002:322) suggested that a range of different methods and techniques should be used to research children's diverse childhoods while acknowledging their varying social competencies. Borrowing a leaf from previous studies (see a list in Table 2 in appendix), I adopt some of these qualitative methods of dialogue with the children because they are "seen as more effective in enabling children communicate in their own terms" (Barker & Weller 2003:50). These methods include drawing, painting, singing, story-telling, poem writing, role-playing, diaries, sentence completion activities, photography, children-led interviews, web-based methods, focus group discussions etc. A total of 63 children (across both research sites: 34 in Khayelitsha and 29 in Lynedoch) aged between 8 and 17 participated in the study⁶², engaging in activities to be discussed below. Table 5.1. below summarizes key information about the child participants:

Table 5.1. Summary table of child participants in this study

Racial Group ->	Khayelitsha	Lynedoch	
	Black African	Black African	Coloured
Age			
7	2	-	-
8	7	-	-
9	5	-	-
10	4	-	-
11	2	-	-
12	4	-	-
13	5	1	11
14	4	2	9
15	-	2	3
16	-	-	1
17	-	-	-
18	1	-	-
Sub-Total	34	5	24
Total	34	29	
Grand Total	63		

⁶² Two children aged 7 were included; they both turned 8 before the study sessions were concluded. As well, a 17-year old turned 18 during the course of the study.

In Lynedoch, the concentration of the children's ages between the 13 to 16 age bracket was due to all the participants being in the same class, Grade 7. The sample in Khayelitsha was better distributed across the age range of 8 to 17, although it consisted more of younger children (aged 14 and below) than those aged above 14. The cut-off ages of 8 and 17 were respectively chosen to ensure that: (i) the child participants were cognitively developed enough to participate in the research activities, and (ii) in keeping in line with the definition of 'child' in South Africa, earlier introduced in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

5.4.1.1. Individual work

Children participated in various activities including drawing, storytelling/writing, thematic question answering, sentence completion and scenario vignette responding. Besides the age appeal of these methods, children may be more capable of expressing themselves in pictures than words because they can think through what they intend to communicate and make necessary changes (Punch 2002:331). A combination of research processes that involve both verbal and creative art means were however employed to minimize opportunity costs. This is in cognizance of Birbeck & Drummond's argument (2007:26) that children only demonstrate their true abilities in research when child-centred strategies that consider their cognitive, communicative and social needs are adopted. In addition, the use of non-verbal means (drawing) and less formal verbal means (like storytelling) are useful means of knitting research questions into fun activities and preserving authenticity of children's views and responses i.e. reducing interpretative biases (Clacherty & Donald 2007:150). Material resources including sheets of paper, pencils, crayons, markers, pens, and rulers were used for these sessions.

Due to space and time constraints, the children worked individually but together (beside each other) in sort of a group session (maximum of two different age-based groups daily), as they were usually involved in the same activities simultaneously. Their activities were closely monitored to prevent the replication of each other's ideas.

The individual work sessions were aimed at ascertaining each child's conception of child poverty, and uncovering the various dimensions of child poverty that mattered in their opinion. The sessions were executed individually (per child) to allow for independent thinking and the generation of an array of ideas that would serve as foundational input for preparing for subsequent focus group discussions. So there was a break between the completion of the individual sessions (to allow for analysis of the findings) and the execution of focus group discussions and administering of interviews. Furthermore, these individual sessions served as a pilot test for assessing the children's cognitive levels/capabilities and aiding the contextual framing of questions.

It is important to note that some questions in the 'fieldwork instruments and guides' section of the appendix may appear repetitive. This is because the individual sessions helped me realize that certain questions had to be framed in a particular manner, and the same question had to be asked in different ways in order to generate ample responses and to fully explore the children's understandings. For example, a scheduled debate had to be cancelled because the children could not comprehend the idea of a debate. The debate subject: 'It is better to be poor and unhappy vs. it is better to be rich and unhappy' had to be revised into singular questions: 'What can make a poor man happy' & 'what can make a rich man unhappy' which the children answered capably.

5.4.1.2. Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions (FGDs) helped create an environment where interconnections among children's shared experiences could be harnessed. They were conducted thematically - per dimension - based on an initial analysis of findings emanating from the individual exercises.

The FGDs were aimed at giving in-depth meaning to the children's ideas of the dimensions of child poverty in the South African context. The FGDs were mostly gender-based with a maximum of 3 topics being discussed per session. Care was however taken to ensure that each FGD had children of the same ages to allow free interaction because from previous observation, I had noticed that compared to interacting with older children, the younger children were more comfortable interacting with children of similar ages. Also, questions were framed generally and impersonally to help the children communicate freely and encourage positive thinking & sharing.

5.4.1.3. Interviews

Interviews were effective in capturing children's personal experiences of poverty as questions focused on household welfare and coping strategies were asked. The interviews were generally structured and combined open-ended questions (for instance, what does poverty mean to you?) with fixed response questions (such as: how many meals do you have per day?) to allow for follow up. This helped generate a compendium of useful information, expand the ambit of interpretative follow up and foster insight into children's deeper selves. Personal interviews were conducted only with children who volunteered and have peculiar experiences of and views about poverty.

Each child's privacy was protected and the confidentiality of his/her responses guaranteed by ensuring that other children were neither present in the room during the interview nor within ear's reach of the discussion between the interviewer (Research Assistant) and the child interviewee.

5.4.2. Quantitative methods

The indicators and dimensions proffered by the children guided the selection of indicators and dimensions used in the final analysis together with the researcher's understandings and the availability of secondary data. As Noble et al (2006a:48) cautioned, there are some areas of deprivation that children themselves cannot, and should not, be expected to define (e.g. malnutrition). There are also some aspects of poverty (e.g. education, health and material well-being) that cannot be excluded from poverty assessments, whether children deem them relevant or not (O'Hare & Gutierrez 2012:621).

Due to the dearth of child-centred surveys in South Africa this study utilised the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS), the first national household panel study in South Africa funded by government to track and understand the shifting face of poverty in South Africa. Having commenced in 2008 (and conducted biennially thereafter) with a nationally representative sample of over 28,000 individuals in 7,300 households across the country, the NIDS examines the livelihoods of individuals and households over time by obtaining information on themes like poverty, well-being, household structure, migration,

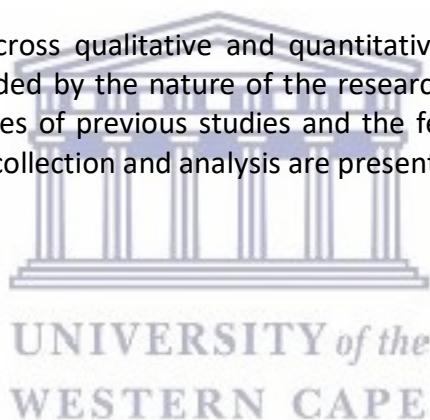
employment, health and education⁶³. NIDS has a child questionnaire ⁶⁴ with relevant data for this study on children’s demographics, health, education, parental and family background, child grants access and anthropometric measures. I use the Wave 3 dataset (collected in 2012) as a cross-sectional survey (i.e., not comparing the results overtime, but confining myself to a single time-period).

Given the nature of Research Objective 3, I employ simply descriptive and prevalence analysis of the NIDS data to highlight the situation of South African children per relevant categories – race, poverty level, location, age, gender etc.

5.5. DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

Fieldwork outputs from children’s writing, drawing and stories activities were perceptively evaluated for meaning by the researcher to extract comparable concepts. The interviews and FGD sessions were transcribed immediately, to allow clarification of ambiguities and follow-up on inconsistencies. After transcribing, salient themes were categorised and coded. Typologies and thematic content analysis were used to identify, analyse and report findings on similar themes that are useful in categorising dimensions and indicators, and establishing linkages between crosscutting themes. This was achieved using NVivo 11 data analysis software. Quantitative data from the NIDS Wave 3 dataset was analysed using STATA to create a profile of children in South Africa.

With the mixing occurring across qualitative and quantitative phases, the selection and ordering of methods was guided by the nature of the research problem, the scope of the research questions, approaches of previous studies and the feasible flow of the methods. The specific methods of data collection and analysis are presented in the table below:



⁶³ This information was distilled from the NIDS website - <http://www.nids.uct.ac.za/about/what-is-nids>. Please refer there for more information.

⁶⁴ This is an advantage as other popular surveys including The Living Conditions Survey are usually household based and do not have child questionnaires.

Table 5.2. Summary of Q-Squared Approach: Data Collection & Analysis

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	DATA REQUIRED	DATA ACCESS/COLLECTION METHOD	CHILDREN'S AGE GROUP	DATA ANALYSIS TOOL
1 & 2	Children's views about and experiences of child poverty	Drawing, Thematic questioning, Sentence completion and Scenario Vignettes	8 to 17	Researchers' appraisal (Qualitative)
		Storytelling/writing, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and Structured personal interviews	8 to 17	NVivo (Qualitative)
3	Macro-level data of national relevance	National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) Wave 3 (2012-2013) dataset	All (Aged 14 and below – as per data availability)	STATA (Quantitative)

Source: Author's Construction (2017)

5.6. ACCESS TO/SELECTION OF CHILD PARTICIPANTS & SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

The child participants were selected via purposive sampling, which entails selection “on the basis of your own knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of your research aims” (Babbie 1990:97 cited in Latham 2007). After receiving methodological approval and ethical clearance from The University of the Western Cape Senate Research Committee in November 2014, I applied for research approval from the Research Ethics Committee of the Western Cape Government Department of Social Development (DSD). I sought official approval to conduct my research with children at the DSD's Child and Youth Care Centre (CYCC) in Khayelitsha as stated in my research proposal. My application was however declined in December 2014 for practical reasons: that the children at the CYCC were not a perfect match for my study because they were under institutional care, and all their needs (physical, psychological, social etc.) were being fully catered for by the government.

Given the specificity of the group of children I was looking for, I needed 'inside-help' to find and access them. I therefore resorted to leveraging on personal and official contacts including Deputy Director of Social Research at the DSD who offered to connect me with a colleague who had lived and worked in Khayelitsha and was a potentially good referral source. I also informed my personal colleagues and friends who possibly had connections to or in Khayelitsha including ties with child-focused Community Based Organisations (CBOs) and NGOs. However, I could not actively pursue these links until late January 2015 due to official year-end procedures, festive activities and travelling that extended into the New Year 2015.

By mid-February 2015, I eventually got a promising lead (through a personal contact – a UWC undergraduate who lived in Khayelitsha), which connected me to a defunct children's traditional dance group (locally known in Xhosa as '*Amagqiyazana*' – see sample Picture 1 in appendix). The children's dance group usually went to the city centre, (sometimes

accompanied by an adult who is their group leader) to perform (on trains, in the train station, open-air shopping venues, public squares, shopping mall parking lots, and formally at events which they were invited for including traditional weddings, music album video shoots etc.) for monetary rewards. Although the dance group was no longer active, the group leader (a Xhosa lady who became my primary contact) was still in touch with most of the children who were from neighbouring households. We arranged to conduct research sessions from the late mornings on Saturday when most children would have completed household chores and hygiene routines. A snowballing technique was adopted because the research sessions were held in the house of my primary contact, who herself has 2 biological children (aged 8 and 11) who participated in the study. Essentially, recruitment of the child participants was through the grapevine. This sampling technique was the most feasible because it was a 'closed community'⁶⁵ and having secured the assistance of an inhabitant family to 'penetrate' the community, I had to leverage on their networks to recruit child participants.

For Lynedoch, around mid-February 2015 also, I obtained access through a personal contact that introduced me to a district education official. I got the school's official support to conduct fieldwork with the Grade 7 class during their Life Orientation class. I obtained informed consent directly from the pupils' parents and assent from the children themselves. Thus, besides executing my fieldwork, I also acted as a 'de facto' Life Orientation teacher given that my research in fact engages with topic(s) relevant to the subject syllabus including rights and responsibilities. The study sample was restricted and/or pre-defined given that the children were in the same class. Their demographics were also quite similar (aged between 13 and 16) and they mostly lived on surrounding farms (with a few exceptions who lived in non-farming but still impoverished settlements e.g. Kayamandi).

Fieldwork was conducted between February 2015 and December 2015, although there were some time-gaps in between including school breaks, period for initial analysis of individual work etc. A biography table of children across both sites is provided in the appendix, including nicknames (chosen by the children themselves or allocated to them by me) used to mask their identities. A discussion of practicalities during fieldwork execution is next.

5.7. REFLECTIONS ON FIELDWORK EXECUTION

In research, reflection is important as it helps to discuss the fieldwork process – its planning, execution and re-planning - especially as they relate to or may influence the extent and depth of findings emanating from fieldwork and adherence to standard research procedures. Reflection is also crucial because research design includes plans made at the beginning of a study and changes made during the course of the study (Brannen 2005:14). Moreover, it provides the research audience with an inside view of what transpired before and especially during fieldwork as well as after. The positionality of the researcher, place of the research assistant, influence of gatekeepers, study limitations and other practicalities are discussed here.

⁶⁵ By this, I mean a cluster of private homes where neighbouring families know and interact well with each other as well as share similar cultural and social histories.

5.7.1. Positionality of the researcher

The possible influence of my position as a female adult foreigner on the children's participation is worth discussing. As Sultana (1997:374) argued, issues of reflexivity, positionality and power relations in the field need to be given thoughtful consideration in order to conduct ethical and participatory research. Referring to social hierarchies of age, gender and class, McCartan et al (2012:4&7) however noted that participatory research could help negotiate/diffuse any power struggles and encourage the exchange and production of valuable knowledge.

In both research sites/contexts, I qualified as an outsider to the children, across categories of class, race/nationality, age, gender (for boys), native language, educational level and social exposure. These differences could impact (negatively or positively) on the research outcomes as it defines how research participants perceive the researcher and the research project itself. For instance, my 'obvious status of privilege' was first pointed out to me by the Lynedoch children who after personal introductions and during the introductory session with them pointed out that I qualified as a rich person because I had a 'fancy' wrist watch, 'fancy' shoes (which were not black like their school shoes), a 'fancy' phone, was attending University and had travelled 'all over the world'. I therefore had to consciously navigate the waters firstly to gain the children's trust and subsequently retain it while working for acceptance in their circle(s).

A major step in both sites was explaining to the children that research was simply trying to learn new things about something. I therefore endeavoured to flip the weight of power by informing them that my main reason for wanting to interact with them was for them to teach me what they knew about being poor and/or being rich in South Africa. This appeared to diffuse some tension(s), helped them accept me and settle into participating in the study. I also ensured that I frequently sat at eye-level with them rather than standing over them in a manner that implicitly communicated a position of authority. Also, in Khayelitsha, which was an informal setting, I engaged with the children in sand games (e.g. jumping squares) to break any stiffness and help them relax. All these were done knowing the importance of negotiating one's positionality such that optimal research outcomes are achieved.

Although I worked to mediate any perceived markers of superiority so that even though I could not fit in, I was accepted, there was a limit to how much how I could suppress my individuality while interacting with the children. Therefore, after completing most of the individual work sessions, I adopted additional measures including the engagement of a Xhosa-native research assistant whose background and place is discussed next.

5.7.2. Background and functions of the research assistant

Being an outsider, I realised the value of local/insider knowledge in the research terrain, especially during some research sessions when the children could not properly express their intended responses in English and resorted to Xhosa or Afrikaans terms and/or slangs. I therefore engaged the services of a 20 year-old male Xhosa native who is a 2nd year undergraduate of UWC.

Having been raised in Khayelitsha, he was familiar with the context including the possible personal experiences and household/socio-economic conditions of children growing up there. So, he brought the intrinsic value of knowledge from experience, having been a child himself, a few years ago. He was also selected because he is multilingual (English, Xhosa and Afrikaans speaking) and also able to interact with the children in Lynedoch. It is however

important to note that having a single research assistant administering the activities in both sites holds a potential limitation: the (first-language) Afrikaans spoken by Coloured children raised in the Western Cape Province will substantially differ from the (secondary-language, school taught) Afrikaans spoken by a Black South African. No significant effects of this potential limitation were however recognised when analysing the findings.

With his assistance, I completed the individual work sessions and he conducted the personal interviews and FGDs. He also transcribed the recordings. I was present at every session, playing supervisory, quality control and support roles as well as ensuring that ethical research practices were upheld always. His presence was a welcome introduction in both sites, but especially in Khayelitsha as the children warmed up to him immediately having perceived him as a '*Bhuti*' (Xhosa term for brother).

5.7.3. Gatekeepers

Given the difficulties of access to child participants earlier discussed, the involvement of gatekeepers as intermediaries for access and continuous contact was inevitable. In Khayelitsha, besides opening the doors for access to the children through their families, the Xhosa lady was particularly helpful in easing the process of obtaining parental consent, and practically as a conduit for informing the children when sessions were going to be held. The education official in Lymedoch also performed similar functions including informing me when sessions could be held or not based on the children's availability.

The gatekeepers in both Khayelitsha and Lymedoch were perceived by the children as authority figures (a parent in the neighbourhood and an education official respectively) and often acted as such in relating with the children. I however tried to mediate any overbearing influence that could hamper the intentions and ethical stance of the study. For instance, in Khayelitsha, when I noticed some 'forced recruitment' of children I explained that it was important that to me that dissenting children should not be compelled to attend. This was well adhered to subsequently.

5.7.4. Study limitations

Having resolved the difficulties of access to the children, the remaining constraints (primarily related to location/space convenience and time) were practical and related to the daily execution of the research. In Khayelitsha, the sessions were held in the living room of the gatekeeper's RDP house⁶⁶, which was not large enough to accommodate all the children at once. It was not feasible to obtain a larger alternative venue as there was none within reasonable distance to the neighbourhood, and there were considerations ranging from logistics to children's safety while commuting and cost. So, we made maximum possible use of the sparse furniture and space available, as I also had to be careful not to encroach on the family's private space. This saw children having to take turns to participate in research sessions, implying longer waiting periods for some.

In Lymedoch, the constraint was mainly time-based as the scope of what could be done there was restricted given the tighter time schedule: a maximum of 1.5 hours (sometimes less) during the weekly Life orientation class period. The pupils were also not available sometimes due to other school activities (e.g. excursions), and there were no research

⁶⁶ Low-cost government subsidised housing for poor South African families.

sessions held during school breaks. So due to the absence of formal time and availability constraints, much more was achieved in Khayelitsha than in Lynedoch with FGDs and interviews mostly executed with the Khayelitsha participants.

Furthermore, my resort to snowball sampling (via the neighbourhood and children's social networks) to access potential participants could have impacted the nature and number of eventual participants. This is because children often form cliques based on gender and class, thus it is possible that extremely poor children (who are usually not friends with children from socio-economically better families) may have been excluded. This possibility became concrete when during a session about giving imaginary examples of poor children, the participating children mentioned real examples of the poor children in their neighbourhood whom had never shown up to the research venue. I therefore acknowledge that the sample of children in this study don't account for the numerous opinions of children in poverty, and can only make valuable contributions.

Also, a practical bias inherent in some of the children's participation in the dance group is that their level of social awareness is high relative to other children. Their interaction with people from all walks of life in the city centre (including tourists) during their dance displays could have contributed to this. It also increased their exposure to standards of living different from theirs, and which they would otherwise be unaware of. This is reflected in their striking knowledge of high-end clothing and shoe brands, which they don't own (discussed under the Appearance dimension in the presentation of fieldwork findings in Chapter 6). Relatedly, a limitation that applies to the extent to which the research findings can be generalised is that the opinions expressed by the child participants neither account for nor are representative of all Black and Coloured South African children.

Finally, a criticism that I constantly encountered in interaction with colleagues (not childhood researchers) was how I would successfully defend the validity of my research findings, when I did not involve the children's parents or family members to corroborate the children's accounts of their living experiences and household conditions. As pointed out by Tekola et al (2008:74), "there is a danger, however, that in using the child as the unit of analysis to obtain a clearer picture of their circumstances, we lose ability to link children to the behaviours of their parents, or communities". While I acknowledge the value in linking the children back to their respective households as no child exists in isolation, it is my strong opinion that doing this would be counterproductive to the unique slant and fundamental aim(s) of the study which aimed to focus on children as a neglected group in research on child poverty. Therefore, I do not consider this a limitation of the study, but perceive it as an informed attempt to plug this research gap and reiterate the intrinsic value of children's knowledge about their own lives – a genre which is yet to receive full acceptance in mainstream academia.

5.7.5. Other practicalities

Research sessions were conducted in a fluid manner, because during the assent seeking process, the children were informed that they could decide not to participate in the study at all or decide not to participate in some sessions. So, some children ended up participating in almost all the sessions, and some others were involved in only one session. In Khayelitsha, children sometimes (though not often) opted to play in the neighbourhood, while in Lynedoch, students sometimes opted to read a book in another classroom while the research session was on-going. So the sample size was never constant because children

showed up for some but not all sessions based on their availability and interest at that particular time. In Khayelitsha, a few children implicitly chose to opt out of the study after attending the individual group sessions (there was no outright/verbal refusal to participate, but I read it from their body language); hence they were not interviewed or involved in FGDs. This was done bearing in mind that obtaining children's assent to participate should be a constant/revolving process.

In both sites, but more often in Khayelitsha (which I perceived as a poorer context), I provided refreshments (fruits, soda and snacks) at the end of each session. These refreshments were offered not as an incentive for them to attend, but as a token of appreciation for their attendance (some children opted out despite the provision of refreshments while others who did not participate in the session simply showed up at refreshment time). Moreover, in Khayelitsha it felt morally incorrect not to provide snacks, because I was aware that our trip to the ShopRite supermarket to buy the snacks was a highlight for many of them.

Upon completing the research sessions in December 2015, I conducted close-out sessions including a party: in Lynedoch before school vacation, and in Khayelitsha before some children departed for the Eastern Cape Province to visit their (extended) families. In Lynedoch, we watched a video (about the importance of setting life goals) that I felt was value-adding for them as they progressed from primary to secondary school (Grade 8). In Khayelitsha, we had a '*braai*' (South African social custom barbeque). At both sites, the children received token party packs consisting of snacks and school stationery. Efforts were made to also give the token party packs to children who had dropped out of the study.

While there were no pecuniary gains from participating in the study, children could gain non-material benefits of social democratization, development of identity and competence, a sense of self-importance, and ability for self-expression (Clacherty & Donald 2007:153). For instance, in Khayelitsha, the average child was eager to participate in the study (especially the interviews and FGDs) because it was a new experience. During FGDs, they initially jostled to hold the voice recorder, but then learned to take turns in passing it around to the active speaker and eventually learned to place it on a chair in the centre of the group. On a particular day, I played the recording for them to listen to themselves. I noticed that children who were initially shy had 'matured' to become more competent in developing ideas and more confident in expressing themselves.

5.8. VALIDITY

Many qualitative researchers have developed their own concepts of validity, interpreting it as quality, rigor and trustworthiness (Golafshani 2003:602). To ensure and preserve the authenticity of data from this study, sessions were conducted with minimal interference from gatekeepers, privacy was accorded to each child during personal interviews and children were repeatedly encouraged to share their ideas with the catchphrase that 'there is no right or wrong answer'. Given the research aims, 'data saturation' rather than 'participant saturation'⁶⁷ was aimed for by admitting children on a continuous basis. In

⁶⁷ Morse et al (2002:20) differentiated these terms as: "continuing bringing new participants into the study until the data set is complete and data replicates" and "repeatedly interviewing the same participants until nothing new emerges" respectively.

ascertaining the dimensions of child poverty, the point of saturation was established by repetition of already mentioned results. As Morse et al (2002:18) noted, “saturating data ensures replication in categories; replication verifies, and ensures comprehension and completeness”.

I observed and took notes during all interview and FGDs, as field notes are a secondary data storage method, which help to retain valuable pieces of information (Groenewald 2004:15). I also adhered to high standards of research practice throughout fieldwork because as a childhood researcher, I am aware that upholding ethics in research with children is crucial to research validity as discussed next.

5.9. RESEARCH ETHICS

Ethics are “the principles of right and wrong that govern a person's behaviour or the conduction of an activity”. In research with individuals generally, and children especially⁶⁸, ethics provide non-negotiable principles to be adhered to before, after and most importantly, during fieldwork. The ethical stance of this research is rooted in the direct relationship between children's rights and child research ethics. Both contexts share key principles including respect for human dignity, individual autonomy, informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, freedom of expression and access to information (Bell 2008:10).

Recognising that general ethical issues surround child research, Clacherty & Donald (2007:147 paraphrased) noted,

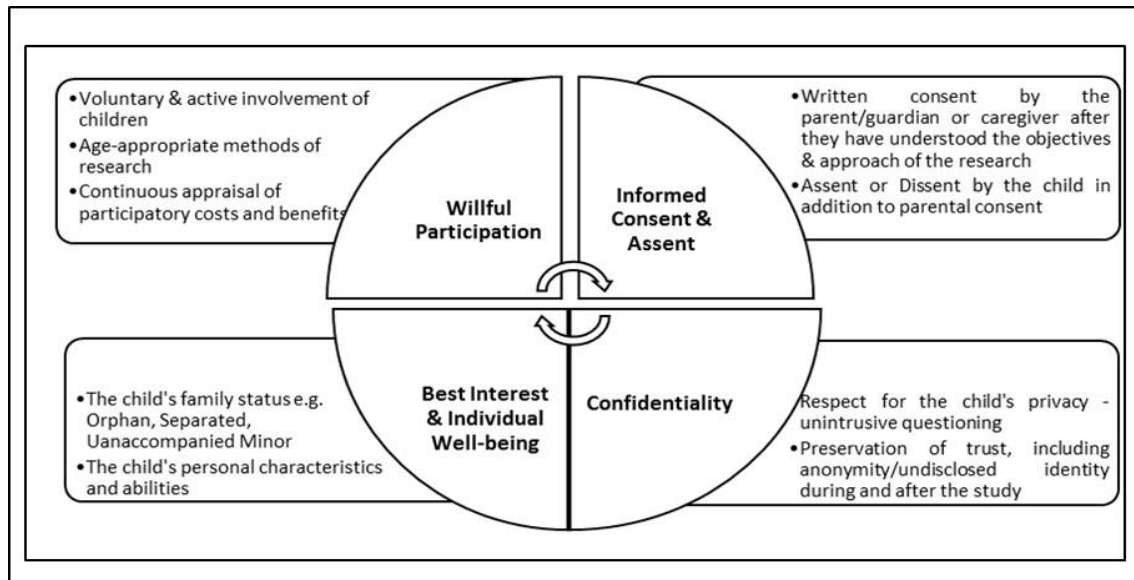
“equivocality is required when researching children in different social contexts; mainly because interpretation and application of ethical principles must consider varying *contextual* factors (addition/emphasis mine)”.

In South Africa, (beyond the UN CRC), legal instruments that directly and indirectly regulate the conduct of ethical research with and on children include the South African Constitution of 1996, the National Health Act of 2003 and the South African Child Act of 2005. Having considered the issues of concern in the UN CRC and these 3 legal instruments namely (i) the best interest of the child (ii) child participation and (iii) informed consent⁶⁹, ethical principles that guided this study were:

⁶⁸ Excluding children from research because of ethical difficulties is in itself an ethical issue (Morrow & Richards 1996:103). This study has not shied away from this but has endeavoured to balance full adherence to research ethics with methodological improvement.

⁶⁹ The permeable boundaries of house-holding in South Africa with children being raised amongst several households, may allow consent to be obtained from guardians & kin in loco parentis.

Figure 5.2. Ethical Framework Tenets



Source: Author's Construction (2017)

As discussed in various instances above e.g. regarding privacy/confidentiality and children's assent to participate, these standards were strictly upheld throughout the study. In both Khayelitsha and Lynedoch, parental consent was obtained for all participant children, and children's assent to participate in the programme was also obtained. The relevant documents: information sheet, consent forms and assent forms are included in the appendix. Other principles guiding this study included that:

- The rights of silence and standstill were always respected i.e. where the children declined to respond to some questions or chose to opt out of the project. Children's rights to participate (or not) were thus not sacrificed for research objectives (Maijala et al 2002:32).
- In a conflict of interest between children's best interests and the researcher's duty of confidentiality, the former should take precedence. For instance, when discussions with children reveal sexual abuse or domestic violence, the researcher's duty should transit from keeping confidentiality to taking necessary measures to protect the child. In this study, the parents of a Khayelitsha child who made frequent reference to rape in discussing poverty were informed about this to enable them take any necessary precautions. They were also given a list of contacts for child protection service organisations based in Khayelitsha.

Underlying all these was my responsibility to protect UWC against litigation, misconduct claims or negative publicity arising from the study.

Before seeking ethics approval, and to prepare me to handle any possible negative occurrences during research execution, I conducted an extensive review of ethical considerations in executing child research. The result of this review, a 15-page discussion document is attached in the appendix.

5.10. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has justified why mixed methods were adopted, presented the research methods including how participants were selected and explained how the study was executed. The next two chapters present the fieldwork findings. It is pertinent to state that the account of fieldwork findings presented in subsequent chapters would not be differentiated per research site, and by extension, no differentiation by race, because the primary aim of the study is not to explore similarities and contrasts but to examine child poverty from a general lens. However, to explain or give context to the children's statements, when a quote is presented, the specific fieldwork site would be stated alongside the children's ages, gender and racial group.



CHAPTER 6 – CONCEPTS, DIMENSIONS AND INDICATORS OF POVERTY

“Loneliness and the feeling of being unwanted is the most terrible poverty” - Mother Theresa

“Education is the great engine of personal development. It is through education that the daughter of a peasant can become a doctor, that the son of the mine worker can become head of the mines, that the child of a farm worker can become president of a great nation” – Nelson Mandela

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents Black African and Coloured children’s experiences and views about poverty, specifically how poverty should be defined and assessed. The purpose is to ascertain the dimensions and indicators of poverty that children deem important. The chapter also presents any congruencies with or deviations from traditional and existing approaches to child poverty conceptualization and assessment. Given that there is a lack of children’s voices on poverty generally in developing countries and particularly in South Africa, the children’s verbatim narratives feature prominently. It is also pertinent to note that the discussion alternates between child poverty and (general/adult) poverty, as the children’s responses indicated a fuzzy distinction and direct connections between both (as discussed later in Chapter 7).

Given the aim of uncovering children’s understandings of poverty – from experience and perception, care was taken not to frame questions and activities in a pre-emptive or leading manner; instead a neutral stance was adopted. Also in discussing the findings, excerpts from FGDs and interviews (presented in a ‘narrative-response’ form) were largely used to preserve the authenticity of the children’s voices and avoid/reduce the imposition of meaning on their statements. And although FGDs were gender-based, some findings are presented collectively because the same questions were asked.

Noteworthy is that in line with accepted practice in qualitative research, the Research Assistant was requested to include follow-up questions which he thought were important but which were not in the FGD & Interview guides; the research instruments in the appendix may therefore not account for some featured answers.

6.2. CHILDREN’S TAKE ON CONCEPTS AND DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY, INCLUDING CONNECTIONS TO CAPABILITIES & FUNCTIONINGS

As identified earlier from previous studies, definitions of poverty include it being: (i) Absolute (i.e. Basic Needs) deprivation (ii) Relative deprivation and (iii) Some combination of both. These definitions are amplified in May’s (2001) previously mentioned summary of definitions of poverty as a combination of the following 3 ideas:

- As being unable to attain a minimum standard of living¹ reflected by a quantifiable and absolute indicator of poverty².
- As the lack of resources³ to attain a quality of life that is socially acceptable¹.
- As constrained choices⁴, unfulfilled capabilities⁴ and social exclusion⁵.

All denoting the multidimensional nature of poverty, the keywords in the definitions above have been underlined for emphasis and number-tagged in the table below:

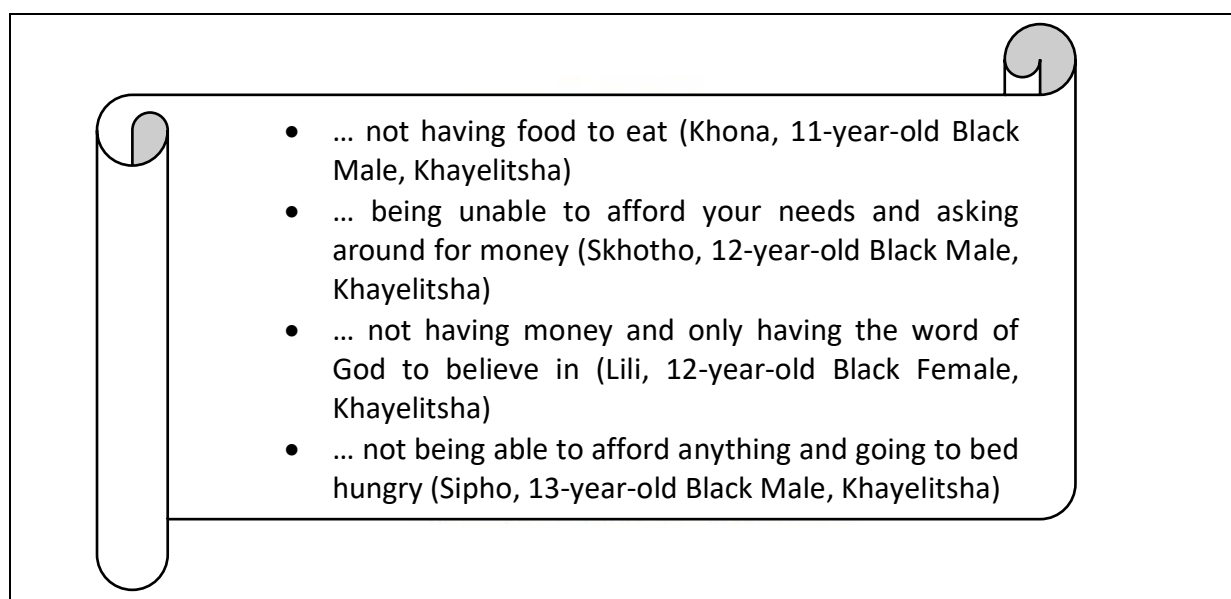
Table 6.1. Summary review of concepts of poverty from existing studies

S/n	Concept Of Poverty
1	Relative poverty
2	Absolute poverty
3	Monetary inadequacy and Material lack
4	Capability deprivation
5	Social exclusion

Source: May (2001)

As presented henceforth, the first aim of this chapter is to uncover how children's ideas about poverty validate, improve and/or challenge these existing concepts/definitions of poverty.

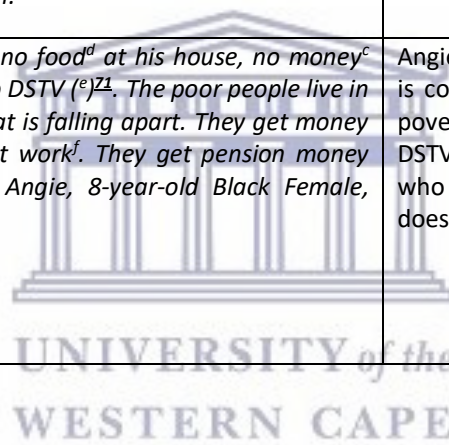
Children described poverty as:



For elaboration, the children were asked to use general circumstances and/or specific examples to describe poor individuals and the reasons for their poverty. Alongside identified dimension(s) of poverty which are expatiated on in the next section, the salient concepts of poverty are tagged with superscripted alphabets (i.e. ^a, ^b, ^c, ^d, ^e, ^f, ...^v) and sample narratives underlined in only one prominent instance, to avoid clumsiness. It is pertinent to clarify that distinguishing between a 'concept' and a 'dimension' was sometimes knotty, as the dimensions often mapped unto the concepts. The abstractness vs. concreteness of the idea was therefore used as a guide i.e. concepts and dimensions were (mostly) abstract and concrete respectively. Some of their responses included:

Table 6.2. Concepts and dimensions of child poverty from fieldwork

Concept of poverty	Dimension	Children’s narrative(s)	Making a connection to capabilities and functionings
<p>^a - Social Exclusion</p>	<p>^b - Finances</p>	<p><i>“Poor people are people who don’t have money^b to buy some food and clothes. They are living in Wendy houses⁷⁰ and some of them are living under bridges^o. Some live in the street loafing for money and food. They didn’t finish school, they don’t want to look for work and some get pregnant early” – Noesie, 13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch.</i></p>	<p>Noesie holds the notion that dropping out of school negatively affects an individual’s life outcomes re limited employment options and teenage pregnancy.</p>
<p>^c - Basic Needs /Absolute Deprivation</p>	<p>^d - Food ^e - Technology ^f - Jobs/Employment ^g - Social Protection</p>	<p><i>“My friend Sylvester, there is no food^d at his house, no money^e to buy a new cupboard and no DSTV (^e)⁷¹. The poor people live in Site C and in a small shack that is falling apart. They get money and buy wine. And they don’t work^f. They get pension money and don’t use it wisely^g” – Angie, 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha.</i></p>	<p>Angie’s narrative reflects Sen’s notion of being unable to do what is considered normal in society e.g. not having DSTV is a sign of poverty - being unable to have a functioning that others may have. DSTV is however beyond the reach of many low-income families, who resort to watching local channels. Interestingly, Angie herself doesn’t have DSTV in her house.</p>



⁷⁰ Wooden makeshift houses with very basic living space and amenities. They are perceived as temporary (though often permanent) accommodation for low-income families.

⁷¹ Africa’s leading Digital Satellite TV (DSTV) service provider.

Concept of poverty	Dimension	Children's narrative(s)	Making a connection to capabilities and functionings
^h - Relative Deprivation ⁱ - Monetary Inadequacy		<p><i>"The poor people in our country are the Brown⁷² and Black people. They work very hard but they earn only a little bit of money, and sometimes they don't have money. They live on the streets, farms and plakerskame⁷³. They don't live in double storeys and drive cars like the White people^h because they are poor and don't have the moneyⁱ. These people work on the farms and don't have the class money^h for expensive stuff like cars and houses and they earn a little bit of money" – Rasta, 14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch.</i></p>	<p>Rasta dissociates farmworkers (consisting of Blacks and Coloureds) from the possibility of being able to live in comfortable or big houses because of their meagre earnings.</p>
^l - Psychological Strain	^j - Housing ^k - Education	<p><i>"People who do not have houses^j are poor and they are the people from Site C. Mashumi is a poor person and he became poor because he did not go to school^k. He lives in containers and he owns nothing. He lives horribly and is never happy^l" – Hlehle, 10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha.</i></p>	<p>Hlehle thinks that a lack of education negatively affects an individual's ability to become rich.</p>
^m - Material Lack	ⁿ - Family Belonging	<p><i>"People who live in rural areas are the poor ones. There is also a guy who lives in Site C and everyone knows him because he is very poor. He lives on the taxi ranks and asks people for food and money and he owns nothing^m. He is never happy because he does not have a familyⁿ" – Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha.</i></p>	<p>Lili has ideas that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Not having a family reduces an individual's chances to be happy. - Living in a rural area puts an individual at risk of being poor.

⁷² Coloureds.

⁷³ Afrikaans term for shacks.

Concept of poverty	Dimension	Children's narrative(s)	Making a connection to capabilities and functionings
	^o - Water	<i>"The poor man never washes and is scared for water because he doesn't know what water is – he only drinks water not wash with it"</i> – Khulu, 13-year-old Black Male, Lynedoch.	Khulu points out that the poor man's unfamiliarity with water (i.e. lack of access to water) limits his usage to drinking, and affects his ability to be clean.
	^p - Material Possessions	<i>"Xhosa people are the poor people in South Africa. The twins that live in my area are very poor. Their mother doesn't buy them clothes. These people live in Khayelitsha and their houses are falling apart. They have no TV and no fridge^p. They live in a populated house. The mother of the house doesn't buy the necessary things for the house. She only drinks alcohol under the bridge"</i> – Khona, 11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha.	There is an implicit suggestion in Khona's narrative that being Xhosa increases an individual's propensity to be poor. Khona also implies that being poor is a negative functioning that is caused by alcoholism. The tendency of the poor to engage in binge drinking of cheap alcohol is common, especially when social grants have just been paid.
^r - Capability Deprivation	^q - Appearance: Clothing	<i>"The people who are crying for bread and money. They live in the streets and don't have nothing (sic). They sleep on grass. They have nothing to wear and wear the same clothes every day^q. They stink and live under bridges. They had babies early. They didn't listen to their teachers. They became nothing in their life. They don't belong to someone"</i> – Abby 1, 13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch.	Abby 1's narrative implies that poverty limits or eliminates the functionings an individual can have throughout his/her life - "they became nothing in their life". She passes judgment on the poor by casting the blame of their poverty on them i.e. not being able to escape poverty is due to an individual fault. She also highlights how an individual's choice(s) from a range of possible options (e.g. whether to be at risk of pregnancy or not, choosing to listen to teachers not) can affect his/her outcomes/functionings.
	^s - Health ^q - Appearance: Shoes	<i>"They don't have a lot of money. They don't have jobs so they won't get a lot of money. They don't have any food to eat. They starve and get thinner all the time. They don't have any houses to sleep in, so they sleep on the street. And when it is night, they get very cold. Sometimes when it rains at night, they can become very sick and can't go to the Doctor^s. Poor people don't have any nice clothes to wear. It is sometimes torn apart. Poor people also don't have very nice shoes. Some of them do have shoes on but it is broken^q. And some of them walk barefoot on the streets"</i> – Lulu, 13-year-old Female Coloured, Lynedoch.	Lulu ties the capability to be rich (having a lot of money) to getting a job.

Other characteristic descriptions of the poor were given in short bio format. This was done in an exercise adopting the ‘5 W’s and 1 H approach⁷⁴’: i.e. ‘Who they are, What they did/do, Why they are poor, When they became poor and Where/How they live’). The results are as follows:

Specifying some problems that poor people have, it was noted that:

Concept of poverty	Dimension	Children’s narrative(s)	Making a connection to capabilities and functionings
	[†] - Safety	<i>“They don’t have jobs to do and don’t have food or clothes or a home to stay in. They go to bed without food in the night and they must look for a night shelter to sleep in. They must look for a safe place to stay or sleep and the children must go to an orphanage home to stay and sleep there[†]. They don’t have shoes to wear outside. Their clothes are torn apart” – Biesie, 13-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch.</i>	Biesie recognizes that being safe at night is a functioning that the poor have to seek.
	^u - Transportation	<i>“Poor people have problems with money. They don’t have money for taxi to go to the hospital when they are sick^u. Poor people don’t have money for healthy food and to eat. Every night, they must go to sleep hungry and sometimes, their babies go dead because of unhealthy food. Poor people don’t have money for CVs and you must have a CV to find a job, and they don’t have that.” – Abby 2, 13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch.</i>	Abby 2 notes that being poor increases one’s risk of poor health due to consumption of unhealthy food. Also, being poor limits the chances of getting a job because the poor person has no money to ‘make’ a CV.
There was a dimension of poverty: Play & Leisure, which was not explicitly mentioned like the others above but was implied in other discussions with the children. This is as shown in the table below:			
	^v - Play & Leisure	<i>“For any parent, not being able to provide food for your child is a poverty indicator and also for children, not being able to play because you do not have toys is worse^v”. – Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha.</i>	Lili indicates that being able to play is a functioning that is important to/for children, just like being able to feed one’s child is for parents.

⁷⁴ Described as “the classic method of inquiry of journalism” (Silva 2016:555)

These narratives generally demonstrate how poverty exercises a strong negative influence on chances of achieving functionings from one's capability set (e.g. how a poor person can't get a job because they have no CV and don't have a CV because they have no money to create one). It also shows how poverty acts either as a constraint on the possible options that a child/individual can access or as a phenomenon that leaves the poor individual without the option to choose between alternative courses of action (e.g. being homeless and having to resort to night shelters/orphanages). Furthermore, the narratives describe how external factors (e.g. working very hard for very little income) or an individual's circumstances (e.g. living in a rural area) could cause and reinforce poverty. They also highlight how the achievement of functionings could be a process that individuals have to pursue (e.g. through education).

To further explore their understandings of poverty and revalidate the aforementioned dimensions of poverty, a 'compare and contrast' method was adopted by citing differences between the rich and the poor. The findings presented in the table below were mostly output of group-work sessions and discussions in both Khayelitsha and Lymedoch:

Table 6.3. Comparing and contrasting dimensions of poverty

Rich people/kids ...	Poor people/kids ...
<i>Their parents are rich and still alive</i>	<i>They don't have parents</i>
<i>Have their own money and do not receive grant money</i>	<i>Don't have their own money and receive grant money/depend on government money</i>
<i>Live in mansions or huge houses</i>	<i>Live in a shack/street kinds – no place to stay</i>
<i>Own 3-D TVs</i>	<i>Own small TVs</i>
<i>Go to private schools</i>	<i>Go to public schools</i>
<i>Have fancy toys</i>	<i>Don't have toys</i>
<i>Own cars</i>	<i>Travel with public transport</i>
<i>Shop at malls</i>	<i>Buy at Spaza shops⁷⁵</i>
<i>Have pools</i>	<i>Have dams</i>
<i>Travel the world</i>	<i>Do not travel the world</i>
<i>Afford a lot of things</i>	<i>Can't afford a lot of things</i>
<i>Their children are very spoiled</i>	<i>Their children are grown very hard</i>
<i>Have expensive clothes, phones and everything</i>	<i>Don't have expensive clothes and phones</i>
<i>Live in a suburb⁷⁶</i>	<i>Live in rural areas</i>
<i>They are spoiled brats not even doing their work at school</i>	<i>They concentrate on school because that's the only thing they have in order for them to have a better life</i>

Their comparisons indicate that the children identify the rich as having the best of life's opportunities, while they associate the poor with outright lack of these opportunities, or at best limited and/or reduced access to them. Their ideas also portray the rich as being self-

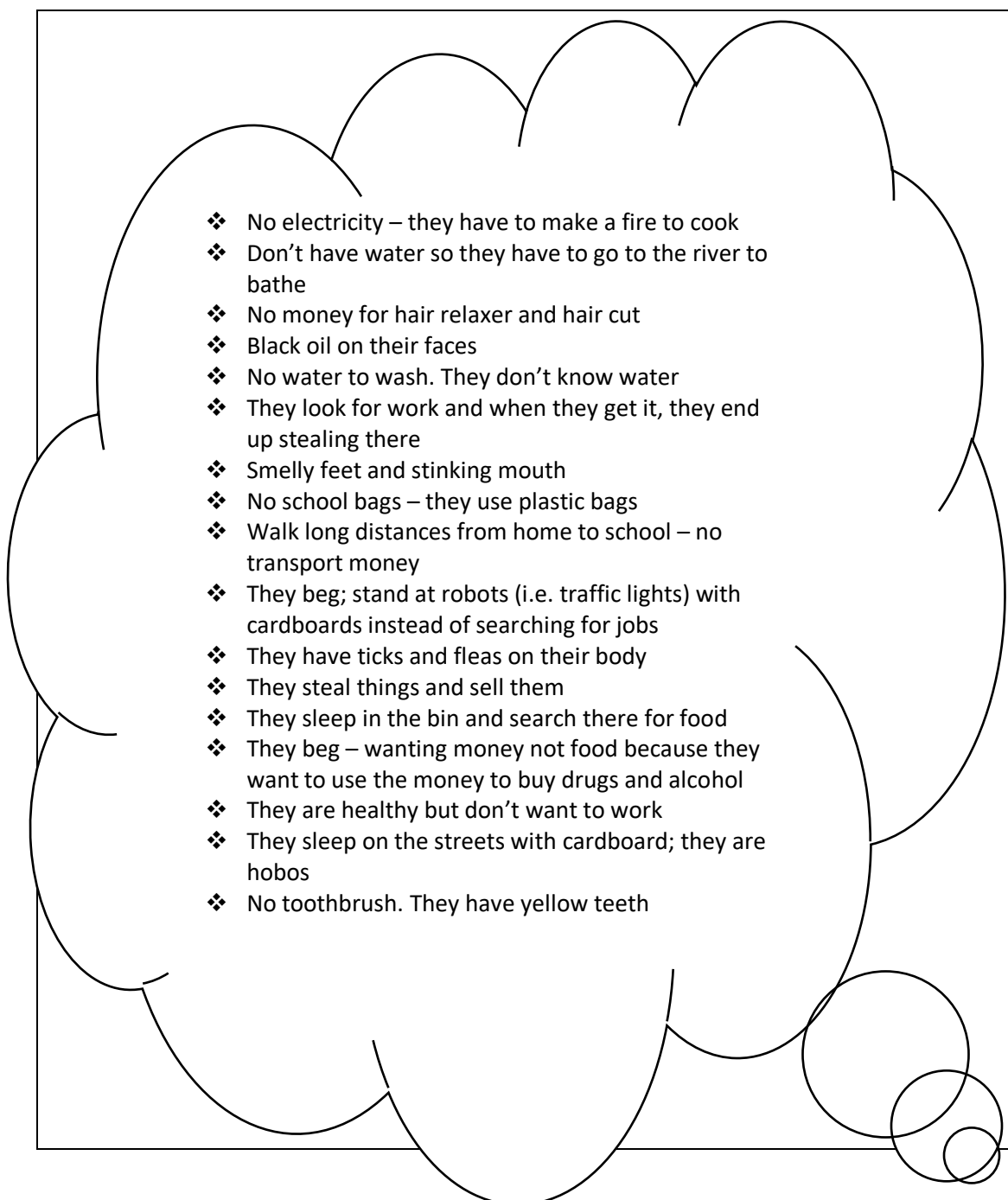
⁷⁵ Local/neighbourhood small-scale retail businesses/shops that sometimes sell on credit.

⁷⁶ In South Africa, the term "suburb" typically denotes an urban area with modern housing and upscale amenities usually inhabited by middle-class and high-income families.

sufficient and less integrated with/involved in average society compared to the poor for whom society is a lifeblood and/or lifeline.

Also, using a mixture of sometimes-comical yet factual descriptions, the children made a compendium of their thoughts about 'what it means to be poor'. Their ideas from this exercise also conducted as group-work sessions and discussions are as depicted in the think-cloud diagram below:

Figure 6.1. Ideas of 'what it means to be poor'



We also explored poverty in the opposite sense - by defining what it means to be rich i.e. not poor. Being rich was interpreted as "having your own money" (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha), "being able to buy your own things" (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male,

Khayelitsha) and “having your own business and house” (Yethu, 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha). Expatiating on whether ‘being rich was only about having money’, many participants responded affirmatively; the only dissenting view was by Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) who insisted that “not everyone views being rich as having money; some people consider being happy means you are rich”. Skhotho’s view restates the concept of poverty being psychological strain, and also indicates that ‘rich’ and ‘poor’ are not necessarily opposing adjectives even (and especially) in monetary terms. Also using general circumstances and popular/specific examples to describe rich individuals and possible problems that they may encounter, the children said:

“When you are rich it means you can afford almost anything. People who live overseas are rich. Floyd Mayweather is very rich, he gained his money from boxing and he lives in America. He has a private jet and the only problem he would have would be fitness before a fight” – Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha.

“When you are rich it means you live a nice life, the rich are celebrities like Beyonce and she became rich because of her singing. She lives in America and she owns expensive shoes and clothes. Her problem would be not making music that people love” – Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha.

Citing South African examples, the children noted that:

“Being rich means being able to buy anything. Mostly white people are the rich ones. Siphwe Tshabalala⁷⁷ is rich and he lives in Jo’burg. He has a fancy house and expensive cars. Yes they do have problems like getting robbed” – Siphwe, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha.

“The President is rich because he has got his private jet and a big house in Nkandla. He’s got lots of money. He is a ‘Tsotsi’⁷⁸. His name is Zuma. He has lots of Mfazie (wives) and bodyguards. Because he’s got lots of wives, he has many children and he supports them all” – Metas, 14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch.

“Jacob Zuma, he is the president of South Africa. Some white people are also rich like ‘boere’⁷⁹ in South Africa. They have their own farms and people work for them. The white boere have big houses because people work for them, they have much money to buy something in a shop” – Pips, 14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) also recognised the existence of different levels (depths) of poverty thus:

⁷⁷ South African professional footballer.

⁷⁸ South African (Sotho language) term for a Black Street Thug/Hoodlum.

⁷⁹ Afrikaans word for farmer, used to refer to rural White farm owners who are of Dutch or French Huguenot descent. These farmers own large tracts of land used mostly for wine and food farming.

'Poor' people have clothes and family while 'very poor' people don't. Also 'poor' people have enough money for a funeral and those things while the 'very poor' people don't.

Using examples of 2 imaginary people, the children also noted:

"Anele is 'poor' and has a small TV, small brick house, grocery money, radio and clothes. Athi is 'very poor' and does not have a house, lives in a shack, no grocery money, no clothes and no radio" – Siphso, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha

"Skoli is 'poor' but can still send his child to school, pay for transport, own a TV, a couch and DVD. Amikha is 'very poor' and cannot send her child to school, does not get grant money, no house, no clothes and no couch" – Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha

"Livy is 'poor' but gets grant money so owns an RDP house, sends children to school, buys her own groceries and has a TV. Jack is 'very poor' and does not even get grant money. He lives under the bridge, asks people for food and has no clothes and no TV" – Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha

Using herself as an example, Bravery (18year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) stated:

"I am not rich but kind of poor. We were staying in shacks but have RDP houses now. I come from a poor background but I can take taxis because my parents try. So a person walking instead of taking a taxi is very poor. I have a phone but I am poor; a very poor person has no phone".

The children's preceding statements reflect the importance of children's backgrounds and the contextual specificity of relative deprivation and poverty intensity. Their statements also indicate that poverty is not just about outright lack but also about the perceived relational value of assets including capabilities (what one can do and/or be). This is similar to Bessell's (2009) findings from a study of Indonesian children: that some children described their poverty experience with regards to the economic hardships of their families, but also in relative terms, both negatively and positively – as being worse off or better off than others. Noteworthy in this study is that some assets which the children ascribe to the poor e.g. cell phones, would be regarded as luxuries in the contexts of some other poor countries.

6.2.1. Highlights summary of concepts of poverty

The concepts of poverty proposed by the children reinforced (rather than challenged) existing concepts of poverty earlier discussed in Chapter 2. The main existing concepts: Basic Needs/Absolute Deprivation, Monetary Deprivation/Material Lack, Relative Deprivation, Capability Deprivation and Social Exclusion still featured most prominently in the children's accounts.

The concept of poverty being and/or causing 'psychological strain' (as reflected in the general idea of equating unhappiness with poverty) also featured in the children's accounts. Poverty has adverse psychosocial implications, and is associated with decreased psychological wellbeing. Various studies, old and recent, (Patel et al 1999, Murali & Oyebode 2004, Lund et al 2010, Goodman et al 2013, Tampubolon & Hanandita 2014,

Haushofer & Fehr 2014, Castillo et al 2016) as well as Narayan et al (1999:31-32 - *Voices of the poor Volume 1*) provide evidence that support the concept of poverty as psychological strain. Based on research across developed and developing countries, Walker et al (2013) advocated that poverty should be conceptualised in terms of the 'shame' which poor people experience from a sense of failing to live up to societal expectations. This shame could result in pretence, withdrawal, despair, depression etc. (ibid), as the expressed in the children's narratives above. Anakwenze & Zuberi (2013) also posited the existence of a cyclical relationship whereby poverty cultivates mental illness, and mental illness in turn reinforces poverty.

The depth of poverty also emerged as a fundamental component; first to distinguish between the rich and the poor and second to separate the poor from the chronically/very poor. The usage of words like 'small' vs. 'none' in describing assets owned by the 'poor' and 'very poor' respectively indicates this, thus signifying that for children, depth/intensity of poverty/deprivation is important.

Also noteworthy is that these concepts of poverty cut across the various spheres of human existence: Physical/Material, Socio-cultural/Relational, Economic and Psychological/Psychosocial. This implies that poverty affects the entirety of a human being's existence. Also, because these concepts relate to both current situations and future circumstances, the effects of poverty could be far-reaching (from childhood into adulthood). These concepts of poverty are touched on further below when analysing the dimensions of poverty individually.

6.3. DISCUSSING THE DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY

The 15 identified dimensions of poverty have been categorised into 7 domains in the diagram below. This is to allow for a linked discussion as some dimensions emerged from discussions about other dimensions e.g. transportation was identified as an important form of technology but is an important dimension of poverty by itself.

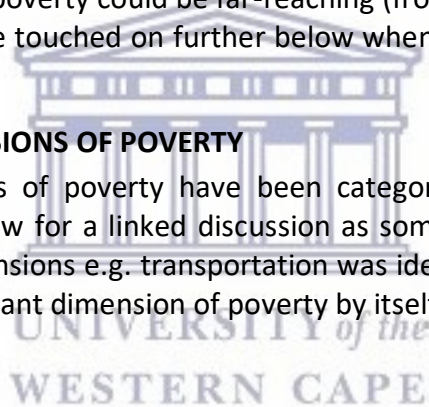
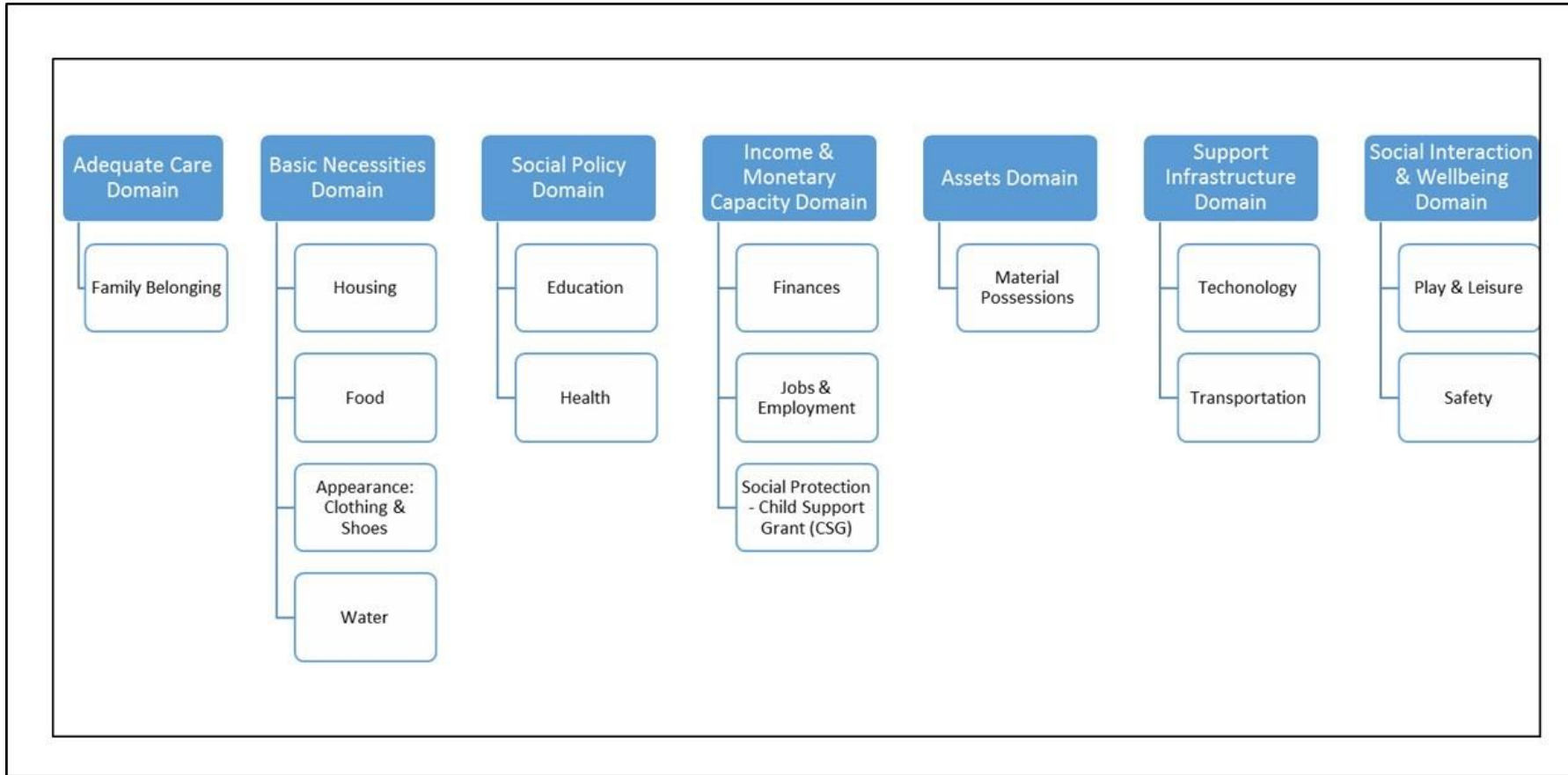


Figure 6.2. Domains and dimensions of poverty from fieldwork



Source: (Author's Construction from Fieldwork, 2017)⁸⁰

⁸⁰ These identified dimensions are linked to the DFID's Sustainable Livelihoods Approach later in this chapter.

The dimension-focused FGDs were structured to ask questions across the concepts of Absolute Deprivation, Relative Deprivation, Monetary Inadequacy/Material Lack, Capability Deprivation, Psychological Strain and Social Exclusion as they relate to each dimension. The dimensions are discussed next, with a key point summary given as an overview of the dimension's main idea.

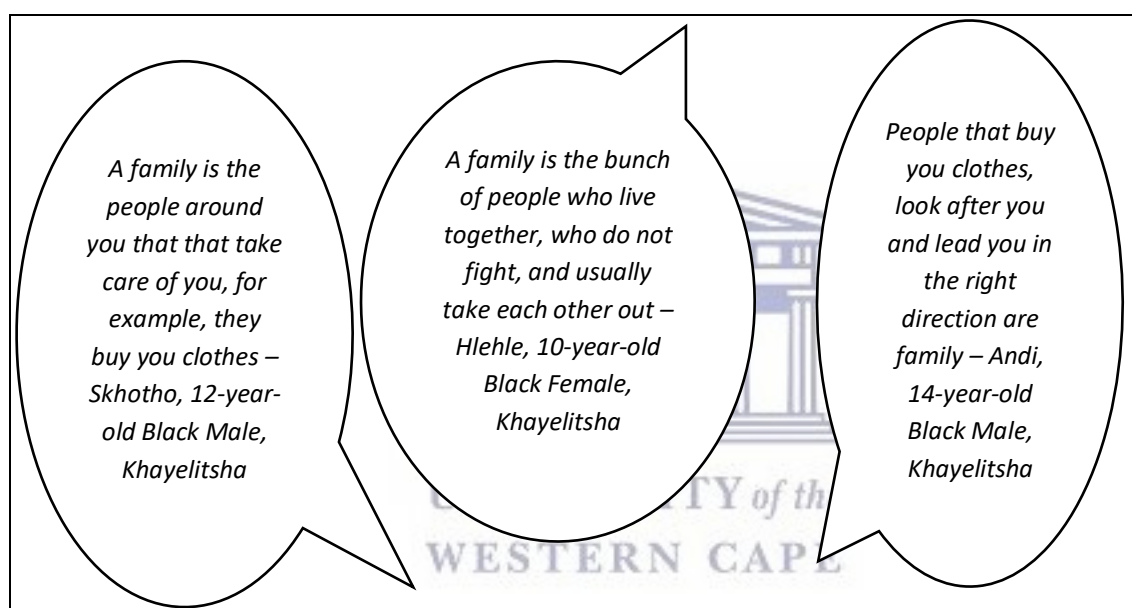
6.3.1. ADEQUATE CARE DOMAIN

DIMENSION:

FAMILY BELONGING

- **Family Belonging**

The family was regarded as the primary unit of care that meets children's physical needs. The value of family was not simply to meet basic needs but also in acting as a solace/supportive unit and an anchor for corrective action/re-direction when going astray as expressed below:



A family/household was thus not necessarily defined by blood ties, but rather determined by peaceful co-existence and the uptake of responsibility for the child/its members.

The crucial place of familial belonging for children was a fundamental theme recurring throughout the fieldwork process as relayed in the following combined conversation of boys and girls FGD responses:

Is it necessary for children to be part of a family?

Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, if a kid is not part of a family it's easy for him to do wrong things because there is no one to look after him.

Andi (14-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, if something bad happens to the child then the family can look after the child.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, when you are a child and you are doing bad things then your family can always intervene and tell you what is right.

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) A child should have a family that gets well together so that they know how to build their own.

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, a child doesn't deserve to be bullied so he/she must have their own family, which will take care of them.

(Extra comments):

Yethu (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): A child shouldn't be having a separated family.

Nathi (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): If someone rapes or kills each other that is not a right family.

Identifying particular linkages between familial belonging and child poverty, it appeared that being in a family positively influences a child's functionings including getting access to education, ensuring adequate care and developing the child's capabilities for building his/her own family in future:

Why is it necessary for a child to have a family?

Uvo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): A child needs a family because they look after them.

Yethu (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): A child with a family does not suffer.

Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): It is important for a child because, if something bad happens then they have someone to look after them.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Families help children get an education.

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Because the family will look after the children.

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): So the family can show the child how to raise her own family.

Nathi (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): The child with a family won't get killed or raped by gangsters.

The effect that being raised in a family has on achieving the functioning of education was that, "kids without a family could possibly not go to school and might end up uneducated" (Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha).

Other narratives about poor people that strongly associated being poor to a lack of familial belonging included:

"There are 3 friends of mine that are poor. They help the women at the taxi rank. They live here in Site C. Their houses are made of bricks and are very

dirty. They lack money because they have a mother but don't have a father – Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha).

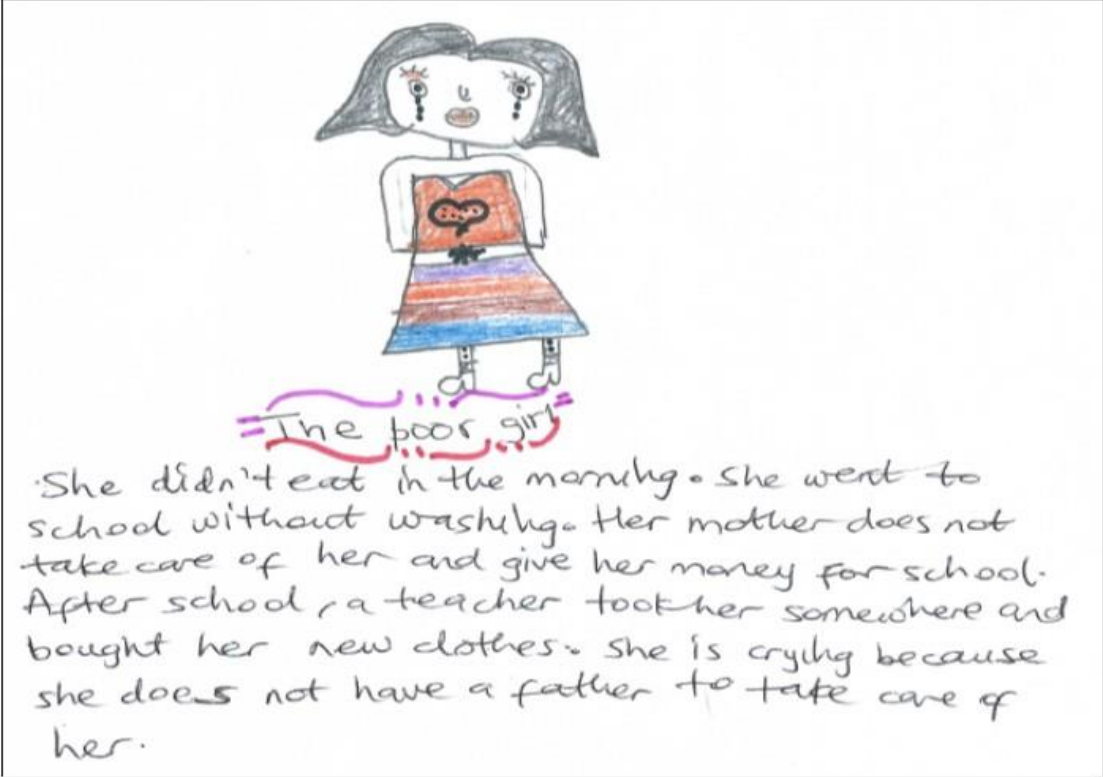
“Black people that live in my street. They pick up cans for a living and have no food. These people live at the taxi rank in Khayelitsha Site C. They don't have houses. They live outside. Their parents left them alone and they have no one supporting them. They eat from the dustbin and have nowhere to go” – Ilo (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha).

“Some poor people are white others are black. It all depends on the area that you live in. Also the job you have determines if you are poor or not. In Khayelitsha, they live in shacks. Some of them don't sleep in shacks; they live outside. They don't have education. They sweep taxis and stopped living with their parents” – Uvo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha).

Phiri & Abebe (2016:389) termed this 'socio-relational' poverty whereby children linked their poverty to poor family functioning and associated poor children with disjointed households. Picking up the narrative of children being poor because they become orphaned/abandoned or separated from their family and home, the effects of such circumstances were that “a homeless child feels the pain of not having clothes and about being an orphan” (Lili, 12-year-old Female, Khayelitsha) and “an orphan usually feels bad because of not having parents and very often being bullied” (Nathi, 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha).

Reiterating the importance of adult care/supervision for children, Hlehle (10-year-old black Female, Khayelitsha) and Yethu (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) respectively admonished that “a homeless child should stay at their neighbours and not use drugs” and “a homeless child must not eat from the dustbin; an elderly person should take him/her”.

Hlehle's (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) drawing of/story about a crying poor girl buttresses the value of family belonging (and adult care) for the children. It also speaks about the concept of poverty as basic needs/absolute deprivation:



The poor girl

She didn't eat in the morning. She went to school without washing. Her mother does not take care of her and give her money for school. After school, a teacher took her somewhere and bought her new clothes. She is crying because she does not have a father to take care of her.

She didn't eat in the morning. She went to school without washing. Her mother does not take care of her and give her money for school. After school, a teacher took her somewhere and bought her new clothes. She is crying because she does not have a father to take care of her.

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) also speaks about the pervasive issue of absent fathers (dead, or alive but living elsewhere) in South Africa, and the toll that having a 'fatherless' status takes on what functionings the child can achieve (e.g. being fed and properly dressed).

The case scenario below was also posed to identify children's recommendations for a child without a family/adult care:

A girl lives with her father and mother but her mother is very ill. Her father works as a Taxi Driver. One day, she returns from school to find out that her mother has passed away. She cries a lot. 3 months after her mother died, her father is involved in a terrible accident and he can't walk or drive again forever. He has to use a wheelchair for life. What should the girl do to help herself because now, there is no one to take care of her?

Given the impression that no family support is available, the children's responses were for the girl to revert to other adult figures, mainly social workers:

"I think the girl should tell her teacher at school about the situation maybe the teacher will know what to do" (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

“I also think the girl should find an adult she can tell, maybe a social worker perhaps because they help children with no parents as well” (Khona, (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

“Yes, she should see a social worker maybe they can help her and take care of her father” (Lisa, 9-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

Still, the complexity and value of the South African household system whereby nuclear and extended family members live together and communal/neighbourhood childcare is practised, was corroborated by the children:

Question: Who are the people that make up the family?

Lili (11-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): A family has to be started by grandparents, a mother and a father so that they could all live well together.

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): A family is made up of a mother, father, uncle, aunty and children

Yethu (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Grandma, grandpa, mother, a father and children

Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): My neighbours and all the people that look after me are family

Dimension key point

Family belonging (including the real capacity and willingness of parents/guardians to provide for their children) was an obvious first priority for the children, not only for the purposes of meeting the child’s needs but for proper guidance and also as a fundamental point of social attachment. This ties in to Camfield’s (2010) finding that ‘non-orphan hood’ was an important indicator of poverty for Ethiopian children. Overall, the children believe that the family (especially nuclear and extended, then to some extent, communal, i.e. neighbours) is a safety net that never fails a child. Ironically, this perspective is in tension with the finding by various studies, that families with children are more susceptible to poverty (Nandy 2008:47). Nevertheless, the situation provides further incentive to focus on children through their families.

6.3.2. BASIC NECESSITIES DOMAIN

DIMENSIONS:

HOUSING

FOOD

APPEARANCE: CLOTHING & SHOES

WATER

- **Housing**

Children’s ideas about poor people and housing were that they have no houses or occupy

bad/poor houses with poor/no amenities and living conditions. Reasons for the poor lacking housing included (i) inability to afford proper maintenance [“they do not have money to maintain their houses” – Antla, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha] (ii) alcoholism [“they drank all the money they had under the bridge” – Yethu, 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha; “they use their SASSA⁸¹ money for other things like alcohol” – Nathi, 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha] and (iii) low wages [“they do not get paid enough by their bosses” – Hlehle, 10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha].

Conversing about how a poor house looks, the children noted its physical characteristics, with Uvo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) specifically highlighting the phenomenon of overcrowded living associated with the poor as relayed below:

Antla (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): A poor house is dirty.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): I disagree with Antla because even though they do not have fancy things in the house, they can still make it look beautiful.

Andi (14-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Poor people will never have nice things because they use their money to buy alcohol.

Uvo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Poor people do not clean their house and it's full of children.

Expanding further, the location, interior and exterior appearance of the house as well as the quality of equipment and amenities were criteria for classifying a house as rich or poor:

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): A poor house looks moulded with dirty grass and a rich house has massive TVs and showers.

Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): A rich house is easy to spot as the painting is very nice and well painted. It has a huge TV and a car.

Uvo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): A rich man's house has a garage and a car.

Nathi (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): A rich house is built out of bricks and painted peach while a poor house is made out of zinc.

Yethu (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): A rich house has furniture and DSTV and a poor house uses crates and SABC⁸² channels.

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Rich houses are located in Town and they are close to the beach and poor houses are in the locations like Site C.

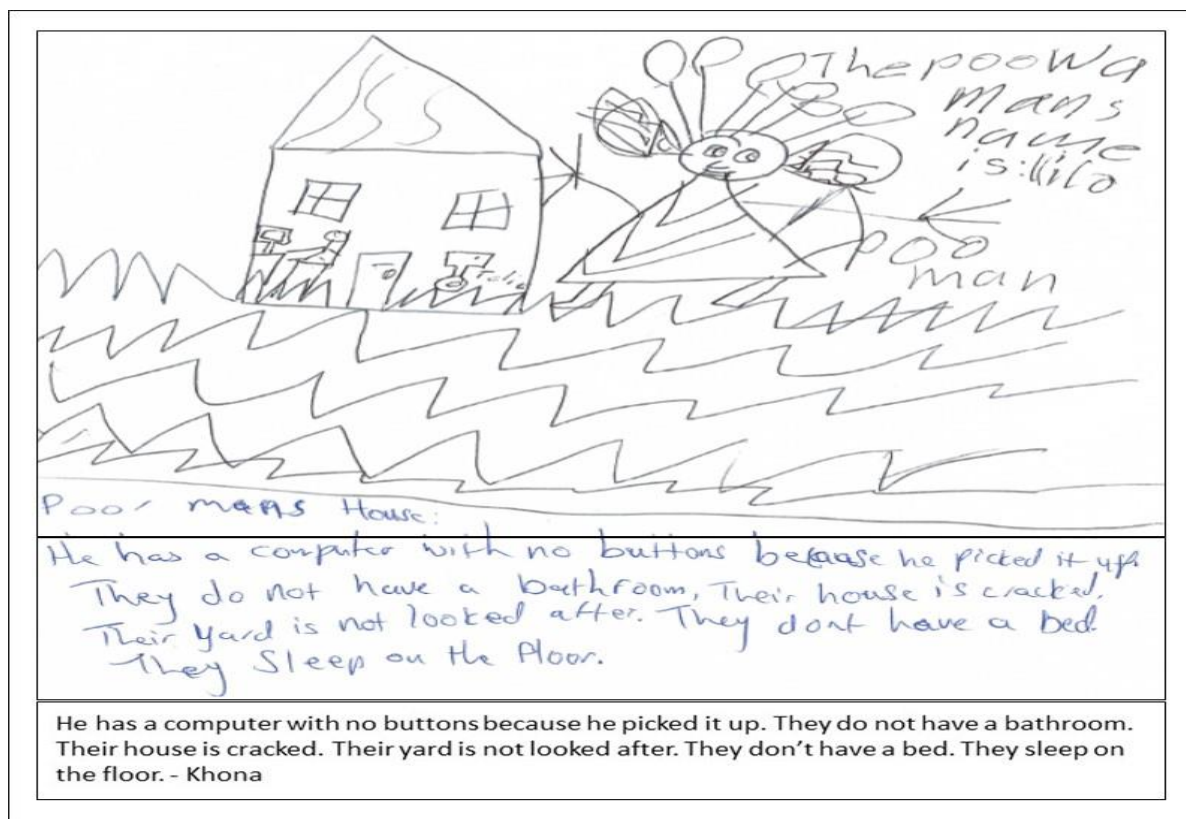
⁸¹ South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) is the institution that administers social grants in South Africa.

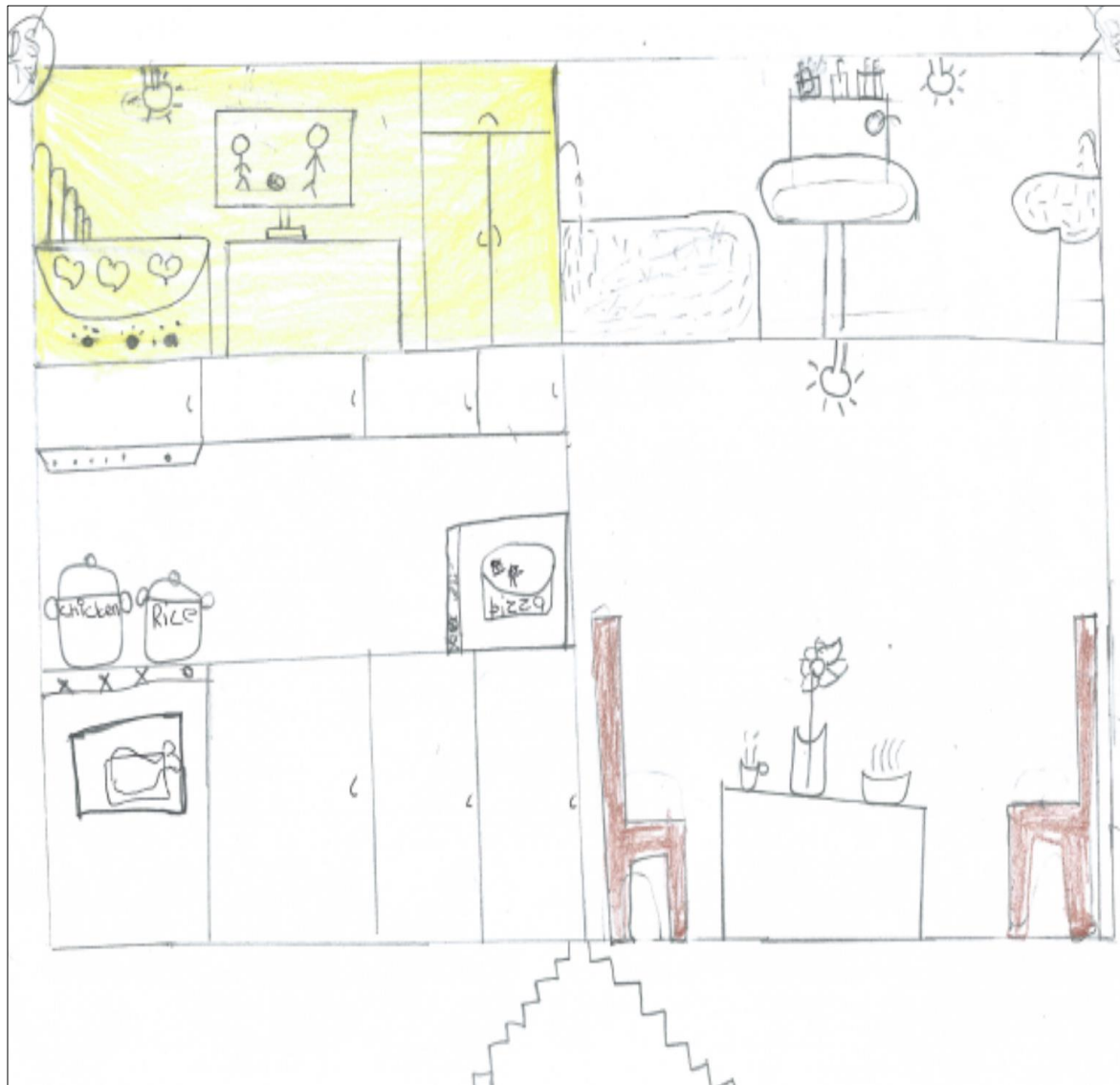
⁸² South African Broadcasting Corporation i.e. local channels

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): A rich house has a big fridge and flat screen TV while a poor house has nothing.

Other striking descriptions by Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) and Yethu (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) respectively emphasised the importance of building materials and separate living and cooking spaces (size): “a rich house is built out of quality things, e.g. cemented bricks while a poor house has cheap materials that can catch fire”, and “poor houses are shacks that don’t have any rooms; they sleep and cook in the same room”. The conditions of a house therefore affect the comfort that residents derive from living in such houses. In earlier statements by Khulu (13-year-old Black Male, Lynedoch) and Lulu (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch), homeless people were perceived as being more at risk of falling ill due to exposure to cold while sleeping in the open air i.e. they can’t achieve the functioning of being warm because they are homeless.

The drawings and accompanying narratives about houses of the poor and rich by Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) and Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) below capture the children’s general perspectives about housing:



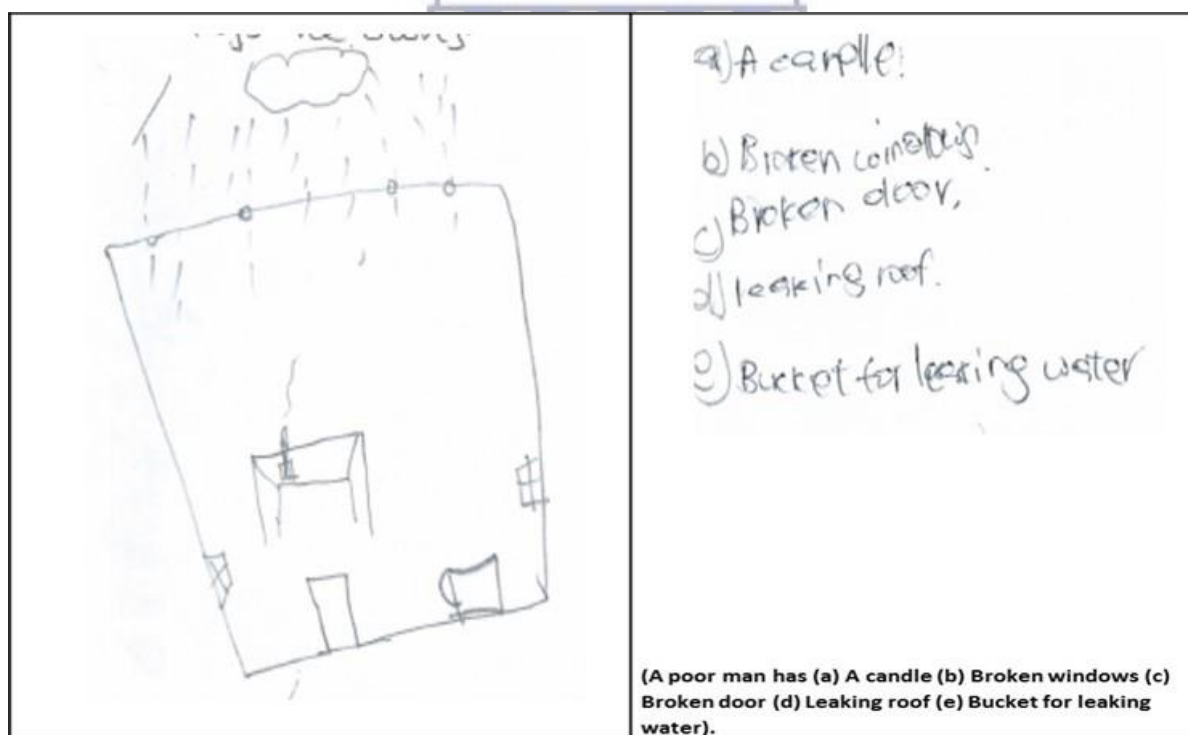
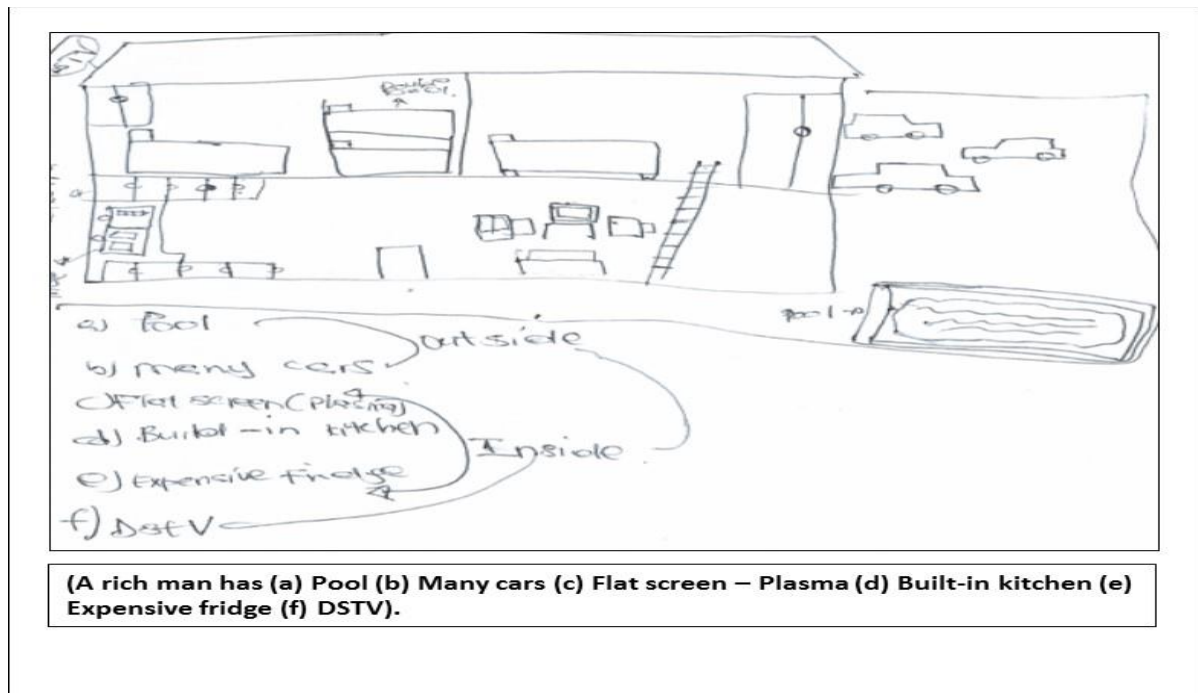


A rich man's house: ^{Nobuhle}
 His name is Portia.
 He is alone, he ~~wants~~ does not want children only
 has visitors. He does not like women because he does
 not want naughty kids. He has a bed, DSTV and a ~~wardrobe~~
 and built-in cupboards. He has food, pizza and chicken
 and coffee, cornflakes with hot milk ^{wardrobe}

His name is Portia. He is alone. He does not want children, only has visitors. He does not like women because he does not want naughty kids. He has a bed, DSTV and a wardrobe and built-in-cupboards*. He has food, pizza and chicken and coffee, cornflakes with hot milk – Hlehle.

** Refers to built-in cupboards (BICs)/kitchen storage compared to movable cupboards. In South Africa, BICs are a minimum standard for suburb accommodation to be classified as 'average' and mentioned as a perk/celling point in most real estate advertisements*

As well, Zee's (13-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) drawings of a rich man vs. poor man's house below reiterated the concept of poverty as relative deprivation, given the discrimination in terms of the type, quantity and quality of amenities that she depicted for each house below:



Furthermore, the children deemed a range of tangible items (that improve comfort and safety) and intangible items (that foster peaceful living among household members) as necessary for a house to have, regardless of it being rich or poor:

Tangible items: Food, A sleeping place, Clothes, Proper shelter, TV, Furniture, Stove, Fridge, A bed, Burglar bars (at doors and windows so you can sleep well at night). Noteworthy is that some of these items (e.g. TV and Fridge) qualify as luxury goods in some contexts.

Intangible items: Love and Trust.

Relatedly, the question about whether it is better to live in a poor house or a rich house (and why) generated varying answers premised on the importance of fulfilled needs and healthy relationships. These answers reflect the importance that different individuals ascribe to different types of functionings (being satisfied needs wise vs. being loved/happy). Specifically, Andi (14-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) thought living in a rich house is better because “you get everything you need; when you live in a poor house you stress a lot”, while Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) thought “it does not matter, because if people love me in the house then that makes me happy”.

To gain further insight into the children’s views about poverty in relation to housing type and quality, 3 case studies were presented. Their responses indicate that housing type, quality and amenities are important but not indispensable if there are cheaper/readily available alternatives and if there is household unity (in sharing resources and living peacefully). Noteworthy is that they made major assumptions to either reach or justify their responses.

1 *If a child lives with his father, mother and 2 sisters in a room, is he a poor boy?*

Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes because the house is full of people that must be supported.

Lisa (9-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, there are no grandparents who also help with money in the house.

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No because the parents can handle 3 kids and they could be getting grant money.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No, even if they do not have a lot of money they can be happy together.

Comment: Although the aim of this case study was to assess physical space in relation to the number of occupiers, the children commuted the discussion to the importance of a functioning: being able to meet the needs of all household members. They also mentioned the importance of grandparents and social grants in poverty alleviation for South African families (these points are discussed further in the next chapter).

2 *If a house has running water but no electricity is it a poor person’s house. Why?*

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes because they can’t watch TV.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No because they can still cook with a gas stove.

Nathi (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes because they do not have light at night.

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No people have enough food even though they don’t have electricity.

	<p><i>Interjection>>Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): But besides food, there are things like TV and radio, which they do not have so that makes them poor.</i></p> <p><i>Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): there are some people who do not care about a TV. >></i></p> <p>Comment: These responses discussed the varied uses of electricity and availability of alternative energy sources in relation to a range of beings and doings (watching TV, cooking and having adequate lighting). The overall impression was that the household is poor. Interestingly, the children made assumptions about other assets that the house owned or lacked.</p>
3	<p><i>A man lives in a Wendy house but owns a small car. Is he poor?</i></p> <p><i>Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No, he might be saving up to buy a proper house.</i></p> <p><i>Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes because if he was rich then he would be living in a big house.</i></p> <p><i>Lisa (9-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes because no one wants to live in a small house and own a small car.</i></p> <p><i>Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No because the man could be happy with his life just the way it is.</i></p> <p><i>Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, rich people live in brick houses.</i></p> <p>Comment: These responses associate poverty with living in a small house, and highlight the nature of rational human behaviour: that no one who can afford more will live a minimalistic life. They also point out that depriving oneself of certain comforts may help achieve certain functionings in future e.g. living in a small house while saving to buy a bigger/proper house.</p>

Furthermore, in identifying the best kind of house to live in, the size and location of a house were the most significant criteria for the children. Their descriptions reflect the beings and doings associated with living in a big house in the suburbs, which are perceived as the safe and well-to-do residential areas. The table below summarizes information collected during the personal interview session with 11 children in Khayelitsha, which was held after the general work sessions and FGDs had been completed (more details about the limited number of participants is given in section 7.6. of the next chapter).

Table 6.3. Children’s criteria for ideal housing

	Child	Description	Criteria						
			Size (Big)	Location (Town/Urban Area, Proximity to School)	Appliances (T.V., Swimming Pool, DSTV)	Privacy (Personal Space)	Safety (Security Guards, No crime areas)	Emotive Asset (Love)	Looks (Brick built)
1	Nke (10-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	A mansion in urban areas	✓	✓					
2	Lali (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	A big house in town	✓	✓					
3	Angie (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)	A big house with a T.V in the suburbs	✓	✓	✓				
4	Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	A big house with security guards in town	✓	✓			✓		
5	Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	A house full of love in safe areas					✓	✓	
6	Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	Big houses where everyone has their own room and it must be in town	✓			✓			
7	Cwan (9-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	A big house in the suburbs	✓	✓					
8	Uvo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	A house that is big and is close to school and is in a safe area	✓	✓			✓		
9	Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)	A house that is big with its own pool, it must be at areas where there is no	✓		✓		✓		

		crime							
10	Yethu (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)	A house that has DSTV, in the suburbs		✓	✓				
11	Nathi (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	A brick house that has enough rooms for the whole family. In Constantia	✓	✓					✓
		Total count	9	8	3	1	4	1	1

Source: Author's Fieldwork (2015)



Noteworthy is that basic necessities (e.g. water, sanitation and electricity) did not feature in the children's accounts presented in the table above. Some other criteria however suggest that the provision of these basic necessities is guaranteed or that they are an implicit given. For instance, having a T.V., a pool, DSTV, living in the suburbs where these amenities are not in short supply etc.

The children's descriptions of ideal housing are however far from the realities of their physical/environmental context as reflected in the pictures below⁸³. Most of them live in sandwiched RDP houses (see first picture below) while some live in shacks attached to RDP houses. Detached shacks that depend on communal outdoor toilet facilities are another popular feature of Khayelitsha's scenery (see the clustered mass of zinc, wood and plastic structures behind the refuse dump in second picture).



Source: Author's repository (© 2015)

⁸³ Both pictures of Khayelitsha were taken by the Author but are general pictures not related to the child participants' homes, to ensure confidentiality of their identities.



Source: Author's repository (© 2015)

In a general drawing exercise titled 'My Khayelitsha' the children were asked to draw a picture of their community. Their outputs corroborated the poor living conditions reflected in the pictures above but also express the children's peculiar views of their environmental context. All of their drawings depicted the high density of RDP houses (drawn as bigger structures with rectangular or pyramidal roofs) and Shacks (drawn as smaller structures with triangular roofs) in Khayelitsha.



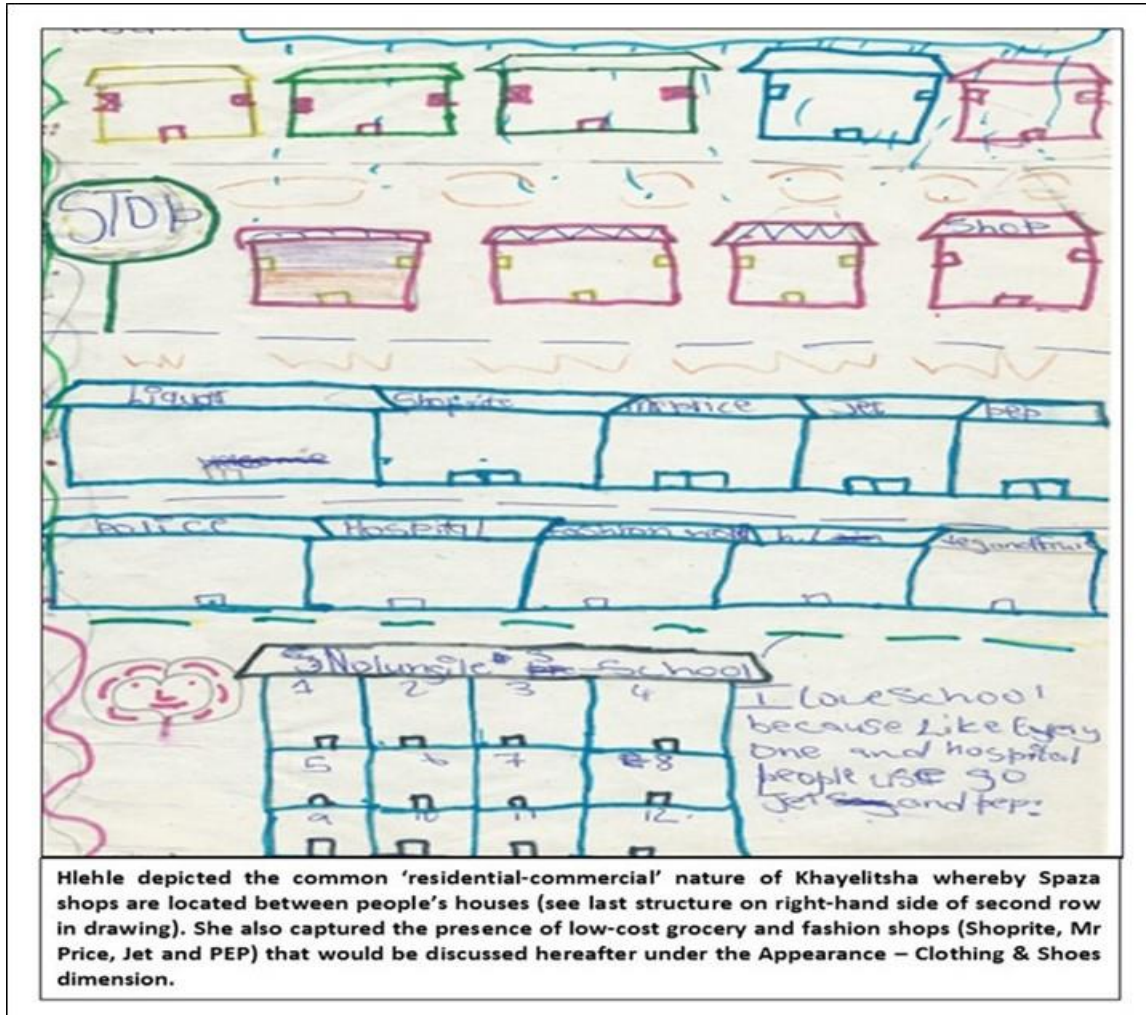
Mehlo captured the dense siting of Shacks between RDP houses

Mehlo – (7-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)



Yethu captured the daily reality of many shack-dwelling households in Khayelitsha who only have access to communal outdoor mobile toilets (see structure in bottom left corner labelled 'toyleyth'. Many of these toilets have become spoilt or non-flushable due to overuse and poor maintenance

Yethu – (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)



Hlehle – (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

The nature of the children's cramped living environments is incompatible with their descriptions of ideal housing conditions. It is however possible that they may have been exposed to more affluent housing conditions through television and on occasional visits to the city centre or urban formal areas (suburbs).

Dimension key point

The children perceived the poor either as homeless or lacking adequate/proper housing with basic amenities including water, electricity and 'basic' household equipment like a TV. The quality-related disparities between rich houses (usually depicted as having at least 2 levels/floors and thus requiring a staircase) vs. poor houses (always depicted as an unkept and/or sparsely furnished bungalow) were prominent. Rich people were also designated as living in the suburbs where social amenities are available and in good working condition. Noteworthy is that in discussing housing, some children described the poor as worse off relative to themselves even though they could in turn qualify as poor, according to other children. For instance, children living in RDP houses (e.g. Angie & Hlehle; respectively 8-year-old and 10-year-old Black Females, Khayelitsha) described shack dwellers as poor while shack dwellers (e.g. Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) in turn described the homeless as poor.

- **Food**

Food was often mentioned in relation to what an individual or a house (hold) needs to have to qualify as rich or poor. As in earlier statements, poverty was mainly considered as lacking money to buy food or having to pick food from bins. The FGD was therefore brief and geared towards uncovering possible classifications of food by children i.e. whether some foods were considered as ‘high premium’ and exclusive to/for the rich, compared to others. For instance, Natasha (13-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) noted that “rich people can afford lots of things and they have food. Not the food that poor people eat but rich food like salad, mashed potato and other things”. Rich food was also described as “nice food eaten with fork and knife” and “eating out in restaurants”.

Across both sites, the children collectively gave examples of food they considered as poor and rich as follows:

POOR PEOPLE’S FOOD	RICH PEOPLE’S FOOD
Khayelitsha	
Apple, Banana, Mealie Meal, Bread, Peanut Butter, Jam, Amasie/Maas (Sour Milk), Chips, Peach, Samp, Potatoes, Eggs, Glucose, Lollipops, <i>Crack-a-snacks</i> ¹ , <i>Stylos</i> ¹ , <i>Niknaks</i> ¹ .	<i>Pizza (Debonairs)</i> ² , <i>Hungry Lion</i> ² , <i>KFC</i> ² , <i>McDonalds</i> ² , <i>Nandos</i> ² , <i>Steers</i> ² , <i>Spur</i> ² , Burger, Bun (rolls), Sandwich, Mixed Vegetables, Grapes, Lasagna, Fruit Salad, Jelly, Yoghurt, Pasta, Crackers, Salads.
Lynedoch	
Nothing, Eat out of garbage bins, Old food, Dry bread, Chicken feet, Water, Vetkoek ^a , Mealie meal pap, Samp ^b , Amasie/Maas (Sour Milk), Soya beans, Roti ^c , Breyani ^d , Rice, Beer, Water, <i>Score</i> ³ , <i>Castle</i> ³ , Lemon, Peanut butter, Hot (chicken) wings, Mayonnaise, Biscuit, Potato, Beans.	‘Fancy go out and have some fine <i>Spur</i> ⁱⁱ , Chicken, Chocolate, Ice-cream, Rice, Boere Wors, Sushi, Sweets, Yoghurt, Eggs, Milo, Fish fingers, Breyani, Beans, Steak, Meat, Apple, Cake, Water, Burger, Pancakes, Pasta/Spaghetti, Yoghurt, Pizza, Hot wings, Fish & Chips, Gatsby ^e , Lasagna, Macaroni & cheese, Cornflakes, Custard, Popcorn, Trifle, Fruits, Milk, Beer, Iced Tea, Pancakes, <i>Smirnoff</i> ³ , Coffee, Porridge, Oats, Meat.
<p><i>a - Vetkoek is a traditional South African (Afrikaner) deep-fried ball of dough meaning ‘fat cake’.</i> <i>b - Samp is a starchy meal of dried and crushed corn kernels.</i> <i>c - Roti is a type of flatbread.</i> <i>d - Breyani is a dish made from rice, spices and meat/chicken.</i> <i>e - Gatsby is a large sandwich usually cut in portions.</i></p> <p><i>N.B – The items in bold italics refer to brand names for:</i> <i>1 - Fried finger snacks and crisps.</i> <i>2 – Fast food outlets and diners.</i> <i>3 – Brands of alcoholic beverages.</i></p>	

While the foods specified for the rich are largely conceivable, those specified for the poor ranged from the extreme (e.g. eating from garbage bins or eating nothing) to cultural staples (e.g. Mealie meal, Samp, Sour milk) then to food that would be deemed luxuries in other contexts (e.g. Mayonnaise and Peanut butter). These items may however be affordable for the averagely poor given that there are different low-priced brands that can be bought in retail. The food items attributed to the poor generally reflect low functionings in terms of quality, quantity and kind/brand.

Noteworthy is that the culture of alcoholism (discussed later) among the South African poor is reflected in this food list; though the alcohol associated with the poor are local/home brands (Score & Castle) while the international brand (Smirnoff) is associated with the rich.

Dimension key point

The poor were deemed as always hungry and scavenging for food in waste bins. Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) made a good connection between the implications of hunger on a children's functioning thus: "hungry children can't go to school". Skhotho's statement shows how being hungry, a situation which a child did not likely opt for, can affect other functionings which the child possibly desires. Earlier validation by Nandy & Miranda (2008:1963) recognised that undernutrition causes mortality for most children in developing countries, and/or increases the risk of infection/disease for many more. This reflects the uncontrollable effect of external/undesired factors on an individual's functionings.

This idea of the poor being hungry also speaks about absolute poverty: the lack of a minimum level of wellbeing to be attained (for survival), independent of the wellbeing of others in an earlier citing of Sen (1983, 1985b). When the poor had food, it was branded either as retailed, relatively cheap, finger snacks available at *Spazas* and roadside barbecue spots or as indigenous, staple, starchy, stomach-filling items. This implied that food functionings of the poor were deemed as basic – for survival. On the other hand, rich foods were regarded as prestige foods (because of their relatively high prices), take-outs, eating out at fast food chains or high-end restaurants and homemade delicacies.

- **Appearance: Clothing & Shoes**

Clothes and shoes were regarded as respectively important for children because "they are a need not a want" (Lili) and "they keep children safe from broken bottles on the street" (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha). In discussing appearance and how it relates to poverty, the children argued that you can see the difference between a rich and a poor person by looking at their clothing because "poor people are dirty and have ugly clothes" while the rich don't wear ugly clothes. In other words, clothes helped achieve the functioning of 'being dirty' or 'being clean'. As well, Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) noted, "you can see a poor person by looking at their faces because they have scars on their faces and dirty clothing".

Descriptions of poor people's clothes included:

"always ugly and torn because they can't afford to fix them" (Lisa, 9-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

"the same clothes worn over and over again" (Nathi, 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

"old clothes given to them by rich people" (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

However rich people's clothes were described as:

“beautiful clothes because they cost a lot of money” (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

“clothes that celebrities wear” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

“neat clothes because they wash it the whole time” (Nathi, 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

The children also demonstrated a striking brand consciousness in their responses to the type and quality of clothing and shoes that indicated socio-economic status. It was assumed that rich people buy their clothes from malls in busy locations like Town (city centre), Mitchell’s Plain, Century City and Bellville, and specifically brand stores including Edgars, Woolworths, Jet, Naartjie, Kiddo, Pick n Pay, and Range. On the other hand, poor people were thought to buy their clothes from PEP (a national low-cost clothing store) and 2nd hand shops, while Lisa insisted that “they don’t buy clothes; they help people who sell clothes and get clothes for free”.

Their attribution of brands per socio-economic status was also reflected in their mentions of rich and poor brand names for clothes and shoes as follows:

RICH PEOPLE’S CLOTHING & SHOE BRANDS/SOURCES	POOR PEOPLE’S CLOTHING & SHOE BRANDS/SOURCES
Described as: latest trend shoes that are in fashion; they look at celebrities and buy whatever that they buy.	Described as: torn/worn out shoes that they sometimes don’t buy but get from the bin.
Brands: Nike, Adidas, Carvela, Jordan, Airforce, Sportscene, Lacoste & Runfirst	Brands: Shoprite, PEP, ‘No name’ brands, 2 nd hand shops & no shoes at all

Dimension key point

In relation to the kind and quality of clothing and shoes they wore, major markers for the appearance of the rich and poor included: (i) the brand (ii) item price and (iii) personal hygiene/looks. The children’s awareness about high-end brands is striking especially as they don’t own these items. Earlier discussed as a potential bias, the plausible explanation for this is their exposure to premium brands during their (occasional) visits to the city centre and other melting pot locations.

- **Water**

The discussion about water related more to its uses and sources as its importance was unanimously established among the children. For instance, water was described as important for life because no one can survive without it, it gives people energy and helps clean the blood/system and is also important because it helps with everyday things including cooking, bathing, and laundry, taking medicine and watering plants. Identified sources of water were the tap, the municipality and dams (where it undergoes purification). They however noted that while the rich have pools, the poor have dams – this speaks to the notion of private and controlled access for the rich vs. public/communal access for poor.

Discussing access to clean water for the poor, Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) stated that some have access and others don’t because they don’t have a tap. It was also

said that all water (belonging to the rich or poor) is the same; rich people just have fridges to store their water in. In other words, possession of a fridge increased the functionings of the rich concerning water.

Dimension key point

Notable indicators of poverty concerning water included: (i) access to tap/purified pipe-borne water, (ii) private ownership of water source and (iii) owning a fridge.

6.3.3. SOCIAL POLICY DOMAIN

DIMENSIONS:

EDUCATION

HEALTH

- **Education**

In discussing whether education should be compulsory, many of the children answered affirmatively, regarding schooling as necessary for successful living. Their reasons included that “education is the key to success” (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), and because “otherwise, we all would end up poor” (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha). A dissenting opinion was however voiced by Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) who insightfully said “some people are successful without finishing school, so it depends. My friend’s dad drives taxis and he is rich and uneducated”. Extending the discussion, Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) added that “anyone can be rich, you just have to work hard. I know uneducated rich people and educated ones”. Nevertheless, highlighting the importance of education for children, now and in future, the children said “all the jobs that pay well, require education” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), “it will help us become successful” (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) and “education helps a child understand a lot of things” (Sipho). Adopting a more practical perspective, Hlehle (9-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) noted, “without education, we won’t be able to communicate with our bosses”.

Relatedly, the functioning of having a University degree improved one’s opportunities and quality of life thus: (i) ‘being able to do anything for yourself’ (Skhotho) 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), (ii) ‘having a lot of money’ (Hlehle, 10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) with Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) adding a caveat: ‘but if you spend the money you get wisely’, (iii) ‘buying yourself a mansion’ (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) and (iv) ‘living in the suburbs’ (Ilo, 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha). This discussion of the value of education highlights Saito’s (2003) report of Sen’s proposition that we should focus on children’s ‘freedom to be and do’ in future, not now. Examples of such future/achievable functionings include getting well-paying jobs, becoming successful and wealthy, being able to choose to live in the suburbs etc.

Their responses to the following case study mostly reify their views:

A poor girl has just finished matric. A rich man likes her and wants to marry her but she does not like him. Should she marry him so she can help her family with the money she gets from the man? Or should she continue with

her education hoping that she will get a job when she graduates from University after 4 years?

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): I would advise her to go to school and graduate then she can consider marriage, her family has survived poverty for so many years, they can sacrifice 4 years for the daughter to be educated.

Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): I would advise her to marry the man as his intentions are good because of wanting to marry her and supporting her family.

Ilo (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): I would advise her to get married to this man and also attend university close by so that she can stay with her husband while attending.

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): She should just forget about the marriage stuff and go continue her education; she is very young to be a wife.

It appears that the older children (Skhotho and Sipho – both boys) are against early marriage, while the younger ones (Khona and Ilo) do not oppose it. Recognising the downsides of an interrupted education, Ilo, a girl, however brought some balance to her own advice by stating that the girl should simultaneously get married and attend University i.e. killing the proverbial two birds with one stone. Ilo recognised the (future) value of education but also realised the (potential) opportunity cost (for the girl and her family) of refusing the marriage offer. Their responses generally reflect a consideration for how the interplay of age and gender can influence the relevance of capabilities for a child at a particular time, a point cited earlier (Biggeri et al 2006:63-65).

The effects of an interrupted education (dropping out of school) were linked to negative (current and future) functionings, ranging from: (i) those occurring over the life course: “the child will be poor for the rest of its life” (Lili), “the child will always be sad” (Hlehle, 10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha), “he will never get a proper education” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), to (ii) the more immediate and seemingly childish like “the child won’t have school friends” (Ilo 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)).

The importance of school feeding programmes, free education, school aids (e.g. uniforms), tuition fees/funding sources and disparities between school quality were also identified as issues related to the quality of and access to schooling and how this is linked with/affected by a child’s socio-economic condition(s). Their responses also show how free education enhances/expands a poor child’s capability set, by allowing him/her have (the same) opportunities like other children. These topics are elaborated on below.

Given that there is free education in South Africa; do you think poor children attend school? How? Do you know of any poor children who attend school? How do they cope?

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, because they too have a chance like all other kids. There is a lot of poor kids in my school and they survive by eating at school

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, because they don’t have to pay for school fees and the grant money helps them buy their school uniform

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, they can now go to school without worrying about school fees and food because it's free

The school that rich children attend, is it different from the one that poor children attend? How and Why?

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, they have better classrooms. They pay school fees so the school has a lot of money.

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, the children in rich schools don't use books, they use their laptops.

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): No, because we all get the same education.

Ilo (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, because they have better playgrounds.

Nathi (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, because they speak English the whole day at school.

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): No, education is always the same.

Two case scenarios about school life and circumstances were posed to help understand how the children perceived others who were seemingly less well-to-do than them:

Case 1: Some children can't attend school because it is too far from their homes and they can't afford transport. Are they poor?

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes because if they were rich then they would be able to afford transport.

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, if they were rich then their parents were going to hire someone to take them to school.

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No, the road to school might be impossible to drive on.

Interjection >> Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): But Sipho, if they were not poor then they would be living in areas with better roads in the first place.

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): It could be that they live in good areas but it is just the roads that lead to the schools that are messed up.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No, it does not make sense<<

The conversation between Sipho and Skhotho indicate how an assessment of amenities can help reach conclusions about the type and quality of one's functionings e.g. living in an area with bad roads implies that it is a poor area.

Case 2: A boy doesn't bring anything at all to school and must always eat the school food so that he doesn't go hungry. Is he a poor boy?

Skhotho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No, some kids eat at school just because they like the food.

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, if the kid was rich, then he was going to bring nice food to school and not eat at the feeding scheme.

Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No, most children eat at school because they see their friends eating there.

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes he is poor; no one would like to stand in the long food queues especially when they have other options.

Besides expressing a general dislike for the school feeding scheme which is perceived as being for poor children, Sipho's statement emphasizes how the (un)availability of choice can influence a child's functionings i.e. what a child does.

Dimension key point

The provision of free education in South Africa was identified as fundamental to the ability of the poor to escape the poverty trap, with University-level education being essential to achieve the functioning of fitting into average society and/or living comfortably. As Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) noted, "education is the difference between a job paying a little and paying a lot". This speaks to the concept of poverty as capability deprivation because to a large extent, the children conceived education (quality and level) as a principal determinant of what an individual can do or be (come), now and more importantly in the future. In their review of qualitative studies of child poverty in South Africa, Barnes et al (2017:55) described the dual causation/links between poverty and education as expressed by children thus:

"Poor people cannot access good education, and poor education precludes the poor from moving out of poverty".

Noteworthy is that in this study, the children's narratives hardly touched on the value of education in relation to intellectual functioning i.e. knowledge acquisition in itself. It was always tied to some future achievement of a functioning – being able to get a job in future etc.

- **Health**

The health dimension came to the fore mostly during discussions about the poor and housing availability/conditions. For instance, as previously stated, Lulu (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch) noted that poor people "don't have any houses to sleep in, so they sleep on the street. And when it is night, they get very cold. Sometimes when it rains at night, they can become very sick and can't go to the Doctor". Abby 1 (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch) added that the poor have medical problems because "they can get sick and don't have medicine to solve their sickness; they get more and more sick". Being able to obtain treatment when sick was mentioned is thus perceived as a functioning that the poor don't have.

The importance of being able to visit the hospital when sick was emphasised: "so the doctors can help you feel better" (Hlehle, 10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) and "to help prevent further illness" (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha). Also, because "if you don't then you might die" (Khona, 11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), "you are not

productive when you are sick” (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) and “it makes your life miserable” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha). So, being healthy, a functioning itself could foster the achievement of further functionings – staying alive, being productive, being happy etc.

Dimension key point

Health indicators of poverty mainly dwelt on access to (i) health care in terms of affordability of treatment and (ii) transportation to health facilities when sick. Persistent poverty spells have adverse health outcomes, especially for children (Nandy 2008:59). As well, health (good or bad) is on its own a functioning that impacts an individual’s wellbeing, in childhood and into adulthood. Health therefore affects what a child can do and/or be now, but especially in future.

6.3.4. INCOME & MONETARY CAPACITY DOMAIN

DIMENSIONS:
FINANCES
JOBS & EMPLOYMENT
SOCIAL PROTECTION: CHILD SUPPORT GRANT

The dimensions under this domain are inter-related given that jobs/employment and government social assistance (grants) were the key sources of finance. They are however discussed separately because of their individual relevancies and how they impact subsequent discussions.

- **Finances**

The discussion on finances was quite extensive given that money was instrumental in accessing many of the other dimensions, and because poverty was conceptualised as monetary inadequacy. The conversation started from the financial sources for the rich and poor. The rich were perceived to get money from relatively privileged (own and/or third-party) sources, while the poor were described as getting money from either from lowly or violent sources (own and/or third-party):

SOURCES OF FINANCE FOR THE RICH	
Source	Narrative
White-collar Jobs	“They work very hard, they go to work in the morning and come back home at night” – Lili, (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) “They work for their money. They don’t mess their money up. They have expensive jobs” – Abby 2 ((13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch)
Appropriation	“They pay their workers a little and they get all the other money for themselves” – Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)
Self-Employment/Business	“They studied a lot when they were young and now they are business owners” – Siphon (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)
Inheritance	“Many rich people got their money from their parents” – Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

SOURCES OF FINANCE FOR THE POOR	
Source	Narrative
Government Assistance	"They get grant money" – Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)
Menial/Provisional Jobs	"They work as domestic workers for the rich" – Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) "Some of them clean taxis at the taxi rank" – Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)
Theft/Robbery	"Some poor people rob other people to get their money" – Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

Social grants thus featured as an important source of money for the poor, improving the extent of what they could do or be. This is especially as inflows from the other two sources (menial jobs and theft) were uncertain (in terms of amount and frequency).

The children also consistently attributed financial irresponsibility and recklessness (of parents) as a marker of (children's) poverty thus:

Question: What are the things that make you see that someone is poor?

"Parents that don't care about their children and spend money unwisely shows that they are poor" – Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

"Some people take the kids grant money to buy alcohol and drink it under the bridge" – Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

"People who get paid and don't use any of their money on their kids are poor people" – Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

Furthermore, most of the problems of the poor – a lack of functionings, were linked to monetary lack: 'not having money, so can't do....' For instance, Rasta (14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch) stated:

"Poor people live in the bush and don't have food to eat. They don't have money to buy food and to buy cars like Mini Coopers, Mercedes Benz, Golf and Chevrolet. They don't have money to give their children – bus fare or train fare. They don't have money to buy clothes for their children to wear. Poor people don't have money to put their children into expensive schools. They also don't have money for expensive clothes and shoes. Poor people don't have money to buy houses like rich people. They also don't have money to go overseas like rich people. Poor people don't have money to buy lots of groceries like rich people. They look in the bins for food".

Bravery (18-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) also noted how children could use functionings generally perceived as negative to achieve positive functionings: "poor people turn to prostitution – use their bodies to get money just to put food on the table. Students do prostitution in schools with fancy car owners after school hours".

These narratives paint the reality of money being a difficult resource to come by for poor people. However, for the rich, money wasn't deemed a problem except in regard to the egotistical tendencies that it was perceived to promote, the need to multiply wealth and possible corporate indebtedness:



In fact, Uvo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) saw money as the ultimate solution; he quipped: "How can they have problems when they *have money*"!?. The rich were thus perceived as having unconditional freedom to choose what kind of life to live i.e. their possession of abundant 'means to achieve' gave them a capability set with a full(er) range of options compared to the poor.

For the poor, the children deemed monetary lack as not just a cause of poverty but as bringing extra financial consequences that arose from the poor seeking solutions to their lack. According to Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), "they make mistakes and borrow money and they don't pay back". The issue of debt was expatiated on with the following case study, responses to which mostly indicate averseness to debt and the need to maintain a good financial reputation. It appears that the children mostly recommend that the man should choose to achieve the functioning of being debt-free (or at least reduce the debt), while still seeking other means to be better off than he was while indebted:

A man wins R500,000 in the lottery. He owes the Banks R600,000 and the Banks are already disturbing him to pay. His friend wants to sell a house for R450,000. Should the man pay the Banks to settle some of his debt or use the winnings from the lottery to buy his friend's house?

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): The man should settle the debt with the bank and if there is money left, he should pay deposit for the house if he really needs it.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): The man should just pay off the debt because it is important to pay back debts before he is excluded to borrow money from the bank.

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): The man should buy the house because it is important to have a shelter over his head. After buying the house, he should pay the bank the remaining amount.

Nathi (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): The man should look for a cheaper house and at least pay the bank half the money he owes them.

Their varied advice showcase different choices, which the man could make, and which would in turn have different implications for the level of financial functioning he achieves.

The case scenario below relating parents' financial capacity to the provision of a 'basic necessity' for a child was also posed to explore the children's thoughts about financial priorities. Their responses as below, indicate that not much importance was placed on the being of owning new clothes, as it was not deemed an indispensable functioning:

A family can buy only 2 new clothes for their daughter in a year. Is she a poor girl?

Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes because children like getting new clothes every time.

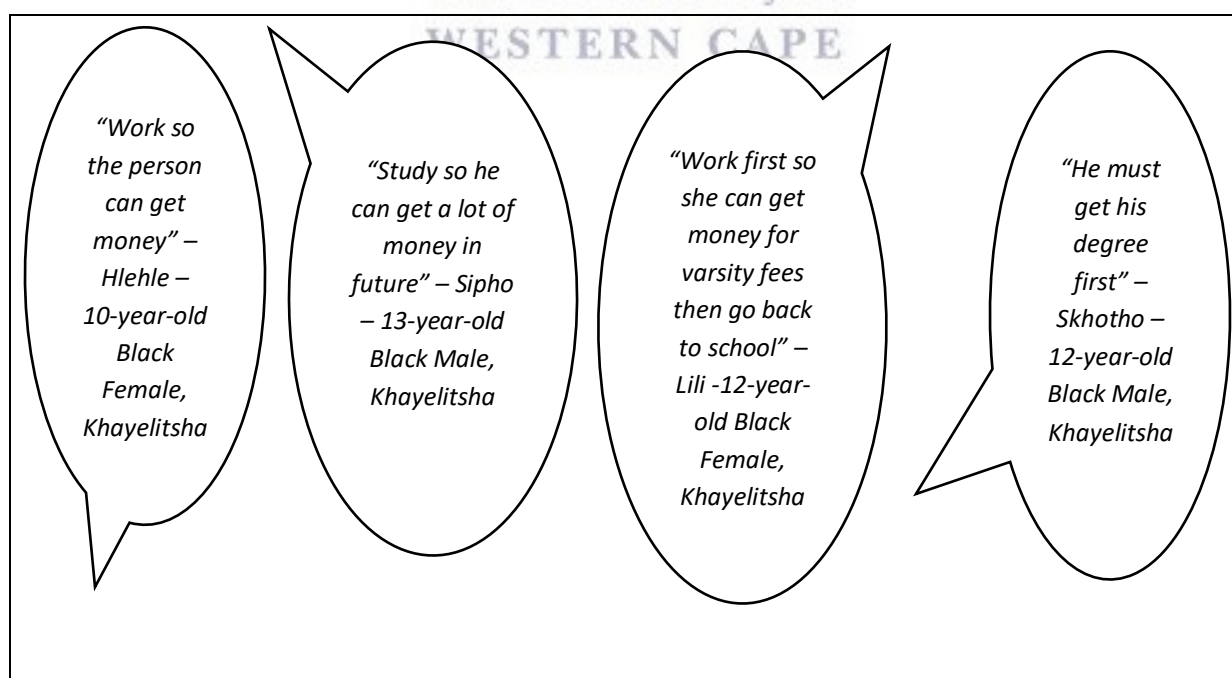
Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, all parents want to buy their children a lot of clothes.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No because the parents could be teaching the kids how to save.

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Depends, families have different reasons for doing things.

Dimension key point

Giving an insightful closure to the discussion of financial problems, Bravery however noted that "everyone has problems, and money is not a complete solution". Relating financial security and independence to education and jobs/employment, the children were asked: What will you advise a person who has finished matric to do – continue schooling or start working?



The children's varying advice was mostly positioned as a means to an end of getting money in future. They displayed a social awareness that University education costs are high, but also that educational attainment only at the matric level reduces the number and quality of employment opportunities available to an individual. This signifies a structural ceiling on what an individual can do and/or be in South Africa, given his/her level of educational attainment i.e. education level places a limit on financial and job/employment functionings. Moreover, financial poverty was generally seen as limiting an individual's monetary-dependent functionings. This led to discussions about jobs and social protection/government assistance and social grants, which are discussed next.

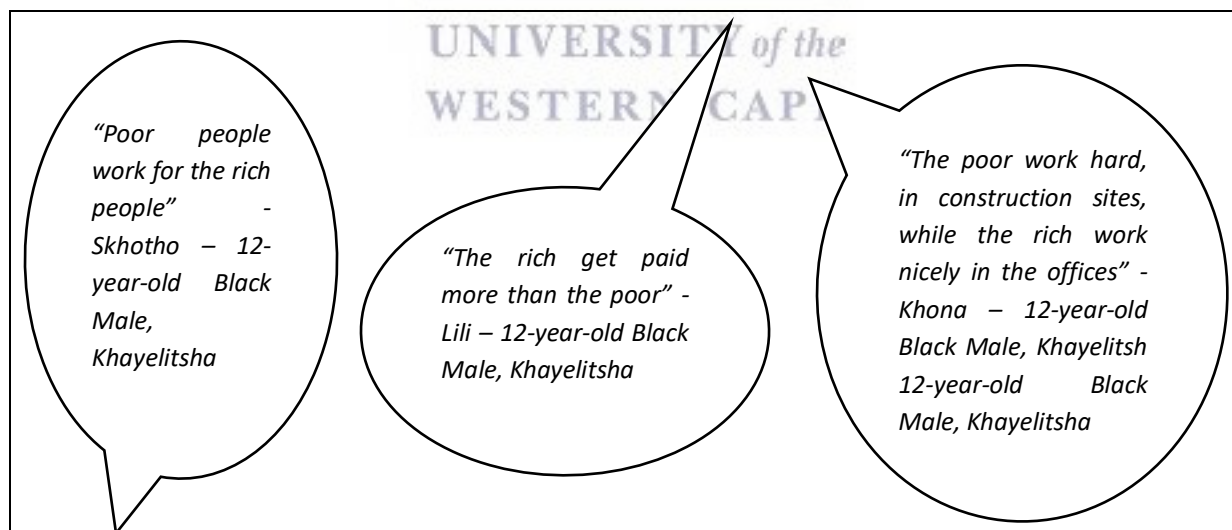
- **Jobs & Employment**

Adults' gainful employment was considered important "because they need to support their families" (Hlehle, 10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) and "so they can buy food for their children" (Khona, 11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha). Being employed was essentially a functioning that aided the achievement of other beings and doings. The loss of livelihoods was therefore recognised as instrumental in plunging families into poverty:

"A boy in my school has a daddy who owns his own business, so if the business would go through a rough patch, they would lose money" – Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

As in earlier statements, the difficulty of the poor in securing jobs was often attributed to laziness on their part but also due to a lack of enabling means to achieve: "because they don't have money for a CV and they are too untidy because they don't have things to clean themselves" (Abby 1, 13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch).

Distinguishing between the quality and types of jobs available to the rich and the poor, the children noted that:



Essentially, the poor were either dependent on the rich to achieve the functioning of having jobs, and/or the poor had to work harder/more for less pay to achieve a lower level of functionings compared to the rich.

The place of diligence in achieving job security/being successful in life was also acknowledged in the children's stories below:

Moeksie (14-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch):

One day, there was a poor girl. She worked all day for her mother to get food. And her mother was sick also. One day, the girl didn't have work. The work finished. They didn't have any food, then her mother died and she lived alone in the house. She went to look for work one day. Then she got a job with a woman who paid her R10,000 per month but the work wasn't easy. She must look after dogs and other animals. The girl got the work done every time. She got money and put it away. In the end, she went to America where she wanted to go. And she got a big house and a man.

Abby 2 (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch):

The poor girl was English and she was very beautiful. She was 16 years old and she didn't like boys. One day, she was so tired and hungry. Then she said to herself, I can work. Then she stood up and went to look for a job. She got a job at a hairdressing salon and worked for a long time. One day, she got paid and sorted out. Then she left that job and became a Mathematics teacher. She worked for a long time and bought herself a car. Then she worked and worked and bought herself a house and many things in her house. Then she became a lawyer and was very rich, and she was very happy and achieved her dream.

These stories also portray how the achievement of certain functionings may be inspired by negative life events/circumstances.

The case scenario below was also used to test the children's perceptions of opportunity costs relating to jobs/employment:

A boy in Grade 12 is writing Matric. He finishes his exams and passes very well. But his parents are very poor and can barely feed him and his 4 brothers. Fortunately, he gets a bursary and admission to study medicine at University for 5 years and become a Doctor. But he also gets an opportunity to start working as a Grocery Packer with Shoprite immediately. What will you advise him to do – take the job at Shoprite or go to study medicine at University? Why?

"I would advise him to go to University, because he will become a doctor in 5 years and will earn a lot of money and be able to help his whole family" (Skhotho – 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha).

"I also think he should go to University and become a doctor and help sick people and buy groceries for his family" (Nathi – 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

"I think if he goes to work at Shoprite now he will be able to help his family with groceries and things, but if he goes to study he won't be able to help his family until he is a doctor" (Lili – 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

"I also think he should go work at Shoprite so he can get paid and help his family" (Ilo – 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

Their responses indicate a thorough understanding of the boy's situation, and recognize that there is an opportunity cost regardless of the decision taken. As well, in reality, some functionings may be achievable only at the (temporary or permanent) expense of others. This highlights the importance of choice in making decisions about possible options in one's capability set.

Dimension key point

Jobs are a crucial source of livelihood for children and their families because they determine their level of comfort and welfare. Also, it was implied that a commitment to diligent work could guarantee an acceptable minimum standard of living and/or increase the odds of achieving certain beings and doings. The poor are however more restricted to low-paying and physically exerting jobs (working for the rich) while the rich earn higher salaries in white-collar positions at corporations or their own businesses. This constrains the capability set of the poor, because the means to achieve anything is relatively small. It further restricts their ability to choose among the few available options/combinations in their capability set. In an analysis of the dynamics of child poverty in Portugal, Bastos & Nunes (2009:85) recommended that "social policies should pay careful attention to developing work incentives and unemployment benefits" as children living in households without an employed adult are more at risk of being/becoming poor (a negative functioning), and for a long time.

- **SOCIAL PROTECTION: CHILD SUPPORT GRANT (CSG)**

The CSG (and other grants especially old age pensions) administered by the Department of Social Development (DSD) emerged as an important source of financial sustenance for the children and their families. For some families, social grants were the key source of income, and for others, a vital supplement for low and/or inconsistent wages. Social grants thus broadened the scope of what the children's families could do, financially. Still, social grants were an inadequate panacea for poverty. The CSG in particular, though intended to meet only children's needs, was often used for household needs as revealed in the children's ensuing statements.

The Khayelitsha participants (who were all receiving the CSG) thought that the CSG amount of R360 per month should be increased because "it is not enough for the whole family to survive" (Sipho) and "the grant money can only do certain things, then there is no more" (Lili). Their propositions included an upward review to:

AMOUNT	JUSTIFICATION/REASON
<i>R1,000</i>	<i>So it can support the child with food (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)</i>
<i>R600</i>	<i>To buy diapers because they are expensive (Hlehle, 10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)</i>
<i>R700</i>	<i>So it can support the whole family (Uvo, 8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)</i>
<i>R600</i>	<i>Because there is a lot that a child needs (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)</i>
<i>R1,000</i>	<i>To help buy school clothes (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)</i>

As well, the children proposed that eligibility criteria should be relaxed such that “every child in SA should be getting grant money” (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) and “even the older kids should be getting grant” (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha).

Dimension key point

Grants are vital for the subsistence of children and their families, as it is a sole source of income for many households and a supplement for others. The CSG is an example of how government can act directly (as a conversion factor – refer to capabilities framework (figure 4.2 in Chapter 4) to influence children’s capability sets and their potential functionings. For instance, an increase of the CSG amount would certainly expand the range of what children and their families can achieve (their capability sets). However, their choices (whether to spend the CSG on the child(ren) or on household needs) ultimately determine the child(ren)’s functioning’s and welfare.

6.3.5. ASSETS DOMAIN

DIMENSION:

MATERIAL POSSESSIONS

- **MATERIAL POSSESSIONS**

Given the very specific nature of material possessions, determining the nature of material possessions attributed to the poor and rich was presented using a ‘give an example’ approach, to allow for extensive and neutral feedback. The children answered collectively thus:

Give examples of things that:			
A rich boy has	A rich girl has	A rich boy doesn’t have	A rich girl doesn’t have
PlayStation	Doll	Friends	Friends
Soccer boots	Nice skirt		
Toys	Expensive shoes		
Expensive shoes	Own room		
Soccer ball	Nice hair		

Give examples of things that:			
A poor boy has	A poor girl has	A poor boy doesn’t have	A poor girl doesn’t have
Loving family	Friends	Clothes	Doll
		Toys	Nice hair
		Soccer ball	Clothes
		Shoes	Shoes
		Nice house	Nice house

Give examples of things that:			
A rich family has	A rich family doesn’t have	A poor family has	A poor family doesn’t have
Big house	Cockroaches	Friends	Nice house
Flat screen TV	Friends	Love	Yard
Couches			Television
Computer			Nice clothes
Nice clothes			Money

An interesting observation is the minimal examples of ‘what the rich lack’ and ‘what the poor have’ compared to the many examples of ‘what the rich have’ and ‘what the poor lack’ respectively. This connotes an imposition of limits on poor people’s functionings, especially as the assets attributed to the poor are intangible/social assets that may not be easily utilised to meet non-social needs.

The children were also presented with the case scenario below to further explore their views about material possessions in relation to socio-economic status:

A family has only a radio – no TV in their house. Are they poor?

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No, some people prefer the radio than TV.

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes because there is a lot of entertaining things on TV than radio.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes and no, it depends on the family preference.

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, I think if all households with only a radio were given a TV, they would take it.

Hlehle’s idea that the family didn’t have a TV because they couldn’t afford one connotes a functioning that they possibly desire but can’t afford. Within Hlehle’s statement is the idea that a TV brings higher benefits than a radio. It should however be noted that individual preferences (choice) also play a central role in determining the functionings that an individual achieves.

Dimension key point

There was a prejudiced viewpoint that the wealthy lacked healthy social relationships including family ties and friendships compared to an abundance of material possessions, and vice-versa for the poor i.e. the rich suffered from emotional poverty while the poor battled physical poverty. The designation of mostly social capital assets (family and friends, plus accompanying emotional benefits i.e. love) – as owned by the poor points to the value of these assets for poor people’s functionings.

6.3.6. SUPPORT INFRASTRUCTURE DOMAIN

DIMENSIONS:

TECHNOLOGY

TRANSPORTATION

- **Technology**

Technology emerged as a factor for generally improving the quality of life that children live and aiding interaction with others. Their examples of different technologies and the convenience they provide include:

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Car; it's a faster form of transportation

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Cell phone; it helps communicate with people who are far away

Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Shoes; we wear them so we do not hurt our feet

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Kettle; it helps boil water faster

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Microwave; it warms food

The children described technology as being advantageous because “it helps us do things faster” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), “we don’t have to walk long distances anymore” (Khona, 11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), “technology has made life safer” (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) and “we can now communicate easily” (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha). With respect to children and the technology that is indispensable for them to possess or have access to, the children cited Cell phones, Laptops and Cars.

Specifically, a child should know how to use a computer because “he will need it in university” (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), “a computer make things easier” (Skhotho), and “a lot of things are found on the internet” (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha). Access to a phone was also regarded as important because “if the child needs something, he can call his parents” (Khona, 11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), “it will help the child use the Internet” (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) and “it will help with school homework” (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha).

Dimension key point

Technology was largely conceived as something that the poor lacked access to or had the most basic quality/type of as discussed previously above. The contemporary need for children to keep up with technological advancements - for present personal development and future professional benefits - was a major motivation for associating a lack of it with poverty. Overall, the notion is that technology helps improve the quality of what/who an individual can do and be in life e.g. being computer literate helps make University education easier.

- **Transportation**

Having cited transportation as a valuable type of technology, the children’s views about how modes of transportation reflect poverty/wealth and their affordability and safety were explored. They collectively ranked Taxi⁸⁴, Bus, Bus and Train as ‘most expensive’, ‘most convenient’, ‘safest’ and ‘cheapest’ respectively. The means of transportation they preferred traveling by and why include:

⁸⁴ Typically 18-seater privately-owned passenger buses compared to buses which are mass-transit oriented and often publicly-owned.

Sipho & Khona (respectively 13-year-old and 11-year-old Black Males, Khayelitsha): Taxi because it's very fast.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Train, there is no traffic for a train.

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Bus, because I feel safer in it.

In further discussions, emphasis was placed on Taxis and Trains because those are the modes that the children frequently use (in commuting to/from school) and can relate with. Regarding whether they feel safe in taxis and why, their responses and reasons varied thus:

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): No, because it is too fast and accidents happen.

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): No, there are a lot of taxi wars⁸⁵.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, no one can rob a taxi because they are scared of the driver.

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, the people make you feel safe.

Concerning affordability, some felt taxi fares were too expensive, "compared to the distance it travels" and "because the taxis are not in a good condition" (Sipho & Lili respectively, 13-year-old Black Male & 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha). Others (Khona & Skhotho respectively, 12-year-old and 11-year-old Black Males, Khayelitsha) thought fares were okay "because the drivers too have to make a profit" & "at the end of the day, they have to feed their families".

All the children perceived trains as being unsafe because: "there are robbers everywhere" (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), "most doors do not work properly" (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), "trains get too full and people can fall out" (Khona, 11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) and "a lot of people die because of trains" (Lili, 12-year-old Female, Khayelitsha). The problem of safety on trains is unsurprising given that most of the children thought that train tickets were cheap and the last (or sometimes only) resort for the poor. To identify how the children associated socio-economic status with coach-class disparity on trains, they were asked to give examples of people typically found in (i) 1st class train coaches and (ii) 3rd class train coaches. Their collective answers were:

- (i) Mostly rich white and coloured people
- (ii) Mostly poor black and coloured people

It is noteworthy that these responses hinted at the racial undertones of class and socio-economic standing in South Africa, with the children contending: "3rd class gets full while 1st class is empty" (Lili, 12-year-old Female, Khayelitsha). So, "everyone should be able to board

⁸⁵ Usually conflict between taxi drivers and among taxi park unions/members.

in any coach” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) and “there should be a coach for kids and adults” (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha).

The case scenario below on transportation was presented to explore the children’s thinking (and reasons) for making certain choices about transportation given a financial constraint:

A poor boy gets R20 from a generous stranger. When he gets home, his mother tells him there is no food at home for her, himself and his two sisters. He was planning to use the R20 to take the train to school the next day. Would you advise him to give the money to his mother to buy a loaf of bread for all of them to eat or to keep the money for his transport to school? If he gives his mother the R20, he will have to walk to school for 2 hours the next day.

“I would advise him to give the R20 to his mother because the family cannot go to bed on an empty stomach while he has money. Walking for two hours is doable” (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

“I would advise him to give the R20 to his mother for the bread, in the morning he could hike or walk to school as it would be something he is used to” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

“I would tell him to keep the money because walking for two hours to school is too much. If the money wasn’t there, what would the family have eaten?” (Yethu, 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

Skhotho and Sipho, both boys with absentee fathers appear to understand the need to sacrifice a potential individual functioning for household functioning. Perhaps, Yethu, a younger child (8-year old girl, with both parents employed) understands it less.

Dimension key point

Transportation as a basic social infrastructure in South Africa was recognised to be fairly accessible but also class-based (especially the train mode). The mode of transportation chosen determined the level of being/functioning achieved in terms of comfort, safety and timeliness to the destination. It is however noteworthy that in discussing transportation, there was no mention of privately owned cars, possibly because the children were not conversant with it, as most of their parents don’t own cars.

6.3.7. SOCIAL INTERACTION & WELLBEING DOMAIN

DIMENSIONS:

PLAY & LEISURE

SAFETY

- **Play & Leisure**

Working with the children’s perception of poor children as being unable to play because they lack toys and recreational aids, the importance of play and leisure activities for children was discussed thus:

Is it important for a child to play – with friends and toys? Why? How does this help or improve the child?

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes it is. A child is very happy when playing because playing helps the child forget all negativity in its life.

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, when a child plays with friends, it learns to do things by itself.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, it forgets everything and focuses on playing. Playing also helps a child communicate.

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): The child learns new things every time it plays and does not stay indoors and get bored and fat.

Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes so the child can make friends.

These narratives indicate that playing helps a child achieve certain important functionings like being happy, learning to be self-independent, communicating, keeping fit/healthy and socialising. And while we did not discuss whether poor children have opportunities to play (use of toys and recreational aids excluded), examples of children's play tools, activities and locations of play did not eliminate their chances of playing:

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): "Upuca" (almost anywhere); anyone can play and we use stones

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Skip rope; at a park, girls' play it with a skipping rope

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Soccer; boys play it at soccer fields

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Rugby; it's played with a rugby ball at the field

Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Hide and seek; anyone can play and it can be played in-between houses

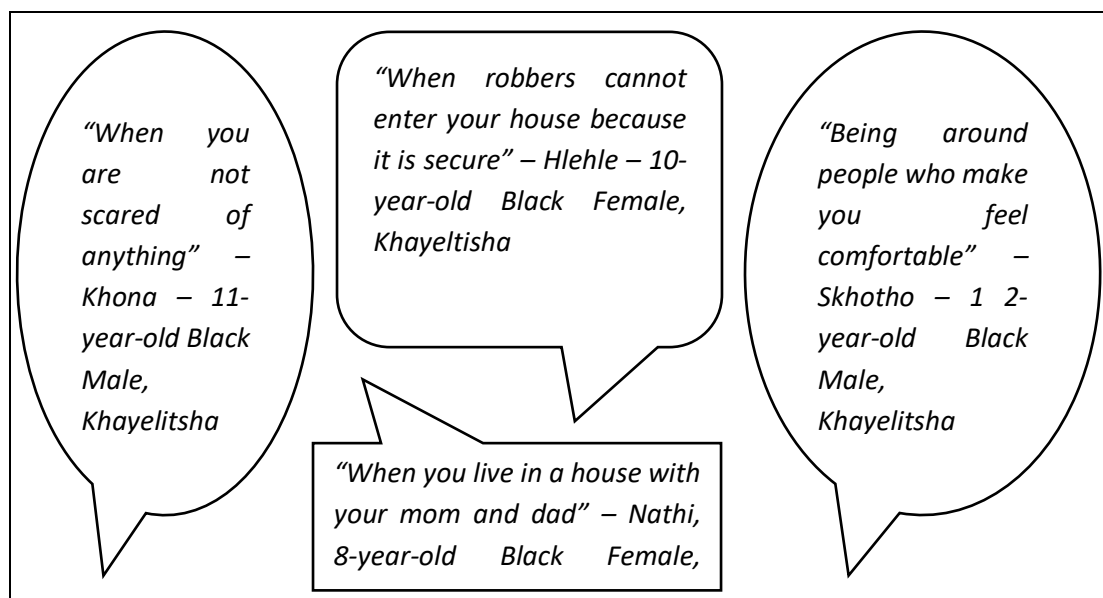
Suggestions about how government and the community can improve children's options of and access to play included: "making playing safer" (Skhotho), "building parks everywhere" (Sipho), "having people kids love at playgrounds" (Lili) and "having a feeding scheme on playgrounds" (Hlehle).

Dimension key point

Poor children (identified as lacking toys and recreational aids) are not excluded from meaningful play/leisure activities as not all these activities carry financial implications; sometimes, a child only needs friends to play with. This implies that the functionings that can be derived from playing are not restricted to rich children, and poor children can enjoy them too.

- **Safety**

Owing from the issue of safety raised under earlier dimensions (including Housing, Transportation and Play & Leisure), safety of children was discussed re its importance and in relation to a child's socio-economic status. Children described 'being safe' as:



On the importance of safety for individuals, it meant that: "you do not have to stress about a lot of things" (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha), "safety is the main reason we are still surviving" (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) and "being safe means you can live a healthy lifestyle" (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha). Specifically, children needed to be safe because "children love playing so they need to play at a friendly environment" (Sipho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), "so they do not get kidnapped" (Khona, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), and "if the environment is not safe, e.g. has dirty things, children might hurt themselves" (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha).

Nudging the discussion towards relative poverty, a majority of the children thought all rich people are safe because: "their houses have electric fences and security guards" (Hlehle, 10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha), "they have dogs protecting them" (Khona, 11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) and "they even have cameras around their houses; that intimidates thieves" (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha). Only Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) thought rich people are unsafe because "there are people who want their money". Likewise, all poor people were thought to be unsafe because "most of them don't have fencing around their houses" (Hlehle, 10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha), "there are a lot of robbers walking in the streets" (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) and especially "because the police take their time to get to a crime scene where poor people live" (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha). Still dissenting, Sipho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) thought poor people were generally safe because "they do not have to stress about people taking their things because they don't own anything".

The case scenario below was posed to further uncover the children's perceptions of the relationship between safety and socio-economic status

A family lives in an area that is not safe – robberies every day and thieves everywhere. Are they poor?

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, every family tries to live in areas that are safe so if they live in an unsafe area, then they are poor.

Nathi (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Only poor people live in unsafe areas.

Lisa (9-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, because they can't afford the safe areas.

These responses associate only the poor with unsafe residential areas. However, Siphso (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) noted, “drug lords live in unsafe areas even though they are rich”. And, while general responses about ‘what makes a place safe for children ranged from security guards, cameras, dogs, guns and police patrols, Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) thought that ‘family’ made a place safe. As well, because children could get kidnapped, raped, hurt, bullied, fight and do drugs in unsafe places, the government and community should keep children safe by “building security fences around parks” (Siphso, 13 year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), “having security guards at schools” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), “making sure that the place that children play at is clean” – Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), “having patrol cars in the community” (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) and “catching criminals” (Hlehle, 10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha).

Dimension key point

Safety is crucial to an individual’s life and wellbeing, but compared to the rich, poor people are more prone to danger given the general insecurity of their homes, property and neighbourhoods. In terms of functionings, being safe ensured that an individual could survive, be healthy, not be at risk of harm and have peace/not stress – all functionings associated with the rich and less so with poor people.

Summary of Dimensions

This discussion of the dimensions of poverty has helped uncover how the dimensions relate to or are impacted by poverty in the South African context. The specifics of each dimension have also highlighted important constituents e.g. how the housing dimension comprises house quality, location and physical features. As well, it has given a background to the children’s family lives and extent of societal exposure; both are valuable in understanding their perceptions about poverty and their individual/household coping strategies and propositions for tackling it. These are important for addressing research question 2 in the next chapter.

The children’s narratives about the dimensions of poverty also strongly articulate notions of Sen’s capabilities approach – (i) what a child/individual can do and be with what he/she has (and vice-versa), (ii) how what an individual’s choices including what he/she can do/be is constrained by conversion factors (family, society etc.) (iii) how what an individual can’t do and be limits him/her in several ways (iv) how some functionings aid the achievement of others and (v) how an individual’s choice is a crucial determinant of the quality and type of functionings (if any) that he/she achieves. Still, these narratives do not reflect or represent the full range of opinions held by Black or Coloured South African children because the study sample is quite centred and restricted, site wise.

By tying present circumstances to future conditions and recognising what can be achieved and/or what must be forsaken i.e. opportunity costs (forgone alternatives), the children display a strong awareness of capabilities. They reflect how an assessment of a child's capability set could help predict future consequences - what a child could become/have and vice-versa e.g. predicting consequences of poverty in adulthood.

This inclination towards a Sen'ist view of poverty as capability deprivation occurred across the 15 identified dimensions and the concepts of poverty as indicated in discussions above. The children's narratives establish clear connections to the dual framework of capabilities and children's rights guiding this study as discussed next.

6.4. CONNECTING DIMENSIONS TO CAPABILITIES & CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

The lists of capabilities developed by Nussbaum (2000, 2011), Robeyns (2003), Phipps (2002) and Di Tommaso (2007) were developed for adults, gender-based or suited to the context of developed/Western countries (see section 4.5 in Chapter 4). The list of 14 capabilities proposed by Biggeri (2004) is however fitting because it was specifically formulated for children by linking each selected capability with the substantive articles of the UN CRC. This act (of developing a list of capabilities) helps implement the CA and can help link it with human (children's) rights, thus extending the CA beyond a framework (Biggeri 2006). Moreover, though the CA and human rights approach are different, they can complement each other (ibid)

The suitability of the CA as a framework for this study has been justified. To demonstrate this fit, Biggeri's list of capabilities are juxtaposed in best/close fit, with the dimensions proposed by the children. This will also help examine how well the idea of capabilities was reflected in the children's responses. The dimensions are also categorised according to the classes of children's rights in the CRM discussed earlier in Chapter 4. This is shown in the table below:

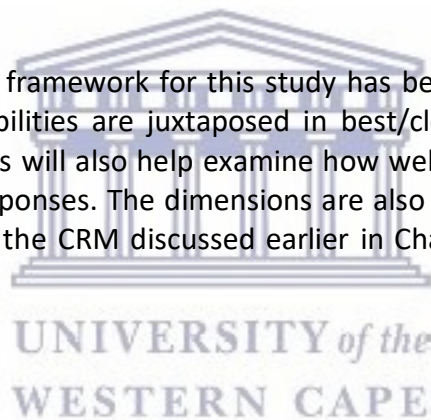


Table 6.5. Comparison of dimensions of poverty to capabilities and children’s rights (Biggeri 2004 & CRM vs. Fieldwork Findings)

Capability (Biggeri 2004)	Description of capability (Biggeri 2004)	Linked to ...	Dimensions from this study (2017)	Categories of Children’s Rights in Child Rights Matrix (CRM)	
				4 P’s of children’s rights	As defined by Pemberton et al 2007
Love and care	Being able to love and be loved by those who care for us and being able to be protected	⇒	Family Belonging	Protection rights	Socio-economic rights
Life and physical health	Being able to be physically healthy and enjoy a life of normal length	⇒	Food	Provision rights	
			Health		
			Appearance: Clothing & Shoes		
			Water		
Mobility	Being able to be mobile	⇒	Transportation		
Education	Being able to be educated	⇒	Education		
Freedom from economic and non-economic exploitation	Being able to be protected from economic and non-economic exploitation	⇒	Finances		
			Jobs & Employment		
			Social Protection: CSG		
Shelter and environment	Being able to be sheltered and to live in a safe and pleasant environment	⇒	Housing		
			Material Possessions		
Leisure activities	Being able to engage in leisure activities	⇒	Play & Leisure	Participation rights	Civil rights

Participation	Being able to participate in public and social life and to have a fair share of influence and being able to receive objective information	⇒	Technology		
Bodily integrity and safety	Being able to be protected from violence of any sort	⇒	Safety	Prevention rights	
Capabilities with some linkages to concepts of poverty					
Capability (Biggeri 2004)	Description of capability (Biggeri 2004)	Linked to ...	Concepts from this study (2017)	Categories of Children's Rights in Child Rights Matrix (CRM)	
				4 P's of children's rights	As defined by Pemberton et al 2007
Respect	Being able to be respected and treated with dignity	⇒	Social exclusion	Participation rights	Civil rights
Social relations	Being able to enjoy social networks and to give and receive social support	⇒	Social exclusion		
Mental wellbeing	Being able to be mentally healthy	⇒	Psychological strain	Protection rights	
Capabilities without linkages					
Capability (Biggeri 2004)	Description of capability (Biggeri 2004)				
Religion and Identity	Being able to choose to live, or not to live, according to a religion and identity				
Time-autonomy	Being able to exercise autonomy in allocating one's time and undertake projects				

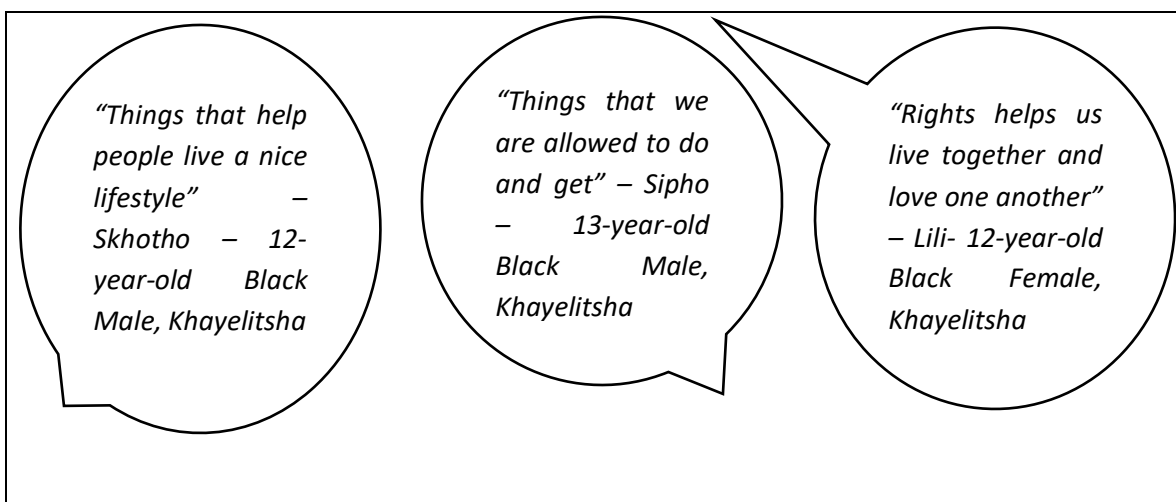
Source: Author's Construction (2017)

Three of Biggeri's (2004) capabilities were not directly linkable to the dimensions proposed by the children. Instead, they were reflected in the concepts of poverty - respect and social relations reflected in social exclusion, while mental wellbeing reflected in psychological strain. No meaningful connections were found for the capabilities of religion/identity and time autonomy. Remarks about religion were limited to acknowledging the existence of and/or expressing faith in God. There was no mention of being able to choose whether or not to live according to a religion or identity as Biggeri (2004) suggests. Adopting a religion was perceived as a given without any possibility of negotiation. Time autonomy on the other hand did not get a notable mention in the children's discussions.

In relation to rights, linkages to the CRM as in the table above (developed in Chapter 4) reflect the distribution of the 15 identified dimensions across the ambit of children's rights. It is evident that socio-economic rights (and associated dimensions) largely fit into the provision category while civil and political rights (and associated dimensions) fit into the participation category. This confirms the earlier assertion that intersections exist between the 3P's and the 'civil-political-socioeconomic' approaches.

This categorization also makes it clear that the children in this study give first priority (12 out of 15 dimensions) to the range of socio-economic rights for children's balanced growth and development. This prioritization is backed by Van Bueren (1999:681) who described children's economic and social rights as not being unrealistic, but as a concrete set of responses to specific facets of poverty. Indeed, children's socio-economic rights (basic nutrition, shelter basic health and social services) are expressly protected in the South African Constitution (Section 28) i.e. these rights must be ensured regardless of availability of resources. Whether this happens in reality would be implicitly assessed in subsequent chapters.

The discussion about children's rights was taken further by defining rights and examining the implications of the identified relationship on children's development/wellbeing and functionings. Human rights were defined as:



Skhotho and Lili's statements reflect the consequential and cohesive benefits of rights in terms of achieved functionings: how individuals can live comfortably and live together without friction respectively. Siphos definition on the other hand, reflects an individual's entitlement to rights. In fact Siphos statement conveys the idea that human rights are a natural functioning – what one can do and get. This highlights how human rights can double as functionings as implied in the comparison table (of capabilities, dimensions and rights) above.

As well, poverty was identified as denying children of some rights/functionings (encompassing identified dimensions) because:

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): hungry children can't go to school.

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): poor kids don't have enough money to pay for school fees.

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): they must go to work instead of school.

Lili (12-year-old Female Khayelitsha): they don't eat because there is no money at home.

Essentially, poverty-related violation of some rights [including the (implied) right to food (UN CRC Article 18 – parental provision & state assistance, UN CRC Article 27 – adequate living standards) and the right to freedom from exploitative labour (UN CRC Article 32)] resulted in further rights violations or unachieved functionings (being able to attend and concentrate in school, having financial-related needs met).

The discussion of equality of human rights ('Does everybody - old, young, rich, poor, black, white - have human rights? If yes, do they actually all get their rights?') led to the following argument about the (international) claim of foreigners to human rights:

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, but they don't get all their rights because there are people who live on the streets.

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes but most of them don't get their rights because there are still kids with no education.

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): No, people who are not from South Africa do not have rights.

Interjection>>Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Everyone has rights Hlehle, regardless of where they are from

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes but in their own countries not here!

Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Not everybody has equal rights

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha); otherwise people who are not from South Africa would be mistreated but they are not because they have rights protecting them<<

Hlehle’s idea that rights are restricted to borders or limited by origin/racial categories is food for thought. She argues for the conviction that countries are directly responsible for fulfilling their own citizen’s rights – an obligation that should not be entrusted to another regardless of the citizen’s location. International rights conventions and national constitutions, echoed by Siphos statement, however clarify that rights provisions are without discrimination on the basis of origin/nationality or place/location.

The children’s examples of their rights as South Africans and what these rights mean to them conveyed a strong sense of functionings enabled by these rights thus:

Narrative on valued rights: The right to...	Assisted with...the functionality of...
“Education and shelter because without these rights, I would be sad and illiterate” (Lili, 12year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)	Being happy and literate
“Education, food and family, as parents would not care for their kids so the rights are important” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	Being cared for, compulsorily by parents
“Education, water, happiness and shelter, as I would not have an education and a house if it was not for my rights” (Siphos, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha))	Being educated and sheltered

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) also identified how human rights instruments generally helped children achieve the functioning of ‘being protected from abuse’, “because children are going to get abused if it was not for the Bill of Rights”.

The children however expressed some reservations (leaning towards relative deprivation), about the extent to which their individual rights were being realised:

Are you currently enjoying all your rights? If No, which one are you not enjoying and why/why not?

Ilo (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): Yes, I have an education and a family.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes and no because even if I have a shelter it is not very nice like other peoples’.

Siphos (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No, the right to education and shelter: there are

people who get better houses and education than me.

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): No, I have a right to education but I do not attend the best school.

Skhotho, Siphso and Lili's statements imply that given their rights, they achieved certain functionings of value, but these functionings were inferior compared to other children's functionings. These functionings, though possibly the best they could achieve personally, did not represent the best outcomes available in South Africa. This situation demonstrates how some capability sets and functionings could be thrust upon individuals, without their choosing, and/or despite their alternative wishes.

Moving the discussion to the racial undertones and class disparities of children's rights in South Africa, the children were asked:

Are all the children in South Africa – Black, White, Coloured, Indian/Asian – enjoying their rights equally? If Yes/No, Why and how?

Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): No; because White kids play in safe areas and with nice toys.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No; Whites and some Indians and Coloureds get a better education than us and end up in Universities.

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): No; others don't get hit by their parents but we do. They just get grounded.

Siphso (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes; we all get an education, shelter and we all play, it's just the qualities of those things is not the same.

Can poor children enjoy their rights in South Africa?

Ilo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No, because they don't have money.

Interjection>>Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Money does not equal happiness<<

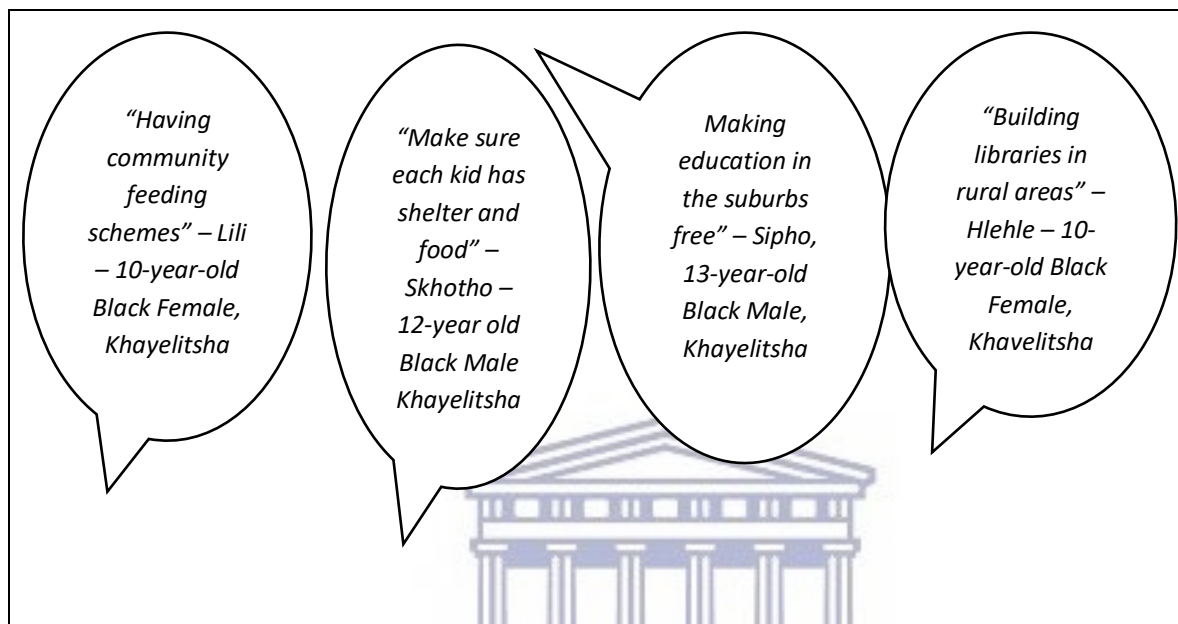
Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): No, poor children don't have proper shelter.

Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): Yes, as long as they are happy they don't care about anything else.

Siphso (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): No because most of their rights are violated.

The dialogue above indicates the possibility that children who are black and poor are being doubly deprived (on account of race and class) relative to their counterparts in other population groups/socio-economic strata. It also confirms that in South Africa, race is a limiting or enabling factor in the achievement of functionings.

Suggestions for ensuring and improving poor children's rights included:



These suggestions conceivably suggest that being educated in suburb schools was the best, given their high education quality; and that living in a rural area put a child at risk of lacking educational resources. The suggestions also re-emphasize children's basic socio-economic rights: to education/literacy, shelter and food. This supports the idea that a focus on the provision of these rights could increase children's basic functionings.

6.4.1. Highlight of applying the children's rights framework

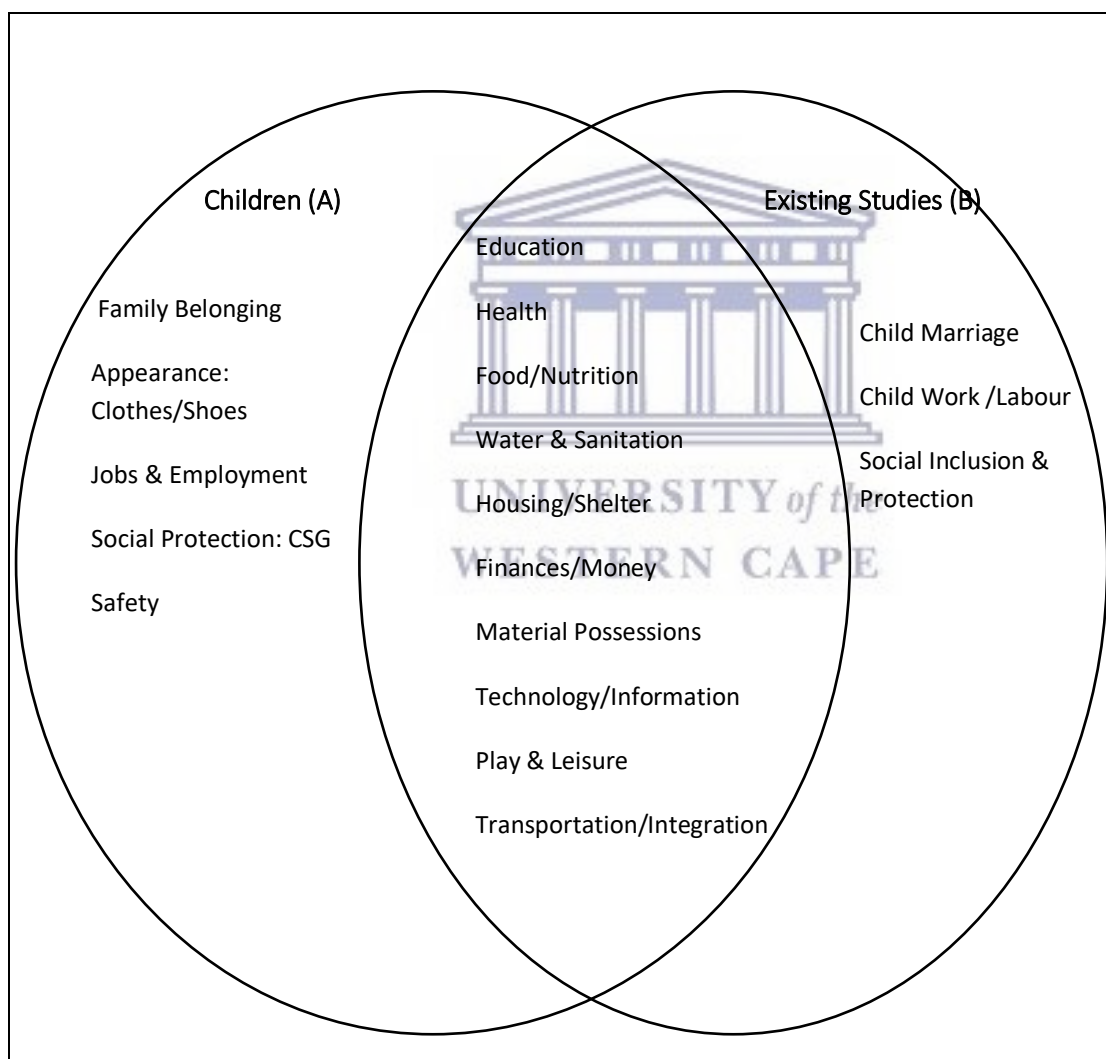
The discussion about rights highlighted the racial and class disparities of South African society. Although the children deemed legal rights provisions as universal, they recognised that in practice/reality, they are a privilege sometimes reserved for/enjoyed by a select few, and/or accessible based on racial affiliation or class. So, functionings derivable from rights are not guaranteed for poor or black South African children, because their rights, in turn, are not guaranteed. This occurs, regardless of the justiciable nature of children's socio-economic rights in South Africa.

Nevertheless, the overall perception was that rights fulfilment expanded individuals' capability sets (the type and quality of potential functionings). It also ensured, or at least improved their ability to achieve certain functionings, and vice-versa (i.e. rights violations vs. unachievable functionings). This counterbalancing relationship between human rights and functionings in turn determines the extent (or existence) of poverty

6.5. IDENTIFYING LINKAGES BETWEEN DIMENSIONS OF WELLBEING/POVERTY IN EXISTING STUDIES AND THIS STUDY

Beyond linkages with capabilities and children’s rights, a summary comparison of the dimensions used in existing studies vis-à-vis their indicators, (see tables 3.1. 3.2. and 3.3. in Chapter 3) and those proposed by the children in this study is depicted in the Venn diagram below:

Figure 6.3. Venn diagram showing intersections of dimensions of poverty measurement proposed by South African children (A) vs. those used in existing studies (B)



Source: (Author’s construction from fieldwork, 2017)

This comparison of the dimensions and indicators proposed by the children and the ones used in existing studies as reviewed by O’Hare & Guttierrez (2012) and Fernandes et al (2012) reveals

that those identified by the children are well correlated with those used in existing studies. The major differences are the inclusion of emotional/spiritual wellbeing (in O'Hare & Gutierrez 2012) and the subjective wellbeing dimension (in Fernandes et al 2012). This is conceivably because of the core focus on children's wellbeing vs. child poverty; although both are multidimensional, a wellbeing approach has evolved to place higher value on self-definition of personal welfare. Still, the children's conceptualizations of poverty as psychological strain and relative deprivation show an implicit inclination towards emotional and subjective wellbeing respectively.

This depiction further reveals the value of a contextual and country-focused angle to assessing the adopted dimensions and indicators e.g. the case of Iran where national law stipulates the minimum age of marriage for girls and boys as 13 and 15 respectively (Faal Deghati et al 2012:336). In South Africa, the importance of the CSG for many families is reflected in the children's propositions as well as the value placed on familial connections (both nuclear and extended) and the place of safety from the violence, which is rife in many areas. The children's incorporation of jobs/employment (an adult/household level concern different from child work) into the dimensions highlights the dependency of children's wellbeing on adults. Furthermore, the political/civic wellbeing of children is portrayed via the children's discourse on rights alongside children's perception of appearance as an important marker of socio-economic wellbeing.

Crivello et al (2010:256) affirmed the importance of research and participatory activities on poverty and risk involving children themselves which "adds specificity and depth to understandings based on large-scale surveys and longitudinal studies, as well as complementing data from the perspectives of caregivers, professionals or advocates". O'Hare & Gutierrez (2012:613) also identified two critical factors influencing the selection of indicators and/or dimensions/domains: (i) Theory and (ii) Data availability. These findings indicate new concepts (theory) and dimensions that could be incorporated into child poverty measurements. They also highlight possible areas for survey bodies to expand/improve the type and quality of available data to as feasible an extent as possible (if not already doing so). However, it should be noted that a multitude of dimensions and indicators are not necessary to develop reliable measures of child poverty (Gordon & Nandy 2012).

6.6. CONNECTION(S) TO THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS (SL) APPROACH

Furthermore, the concepts, dimensions and indicators of poverty identified by the children highly correlate with the overall idea of sustainable livelihoods (SL) adopted by notable organizations including donors (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) & Department for International Development (DFID), International NGOs (CARE and OXFAM) and research institutes (Institute of Development Studies (IDS) (Ashley & Carney 1999:5).

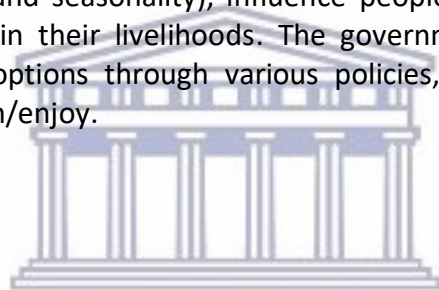
Like the tenets of this study, the sustainable livelihoods approach to poverty reduction is built on 3 insights namely that: (i) a positive relationship doesn't necessarily exist between economic growth and poverty reduction, (ii) poverty as conceived by the poor is multidimensional and not just an issue of low or no income and (iii) the poor must be involved in the design of policies and projects to reduce/eradicate poverty if such are to be successful and sustainable (Krantz

2001:2). The SL approach can be used either as an analytical tool for programme planning/assessment or as a programme of action. Notwithstanding its application, an implicit principle is that it should maximize livelihood benefits for the poor (Ashley & Carney 1999:7).

The DFID's definition of sustainable livelihoods adapted from the original definition proposed in 1992 by Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway is that:

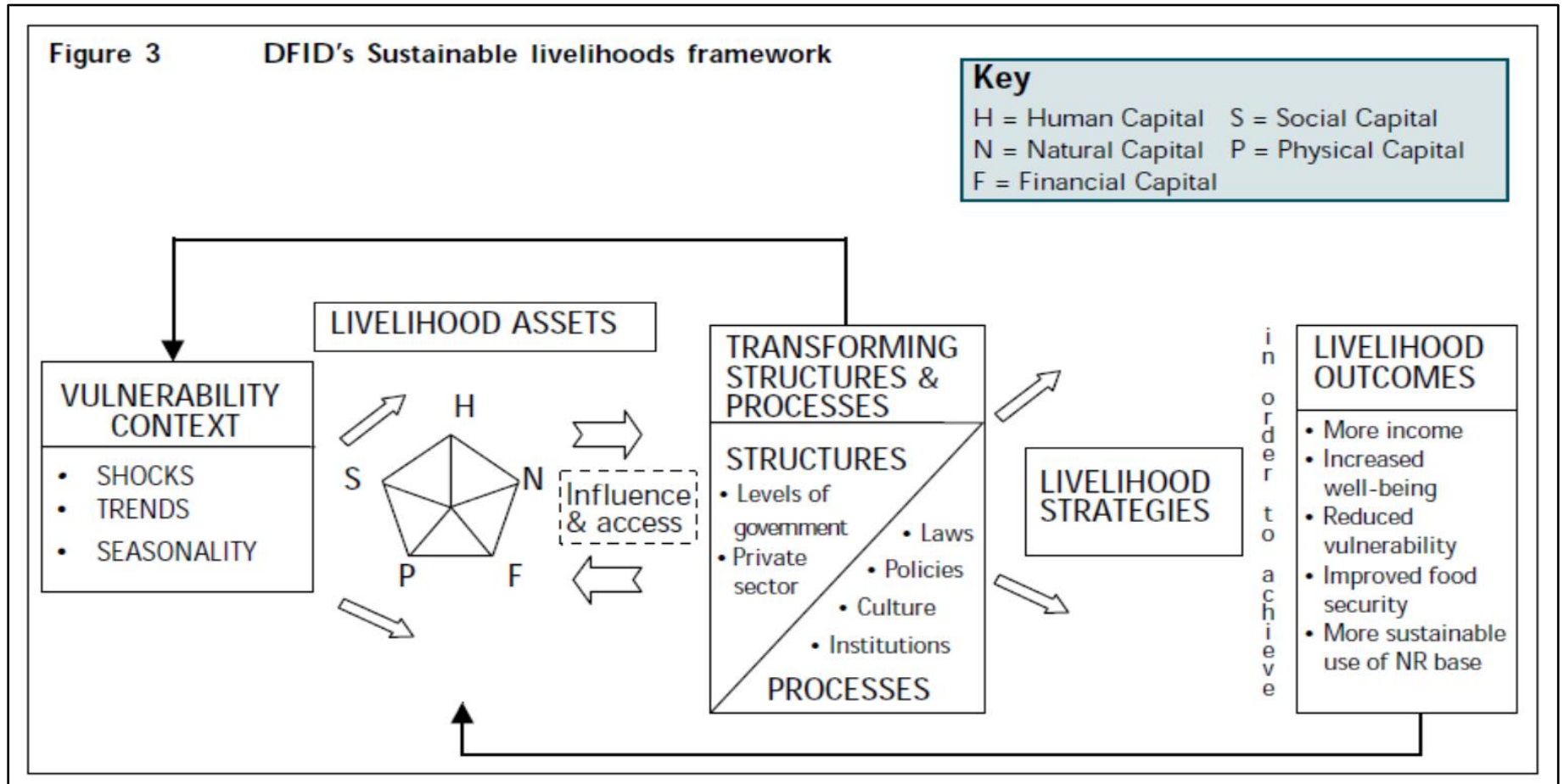
“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources), and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base”. (Cited in Krantz 2001:18)

The SL framework identifies 5 types of assets – Human, Natural, Financial, Social and Physical – which constitute livelihood building blocks that can (to some extent) be substituted for each other e.g. the poor relying on their social assets (family and neighbours) when financial assets (wages) are lacking (Farrington et al 1999:3). The SL framework below depicts how various vulnerabilities (shocks, trends and seasonality), influence people's access to assets and their capacity to use them to sustain their livelihoods. The government and private sector also influence people's accessible options through various policies, thus shaping the livelihood outcomes that people can attain/enjoy.



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Figure 6.4. DFID's Sustainable Livelihoods Framework



Source: Ashley & Carney (1999:47)

Indeed, a combination of factors – livelihood assets, individuals’ contexts, societal processes and structures - determine and influence individuals’ livelihood strategies and their livelihood outcomes i.e. these factors influence ‘means to achieve’ (assets) and ‘conversion factors’ (context, societal processes and structures), which in turn influence an individual’s choices (livelihood strategies) and functionings (livelihood outcomes).

The dimensions of child poverty discussed above can be mapped unto the 5 capital assets of the SL approach as follows:

- **Physical Capital:** Housing, Food, Appearance: Clothes & Shoes, Material Possessions, Technology, Transportation.
- **Social Capital:** Family belonging, Play & Leisure, Safety.
- **Financial Capital:** Finances, Jobs/Employment, Social Protection (CSG).
- **Natural Capital:** Water.
- **Human Capital:** Education, Health.

Moser (1998:43) noted that SL concept moves the focus of social policy from protection to opportunity creation:

“it shifts the focus from income and consumption to addressing directly the critical role played by assets and capabilities in improving individual and household social and economic well-being and associated poverty reduction”.

Essentially, improving the access of the poor to these assets/mapped dimensions expands the ambit of their capabilities, enhances their socio-economic wellbeing and contributes to reducing poverty. Some specific pointers of poverty (across the identified dimensions) to which this attention could be directed are discussed next.

6.7. INDICATORS OF CHILD POVERTY

The extensive discussions on the dimensions of poverty have laid a foundation for identifying the indicators. The inquiry on indicators was therefore kept simple, using basic guiding questions such as:

- ‘What signs of poverty are most difficult for you to accept and deal with as a child in South Africa’?
- ‘How does poverty show on a person – using a description of a poor boy or girl?’
- ‘Can a rich or poor person be identified by the way he/she looks’?

The few examples given by the children during the FGDs have been extracted and grouped below:

Figure 6.5. Basic indicators of poverty

<p>Social/Relational & Relative</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having no one to turn to • Not having a big house like everyone else
<p>Psycho-Social/Emotional</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Always sad • Always drunk
<p>Material/Basic Needs & Bodily Nurture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not having food/Going to bed hungry • No clothes/inappropriate dressing (e.g. wearing uniform on casual clothes day in school; not having christmas clothes/school uniform; playing in the same clothes worn to school) • Sleeping/Living outside without shelter • Not having lunch money in school • Not having toys to play with
<p>Physical Appearance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When a person is thin • Wearing dirty clothes

Source: (Author’s Construction from fieldwork, 2017)

The indicators clearly relate to the earlier identified concepts of poverty – absolute deprivation, relative deprivation, monetary lack, material inadequacy, social exclusion and psychological strain. Indicators were further explored by applying the Socially Perceived Necessities (SPN) approach presented next.

6.7.1. Assessing Indicators of Poverty using the Socially Perceived Necessities (SPN) Approach

The Socially Perceived Necessities (SPN) approach (conceived in Britain in the mid-1980’s) and applied to child poverty assessment (in various countries) and specifically in South Africa by Barnes & Wright (2012) was adapted for this study. The SPN approach, which is multidimensional, focuses on living standards rather than resources (Barnes & Wright 2012:137-139). Using an indicators approach rather than a budget standards approach, the 25 SPN items/indicators were decided on via a participatory selection process involving both adults and children (ibid).

The SPN was adapted to this study⁸⁶ by drawing on the findings about dimensions as discussed above and grouping the items into 7 categories: Economic/Financial, Biological/Socio-Emotional, Physical/Bodily Use, Household & Environmental Conditions, Social/Technological, Mental/Educational and Fun Treats/Vocational/Recreational. With a list of 31 items mostly relevant to children, 30 children (mostly pre-teens and teen-aged) participated in the SPN activity given the level of understanding and mental precision (including an ability to express

⁸⁶ For instance, items about family belonging, friendship and a safe environment were added.

priorities) that it requires. The children were requested to group the items into ‘circles of importance’ i.e. according to how important they are to them personally using the following categories, to which scores were then applied for analysis:

Table 6.6. Socially Perceived Necessities – Importance Category & Description

SPN - IMPORTANCE CATEGORY & DESCRIPTION	SCORE
No response	0
Not important at all (It is not necessary)	1
Not very important (I will like to have it but I can do without it)	2
Very important (I can't do without it)	3

The combined frequency total of each item was taken to assess the children's priorities of the SPN items as indicators of poverty. The findings are as follows.

Table 6.7. Socially Perceived Necessities – Nature Category & Item(s)

S/N	NATURE CATEGORY & SPN ITEM	FREQUENCY TOTAL
	Economic/Financial	
1	Bus/taxi fare or other transport to get to school	73
2	Pocket money & lunch allowance for school	72
	Biological/Socio-Emotional	
3	Family that love and care for you	83
4	Friends to play with	50
	Physical/Bodily Use	
5	Toiletries (e.g. soap and toothpaste) to be able to wash every day	82
6	A visit to the doctor when ill and all medicines required	70
7	Three nutritious meals a day	67
8	Some new clothes	66
9	Clothing sufficient to keep me warm and dry	63
10	Some fashionable clothes	61
11	Shoes for different activities	52
	Household & Environmental Conditions	
12	A house to live in	83
13	My own bed	65
14	A safe environment at home and in school	62
15	My own room	57
	Social/Technological	
16	My own mobile phone	61
17	A birthday party each year	55
18	A computer or laptop	54

19	Presents at Birthdays & Christmas	51
20	An MP3 player/iPod for playing music	48
21	A CD player and some tapes/CDs	43
22	A PlayStation/Xbox for boys or Barbie Dolls for girls	40
	Mental/Educational	
23	All fees, uniform and stationery/equipment required for school	59
24	A desk and chair to do homework	50
25	A school trip/excursion/visit to a national heritage site once a term	41
26	Educational toys/games	40
	Fun Treats/Vocational/Recreational	
27	Story books	54
28	Television or access to cartoons/movies	52
29	Leisure/sports equipment	46
30	Candy/Sweets & Cake	42
31	Toys or materials for a hobby	37

The indicators are analysed individually rather than per nature/category as the categories have different number of items. Still, a range analysis of the frequencies per nature/category reveals a general prioritisation of items relating to Economic/Financial, Biological/Socio-Emotional, Physical/Bodily Use and Household/Environmental Conditions categories compared to the Social/Technological, Mental/Educational and Fun Treats/Vocational/Recreational categories. The 5 highest and 5 lowest ranked items being:

Table 6.8. Socially perceived necessities – results (highest and lowest ranking)

HIGHEST RANKING		LOWEST RANKING		
	SPN ITEM	FREQUENCY SCORE	SPN ITEM	FREQUENCY SCORE
1	Family that love and care for you	83	Toys/materials for hobby	37
2	A house to live in	83	Educational Toys/Games	40
3	Toiletries to wash with daily	82	Play Station/X-box or Barbie Doll	40
4	Bus/Taxi fare for school	73	A school trip/excursion	41
5	Pocket money & lunch allowance for school	72	Candy/Sweets & Cake	42

These outcomes reinforce the indispensability of family belonging and basic necessities. They also reflect the frivolity of highly priced items, which qualify as luxuries given their

prices/opportunity costs for the children's families. Both findings are similar to those by Barnes & Wright (2012:142-145). For instance, 6 items: (i) Three meals a day (ii) Toiletries to be able to wash everyday (iii) All school fees, uniform and equipment (iv) A visit to the Doctor when ill and all medicines required (v) Transport to school and (vi) Clothing sufficient to keep warm and dry emerged as necessities by most children in Barnes & Wright's (2012) focus groups. This similarity lends credence to the truth that children demonstrate awareness of brands and of what constitute luxury, despite notions of immaturity. They are also attuned to the idea of poverty – by experience and perception.

6.8. CHAPTER SUMMARY

The children's experiences and perceptions of poverty as tools to conceptualize poverty and identify relevant dimensions/indicators yielded interesting results compared with approaches by existing studies. These include that poverty neither entails only monetary insufficiency nor excludes the possibility of individual happiness. It involves a contextual and complex combination of deprivations and dismal living conditions across physical, social, economic, psychological and future capability considerations. The relevance of history and culture in discussing poverty in South Africa also featured mainly in: (i) emphasising the importance of the extended family in nurturing children and (ii) identifying how structural policies of racial discrimination during apartheid created (and sustains) current incidences of poverty and inequality. Also, the unique place and value of family belonging for children with regard to meeting present needs and improving future outcomes was stressed alongside the importance of government's social assistance as a guaranteed safety net for the poor.

A prominent theme in the children's narratives was strong linkages to Sen's capabilities approach, by framing poverty in relation to: (i) what an individual can do and be with what he/she has (ii) how what an individual lacks constrains his/her capability set (options) (iii) how eventual functionings are determined by the choices that individuals make and (iv) the future consequences of current limitations in childhood on an individual's later life. Also, the dimensions identified by the children largely mapped onto capabilities and children's rights identified/utilised in existing studies.

These outcomes generally showcase children's abilities to: (i) leverage on their perceptions and experiences to conceptualize poverty (ii) connect children to their households and society (iii) reflect the importance of context in individuals' wellbeing and (iv) predict consequences of current circumstances. These outcomes respectively tie into Phiri & Abebe's (2016:381) observation that children's perspectives of poverty and well-being are:

- Subjective - depending on individual perceptions and experiences.
- Contextual - impacted by livelihood circumstances and practices.
- Relational - linked with household members and community.
- Processual - tied to the future.

Relatedly, Barnes & Wright (2012:135) described concepts, definitions and measurements as important factors in poverty measurement/assessment and cited others' definitions as follows:

“Concepts are “the theoretical framework out of which definitions are developed” (Noble et al, 2007a, p 54), definitions distinguish the poor from the non-poor and measurements are “the ways in which the definitions are operationalised, enabling the poor to be identified and counted, and the depth of poverty gauged” (Lister, 2004).

This chapter has dealt largely with concepts and definitions alongside laying a contextual foundation for understanding the nuances of poverty in South Africa. Overall, the findings presented in this chapter have broached the importance of context in poverty assessment because “how we identify poverty is a matter of some practical moment in the contexts in which questions of this kind are posed” (Sen 1992:107). Chapter 7 delves deeper into the context of poverty in South Africa: its prevalence, causes, peculiarity and solutions, alongside how children encounter and manage poverty in their daily lives within the household and society; data profiling of child poverty in South Africa via NIDS is presented in Chapter 8.



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CHAPTER 7 – INCIDENCE, PECULIARITIES, CAUSES & SOLUTIONS TO POVERTY AND CHILDREN’S COPING PROCESSES

“Anyone who has ever struggled with poverty knows how extremely expensive it is to be poor” – James A. Baldwin

“To be a poor man is hard, but to be a poor race ... is the very bottom of hardships” –W.E.B. DuBois

7.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents findings on the peculiarities of poverty in South Africa, across the identified dimensions, and as perceived, experienced and/or managed by the children. The structural, personal and external causes of poverty as raised by the children are discussed alongside solutions that they deem effective to address poverty in South Africa. Their coping strategies – as individuals and household members, are also discussed. The significance of context, individual and shared, in people’s experiences and management of poverty is first addressed below.

7.2. THE NEED FOR CONTEXT IN DISCUSSING (CHILD) POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The slant of this study promotes the value of context in proffering lasting solutions to poverty, especially in a country like South Africa where current happenings are/were mostly influenced by past occurrences. As Shenton (2004:70) posited, “ultimately, the results of a qualitative study must be understood within the context of the particular characteristics of the ... geographical area in which the fieldwork was carried out”. To ascertain whether the children shared this view, and how (if at all) they regarded South Africa’s poverty situation as peculiar, the distinctiveness (and/or otherwise) of the causes of poverty in South Africa (relative to other countries) was broached.

The consensus as per statements below was that a country’s context does matter because reasons for and standards of poverty (and wealth) differs across countries:

“Each country has different reasons for poverty, also, other people in other countries did not become rich from stealing from others. So it is not the same” (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

“Other countries that are richer than us have different standards of being poor or rich. For example, you can be poor in England and when you get to South Africa you are rich. And there are no struggles that are the same. Each country has different problems therefore different struggles.” (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

While Sipho’s opinion above insinuated that poverty in South Africa was man-made – essentially created through appropriation, his explanation clearly reflects the importance of context in discussing poverty. Likewise, Lili’s explanation justified the need for a contextual discourse on poverty, given that poverty struggles differ per country, as do poverty standards.

Even the seemingly dissenting opinion by Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) below acceded to the importance of context as emphasis was on similarities rather than sameness:

“They have similar characteristics, because when you are poor, you are poor regardless of your place in this world. Same with being rich”

This discussion about the importance of context was intended to guide further discussions about the incidence, causes of and possible solutions to poverty in South Africa. Specifically, it was aimed at examining their thought processes concerning the place of history in identifying causes of and designing solutions for poverty as are discussed hereafter.

7.3. INCIDENCE, PECULIARITIES, CAUSES AND SOLUTIONS TO (CHILD) POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA

In discussing the causes of poverty (and wealth), the incidence and peculiarities were also covered. As highlighted in section 3.4. of Chapter 3, Concerning Bonn et al (1999:595-597) identified three streams of ideology in children’s explanations of the causes of poverty. These were: (i) Personal/Individualistic (i.e. the poor person is to blame for his/her poverty), (ii) Structural/Economic (i.e. the poor person’s socio-economic environment is to blame for his/her poverty) and (iii) Fatalistic/Bad luck and fate (i.e. the poor person’s destiny is to be poor).

In this study, after analyzing the children’s narratives about the causes of poverty in South Africa, their submissions followed a similar pattern as outlined by Bonn et al (1999). A notable difference however was that the children in this study did not suggest fatalistic factors as causes of poverty. Instead, they emphasized personal and structural causes more; structural causes however featured more prominently as the trigger of poverty, before personal factors set in. This is similar to findings of studies like Sun (2001) where students attributed poverty more to structural causes than to individual causes.

The children also identified non-personal factors, which mainly consisted of influences that were directly related to the individual in some way, but over which he/she lacked full control/choice. I classified these as ‘external factors’. The difference between structural causes and external causes was the extent to which they were directly attributable to the individual – less so for structural causes, and more for external causes.

As a preview of the children’s statements, examples of each category of cause are shown in the following table:

Table 7.1. Cause categories of poverty and wealth

POVERTY	CAUSE CATEGORY		
	STRUCTURAL	PERSONAL	EXTERNAL
	Apartheid	Lavish lifestyles	Inadequate Wages/ Income
	Apartheid legacies of discrimination,	Alcoholism & Drug Usage	Unemployment

	segregation and class differentiation		
		Separation from Family	Incomplete/No Schooling
		Slothfulness	Poor government support/social assistance (Inadequate and/or No access)
WEALTH	CAUSE CATEGORY		
	STRUCTURAL	PERSONAL	EXTERNAL
	Historical Advantage	Higher Education	Position privileges (Embezzlement & Corruption)
	Apartheid legacies of favouritism and preferential treatment	Hard work	Windfall Income
	Non-redistribution of nation's wealth post-apartheid	Agricultural Entrepreneurship	Working in privileged positions or the public sector
	Appropriation	Self-Employment	
	Inheritance	Business Ownership	

Source: Author's construction from fieldwork, 2017

Information in the table above shows that causes of poverty and wealth were given as a fusion of Structural, Personal & External factors. Much emphasis was however placed on structural causes, and the narrative of apartheid being the 'trigger' of Black peoples' poverty today was prominent. Still the children held a balanced view that a combination of factors – historical, personal and external (current) contributed to creating and sustaining poverty in South Africa.

Most of the causes mentioned in the table above (especially under personal and external categories) were discussed in Chapter 6 under the dimensions of poverty. For instance, under Personal causes: 'Separation from Family' was discussed under the 'Adequate Care' domain; 'Education', 'Incomplete/No Schooling', 'Hard Work', 'Self-Employment' and 'Business Ownership' were discussed under the 'Income and Monetary Capacity' domain, as were 'Inadequate Wages', 'Unemployment', 'Privileged Work' and 'Poor Government Support/Social Assistance'.

Focus will therefore be on 3 remaining major causes that are fundamental to contextually discussing South Africa's poverty, but which were not extensively examined in the preceding chapter while discussing the dimensions of poverty. They are:

(i) Apartheid, Historical (Dis) Advantage & Appropriation

With various impressions about apartheid, the children exhibited knowledge about the past obviously as relayed to them by older people or as picked from social interactions. They described apartheid as:

“When Black people were not allowed to board a train with White people” (Lili, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

“When Black people walked around with a ‘dompas’⁸⁷ or risk prison” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

“The time when Black people were exported as slaves” (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

In the SAPPA, May (1998a:21-28) reported that participants identified 7 important elements through which Blacks’ poverty was created during apartheid. They are:

- Land dispossession, restriction and forced removals.
- Neglect of facilities and services in native (black-resident) areas.
- Influx control: Restriction on access to urban areas.
- Biased and corrupt traditional leadership.
- Neglect, exploitation and displacement of farmworker families.
- Destabilization of communities through organised raids.
- Poor post-apartheid reconstruction plan.

The children argued that apartheid made Black people poor and White people rich because:

“Black people were rich before apartheid and became poor during and after it. White people were the ones taking things from Black people” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

“Only the rich people were getting benefited and we (Blacks) suffered” (Lili, 12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

After respectively noting that “Mandela ended apartheid by fighting for freedom” and “forgiving White people after being jailed”, Lili and Skhotho (respectively 12-year-old Female and Male, Black, Khayelitsha) still insisted that apartheid has not ended “because Black people are still poor”, and it will only end “when everybody has the same amount of money”. This speaks about the formal cessation of apartheid policies and activities since 1994, and the deeper legacy of racial inequality that it left behind which ensures that Black Africans and Coloureds fare relatively worse than Whites.

The children shed more light on racial inequality while discussing the incidence and peculiarities of poverty in South Africa. They all shared an unequivocal perspective that poverty is racially structured; it has always been and is still being defined by age-long processes, policies and powers. Their repeated citations of poor people in South Africa first as Blacks then Browns (Coloureds’) attested to this. Also, some findings and evidence presented in the previous

⁸⁷ Literally meaning “dumb pass”.

chapter touched on the incidence and peculiarities of poverty and support this. Buttrussing the idea that poverty is associated with Blacks, Uvo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) stated that he is not proud to be Black African because he is poor.

Addressing work-related discrimination, Siphon (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) further asserted that Black people are still poor because of apartheid because “they have the necessary requirements, but White people don’t hire them because they are Black”. The perspective about racial differences was echoed when they noted that some South Africans are free while others are not; “fellow Africans are suffering and are not free” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) and “White people still own our things” (Siphon, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha).

Buttrussing the strong intersections of race and class in South African society, Natasha (13-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) recalled an incident when she was treated unfairly supposedly because of her skin colour but implicitly because of her linked socio-economic status:

“I felt bad because she said she can’t play with me because I am a Black person. I felt bad because no one said ‘you are poor’ and I was so angry”

Apartheid institutions and legislation caused racially based class differentiation, restricted free movement of Blacks and their access to quality education. It also influenced the asset ownership structure especially land. All these resulted in unemployment (for Black farmworkers) and low wages (for Black unskilled labour), with these factors lasting over time, thus perpetuating poverty through generations till date.

(ii) Individual Deficiencies & Decisions

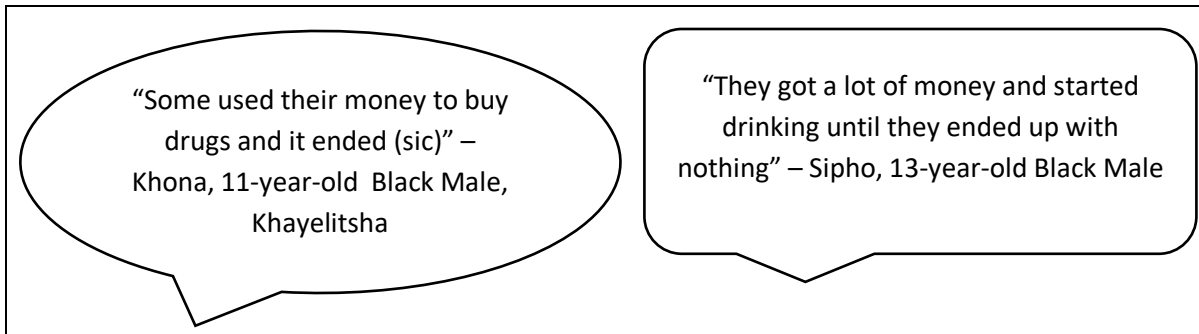
In addition to apartheid, the compounding effects of negative personal habits and decisions of poor people was also recognised by Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) who said:

“Mostly, Black people are poor because of apartheid but they still do bad things like drink even though they don’t have money for groceries. This then leads them to committing crime”.

Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) also noted possible slothfulness of the poor as a contributing factor:

“The rich people worked hard when they were younger and the poor people were lazy and ended up having nothing”

A self-caused downturn of fortune whereby “once-rich” people became poor was also mentioned as a cause of poverty, and attributed to various reasons including alcohol and drug usage:



Setlalentoa et al (2010:11) noted that in South Africa, alcohol usage has a long history and is a norm for many people across various socio-economic backgrounds. Parry (2005:426) traced this alcoholic way of life to the establishment and spread of illegal alcohol outlets (“Shebeens”) in the second half of the 20th century; the shebeens served as a form of resistance to apartheid policies instituted to repress the Black majority. It appears that heavy alcohol usage was another legacy of apartheid that remained: Empirical studies about alcohol prevalence (e.g. Allan et al 2001, Ramsoomar & Morojele 2012) found that early alcohol initiation and binge drinking are still on the increase. Studies also found linkages between poverty, alcohol usage, substance abuse and violence. For instance, from research with 2 black communities, Strebel et al (2006:520) noted, “another common perception was that the abuse of alcohol was strongly linked to domestic violence, with a cycle of poverty, substance abuse and violence”. In a literature review, Kalichman et al (2007:147) also stated that “the pressures of living in poverty are related to drinking’.

The excerpt below from personal communication received from an anonymous education official in Lynedoch further sheds light on South Africa’s alcoholism problem:

“A low level of education, poor housing, overcrowding, early pregnancy among female students and alcoholism characterizes the surrounding area. The wine farms used to pay their workers in alcohol, which resulted in widespread alcoholism, and in turn foetal alcohol syndrome” (Personal Communication – Lynedoch Education Official)

This payment of wages in alcohol instead of cash is known as the “Tot System⁸⁸” or “Dop⁸⁹ System”; it encouraged alcoholism among Black farm workers, especially Coloureds.

Due to their addictive nature, these social problems of alcoholism and drug usage among the poor sustains poverty and could in turn trigger other social problems including violence and crime as previously mentioned studies have reported.

(iii) Embezzlement & Corruption

⁸⁸ Described as “the part payment of workers in cheap alcohol” (Du Toit 2004:993).

⁸⁹ Afrikaans term for alcoholic drink.

Another identified cause of poverty was misappropriation of public funds, and corruption by public office holders especially incumbent President Jacob Zuma who is currently embroiled in the Nkandla scandal⁹⁰. A striking observation was that all narratives about President Jacob Zuma being a looter of public funds and his failure to fulfil campaign promises emanated from Lynedoch. Khayelitsha children never mentioned the Nkandla saga and President Zuma's corruption/notorious pilfering. The following outburst by Khulu (14-year-old Black Male, Lynedoch) best expressed the children's sentiments about the scandal:

"The rich people in South Africa are many like Players, Government and President Zuma. Zuma's house is 8 million but our houses don't cost 2 million. Zuma lives in Mpumalanga in a big area. He has 9 wives and 21 kids. There are many people in South Africa that want to be rich like him but there is one thing that they don't know. It is: where is that money from? The money is from us as children and adults. We must have more than we have. There are many funny houses in many places here in South Africa in Kraaifontein and many more places. If Zuma can build more houses in Kraaifontein, houses of block and steel it will be alright and take the poor people to one place and give them food we will be proud of him".

Khayelitsha children's silence brings into question the influence of politically driven social construction on children's perspectives. Most of Khayelitsha's Black-African residents pledge allegiance to or are registered members of the Black-dominated African National Congress (ANC) government which incumbent President Zuma belongs to. On the other hand, Lynedoch is located in a district led by the main opposition party – Democratic Alliance (DA). It is therefore interesting that Khulu, a Black African child who schools in Lynedoch holds and voiced the opinion above.

The issue of corruption and embezzling public funds that would otherwise have contributed to improving the lives of the poor reflects how weak institutions of government fail to protect the poor and a problem could transit from being external to having direct impacts. Specifically, in an analysis of the relationships of democratization and quality of government with child poverty in low and middle income countries (South Africa inclusive), Hallerod et al (2013) found that quality of government affected four of seven indicators of child deprivation⁹¹. In fact, compared to democracy, quality of governance was of more importance in explaining child

⁹⁰ A long-standing controversy where investigations by the Public Protector revealed that President Zuma had spent approximately R246 million of public funds for non-security upgrades to his personal residence situated in Nkandla, KwaZulu-Natal Province. After much public outcry, he refunded the sum of R7.8 million which was the purported estimated cost of non-security upgrades to the residence.

⁹¹ These four deprivations were: Lack of safe water, Malnutrition, Lack of healthcare access and Lack of access to information. The unaffected deprivations were lack of: Education, Sanitation and Shelter.

deprivation (ibid). This demonstrates the extensive effect of bad governance on children's quality of life.

Overall, these selected 3 causes (apartheid/historical (dis)advantage/appropriation, individual deficiencies and decisions, embezzlement/corruption) discussed above present a perfect example of how various factors (structural, personal and external) can interact to (re)produce poverty.

In order to cumulatively spotlight the children's narratives about the causes, incidence and peculiarities of poverty in South Africa, the spectrum of causes of poverty and wealth are identified in the children's narratives, using direct quotes as in the table below. The intention of the information presented in table 7.2. below is to show the interplay of these causes - structural (historical), personal (individual) and external (institutional), while highlighting how they influence the incidence and peculiarity of poverty and wealth in South Africa.



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Table 7.2. Causes (including incidence and peculiarities) of poverty and wealth in South Africa

POVERTY			
Descriptive Category/Marker	Specifics (Who are the poor people in South Africa?) – <u>Incidence</u>	<u>Causes – Structural, Personal or External</u> (Why are they poor?)	Explanation(s) – Reasons & Characteristics – <u>Peculiarity</u>
Race & Ethnicity	White people	Lavish lifestyles	“Because of their kids that use up all the money” – Vani (7-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)
	Black people	Apartheid	“Because White people were not rich but came to South Africa and found rich people and attacked them and gained all the wealth and left them poor. Apartheid caused poverty” – Siphon (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)
	Brown people		“Because of what happened in the past to them. They owned a lot of things and it was taken away from them” – Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)
	Xhosa people		
	Some of the Black people and White people and Somalis.		
		Inadequate wages/income	“They work very hard but they earn only a little bit of money” – Rasta (14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch)
		Slothfulness	“People don’t want to look for jobs; they just want to beg for money” – Dina (14-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch)
	Unemployment	“They don’t have jobs, so no money. They didn’t finish school and others can’t get jobs. Others were fired” – Ona (14-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)	
	Alcoholism & Drug Usage	“The mother of the house doesn’t buy the necessary things for the house. She only drinks alcohol under the bridge” - Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	
		“These people are poor because they are unemployed and they spend the money they have on drinks” – Yethu (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)	

			<p>“Rich people don’t misuse their money but poor people do, they buy things like drugs and alcohol which are the main causes of poverty” – Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)</p>
		Separation from family	<p>“They don’t have families to support them and they use their money to buy alcohol not food” – Nga (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)</p> <p>“Because they lack education and some were abandoned by their parents at a very small age” – Zee (13-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)</p> <p>“They don’t have education. They sweep taxis and stopped living with their parents” – Uvo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)</p>
Place/Location	<p>Some poor people are White others are Black. It all depends on the area that you live in. Also the job you have determines if you are poor or not.</p> <p>Black people who live in Site C (Khayelitsha)</p> <p>People who live in rural areas</p> <p>Beggars (street kids)</p>	<p>Incomplete/No schooling</p> <p>Poor government/social assistance (Inadequate and/or No access)</p>	<p>“They don’t get grant money and their Mom is uneducated so she has no proper job and that is why she left” - Lisa (9-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)</p> <p>“The government didn’t provide enough money for the people” – Mandy (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)</p>

WEALTH			
Descriptive Category/Marker	Specifics (Who are the rich people in South Africa?)	Causal Factors - Structural, Personal or External (Why are they rich?)	Explanation(s) – Reasons & Characteristics
Race	The White people and the President because they have a lot of money and a lot of people work for them.	Historical advantage	“In the early 1900s, White people were very important and the people that worked for them were slaves. But when the new law came in that all people are equal, they already had good jobs. They work for big companies and had a lot of money and their children went to great schools and most of them became very important people today” - Lulu (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch)
Position		Position privileges (Embezzlement & Corruption)	“Zuma takes all the money and buys houses” – Biesie (13-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch)
Farm Owners	The White people on the farm that make money out of the people working for them ⁹² .	Windfall income	“They work for themselves and play the lotto” – Biesie (13-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch)
	The White people, the boss who have farms.	Higher Education Appropriation	“They went to school. They studied on to University. They have good jobs and work hard every day” - Moeksie (14-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch)

⁹² This is applicable to Lynedoch children whose families depend on the low wages paid for their labour, in exchange for accommodation and food on the (wine) farms where they work. White farm owners essentially control the lives of these farmworker families from one generation to the next. For instance, referring to Nasson (1984), Goduka et al (1992:513) noted that “farm life is characterised by acute squalor, chronic poverty and almost total lack of alternative employment opportunities”, and Black farm worker families are dependent on their White farm bosses for salary, food, accommodation and clothing.

White-collar Professionals		Hard work	“They have every day money. They don’t want to give the poor people money”. – Moeksie (14-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch)
Social Celebrities	Rich people in South Africa are only people who work at nice jobs like White people. Some are Coloureds and Africans.	Agricultural entrepreneurship	“They are rich because they studied hard to get where they want to be and have nice jobs” – Wiena 15-year-old Black Female, Lynedoch)
	People like bosses on the farms and business people like a Principal. And important people like Singers and Dancers.	Working in privileged positions or the public sector	“They did study in poor places and now they are rich. (Explanation: some of them started out as poor people but are now rich)” – Lino (14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch)
Government Officials	White people. The people with lots of money, big houses, cars in their garages and gold.	Inheritance	“They are rich because they have money. They go far in life. They are their own bosses” – Lorencia (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch)
	People who work for the Government department		“The parents of these people were very rich. Their parents did pass and so they did earn everything. Now they are the rich people in our country South Africa and they make a lot of money” – Rasta (14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch)
Entrepreneurs	People who have their own business like Pick n Pay.	Self-Employment & Business Ownership	“They listened to their parents and teacher’s explanations” – Abby 1 (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch) “They make a business and grow it big like Shoprite” – Abby 1 (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch)

The solutions proposed to tackle these causes and problems are discussed next.

7.4. ENTRÉE ON SOLUTIONS TO (CHILD) POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA

To set the scene for the discussion of solutions, and develop a more robust understanding of South Africa's context, I administered an exercise: "Three words/sentences about ..." in/ of South Africa. The aim was to develop a compact yet factual handbook/glossary of various topics of interest including Poverty, Wealth, Family, Current Life, Future Life, Problems and Solutions to poverty etc. Their separate responses on South Africa's problems, and the solutions to them are summarised in the following word clouds, and then explained in the tables below:

Problems



A word cloud containing the following terms: Strikes/protests, Violence, Hunger, Theft, Homelessness, Alcoholism, Poverty, Strife, Laziness, Corruption, Unemployment, and Unfairlabour. The words are arranged in a vertical stack, with 'Homelessness' and 'Poverty' being the largest and most prominent.

Solutions

Wages/Income
 Leadership
 Socialsecurity
 Housing Food Fosterage
 Education
 Cohesion Order Savings
 Family
 Jobs/Employment
 Governance

Table 7.3. Three words/sentences about ... problems of South Africa

Classification	Narrative		
Livelihoods & Household Circumstances	They use our people to work on farms	There is no work	People don't have enough money to buy food
	No food	No money	People don't have clothes

	Poverty/Poor people	Wasting food	
Welfare/Wellbeing	The people need toilets	There is no house for everyone	People don't get social grants
Safety/Well-being	It is not safe in RSA ⁹³	Robbing/To steal people's money	To make people dead i.e. killing people
	Too many gangsters	People die at Taxi ranks	Beating children
Infrastructure	Load shedding	Wasting water (people play with water)	No robots (lack of robots causes accidents)
Government/Governance	The corruption in RSA	Zuma takes all the money and buys houses	Zuma said he will build houses, then he doesn't
	Jacob Zuma doesn't give the people their money	No money. They take the money and use it	They build houses for themselves
Citizen Unity	The people are jealous of each other	To hate people. People don't care about others anymore	The people don't work together
Individual Issues	The people don't want to work	They don't want to stop drinking	Homeless children love being on the street
	Too much drugs		
Social Action	The people protest when there are problems	Strikes	

Table 7.4. Three Words/Sentences about ... solutions to South Africa's problems

Classification	Narrative		
Livelihood & Household/Family Circumstances	Every child should have a home - They must have a house and family	Fostering poor children	People should stop having a lot of children
Safety/Well-being	Not beating children		
Physical & Social Welfare	Government can give people food - Feeding schemes at the community	Better education for the students	Taking the poor children to school
	Government should buy the kids Christmas clothes	Give farm workers more money	Build houses for people

⁹³ RSA - Republic of South Africa.

Economic Measures	Everyone can get grant	Poor people can be given money	Give them work
Punitive Measures	The Judge	The Policeman	The Jail
	If police can catch all the criminals and strikers	People should patrol	Mob justice
	Drug lords should be killed		
Citizen Responsibility	To not kill	To not steal people's money	To not hate people
	To stop stealing, stop killing and raping children	Not corrupt our people	To give them everything they want
	Save money	To give people food	
Governance	Better President	Better government	Jacob Zuma can buy more useful stuff for his people
Individual Efforts	To get work	Stop drinking	To work for their own money
	To save money		

The children touched on the problems of unemployment, low wages and societal tensions that result in unhealthy rivalry, the cultural problems of violence, alcoholism, and drug abuse as well as government's failure to deliver on its promises of better welfare for citizens. The importance of the law, the need for social cooperation and the value of social welfare interventions were identified as important solutions alongside the need for efficient governance.

These brief submissions shed more light on the peculiarity of South Africa's context, and place the solutions that would be subsequently discussed in better perspective. They also give summary pointers about where (and how much) the attention of poverty reduction/eradication should be focused. Indeed, the priority status accorded to poverty alleviation and eradication by key development organizations across the globe places an urgent need on their efforts to be successful, immediately, and/or in the near future. This speaks to the need for effective and sustainable solutions tailored to particular countries' contexts. For instance, the World Bank's goal to "end extreme poverty within a generation" points to the time urgency of addressing such a complex social problem like poverty though it was created over generations. South Africa is a peculiar case because institutions of colonialism and apartheid consciously created racial poverty and inequality. The children's thoughts about how this racially concentrated poverty amongst Blacks can be addressed included suggestions that: "Black and White people should live together" (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), and "kids must all go to the same school regardless of race" (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha). With a negative outlook, Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Lynedoch) however stated, "nothing can be done".

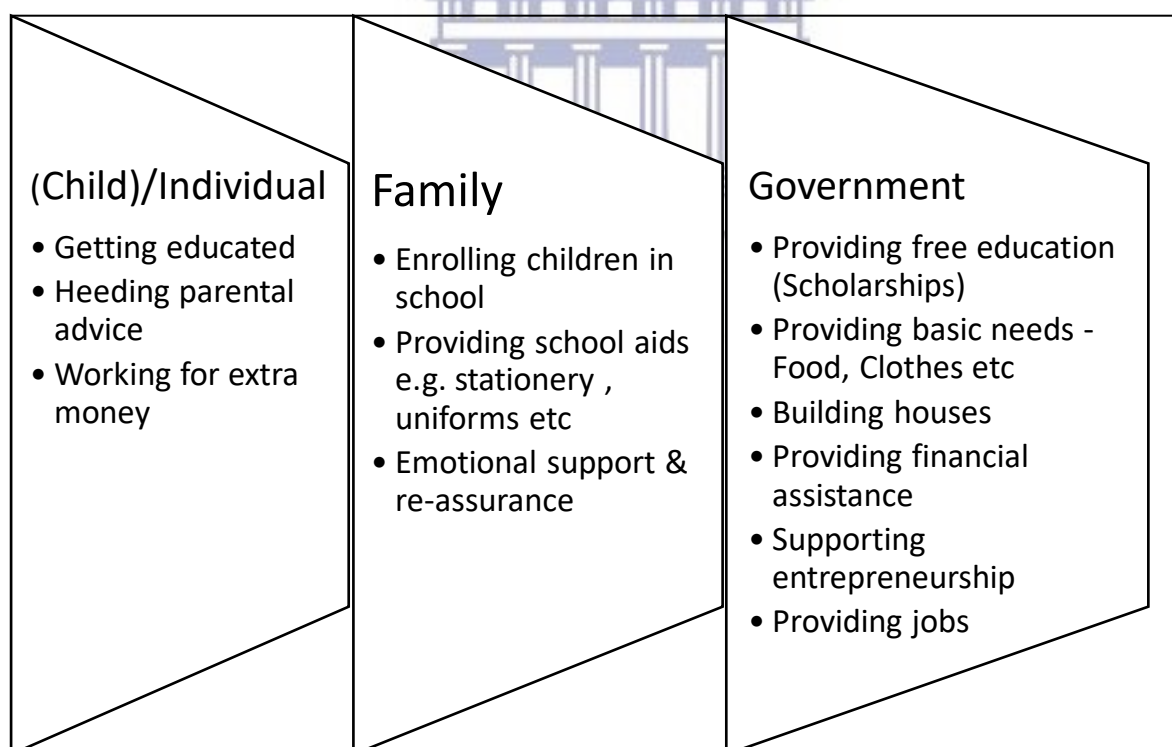
The feasibility of Sipho and Skhotho's recommendations, as well as the implication of Lili's indicates how deep the poverty problem is. Ironically, they also stir the moral justification to tackle it. The common-sense justification to alleviate and eradicate poverty cuts across

many spheres: socio-economic, physical, psychological etc., which the children raised earlier, though sometimes implicitly. They expressed the ability to connect practical reasons to action i.e. justify and link why something is being done to what is being done. However, when asked why child poverty should be eradicated, they mostly invoked the moral argument, stating that life is unfair to poor children because “they did not ask for what they are getting” (Yethu, 8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) and “being poor is something that no child deserves” (Sipho, 13-year-old Black Male Khayelitsha). Replying Yethu and Sipho, Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male Khayelitsha) however refused to make a special case for children, by noting that, “life is not fair to everyone”. Still, the solutions remain important, regardless of whether poverty should be addressed due to moral or practical reasons i.e. the “what” matters despite the rationale of the “why”. The range of these “what(s)” are discussed next.

7.5. SOLUTIONS TO (CHILD) POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA

In discussions so far, the need for solutions to be contextual has been a recurring theme. The discussions have also featured Government, poor persons and their families prominently (with passive mentions of society). The value of these actors with respect to solutions was explored; the children’s propositions highlighted the importance of the synergised roles of Government, family and the individual (child) as summarised in the diagram below:

Figure 7.1. Roles of key actors



The roles of children/individuals, family and government align with existing theories of human development including Bronfenbrenner and Morris’ (1998) popular ecological systems model, which situates the child/individual in the centre of varying influences/actors, which impact and shape his future behaviour.

In relation to child poverty, the influence of various actors – from the child to his/her family (and immediate society) and then to the government is crucial to creating a

sustainable solution because it is the combination of all their efforts that matters. Similarly, in discussing the *'structural model of child well-being'*, Minkkinen (2013:7) described a child as "as a constructive, social actor in his or her own life and as an agent in society". She also recognized that "child well-being is a dynamic state, founded on interactions between individual and environmental factors at different levels" (Minkkinen 2013:10). Essentially, children are instrumental actors in addressing child poverty, as their actions and interactions with other actors (and their respective actions) as indicated above, determine the life span of child poverty. Bastos & Nunes (2009:69) summed this relationship thus: "in fact, poverty alleviation is a result of a multiple and complex interface between government policies, family efforts, labour market and social conditions". The linkages and synergy needed among these actors is clear and direct e.g. the will of the child to be educated, connects with the capacity of the family to enrol the child and provide school aids, which in turn depends on the availability of and access to free education to be provided by the Government.

Also as another preview of their responses on solutions to poverty, a sentence completion exercise whereby children were asked to "fill in the gap" was conducted to create a list of conditional "one-line solutions" to end poverty. This helped to get an idea about the priority of solutions for the children. The results are shown in the table below:

Table 7.5. One-line solutions to poverty in South Africa

(Child) poverty can be ended in South Africa if...		
Responsible Actor	Idea	Condition
Government	Lump sum pay-out	"Only the government can give everyone money once then all we got to do is use it wisely and become rich" – Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)
	Social Assistance (Grants)	"Grant must be increased and that will also help kids" - Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)
	Education	'Every child would be granted quality education then the near future would not have poor kids' – Siphso (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)
	Restitution	"If Black people can be given their belongings back" – Siphso (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)
Society	Benevolence	"Everyone that is rich can help poor children by giving them money" – Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)
Individual (Child)	Stop alcoholism	'If poor people can stop drinking alcohol with the little money they get" - Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)
	Hard Work	"We just all have to work very hard and sacrifice some things; we can become rich" – Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)
Dissenting Opinion		
"There are a lot of poor people in South Africa and it would be impossible to get all of them to be rich". – Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)		

Noteworthy is that although the children mentioned a return of belongings, they did not specifically cite land reclamation/redistribution; land is the tangible standing physical asset that apartheid “took away” from Blacks. Other instruments of apartheid were repressive policies and laws, which can be remedied by some of the other solutions to be discussed below. This indicates the simplicity of the children’s understandings about apartheid and its tools.

Moving into core discussions about solutions, I stimulated the children’s imaginations by asking how they would tackle poverty in South Africa (for poor men, poor women, poor boys and poor girls) if they were President and/or how they suggest the South African government should tackle it.

A review of their suggested solutions mostly reveals an overlap with earlier findings, as their solutions involve addressing problems around the dimensions of child poverty that they proposed. It is important to note that this was not intended or consciously framed, as the sessions on solutions to child poverty were conducted after the (multiple) sessions where the children proposed the dimensions of child poverty. This is evident in the nature of some of their solutions discussed below which are not directly related to child poverty (e.g. returning embezzled funds and adopting labour-intensive vs. capital-intensive methods of agricultural production). Their propositions include:

7.5.1. Provision of housing (and amenities)

This entailed the need for government to eradicate street living, and provide adequate and equipped housing for poor. As Brakenveld (14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch) and Uvo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) respectively noted:

“To give everyone a job and say that no one must be homeless. There must not be a person sleeping on the street”

“Build houses for everyone that is poor so they can all sleep under shelter. The government can also get them electricity, stoves, fridges and other things to make them happy. The government can get the people a lot of beds”

Benie (14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch) specifically mentioned the provision of housing for older people:

“They can give older people lots of money to buy a house, clothes and food”

The ANC-led South African government’s response to the housing problem has been the provision of RDP housing, one of the strategies in its post-apartheid development plan. The initial approach was the provision of rural housing and upgrading of hostels in urban areas (Crankshaw & Parnell 1996:232). The current approach is building RDP houses, mostly in isolated locations and urban townships like Khayelitsha, relatively distant from the city centres and White-dominated residential areas. This still perpetuates the isolated nature of apartheid policies and restricts social integration of the poor into urban areas, leaving them in areas associated with poor infrastructure. Huchzermeyer (2001:325) had noted that this housing policy/model ‘will not overcome race and class-based spatial inequalities such as those cemented in the apartheid urban form’.

Although South Africa is reducing its housing deficit, the RDP scheme has been criticised as poor and inadequate, in quality and quantity. First, a standard RDP house size is 30m² to

40m² (Rust 2008:8, Landman & Napier 2010), which is too small living space to accommodate households usually consisting of nuclear and extended family members. Second, Government's supply can't meet demand as evidenced by greatly oversubscribed RDP house waiting lists, which has had people waiting for as long as 10 years (Kang'ethe & Manomano 2015:124; Meth & Charlton 2017:472); continuous in-migration, from rural areas further exacerbates this pressure.⁹⁴ Gilbert (2004:31) described this irony thus: 'the government's success in providing housing for the very poor has produced ghettos of unemployment and poverty'.

The foregoing signifies a need to reconsider the current housing approach to meet the needs of the poor, in time, and integrate them into larger society.

7.5.2. Access to education

The provision of access to schooling was raised concerning tuition, amenities (including transportation), aids/equipment, lunches, extracurricular activities and location/siting as mentioned below:

"The government can build schools in the rural areas so the poor boy and girl can have an education" – Uvo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

"They can help the poor people so that their children don't have to pay school finances (sic) and don't have to pay for transport to get to school. If their children were not in school they can help the parents get their children in the school where they want to be in. Then you will see the parents will live very happy after all" – Rasta (14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch)

"To give them some food to eat every day and food to take to their work and school, some bags for the children to put their books and other things in. The South African government can help the poor children by putting them in unexpensive (sic) schools to let them learn. And to find them some sports to do every day and give them some cars to take them to places and back" – Abby 2 (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch)

"Sit the poor boy in a school to study and give him everything he wants; buy him clothes, shoes, books and pencils" – Moeksie (14-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch)

The children's recommendations recognize the lack (or poor quality) of schools in rural areas (including former homelands and tribal authority areas). They also add the provision of education subsidies and supplies as an important solution because poor children's families can't afford them. This was corroborated by Herselman (2003) who noted, "rural schools ... currently lack access to quality education and resources that their urban counterparts consider basic". Some of the identified drawbacks associated with rural schools include lack of school buildings and stationery, remote situation of the schools, lack of experiences and skilled teachers, lack of facilities (library and transport) and large student

⁹⁴ These two factors encourage the proliferation of shacks alongside RDP houses, resulting in high population density in these areas; these shacks are also notorious fire sources given the highly inflammable nature of materials used to construct them.

to teacher ratio (ibid). Van der Berg (2008:19) completed the double complexity of this situation by noting that the poorest children usually reside in isolated rural areas. So, the poorest children are attending the poorest schools.

Writing about the importance of access to quality education, Akoojee & Nkomo (2007:386), noted that “the transformation of a society struggling to undo the ravages of its past requires that Black South Africans be provided opportunities to realize their potential”. I would add that it isn’t just about access but more about completion because in South Africa, completing Matric and attaining a University degree is required to achieve the optimal functionings associated with being educated.

7.5.3. Provision of jobs/employment

The discussion of solutions to poverty in regarding jobs/employment was mainly its value as a source of income for the poor to meet their daily needs. It bordered on the importance of a weekly wage, as well as emphasising the place of menial jobs for the poor who are usually uneducated:

“The poor men can be given jobs on a farm to earn money and buy food to eat. Poor women can get jobs to work at hotels, houses, restaurants, shops and the gas station. They can earn lots of money and buy clothes and food” – Biesie (13-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch)

“Help the poor man, give him a job and pay him good money every week” – Ling (14-year-old Black Male, Lynedoch)

“They give the people jobs to do and then they can pay the people money. The poor people can wash cars or make the house and garden clean. They can look after your cars and house when you go for a meeting. They can look after your children at home to make food for them. They can wash your clothes when it is dirty” – Liesie (14-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch)

“The South African government can help poor people to get homes and jobs, and let the poor people earn more money at their jobs to buy food, electricity and clothes for his family. They can also help the people who do not have money to do jobs in the garden to earn some money to buy food to eat. They can let the poor people wash their cars and pick up the papers in the streets. They can do jobs like planting trees and flowers” – Rasta (14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch)

Related to jobs/employment provision was the need to sensitize the poor on the value of working and the importance of job security/retention, thus emphasising the importance of preparation, training and awareness in individuals’ job searches:

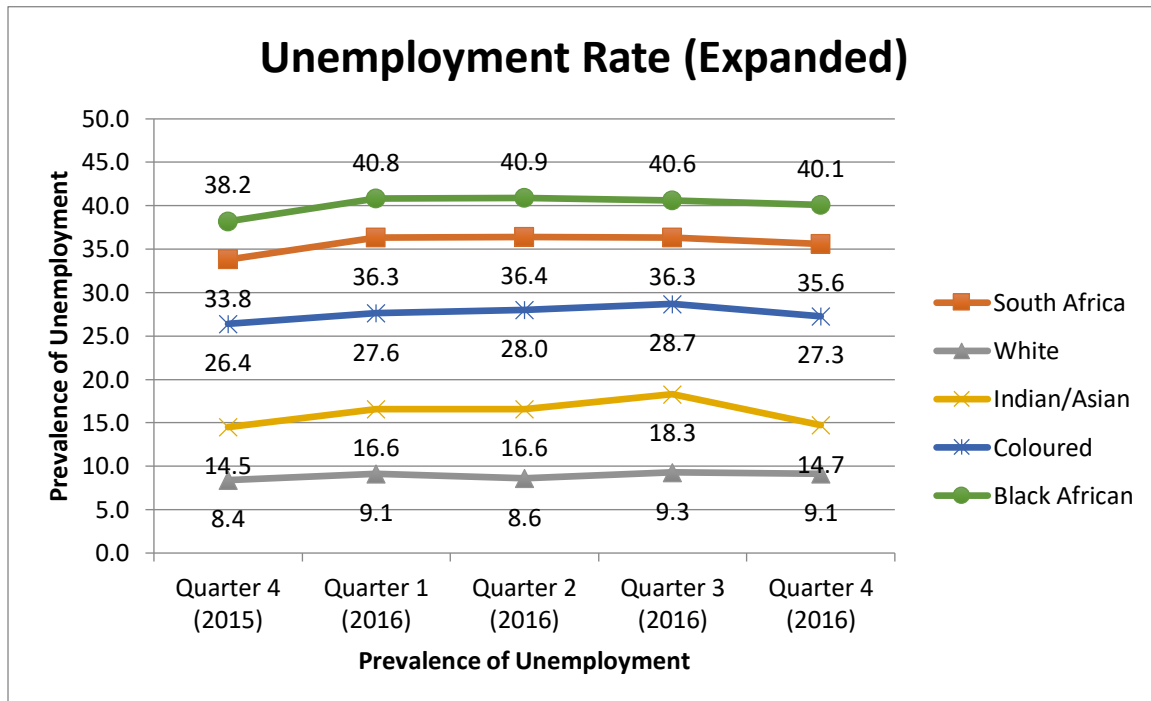
“Give the people jobs to do. Give them attention. They can give people money so they can get ready for a job. They can learn⁹⁵ (sic) these people how important it is to work and how to hold on to the jobs. They can give these

⁹⁵ A language idiosyncrasy of Coloureds is using “learn” as a substitute for “teach”: e.g. I want to learn him how to ride a bicycle.

people a speech that they can understand the weakness” - Abby 1 (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch)

These statements imply that poverty alleviation and eradication depend both on securing jobs i.e. job access and keeping them i.e. job retention/security. Quarter 4 (2016) Labour Force Survey (QLFS) reports by STATS SA as shown in the chart below however indicate that unemployment is rife especially among the Black African population, and unemployment rates for Black Africans have been higher than the national average for the past 4 quarters.

Figure 7.2. Labour force (ages 15 – 64) characteristics by population group (Quarter 4, 2016)



Source: STATS SA 2017a:22-23) WESTERN CAPE

The racial slant of (un)employment was further documented by STATS SA thus:

“The white and Indian/Asian population groups (both men and women) dominate employment in skilled occupations. The majority of black African and Coloured men were employed in semi-skilled and low-skilled occupations...Black African women are more vulnerable in the labour market, with larger employment shares in low-skilled occupations. The proportion of black African women employed in low-skilled occupations was around 43% in both Q4: 2015 and Q4: 2016. White women were more likely to be employed in skilled occupations (58,9%), while only 18,5% of black African women were employed in these occupations in Q4: 2016” STATS SA (2017a:5)

Thus, while Black Africans and Coloureds (both men and women) have job access, they are restricted to the least paying (unskilled) jobs. Another strategy of the ANC government: Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) is a form of affirmative action planned to remedy the inequality between the minority White population and the majority Black population by facilitating the entry and acceptance of Blacks into skilled employment and the business arena. Some of BEE’s tools are “the Employment Equity Act of 1998 and the Promotion of

Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 which have imposed important obligations upon employers to render the workplace demographically representative” (Southall 2007:67). This sometimes creates unideal situations whereby employment considerations are prioritized first on the basis of race, then second on qualifications and experience. This trade-off, in turn carries implications for job performance and retention as well as business success.

These issues indicate the need to reassess the suitability of policies aimed at improving Blacks’ access to jobs and other income generating activities. The emphasis of this should be on sustainable redistribution that reaches all Blacks.

7.5.4. Ensuring family belonging/facilitating adoption & fosterage

The placement of poor children in families as a solution to poverty clearly arose from the viewpoint that poor children are orphans or separated from/abandoned by their biological families as discussed in Chapter 6. This solution was mainly perceived as a means to the end of meeting basic needs and improving the children’s future outcomes in adulthood:

“The poor boys and poor girls should be put in an orphanage to stay. When they get adopted, they can go back to school to study for a better life to earn lots of money to buy their own houses, food, clothes and furniture to put in their houses. Then they can have children and give them a better life to enjoy. Then they could be rich and buy their children anything they like to have like toys” – Biesie (13-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch)

Lino (14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch) makes a case for his solution via this rhetoric monologue:

“To ask rich people or fancy people, don’t they want children? People that don’t have children, I would like to take children to help them. Like some have about 3 children, send to somebody who doesn’t have children. Or I ask hostel parents, would they like to have more children in the hostel”?

Thus, children stressed the importance of a child being integrally grounded within a family unit (preferably a biological one, and an adoptive one if the former fails or is unavailable). This reinforces the importance of using household standards and characteristics in child poverty measurement. Still, this should not take away from the fact that children’s experiences of poverty are unique/personal, and differ from those of other household members.

The importance of family for children is best summarised and buttressed by Sipho’s (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) opinion about the plight of poor children in relation to their families:

“There are kids that are so poor that their parents have to give them away to social workers. At least I still have parents that look after me”.

Indeed, the phenomenon of absent fathers is common in South Africa, with fathers being absent because they are deceased, have migrated to urban areas for work, or also because women are opting for single parenting (Wilson 2006, Richter 2006). STATS SA (2015:9) noted that, “more mothers than fathers were living with their young biological children”. Specifically,

“the proportions of fathers who were living with their children were lower for younger fathers aged 20–24 (4.8%), and for older fathers aged 45–49 (8.2%) and 50 years and older (5.6%)”. (STATS SA 2015:6)

But in addition to their mothers, some children usually have female kin, usually grandmothers living with and raising them. The provision of basic physical, social and emotional needs by family are important for children’s development, so it is important to ensure that these needs are met, in biological or foster families.

The Government recognizes the importance of family belonging, especially given the peculiarity of family relationships/composition in South Africa (including absentee fathers discussed above and kinship care discussed in Chapter 2). This informed the legalisation of foster care as set out in Chapter 12 of the Children’s Act 38 of 2005. The Act makes provision for a child who has been abandoned, abused, neglected, orphaned or with parents unable to control him/her, to be placed in the care of a person who is not his/her parent or guardian (by order of the children’s court), provided that the child is aged below 18. As well, in recognition of the financial implications for foster parents, government provides financial assistance through the ‘Foster Care Grant’, which is currently valued at R920 per month.

7.5.5. Provision of basic needs: Food, water & clothing

Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha), Ezona (13-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) and Pips (14-year-old Black Male, Lynedoch) respectively mentioned the importance of government’s direct provision of food (via soup kitchens (community feeding schemes) and grocery baskets), water, and clothing for poor people as follows:

“The government can give them food and blankets to sleep and give them houses and soup kitchen. Government should love them because they don’t have houses and they are hungry”

“The government can feed them, buy groceries with food and some blankets so that they can be warm. And the government can make them a soup kitchen. If the government does these for the poor people in South Africa, there will be a difference”

“The South African government has to help poor boys who don’t have a mother or a father. Help the boy to have a better life then help him with the problem he has. He can live at the ‘wellsen’ (sic – i.e. wealthy) people. At the ‘wellsen’ people, he can eat healthy food and water or cool drink too. He will have clothes to cover his body. When he is big, then he must look for a good job to have that he can become rich in life. He will see that he climbs the mountain and look that he became what he wanted as a little boy”.

The aim is to ensure that basic needs that a poor individual needs to survive are available to the poor, so they can escape absolute poverty, which is the worst form of poverty. Also noteworthy is the connection of meeting basic needs now, to achieving good future outcomes.

7.5.6. Improving social protection

South Africa has a functional social protection system that targets the poor by simple means testing (income qualification criteria). With over 17 million citizens receiving various types

of grants, including 12 million children receiving the CSG (SASSA 2017⁹⁶), social grants are an indispensable safety net for the impoverished that constitute about one-third of South Africa's population.

The main suggestions with respect to the CSG related to increasing: (i) access to (ii) coverage of and (iii) amount/value of the grant, which the children earlier identified as insufficient to meet their (personal and household) needs. This is conceivable, given that the current amount of R360 falls below all 3 national poverty lines proposed by STATS SA as at 2015: (i) food poverty line (FPL - R415), (ii) lower bound poverty line (LBPL - R621) and (iii) upper bound poverty line (UBPL - R965) (Hall & Budlender 2016:34). Citing Handa and Davis' (2006:7) standard⁹⁷, Devereux & Waidler (2017) noted that the value of the CSG is too small to be meaningful for children's welfare. Although it is worth 70% and 32% of the FPL and UBPL respectively⁹⁸, it is diluted – shared across household members' and their needs; this translates to a much lower per capita value (ibid).

The children specifically stated:

"The government can... give them cards⁹⁹ and send them money. Then they won't beg around or ask for money. People can ask them, not them asking from other people" – Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)

"...the government can better the lives of the people by protecting them... Social grant can be increased for the people" – Mandy (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)

Speaking about the impact of social protection for children and their families during the launch of the Child Gauge 2016 report, Linda Richter noted:

"... the average loss of adult income per year of young children growing up in poverty is estimated to be 26%, trapping individuals and their families in ongoing cycles of poverty. Social assistance - or material support provided by the state to those who are unable to support themselves - is therefore indispensable for children..."¹⁰⁰

Given the high dependence of many impoverished households on social grants, Delany et al (2016:31) also noted the need for integration of the social grants system:

"... to support the well-being of children effectively, the CSG must form part of an integrated social protection strategy that speaks to broader social and

⁹⁶ <http://www.sassa.gov.za/index.php/statistical-reports>

⁹⁷ That "an international rule of thumb is that a poverty motivated cash or in-kind transfer should represent between 20% and 40% of the per capita total poverty line in order to be meaningful to the beneficiary".

⁹⁸ At slightly higher food poverty and upper bound poverty lines of R498 and R1,077 respectively.

⁹⁹ This refers to individual beneficiaries' social security cash access cards issued by SASSA.

¹⁰⁰

http://www.ci.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1167&Itemid=924

economic policy, and considers the well-being of not only the child, but also the caregivers and households in which the child lives”.

The importance of grants, sometimes a sole income source, is examined further below during the discussion of children’s processes/coping strategies to manage poverty.

7.5.7. Restitution of embezzled public funds

Corruption and public funds embezzlement are notorious and endemic problems in Africa; Transparency International’s (2016) Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) 2016 affirms this. Describing South Africa as “commitment-rich but implementation-poor” with regards to anti-corruption, South Africa ranked 64th out of 176 countries in Transparency International’s CPI, with its score (45 out of 100) stagnating since 2012¹⁰¹. Zuma’s Nkandla scandal was a key factor in this dismal ranking. Unfortunately and ultimately, it is the poor who bear the brunt of such illegal diversion of public funds and leaders’ blatant disregard for due process and the law.

The problem of embezzlement and corruption raised by Khulu (13-year-old Black Male, Lynedoch) was picked by Metas (14-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch) who passionately insisted that President Zuma must ‘#Paybackthemoney’¹⁰² which can then be used to meet poor people’s needs:

“Zuma is a Tsotsi. Zuma must give the money back and use the money for poor people. They are living under bridges and sleep on card boxes and they even don’t have ID’s. They are really poor. They need houses because they have kids and they sleep with their mothers under bridges and the kids don’t go to school because they don’t have money. They must go to bins and look for food...some of them become prostitutes. They need many houses and everything you have”.

As indicated above, Metas also touched on the poor’s lack of the crucial citizenship registration document (the South African ID), meaning that they can’t access most government support, including social protection.

7.5.8. Altering manufacturing/production methods

A solution proffered by Oupa (15-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch), who lives on a farm dwelt on the negative effects of substituting labour (as a factor of production) with machines. The clear message is to stop capital-intensive production and revert to labour-intensive production so that the dormant/displaced labour force can be employed:

“To stop the technology so that poor people can have jobs and buy some better things”. Oupa (15-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch)

¹⁰¹ http://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2016#table

¹⁰² A phrase (credited to The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) political party) which gained popularity in South Africa after President Zuma’s Nkandla scheme was uncovered. The phrase has since been used to demand repayment of public funds by any party thought guilty of embezzlement in any form.

Describing this “technological displacement” as “the source of some of our greatest social problems”, Schmitz & Seckler (1970:569) noted that most farmworkers are forced to transit into the urban economic system. The effect of mechanization, which displaces human labour and results in job cuts/losses, is a tough one to deal with given the improvements in production (time and output) that mechanization brings. The trade-off required by Oupa’s suggestion is an even tougher decision.

7.5.9. Talent development/nurturing

The future value of grooming sport skills of talented but poor children was also raised as a potential solution:

“Poor Boy – take him to many places in South Africa and let him show his talent if it is soccer. Help him, support him, take him to the field let him practice. Treat him like your firstborn child. Poor Girl – give her your love. One day when she is old, she will help you too. Take her and go watch netball. Let her play maybe it is her talent” – Khulu (13-year-old Black Male, Lynedoch)

The viability of Khulu’s suggestion is evidenced by Esson’s (2015) account of the experience of male youth in Ghana who “enact development as freedom through spatial mobility” by becoming “entrepreneurs of self” through professional football abroad. With some of them seeking escape from dire poverty situations including a lack of food at home, these youth eventually navigate their way out of intergenerational/family poverty traps.

7.5.10. A rights-based approach to poverty reduction/eradication

Most of these core solutions lie within the purview of the government. Wiena (15-year-old Black Female, Lynedoch) and Lulu (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch) also added the place of self-responsibility by the poor: (i) the need for self-assertion (i.e. for the poor to ensure their voices are heard) and (ii) the need for the poor to accept and appreciate charitable initiatives. While Wiena makes a strong case for a non-racially centred solution to poverty and the importance of poor peoples’ participation/inclusion, Lulu advocates a more docile approach to implementing interventions as seen in their respective statements below:

“The South African government could give poor men, women, boys and girls better places to stay. Hand out hampers and, make a better community that takes care of people. Government isn’t just going to give people places to stay. They’re first gonna (sic) think of the poor people, maybe ask permission to do things. Example, when I am the president, I would build houses for all poor people to help them and get them out of the streets. President Zuma, he would only build for Black people but when Hellen Zille¹⁰³ gonna (sic) be president, she will help everyone. Government can talk in communities and help people that are poor. I think that poor people should stand up and talk” - Wiena, (15 year-old Black Female, Lynedoch)

¹⁰³ Helen Zille is a prominent South African politician with a portfolio that includes: current Premier of Western Cape province (since 2009), former Mayor of Cape Town, former leader of South Africa’s main opposition party (Democratic Alliance). She was also a Journalist and an anti-apartheid activist.

“I would put up houses for the poor people. That way, they won’t get sick or get a cold at night when it is raining. For the poor men, I would help them find jobs on a farm first. And when he has enough money, he can buy his own food and clothes. For the poor women, I would also help them the way I helped the poor men, but if she is good with children, I could get her a job as a babysitter instead of a farmworker. The poor boy and girl will be put in school so that they can also learn new stuff. And if they don’t have parents, I would put them in the orphanage house just so that they can have a roof over their heads, food to eat, clothes to wear and a bed they can sleep in. If I were the government or president, I would help everyone with their problems but only if they really want my help. I would only want my people to have a happy, healthy and normal life” – Lulu, (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch)

In particular, Wiens’s statement hints at the value of a rights based approach (RBA), which focuses on legal obligations of duty bearers to ensure the rights of citizens are upheld, and on the lawful entitlement of the latter to claim these rights. Save The Children STC (2005:22) recognised the importance of the RBA for poverty alleviation by describing some of its benefits thus:

- “Empowerment: the active participation of disadvantaged and discriminated-against groups is seen as essential to achieving social justice, non-discrimination and pro-poor development.”
- “Equity: there is a strong focus on justice, equality and freedom and a willingness to tackle the power issues that lie at the root of poverty and exploitation. There is a commitment to reach the most excluded”.

The key words in the RBA are thus ‘accountability’ and ‘ownership’ of government (and its institutions) and citizens respectively.

Still on individuals’ responsibility, and in relation to the value of future plans and capabilities, Julies’ (15-year-old Black Male, Lynedoch) solution to poverty advocates for the development of a clear life vision for/by the poor:


“I will get the people who can, a work and a plan for life. I will make the world better for me and for the people and they will thank me”

These solutions discussed above cut across the responsibilities of government, society, families and poor individuals themselves, but with government’s obligation for poverty alleviation and eradication being most emphasised¹⁰⁴. This indicates the need for interconnectivity of action by various social actors in tackling poverty. As well, poverty is not an isolated problem. Other societal concerns, some of which have been raised, work in combination, to determine the success of solutions to poverty in South Africa. For instance, the emphasis on corruption and diversion of public funds in relation to President Zuma communicates the notion that there is a high level of citizen dissatisfaction with

¹⁰⁴ The children’s statements reflect extremely high expectations from government and exude confidence in the failsafe capacity of government to meet citizens’ myriad needs.

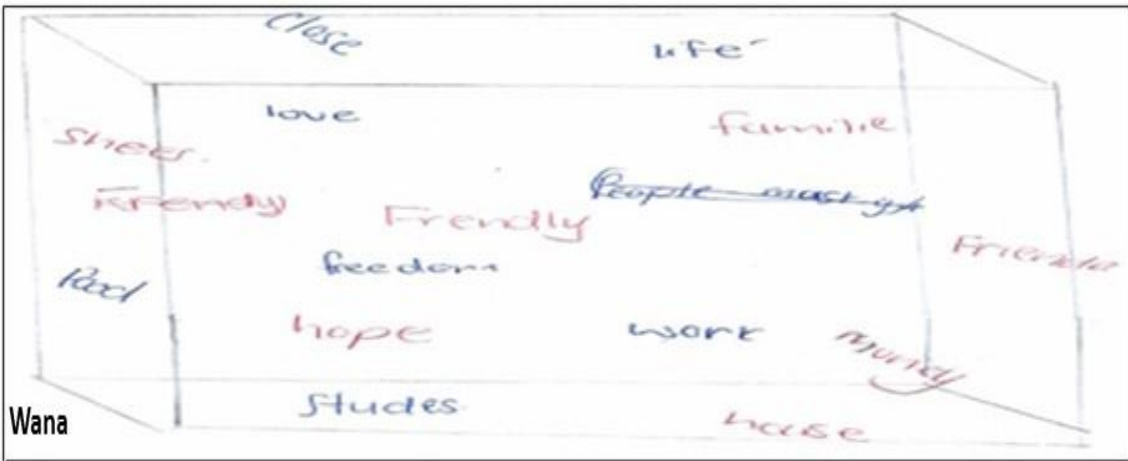
government's fulfilment of its responsibilities. This is unfortunate given that the central role of government in improving the plight of poor citizens is strongly emphasised.

Nevertheless, the children were asked to draw their South African bag and fill it with what they want from life in South Africa. While this gives an idea of how they envision an ideal South Africa, it also highlights common interests and aspirations. For instance, a crosscutting desire in all bags was for love and freedom. Examples from Biesie (13-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch), Wana (13-year-old Coloured Female, Lynedoch) and Brakenveld (13-year-old Coloured Male, Lynedoch) are presented below. Their desires are typed beneath their drawings because some words are illegible and/or incorrectly spelt.



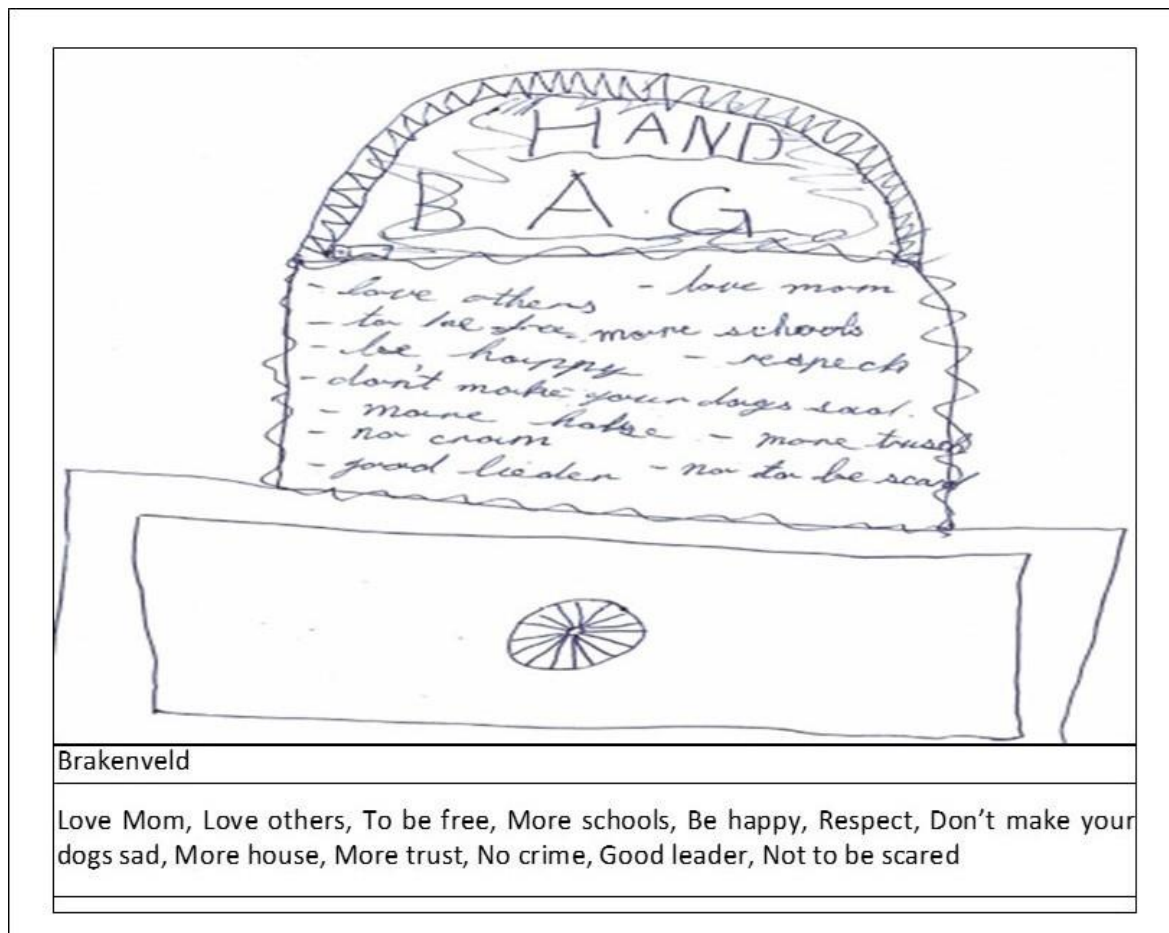
Biesie

Freedom, Free, Respect, Care, Passion, Love, Paradise, Extraordinary, Share, No abuse, Loving, Life, Discipline



Wana

Clothes, Life, Love, Family, Shoes, Friendly, Friends, Freedom, Food, Hope, Work, Money, Studies, House



These desires mostly express (i) longing for an improved standard of living with respect to basic necessities (food, clothing and shelter) and better access to support structures (work, housing and schooling) (ii) wishing for emotional balance and healthy relationships with family and friends and (iii) yearning for a society free of ills (abuse and crime) and based on true equality. It appears that the children have not yet adapted their preferences in favour of (lower) aspirations and desires that possibly match their life's circumstances. This is perhaps because they are not yet in the stages that warrant making key life decisions. They would therefore not yet consider a trade-off between available options in their capability set.

Furthermore, their wishes relate to various needs in their lives, at different levels – (i) as individuals, (ii) as household members and (iii) as social actors/citizens. The processes with which they manage the inadequacies they experience daily at these levels is discussed next.

7.6. CHILDREN & HOUSEHOLD COPING STRATEGIES/PROCESSES TO MANAGE POVERTY

To answer the question about individual and household processes to manage poverty, a designated personal interview session was held after all data from individual work and FGDs had been analyzed. This was to ensure that insightful information that could guide the discussion about coping strategies were drawn out of the children's narratives. Moreover, given that previous research sessions had dealt with discussing child poverty on a general note (not with respect to their own personal situations), it was important that this personal session should be held after a relationship of familiarity and firm trust had been built with

the children. The opportunity cost of this was that the session could not be held with Lynedoch children as they had graduated to high school. So, personal interviews were only conducted with 11 Khayelitsha participants who were available at the time the session was held, and who volunteered for the specific activity.

It is important to briefly describe the children's contexts including family circumstances and living conditions, to put their responses in proper perspective. An exploration of the children's contexts also helps accentuate the processes and experiences that possibly shape their views about poverty. Some relevant information about household circumstances has been pooled into the table below, and applicable explanations follow:

Table 7.6. Family/Household circumstances of interview participants

S/n	Child's Name	Father present in Household?	Usual Food	Flush Toilet in house?	Receive CSG?	CSG enough?
1	Nke (10-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	No	Samp & Beans	Yes	Yes	No
2	Lali (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	Dead	Pap & Meat	Yes	Yes	No
3	Angie (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)	No	Mealie meal & Maas	Yes	Yes	No
4	Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	No	Pap & Amasie	Yes	Yes	Yes (but should be increased)
5	Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	Dead	Rice & Meat	No	Yes	No
6	Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	No	Rice & Soup	Yes	Yes	No
7	Cwan (9-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	Yes	Samp & Beans	Yes	Yes	Yes
8	Uvo (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	No	Samp & Beans	Yes	Yes	No
9	Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)	Dead	Rice, Veggies & Chicken	No	Yes	No
10	Yethu (8-year-	No	Rice &	Yes	Yes	No

	old Black Female, Khayelitsha)		Chicken			
11	Nathi (8-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)	Yes	Rice & Chicken	Yes	Yes	No

Table Information Summary

- 6 of the children had absentee fathers who either lived elsewhere or whose whereabouts were unknown. 3 had fathers who had passed away and 2 lived with their fathers. This implies that 9 of the children lived in female-headed households (no child had a step-father) which based on (feminist) arguments are usually poor, but maybe not one of the poorest in society (Chant 1997, Fukuda-Parr 1999, Chant 2004).
- Only 4 out of the 11 children reported eating some form of meaty protein on a regular basis. The other 7 ate regular staple foods, which they themselves had earlier classified as poor people’s food (see discussion of food dimension in Chapter 6).
- 2 children (who live in a shack) reported not having a flush toilet at home. Others (who mostly lived in RDP houses) did.
- All 11 children received the CSG, implying that their parent(s) earned less than R43,200 per annum (if single) or had a combined income of less than R86,400 per annum (if married) (Delany et al 2016:29); at an exchange rate of 1 USD to R15, this translates to \$2,800 and \$5,600 respectively per annum.
- All but one child confirmed that the CSG is inadequate to meet their monthly needs/should be increased. Noteworthy is that the dissenting child had parents who were both alive and employed. All other children reported that the CSG, which should be spent on children’s direct needs, was insufficient because it was used to meet household needs and was usually exhausted before month end, leaving them without money for food or clothes.

With the children’s backgrounds for reference, the processes through which they manage their experiences of poverty first as individuals and then at the household level are presented next.

7.6.1. Individual processes and coping strategies to manage poverty

The discussion on processes and coping strategies to manage poverty was restricted to the 2 main social spaces where children interact: (i) School and (ii) Home/Neighbourhood. This subject was broached by asking the children “how they thought poor children managed poverty in school and at home”.

While analyzing their answers, clear themes emerged with respect to their coping strategies, first in terms of their behavioural response to the situation – (i) Psychological response and (ii) Practical response, then second in terms of their actual efforts to resolve the associated problem – (i) Problem-shunning (ii) Problem-static and (iii) Problem-solving.

These responses and resolutions are explained thus:

- Psychological response (involving some mental action, positive or negative)

- Practical response (involving some physical action, good or bad)
- Problem-shunning resolution (involving ignoring the problem, by living with it (without planning to solve it) or trying to avoid it)
- Problem-static resolution (involving adjourning the problem, with either an optimistic or pessimistic outlook)
- Problem-solving resolution (involving getting relief from the problem, temporarily or permanently)

These coping strategies are similar to those offered by Eschenbeck et al (2007) who in a study on “Gender Differences in Coping Strategies in Children and Adolescents” utilized a coping questionnaire with 5 subscales namely: (i) Seeking social support (ii) Problem-solving (iii) Avoidant coping (iv) Palliative emotion regulation and (v) Anger-related emotion regulation. The table below elaborates on the analysis of the children’s coping processes:

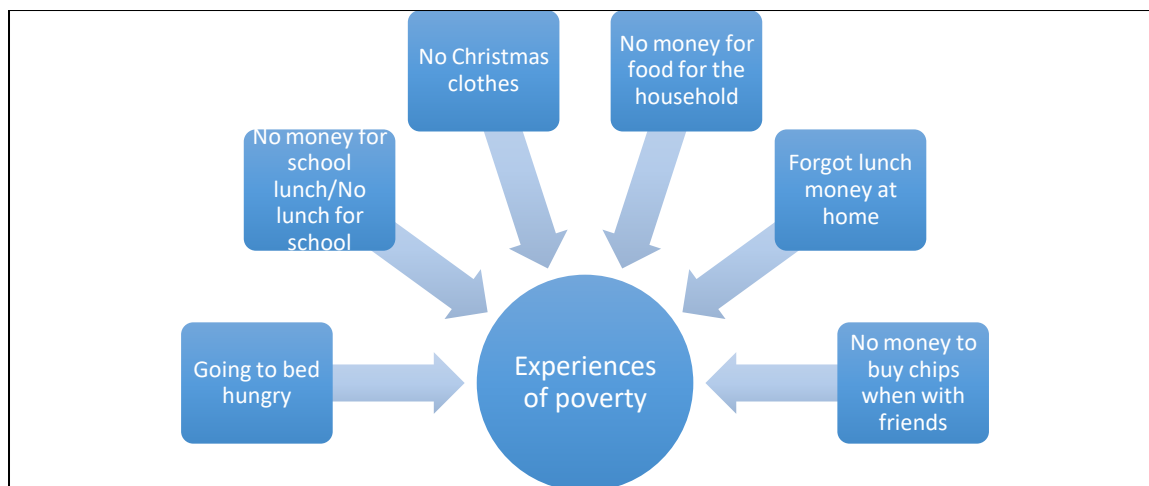
Table 7.7. Coping strategies - from perception

	Strategy/Process	Response/Reaction	Problem Resolution Approach	Narrative
1	Pretence	Psychological	Problem-shunning	Yethu (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): “They act like they don’t have a problem in front of their friends and teachers”
2	Focus, Hope & Perseverance	Psychological	Problem-static	Sipho (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): “They just focus on what they want and that keeps them going”. Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha): “They believe that one day they will be successful so they keep pushing”
3	Absconding (to be independent)	Practical	Problem-shunning	Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): “Some of them can’t handle it and end up running away from home and living on taxi ranks”
4	Admittance & Appeal for help	Practical	Problem-solving	Ilo (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha): “They cry and the teachers help them”

Having examined the children’s perceptions about how other children manage poverty, it is relevant to examine their own coping strategies from personal experiences of poverty. Noting that poverty has many faces for children in South Africa, Barbarin & Richter (2001:174) cited first-hand examples including going to school hungry, absence from school because of lack of school uniforms, living in overcrowded shacks, lacking electricity and an indoor toilet etc.

In this study, some of the children’s personal actual experiences of poverty were individual while others were common to the household, including adults. The cited experiences are captured in the diagram below:

Figure 7.3. Children’s individual experiences of poverty



These experiences of poverty mostly relate to basic needs of life (Food and Clothes) and money, thus leaning more towards the absolutist/basic needs and monetary concepts of poverty. This indicates the dire situations that the children and their families sometimes face. Concerning how well adults (including their household members) manage the effects of poverty compared to children, one notion was that adults fared better because “they do not have to attend school where they would get laughed at” (Khona, 11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) and “adults can handle the pressure of poverty” (Skhotho, 12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha). With an opposing view, Siphon (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) argued, “sometimes poverty is better on kids because they do not notice that they are poor”, while Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) counter argued that “poverty is not better on anyone”.

The processes through which the children managed the cited experiences are presented in the following table:

Table 7.8. Processes to manage individual experiences of poverty

Type of experience	Details of experience	Process/Coping strategy	Response/Reaction & Problem Resolution Approach	Narrative
Food-related	No money for school lunch/no lunch for school	Asking from/Sharing with friends	Practical & Problem-solving	<p>“I get very angry, I get to school and tell all my friends so they can share with me” – Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)</p> <p>“I get from my friend because she shares when I don’t have something and I do the same when she doesn’t have” – Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)</p>
		Endurance	Psychological & Problem-static	“I ask friends for food. I just try and survive the day so I can go home and eat” – Angie (8-

				year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)
	Inadequate/No food at home	Eating at friends' houses	Practical & Problem-solving	"I also eat at my friends' houses" – Khona (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha)
	Forgot lunch money at home	Resorting to public welfare – School feeding scheme (government-funded)	Practical & Problem-solving	I eat at the school feeding scheme; we can never go hungry because it (food) is always available there" – Yethu (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)
Needs-related	No money to meet certain needs e.g. Christmas clothes	Deferred fulfilment, hope & perseverance	Psychological & Problem-static	<p>"I understand and leave it because I know they will buy for me when they have money" – Yethu (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)</p> <p>"I wait for them to have money so I can ask again" – Hlehle (10-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)</p> <p>"I wait on my Mom to get paid again so I can buy. I feel sad when I am promised something but can't get it because there's no money" – Angie (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha)</p>

Food-related experiences of poverty

It appears that the children have an unashamed culture of sharing food: openly asking, willingly giving and freely receiving among themselves. They adopted a mostly practical/problem-solving approach, to share with friends, conceivably because their need, usually for food, was immediate. And, sharing of food among the children wasn't restricted to school but also occurred at home. This implies that the sharing of food among children's families in the neighbourhood (assume the parents are aware), is not an uncommon practice. Interestingly, regardless of frequency, none of the children framed their asking (from friends and neighbours) as an act of neediness or begging. Rather, they perceived it as sharing because he who has now may not have tomorrow.

On the other hand, Yethu's (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) recourse to the school feeding scheme as an unflinching last resort for satisfying her hunger highlights the importance of public welfare as a safety net for the poor. The children's choices of coping strategies – to ask for food from friends or to eat at the school feeding scheme – reflect how

individuals with the same problem make different decisions that eventually affect their outcome/functionings.

Needs related experiences of poverty

The coping strategies of deferred fulfilment and hope/perseverance, which the children adopted when their needs couldn't be met, is laudable but uncovers a deeper problem. The fact that their parents couldn't meet their needs indicate the absence of savings or a personal financial safety net to resort to pending the next income inflow. This portends a difficult situation for children and their families especially in emergency situations e.g. a health scare. They would be at the mercy of external borrowing which is uncertain regarding its availability, amount and terms/lending conditions. Nevertheless, the children displayed emotional intelligence by rationalising their parent's inability to meet their needs immediately, and looking to be compensated in the future.

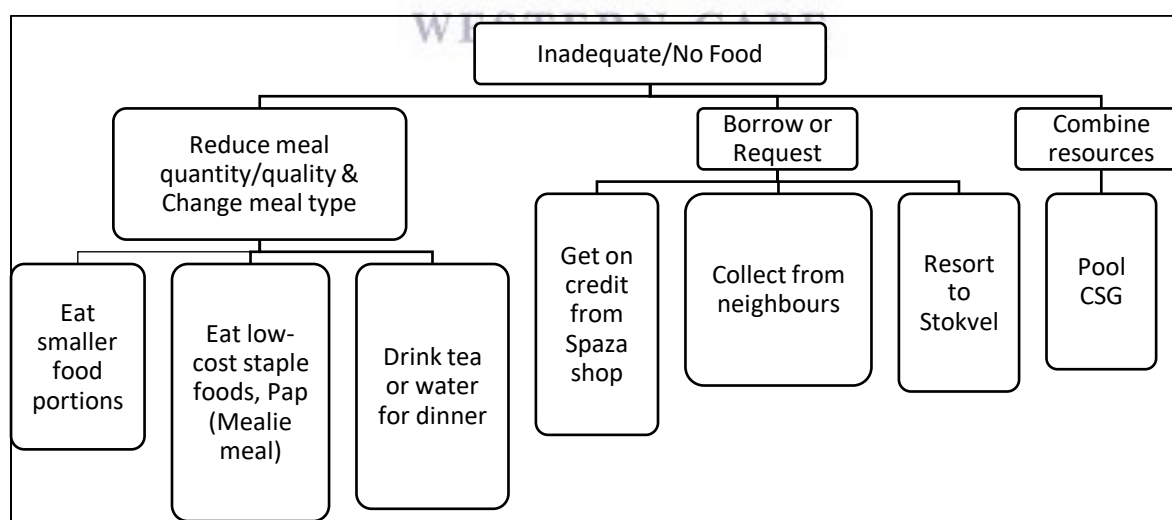
Noteworthy is that the children adopted psychological/problem-static approaches sometimes when alternatives were unavailable, but they never reported adopting the problem-shunning approach. This indicates a willingness to engage with and resolve the problems caused by poverty, even at such young ages.

7.6.2. Household-Level processes and coping strategies to manage poverty

Situations reflecting poverty at the household level included: (i) Not having (enough) food (ii) Not having money for household needs and (iii) Overcrowded living. These experiences and processes by which they were managed (as perceived/described by the children) are discussed further:

- **Inadequate or no food for household:** The children reported that this situation was managed through (a combination) of various processes as shown in diagram below:

Figure 7.4. Processes to manage inadequate/no food in household



(i) Reduce meal quantity/quality and Change meal type

The children described eating smaller portions of food (per household member) so the available food can go round, as a method of stretching the available food resource as far as possible. Eating Pap (Mealie meal), of which the children said, “we always have”, connotes a

conscious effort to ensure that pap is constantly available at home; it appeared to be a last resort when other relatively expensive foods couldn't be afforded. These two situations: (i) skipping or reducing the size of children's meals and (ii) eating only a few foods or not having a balanced diet) qualify to be described as child hunger and poor diet quality respectively (Cutts et al 2011:1509). Drinking tea or water for dinner, was another coping strategy that the children mentioned, "but it doesn't happen often".

These cutback strategies to manage inadequate/no food in the household are similar to findings reported by Oldewage-Theron et al (2006) in "*Poverty, household food insecurity and nutrition: Coping strategies in an informal settlement in the Vaal Triangle, South Africa*". They reported that household coping strategies included: (i) serving a limited food variety, (ii) serving limited food portions (ii) skipping meals (and (iv) maternal buffering – when the caregiver sacrifices her food for other household members.

(ii) Borrow or Request

The close social connections in the community were also exploited as the children reported getting food items by leveraging on social relationships as follows:

- On credit from the local Spaza shop, the account for which will be settled at month end.
- Request from neighbours, not as a loan, but as a kind gesture of giving.
- From the "Stokvel"¹⁰⁵, which is a community-based safety net. Ilo (8-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) stated: "My Mom and her friends have a "stokvel" where they give each other food during rough months". As reported in the SAPPA, women's networks often served as coping mechanisms by giving money or vegetables to fellow women in need (May 1998a).

(iii) Combine resources

The children also reported that their parents usually combine individual children's CSGs to buy food for the household rather than meet the children's personal needs. For the children, the opportunity cost of having food throughout the month was therefore their personal needs of items like clothing and toys.

These processes generally indicate the importance of community-based social relationships both for children (i.e. their friends & neighbours) and their families (friends & neighbours, Spaza shops, Stokvels) to share scarce resources.

The children's narratives conveyed the notion that certain months were more financially demanding than others. These periods could include: (i) months of school resumption (January, April, July and October when schooling aids need to be bought) (ii) festive seasons (December, when spending typically increases due to celebrations and Xhosa people travel

¹⁰⁵ "The Stokvel is a form of savings club popular in African communities, in which five to fifteen members of a group pay a given amount to one member, e.g. on a monthly basis" (Franks & Shane 1989:110).

'home' to the Eastern Cape¹⁰⁶) and (iii) winter months (when utility bills – heating and electricity – increase). This points to the experience of fluctuating cycles of poverty i.e. falling in and out of poverty, as some of the children's experiences were intermittent e.g. drinking tea or water for dinner.

- **No money for household needs:** The experience of not having money in the household was generally perceived by children to be resolved by borrowing, from different informal sources as follows:

(i) Borrowing from "Mashonisa"¹⁰⁷ (Money Lenders)

When there's no money to meet household needs, the children mentioned that their parents borrowing from the informal lending sector comprising ruthless money lenders/loan sharks. This is surprising given the notoriety of loan sharks and the unregulated nature of loan shark lending. However, it also indicates the level of desperation of some of the children's families that are willing to fulfil stringent loan conditions including:

- Extremely high interest rates with borrowers sometimes repaying over half of the principal as interest.
- Having to drop some form of collateral, usually their South African IDs, Bank ATM cards and/or SASSA cards¹⁰⁸ (plus access PINs).
- Being subjected to physical maltreatment if their loan repayment is delayed or incomplete.

(ii) Borrowing from family, friends and neighbours.

The children perceived borrowing by their parents as often done with the understanding that the loan will be repaid at month end.

Noteworthy is that the children reported that financial borrowing was mainly from informal/community-based sources (e.g. family and friends, Mashonisa) versus regulated sources (e.g. Credit societies, Banks) which may require collateral that the poor can't afford. The significance of timing i.e. 'month end' - when wages/salaries are received and social grants (Child Support Grant) are paid is also crucial. This time window allowed borrowing against anticipated income.

(iii) Using Grandmother's Old Age Pension Grant

The historic structure of house holding in South Africa whereby female kin, usually grandmothers raise(d) children has not changed. The data analysis in Chapter 8 affirms this. Corroborating the children's stories about their household falling back on their

¹⁰⁶ Conradie (2013:196) noted the socio-economic integration of the predominantly rural Eastern Cape and mainly urban Western Cape provinces, with households and support networks based at or spread between both locations

¹⁰⁷ Local term for "somebody who causes one to sink" - Hurwitz & Luiz (2007:114)

¹⁰⁸ ATM cards issued by SASSA to grant recipients across all grant categories.

grandmothers' old age grants in times of financial difficulty, Sagner & Mtati (1999:398) stated, "African old-age pensioners pool their pension money with other household income resources, to meet expenses such as groceries, rent, rates, clothes and grandchildren's school fees". Moreover, the relatively higher amount of the Old Age Pension grant – R1,510 - which is over four times the amount of the CSG, indirectly places a moral imperative on grandparents to contribute to or solely shoulder household expenses. This is especially so in single parent households or households where no adult is employed. Older people were thus "willing to accept increased financial responsibility for the upbringing of their grandchildren" (Sagner & Mtati 1999:407).

The importance of the Old Age Pension Grant in providing supplementary respite from poverty was noted by Case & Deaton (1998:1359) who opined that "the pension is effective in reaching the poorest households and those with children". Also, after empirical testing, Duflo (2000:398) reported that the old age grant improved children's health and nutrition, mainly because of pensions received by women i.e. grandmothers.

- **Overcrowded living:** The experience of overcrowded living is one experienced by almost every household in Khayelitsha as inferable from the pictures and children's drawings presented earlier. The children reported that their households managed this experience of overcrowding by accepting the situation and understanding that there were no alternatives to their current situation. The general coping strategy for living in overcrowded housing was to manage the little available space and coexist peacefully. As Khona, (11-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) perceptively noted: "we share the rooms, so there are not a lot of arguments going on because we all understand the situation".

The children (and their families') psychological response to the problem of overcrowded housing thus appeared to be a last resort because it was the only problem for which external solutions and feasible alternatives were not available. Responses to all other problems were practical.

Key point on coping strategies

A general theme of the spirit of "Ubuntu"¹⁰⁹ – sharing with and borrowing from friends, relatives and neighbours in times of need, as well as reciprocating the gesture when needed - underlies all the processes to manage poverty. This highlights the fundamental value of social capital assets for the poor.

7.7. A NOTE ON THE EFFECTS AND BLURRING OF (CHILD VS. ADULT) POVERTY

It is imperative to clarify that discussing the effects of poverty is not an aim of this study, but it occurred implicitly while conceptualising poverty and discussing its dimensions. For

¹⁰⁹ A cultural world-view "which highlights the essential unity of humanity and emphasizes the importance of constantly referring to the principles of empathy, sharing and cooperation in our efforts to resolve our common problems" (Murithi 2006:25). It generally means "humanity to others" and "I am what I am because of who we all are" (<https://www.ubuntu.com/about/about-ubuntu>).

instance, expressing a defeatist mentality but simultaneously echoing the reality of inequality and socio-economic struggle for scarce resources to satisfy endless needs/wants, Khulu (13-year-old Black Male, Lynedoch) stated:

“I don’t want to be poor but there are many rich people outside”

Khulu’s despondence embodies Hickson & Kriegler’s (1991) *childshock* effect (caused by apartheid’s consequences: poverty, racism and violence) previously mentioned in Chapter 2. Termed an ‘adaptive preference problem’ (see earlier citing of Conradie 2013 in Chapter 4), it appears that Khulu had psychologically resigned himself to an unfavourable fate because of his relatively poor life circumstances. Khulu’s kind of despair was also noted by Camfield (2010:88) who pointed out the psychologically negative effects of poverty on children: a conditioning of their psyche to accept that they are not deserving of a better life, both economically and socially, now and in the future. These identified effects echo Attree’s point (2006 cited in Redmond 2009:545) about poor children consciously excluding themselves from developing aspirations. Such circumstances take a negative toll on children’s ability to be and do – i.e. such thinking places a mental restraint on their capabilities and achieved functionings. The weight of these effects as a poverty concern were summed up accurately by Barbarin & Richter (2001:174) thus: “the manifestations of poverty may be idiosyncratic, and its definition elusive, but its effects palpable”. Hickson & Kriegler (1991) highlighted social reconstruction, the dismantling apartheid’s legacies and use of innovative counselling methods as remedies to improve the psychological wellbeing of children like Khulu, and negate the damaging effects of growing up in a divided society.

Also, noteworthy is that findings and evidence presented so far point to the blurring between concepts and dimensions of child poverty and adult (general) poverty. Research findings have mostly revealed a thin/blurry line between child and adult poverty, with the children connecting/extending child-specific deprivations to household conditions and/or tracing inadequacies in adulthood to childhood circumstances. Excluding education that is mainly discussed in relation to children, other identified dimensions are, to an extent, shared by or relevant for both children and adults. The children affirmed this fuzziness. For instance, holding the opinion that poverty affects children and adults the same way, Lili (12-year-old Black Female, Khayelitsha) argued that “poverty does not differentiate between adults and children’. Approaching it from a viewpoint about consequences, Skhotho (12-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) noted, “Adults experience more poverty because they must stress as well. Children do not stress”, while from the perspective of sustenance, Siphon (13-year-old Black Male, Khayelitsha) stated “children have different needs and wants than adults so their poverty is not the same”.

So, while the underlying causes of child poverty and adult poverty are the same, they may have different short-term and lasting effects, and the routes or exit strategies out of poverty will differ between adults and children. This fuzzy relationship fed into the presentation and general discussion of causes and solutions in relation to both children and adults earlier in this chapter.

7.8. CHAPTER SUMMARY

Highlights of findings in this chapter relating to the causes and solutions of poverty together with children’s processes to manage poverty include that:

Table 7.9. Summary - causes of, solutions to and coping strategies for poverty

Discussion Area	Key point
Cause(s) of poverty	Apartheid is the main cause of racial poverty and inequality today.
Solutions to poverty	Government is indispensable in the execution of the solutions to poverty, many of which government is the only institution capable to implement
	Comprehensive social protection is an important safety net for the poor, with household income sometimes comprising a combination of household members' various grants.
	The synergy of government efforts and individuals' actions is needed for ensuring effective and sustainable solutions to poverty in South Africa.
Coping strategies to manage poverty	Individuals and households sometimes need to make expensive and/or inconvenient decisions to meet basic daily needs and survive poverty.
	Immediate society – family, friends and neighbours – are a 'last hope' safety net for the poor in coping with poverty.

The discussion in this chapter and the previous one constitute and conclude the qualitative aspect of this study which focuses on building a robust understanding of the context of poverty in South Africa. The findings in both chapters clearly indicate realistic reasoning e.g. the children's identification of poverty dimensions did not require augmentation (from researcher's judgement) as envisaged. The findings also provide evidence of children's social awareness and their abilities to make important connections among various social concerns including a complex issue like poverty. Moreover, the strong linkages between children's narratives and the capabilities and children's rights frameworks also corroborate the validity of the children's inputs. However, it is important to reiterate as earlier done, that the findings are only a close-representative opinion of a small sub-section of Black and Coloured South African children across the two research sites.

The next chapter introduces the mixed-methods angle of this study by attempting to put numbers to the context. The dimensions of poverty identified by the children are matched with quantitative data from NIDS, to the best extent possible, to make connections between qualitative findings and quantitative data. Possible areas of improvement in quantitative data collection will arise where no relevant matches can be made.

CHAPTER 8 – DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF CHILD POVERTY IN SOUTH AFRICA USING NIDS WAVE 3 DATASET

“The issue of poverty is not a statistical issue. It is a human issue” - James Wolfensohn

8.1. INTRODUCTION

Previous findings have highlighted the need for joint action by government, society and poor individuals to successfully alleviate and eradicate (child) poverty in South Africa. It is however important to put faces and numbers to the category of “poor children in South Africa”, in order to highlight where and to what extent interventions should be targeted.

This chapter presents findings from an analysis of available data in the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS Wave 3, 2012) to uncover the incidence/spatial scope of child poverty in South Africa. The aim of this chapter is to provide a simple profile of children in South Africa, across the dimensions identified by the children during fieldwork, and to the extent to which data is available in NIDS. An outcome from this is that areas to which more efforts and attention should be directed during survey design and data collection, as per children’s views, would be highlighted.

Roelen (2016:9) advised researchers using mixed methods for evaluating poverty to “trust in the strength of individual methods and the power of stories behind incongruent findings”. Her recommendations were based on child poverty research in Burundi, Ethiopia and Vietnam, where she attempted to explore a participatory tool for overcoming the ‘matching problem’ – when data from different sources (qualitative/quantitative and primary/secondary) can’t be matched for individuals or households. Beyond this primary objective, her analysis established that findings from these sources do not need to reach the same conclusion(s) because they could be providing different pictures of the same situation. This informed her belief in the value of incongruent findings. Brannen (2005:12) also recognised that besides triangulation/corroboration, combining results from mixed methods helps to (i) elaborate or expand understandings (ii) initiate new hypotheses (iii) complement each other’s insights and (iv) contradict each other. Essentially, mixing methods could help enrich or explain, and also contradict (instead of support) (Jones & Sumner 2009:36). This study shares Roelen and Brannen’s perspectives, as mixed methods are used to complement and contrast qualitative findings with quantitative data. The intended contribution is to highlight incongruent findings between my respondent’s narratives and available NIDS data on child poverty in the context of South Africa. This connects the qualitative and quantitative phases of this study, hence the placement of this chapter last in the thesis. And while it may have been intuitive to use NIDS data to frame the contexts of my child participants, my objective is to use qualitative findings to augment quantitative data, pointing also to possible shortcomings in such data and opportunities for improving it.

8.2. NATIONAL INCOME DYNAMICS STUDY (NIDS) – BACKGROUND & JUSTIFICATION

National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS) is a longitudinal household survey commissioned and financed by the South African government with a view to understanding and tracking the dynamics of poverty in the country. The Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit (SALDRU) at the University of Cape Town, South Africa has conducted it biennially since inception in 2008. NIDS is designed to be nationally representative, and has

detailed data on income and expenditure, living conditions, asset ownership and so forth (De Villiers et al 2013).

This study utilizes NIDS cross-sectionally, as a prevalence study for basic descriptive analysis (using Wave 3 conducted April to December 2012) because as a best fit for the scope of this study, the aim is to give a picture of child poverty, rather than examine its dynamics over/between time periods. Among national surveys in South Africa explained below, NIDS was deemed most appropriate:

- Income & Expenditure survey (IES): conducted every 5 years since 1990. It has detailed information on income and expenditure and other indicators of demography and household living conditions, but does not contain relationship information for household members. The 5-year time gap is also too lengthy to suit the topicality of this study. Moreover, the child participants in this study would have passed through several stages of development, over 5 years, and some may have attained adulthood.
- Living conditions Survey (LCS): also conducted every 5 years since 2008/2009, and collects data to understand living conditions and monitor poverty. The 5-year time gap is however also lengthy.
- General Household Surveys (GHS): conducted yearly since 2002, and collecting data on education, health, dwellings, access to services and facilities, transport, and quality of life but has poor income data.
- Demographic and Health Survey (DHS): conducted twice previously in 1998 and 2003, the third data collection cycle was completed in November 2016. The DHS is a health-focused survey collecting data on issues like fertility, mortality, healthcare access, health conditions of mothers and children etc. A first glimpse key indicators report was released in May 2017, but the micro-data and main reports would only be publicly available later in 2017¹¹⁰.

Furthermore, NIDS has a designated questionnaire for children and to a relatively large extent, allows for child-centred analysis e.g. determining the proportion of children resident in houses without electricity supply. The questionnaire collected information on children's educational history, education, anthropometrics and access to grants (De Villiers et al 2013:10).

8.3. DATA PREPARATION, DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION & LIMITATIONS

The NIDS 2012 dataset consists of various data files besides the Link file, which is the main record. The applicable files for child-focused analysis were merged: the Link file, Child file, Household file, Adult file and Household Roster, to match children to their households/caregivers and enable household level analysis of children's profile. Although children are the unit of analysis in this study, it is important to link them to their households (and adults therein) as there are certain variables relating to children's wellbeing, which can only be observed and analysed at household (and adult) level e.g. income, food access and quantity/quality, sanitation access, employment etc. And while household level indicators are not specific to children, they can be used as a first substitute for assessing children's deprivation. Given this, child poverty measurement/analysis in this study is conducted at

¹¹⁰ See <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report%2003-00-09/Report%2003-00-092016.pdf>

household level – essentially analyzing child poverty for children living in poor households rather than analyzing the situation of children living in poverty. Moreover, the nature of questions administered to the children in NIDS does not accommodate the level of child poverty analysis intended in this study, but household-level questions do.

The derived variables files at the individual and household levels were also merged. De Villiers et al (2013:5 & 23) described derived variables as “variables that were not asked directly of the respondent, but which were calculated or imputed from other information” e.g. aggregate income and expenditure, employment and wealth.

After this merging, the distribution of respondents who were successfully interviewed (i.e. questionnaire fully administered) is shown in the table below:

Table 8.1. NIDS profile of successful interviews by age category and gender

	Frequency (By Gender)			Percentage
Adult	18,697			58
	Male	Female		
	7,569	11,128		
Proxy ¹¹¹	2,711			8
	Male	Female	Don't know	
	1,592	1,118	1	
Child	11,189			34
	Male	Female	Don't know	
	5,548	5,638	3	
Total	32,597 ¹¹²			100

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

It is also important to note that an inherent limitation occurs with the use of any NIDS dataset for child-focused analysis: NIDS defines children as individuals aged below 15, and adults as individuals aged 15 upwards¹¹³. The age scope of participants in this study however aligns with the conventional definition of children as individuals aged below 18. This age incongruence is perhaps because NIDS draws its sample from a sampling frame provided by STATS SA (Hall & Wright 2010:47), and STATS SA regards individuals aged between 15 and 34 as youths and part of the active labour force. The implication of this is that there are some children – aged 15 to 17 - who will be unaccounted for in the analysis due to a lack of applicable data i.e. the child questionnaire wasn't administered to them.

¹¹¹ Proxies stood in for adults who were unavailable or unable to respond to their questionnaires (De Villiers et al 2013:4).

¹¹² There is a shortfall of 36 individuals (which could not be resolved) when compared with NIDS report of 32,633 successful interviews; this variance of 0.0011 is however not deemed as depleting the relevance of outcomes from the analysis.

¹¹³ NIDS reported that 2 individuals aged 14 years old were included in the Adult file and 62 individuals aged 15 years old were included in the Child file due to inaccuracies in date of birth information (De Villiers et al 2013:4).

Also, some variables have missing data including: (i) when the question was not applicable (ii) when the respondent refused to answer and (iii) when a response was not captured due to a survey oversight. This would account for why the sample size varies in some tables. Noteworthy is that there was no non-random pattern of missing data that needed to be addressed.

Another limitation is that the 4 population groups are not proportionately represented in the NIDS sample. The sample ratio of Africans and Coloureds is high, compared to Indian/Asian and Whites. As expected with longitudinal studies, attrition was a problem: some individuals refused to participate or couldn't be reached or had passed away. Between Waves 2 and 3, the cumulative attrition rate was 15.9%, with Whites, Asian/Indians and Coloureds mostly refusing to participate while attrition among Africans was mostly due to non-contact (they couldn't be reached) (De Villiers et al 2013:21-22). The 11,189 children who were successfully interviewed comprise 9,614 Black Africans, 1,372 Coloureds, 62 Asian/Indian and 141 White children. The racial distribution per GeoType area is shown in the following table:

Table 8.2 Geo-type distribution of children (aged 0 to 14): NIDS unweighted sample and weighted population data

	NIDS (Unweighted sample)				National Estimate (Weighted NIDS - %)			
	African	Coloured	Asian/Indian	White	African	Coloured	Asian/Indian	White
Tribal Authority Area	5,653	3	0	0	40	0	0	0
Urban Formal	2,614	1,027	47	126	32	7	1	5
Urban Informal	644	47	0	0	9	0	0	0
Rural Formal	688	293	15	14	5	1	1	0
Subtotal	9,614	1,372	62	141	85	8	2	5
Total	11,189				100			

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

This racial concentration of the sample population (i.e. an African majority) in turn carries implications for relative analysis of variables per race/population group and also affects the extent to which results can be generalised. Given this, the under-sampling is balanced by the application of post-stratified weights¹¹⁴. Moreover, the sample population though not racially representative, is reasonable as almost 8 in 10 South Africans are Black Africans, and Black Africans constitute the largest population group in 8 out of the 9 provinces (STATS SA 2012b:21).

¹¹⁴ These are weights that standardize estimates to national population level (across the age-sex-race categories).

Official estimates as at the most recent census (2011) put the population total for South Africa at 51,770,560, out of which 15,100,089 (29.2%) were children aged 0 to 14 (STATS SA 2012b:28). After applying post-stratified weights to the NIDS 2012 dataset, the national and child population estimates came to 52,206,659 and 16,087,772 (30.8% of total population) respectively. The provincial distribution of children is shown in Table 8.3 below:

Table 8.3. Provincial distribution of children (Aged 0 To 14): NIDS unweighted sample, weighted population data and census 2011

Province	Unweighted NIDS (2012)		Weighted NIDS (2012)		Census 2011	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
KwaZulu-Natal	3,680	33	3,388,085	21	3,279,519	22
Gauteng	935	8	3,410,608	21	2,908,931	19
Eastern Cape	1,394	13	2,218,504	14	2,167,490	15
Limpopo	1,198	11	1,760,002	11	1,835,012	12
Western Cape	1,057	10	1,631,300	10	1,463,804	10
Mpumalanga	843	8	1,558,905	10	1,260,679	8
North West	721	6	900,915	6	1,040,363	7
Northern Cape	752	7	378,063	2	345,373	2
Free State	591	5	841,390	5	798,915	5
Outside of South Africa	18	0	-	-	-	-
Total (approximates)	11,189	100	16,087,772	100	15,100,089	100

Sources: NIDS 2012 Dataset & Census 2011 (STATS SA 2012b)

Over 66% of children live in 4 provinces: KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng, Eastern Cape and Limpopo. This is consistent with previous estimates by Hall & Wright (2010:48) that over two-thirds of children in South Africa (i.e. 12.7 million - including children aged 15 to 17) lived in these four provinces.

The disaggregation of children by age as shown in the table below indicates that the majority of children are toddlers and pre-school children aged between 1 and 5. There is no significant difference in the gender composition, though boys are slightly more than girls.

Table 8.4. Age distribution of children (by gender) – Weighted NIDS

Age Group	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Infant (less than 1 year old)	23	3	6
Aged 1 to 5	19	18	37
Aged 6 to 10	16	16	32
Aged 11 to 14	13	13	25
Total	50	50	100

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

8.4. WORKINGS OF NIDS FOR CHILD POVERTY ANALYSIS: PREVIOUS STUDIES AND THIS STUDY

Two notable studies on child poverty that conducted analysis with NIDS are as follows:

- Hall & Wright (2010) utilised NIDS Wave 1 dataset in a largely descriptive summary focusing on comparison between adults and children. Areas reported on include family characteristics (including parenting/caregiving and orphaning), child and household demographics, living environment, income deprivation and social protection (CSG).
- Von Fintel & Zoch (2015) analysed child poverty in South Africa using Waves 1 (2008), 2 (2010) and 3 (2012) of NIDS, with the aim to assess and decompose the dynamics over the 4-year period. Using the framework of an asset poverty line developed by Carter & May (2001), Von Fintel & Zoch (2015) assessed the situation of children in households caught in structural poverty traps, and with inadequate assets to escape poverty.

Given the aim of creating a picture of child poverty, a static assessment like Hall & Wright's (2010) is deemed more suitable than Von Fintel & Zoch's (2015), but without child-adult comparisons. Also, a secondary aim of this study is to highlight areas of improvement for data collection in surveys like NIDS to ensure that what matters (from the perspective of the research subjects/participants) is included in collected data. So, the NIDS dataset is analysed per key/salient data available for the dimensions of poverty identified by the children as reported in the preceding two chapters.

A combined discussion across dimensions e.g. housing & water; school & transportation is mostly used, with column percentages presented to allow relative comparisons of different groups. The summary is restricted to variables with available information, and excludes instances with "no response", "refusals" and "don't knows".

The analysis is centred on the following general areas: (i) Family background and Household relationships, (ii) Living Conditions (iii) Basic & Social policy needs (iv) Financial sources and (v) Support infrastructure and social relations. An analysis by poverty lines is however presented next, before analysis based on the general areas.

8.5. USING POVERTY LINES FOR ANALYSIS

Given that the child respondents in this study framed most of their narratives in terms of "poor vs. non-poor", it would be meaningful to conduct some analysis along these lines as well. It is therefore first applicable to adopt the use of poverty lines to set the scene for further discussions, and then explore how financial-based poverty measures influence non-financial ones.

Poverty lines have been defined as:

"the empirically derived and demonstrable minimum levels of cash income at which people do not suffer from a set level of deprivations" (Viet-Wilson 1987:187).

They are intended to help "focus the attention of governments and civil society on the living conditions of the poor" (Ravallion 1998).

The reductionist tendencies of poverty lines though criticised, are useful in analysing non-financial areas of poverty, and for a practical examination of the extent and depth of poverty and deprivation in the realities of the poorest in society.

8.5.1. Poverty Lines: Income-based & Expenditure-based

Income and expenditure are primary indicators of individual and household financial capacities. Thus, they can be used to assess the level of economic wellbeing of a household and its members, including children.

In this study, the proportion of children living in poor households using household per capita income and expenditure measures is calculated using 3 poverty lines proposed by STATS SA, set in 2012 and adjusted for inflation to get 2015 values. STATS SA (2016:72) described the poverty lines thus:

“The Upper Bound Poverty Line (UBPL) ... refers to people who live in poverty, but can generally purchase both food and non-food items. It differs from the Lower Bound Poverty Line (LBPL) in that in Lower Bound, people do not have enough money to purchase food and non-food items, and must sacrifice one thing to get another”.

The Food Poverty Line (FPL) is the most severe because below this level, people can't afford the cheapest balanced diet (Hall & Budlender 2016:34).

The Foster-Greer-Thorbecke (1984) poverty indices are applied to obtain the following poverty measures:

- Poverty Headcount Ratio - FGT (0) simply measures the proportion of the poor i.e. the percentage of people who are poor or live below the poverty line. The weakness of this poverty measure is that it just calculates the percentage of poor people but doesn't specify how poor they are.
- Average Normalised Poverty Gap - FGT (1) is the average poverty gap as a part of the poverty line; it measures the intensity of poverty. The weakness of this poverty measure is that though it shows how poor the poor are, it considers the poor as equally poor even though poverty levels within the poor differ i.e. it doesn't account for inequality among the poor or the distribution of poverty.
- Average Squared Normalised Poverty Gap - FGT (2) is a square of FGT (1) and helps to improve the measurement of poverty intensity because it highlights the condition of the severely poor that are farthest from the poverty line i.e. it helps show who the poorest of the poor are, and how poor they are compared to averagely poor. It shows both the intensity and distribution of poverty among the poor.

The FGT measures are presented in the tables below, according to the general population and for households with children:

Table 8.5. FGT poverty indices for general population

	Poverty Line	Upper Bound Poverty Line (UBPL)	Lower Bound Poverty Line (LBPL)	Food Poverty Line (FPL)
	2015 Rand Values	R965	R621	R415
Income (Per Capita)	Poverty Headcount Ratio (Proportion poor) FGT (0)	0.38	0.25	0.16
	Average Normalized Poverty Gap FGT (1)	0.18	0.1	0.05
	Average Squared Normalized Poverty Gap FGT (2)	0.11	0.06	0.03
Expenditure (Per Capita)	Poverty Headcount Ratio (Proportion poor) FGT (0)	0.49	0.35	0.23
	Average Normalized Poverty Gap FGT (1)	0.25	0.15	0.09
	Average Squared Normalized Poverty Gap FGT (2)	0.16	0.09	0.04

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

Table 8.6. FGT indices for households with children

	Poverty Line	Upper Bound Poverty Line (UBPL)	Lower Bound Poverty Line (LBPL)	Food Poverty Line (FPL)
	2015 Rand Values	R965	R621	R415
Income (Per Capita)	Poverty Headcount Ratio (Proportion poor) FGT (0)	0.57	0.37	0.21
	Average Normalized Poverty Gap FGT (1)	0.26	0.14	0.07
	Average Squared Normalized Poverty Gap FGT (2)	0.15	0.08	0.03
Expenditure (Per Capita)	Poverty Headcount Ratio (Proportion poor) FGT (0)	0.72	0.54	0.34
	Average Normalized Poverty Gap FGT (1)	0.36	0.21	0.1
	Average Squared Normalized Poverty Gap FGT (2)	0.22	0.1	0.04

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

Income-based poverty measures

At the UBPL of R965 per capita per month, 57% of households with children were living in poverty. This is higher than for the general population where 38% of the population was living in poverty at the same UBPL of R965. At the LBPL and FPL of R621 and R415 per person per month, the proportion of children living in poor households was also higher than for the general population (37% vs. 25% and 21% vs. 16% respectively). This indicates that, generally, households with children are poorer than the general population and also poorer than households without children i.e. the inclusion of a child in a household increases the risk of poverty for that household.

The income-based UBPL of R965 differs from the income-based UBPL of R949 used by Hall & Wright (2010) by R16, but there is some basis for comparison as they are in adjusted year prices. The poverty headcount at the Income UBPL decreased from 80% (reported by Hall & Wright 2010) to 57%, indicating that fewer children were living in poverty as at 2012, compared to 2008.

Expenditure-based poverty measures

At the UBPL of R965 per capita per month, 72% of households with children were living in poverty. This is higher than for the general population where 49% of the population was living in poverty at the same UBPL of R965. At the LBPL and FPL of R621 and R415 respectively, the proportion of children living in poor households was also higher than for the general population (54% vs. 35% and 34% vs. 23% at the respective poverty lines). This also indicates that households with children are poorer than the general population. An outcome that remains true regardless of whether the poverty line is based on income or expenditure is that households with children are poorer than the general population and/or households without children. And, the risk of poverty increases when a child is added to the household.

Also, from the table above, a constant relationship is that expenditure-based poverty measures are higher than income-based ones. Studies including Ravallion (1992), Woolard and Leibbrandt (1999) and Budlender et al (2015) posited that expenditure-based poverty measures are generally perceived as being more reliable/accurate than income-based ones because they give a more stable and clear picture of people's livelihoods and situations regardless of whether they get income or not i.e. what people need to survive regardless of the source. Income may not include borrowing but it may also not give a clear picture of overall reality/livelihood. So, assume that in addition to income, expenditure includes borrowings; comparing the equivalent expenditure-based and income-based poverty measures, it appears that households (with or without children) are not better off in managing poverty because poverty increases despite their borrowing to spend.

Using the UBPL of R965, the provinces with the highest rates of child poverty using the Income and Expenditure bases respectively are Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Gauteng and Limpopo (by income) and Gauteng, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo (by expenditure) as shown in the chart below. This provincial distribution also held in Von Fintel & Zoch's (2015:26) analysis of structurally poor children. These are the 4 provinces where about two-thirds of South Africa's children live.

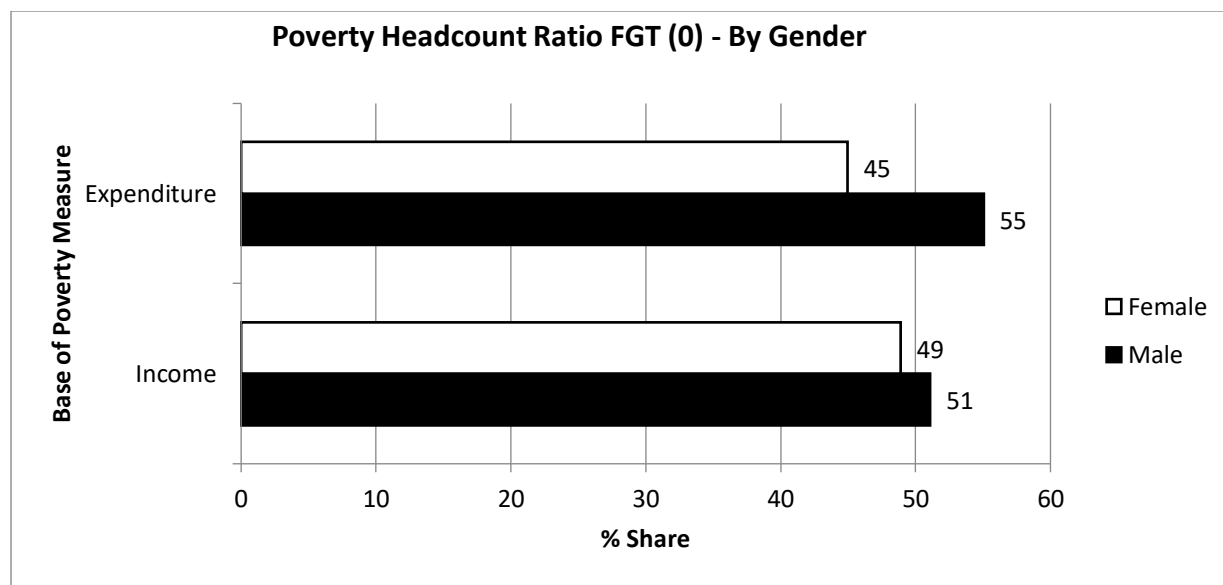
Figure 8.1. Poverty headcount ratio (by province)

Poverty Headcount Ratio FGT (0) - By Province			Base of Poverty Measure	
% Share	Province	2010	Income	Expenditure
			Eastern Cape	26.32
KwaZulu-Natal	16.9	16.56		
Gauteng	16.74	24.56		
Limpopo	14.73	13		
Free State	7.69	7.58		
Western Cape	6.99	6.14		
Mpumalanga	5.52	5.94		
North West	4.62	3.17		
Northern Cape	0.47	0.68		

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

As shown in the chart below, at the Income-based UBPL of R965, the proportion of boys living in poor households have slightly higher poverty rates (51%) than the proportion of girls living in poor households (49%) while the difference is about 10 percentage points higher using the expenditure-based measure. These findings on poverty measures at the provincial level and by gender align with Streak et al's (2009) findings using the Income & Expenditure Survey (2005/2006).

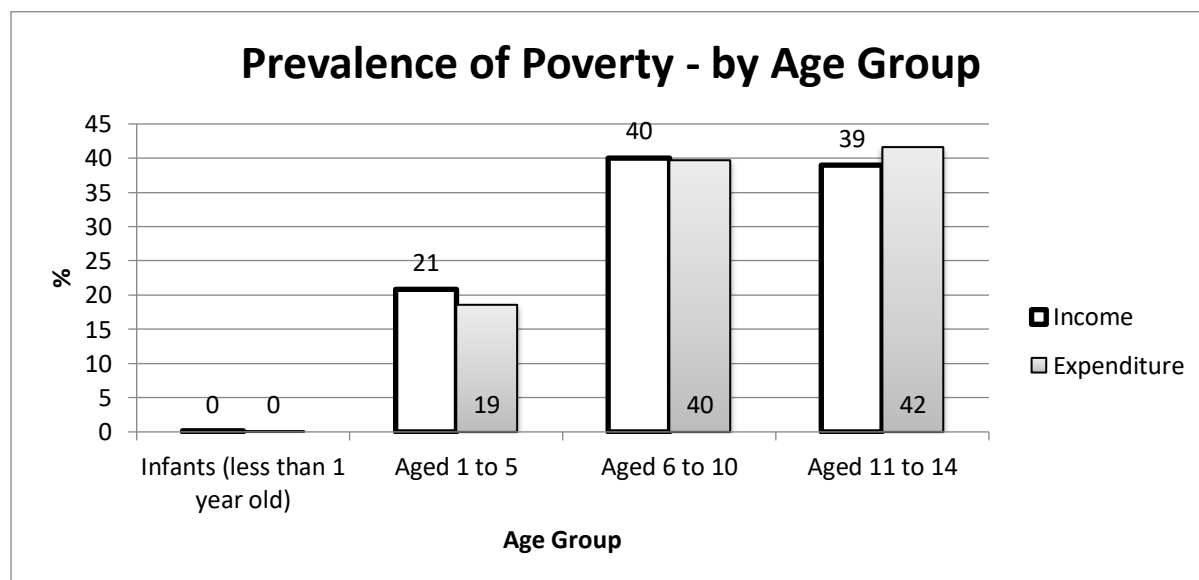
Figure 8.2. Poverty headcount ratio (by gender) - Proportion of males and females in poor households at UBPL of R965



Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

Analysis by age group indicates marginal differences in poverty measures by income and expenditure. As in the chart below, it also shows that households with older children (aged 6 to 10 and 11 to 14) are poorest.

Figure 8.3. Poverty prevalence (by age group)



Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

8.6. ANALYSIS BASED ON DIMENSIONS OF POVERTY

Beyond descriptive analysis of the dimensions, the UBPL (R965) is mostly used for further analysis where relevant¹¹⁵. This poverty line is used because it is the least severe of the poverty lines, where the poor can meet both food and non-food needs. Moreover, research findings presented in Chapter 6 indicate that poverty is not only food-related, so the FPL is inadequate. As well, given the current cost of living as reflected by the 2012-year end Consumer Price Index of 126.7% (base year - 2008), published by STATS SA (2012c), the LBPL cannot cater for household needs beyond basic necessities. The UBPL is therefore mostly used for analysis per dimensions under the previously stated areas as follows:

8.6.1. Family Background & Household Relationships

The children's designation of poor children as orphans or those lacking familial attachment stems from the notion that children receive the best care and nurture when raised within their biological families. In discussing children's family and household relationships, the children's primary caregivers, the relationship between children's parents and the incidence of orphaning among children are important data to examine.

Primary Caregiver Relationship

From previously referenced works (e.g. Cock et al 1984, Madhavan 2004), the nature and structure of households in South Africa is such that the extended family plays a central role in raising children, with this possibly being done across various households. The analysis of children's primary caregiver(s) shows that after biological parents (77%), grandparents (15%) and uncles/aunts (4%) take primary responsibility for children's care. The important role of Grandparents then Uncles/Aunts - (mostly female kin i.e. Grandmothers and Aunts as discussed in Chapter 2) in children's upbringing is strongly indicated. This was earlier stated in my child respondent's narratives about a family comprising both nuclear and extended family members. Further analysis of the primary caregiver's relationship to the child reveals that this practice of care by extended family is most prevalent among African families and less so for other population groups (22% vs. 7%, 1% and 6% for Coloureds, Asian/Indians and Whites respectively). This racial prevalence is conceivably because as discussed earlier in Chapter 2, during apartheid, it was mostly African parents that resorted to sending their children to live with relatives in rural areas while they (parents) sought work in the city. Moreover, analysis according to the UBPL as shown below indicates that compared to Coloureds and Whites, a relatively larger portion of Africans are poor.

Table 8.7. Poverty status of children (UBPL by population group)

	African	Coloured	White	Total
Poor	57	45	25	57
Non-poor	43	55	75	43
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

¹¹⁵ The LBPL is used in some instances, and stated then.

Relationship Status of Parents

Also, about 55% of children have parents perceived as not (living) together and/or in an on-going relationship (including divorcees, ex and deceased partners). The status of parents' relationships has implications for the quality of care children receive as it affects the extent to which household resources can be pooled to meet children's needs. It also implies that the child is raised in a context of parental separation, which could affect the child's balanced psychological development. The children raised these two points – the importance of parents for provision of needs and emotional support, with Yethu specifically noting that a child shouldn't have a separated family. An analysis of the effects of parental relationships on children's standard of living indicates that by both the UBPL and LBPL, over 68% of children's households whose parents' relationship status is 'not together' are poor:

Table 8.8. Prevalence of child poverty - by relationship between parents of child

Relationship between parents of child	Upper Bound Poverty Line (UBPL)	Lower Bound Poverty Line (LBPL)
	% Poor	% Poor
Not together	69	75
Together	31	25
Total	100	100

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

Orphaning

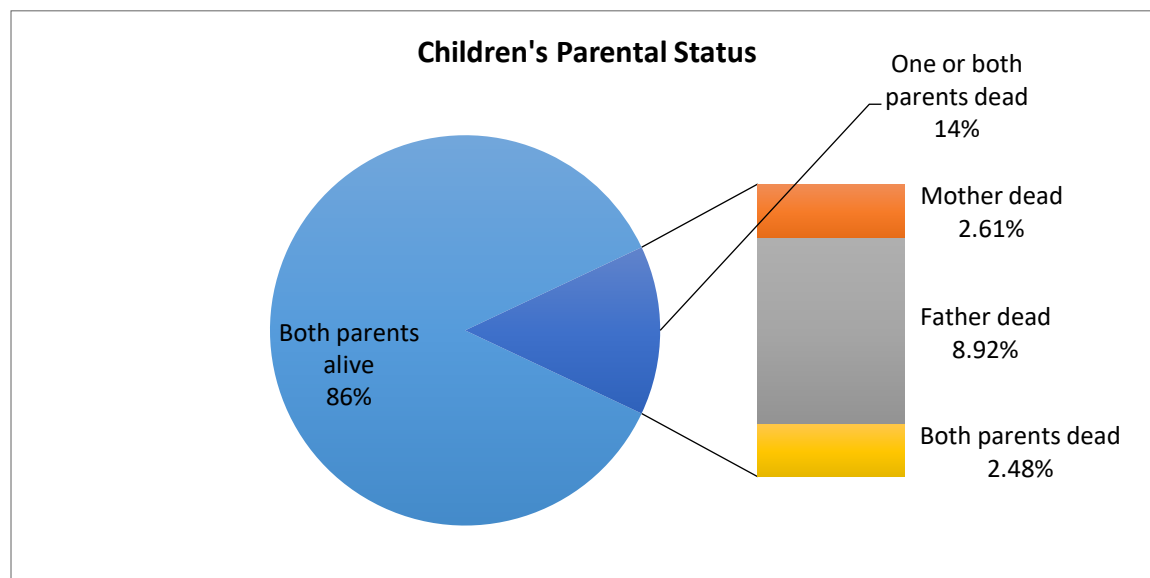
Hall & Wright (2010) noted that the term "orphan" could refer to a child without either or both parents. The Abantwana Babalulekile (Children Count) site¹¹⁶ of the Children's Institute, defines orphans in 3 mutually exclusive categories thus:

- A maternal orphan is a child whose mother has died but whose father is alive.
- A paternal orphan is a child whose father has died but whose mother is alive.
- A double orphan is a child whose mother and father have both died.

So, the total number of orphans is the sum of maternal, paternal and double orphans. Using this definition, the orphan profile of children in South Africa is represented in the chart below:

¹¹⁶ <http://www.childrencount.org.za/indicator.php?id=1&indicator=4>

Figure 8.4. Children's parental status (orphaning)



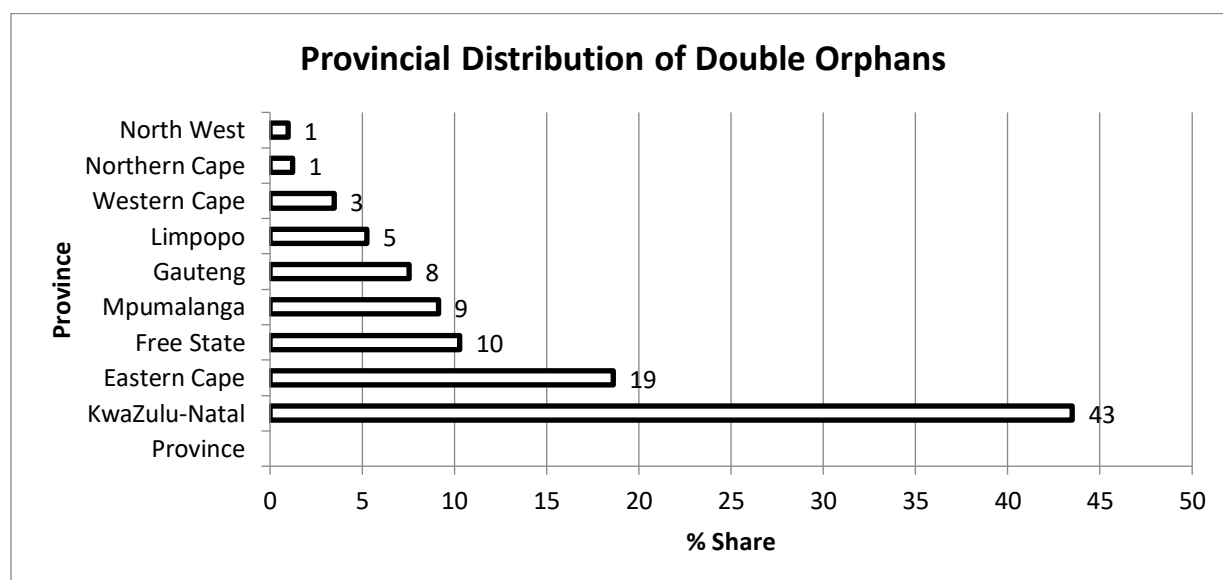
Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

The outcome that paternal orphans exceed maternal orphans is consistent with Hall & Wright's (2010:53) findings, using NIDS Wave 1 (2008) dataset and the General Household Survey (2008) dataset.

Also, disaggregation by population group shows that the majority of double orphans are African children (98%) and less so for Coloureds (2%). Noteworthy is that it is only African and Coloured children in the double orphan category.

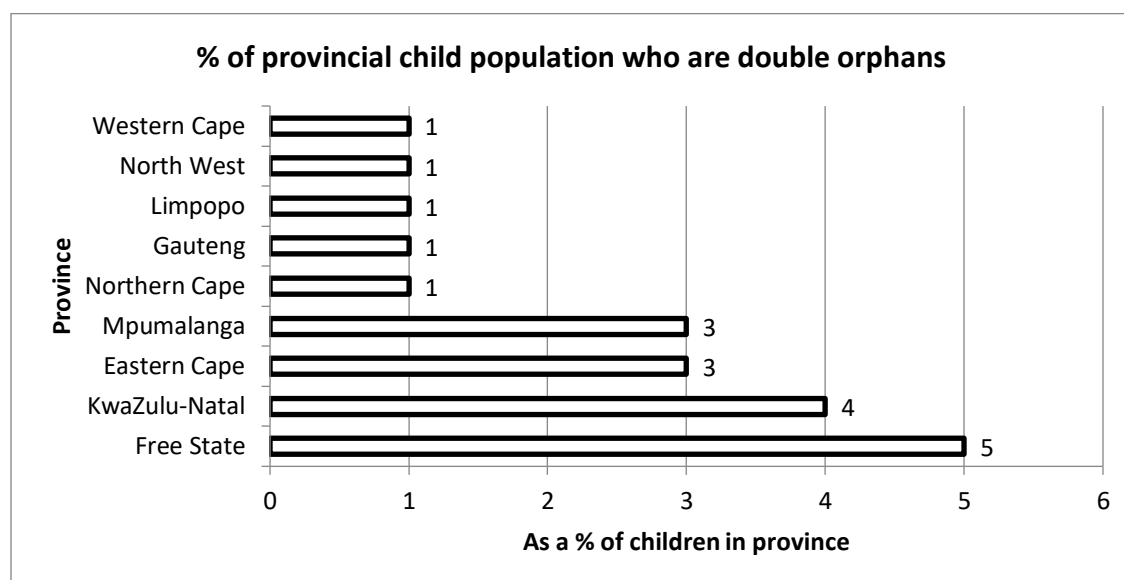
KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape provinces have the largest combined share of double orphans at 43% and 19% respectively. Analysis by the percentage of children (per province) who are double orphans however reveals that Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga have the largest figures. This is shown in the charts below:

Figure 8.5. Distribution of double orphans by province



Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

Figure 8.6. Double orphans as a % of children, per province



Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

This highlights the need for disaggregation not restricted to inter-provincial analysis but also at an intra-provincial level.

8.6.2. Living Conditions: Housing & Access to Services/Infrastructure

The type of children's living environments (housing and support services/infrastructure) affects their physical wellbeing. In fact, Nandy & Gordon (2009) argued that children's living conditions – shelter, water and sanitation - are equally as or more important than human capital interventions like education, health and nutrition. This is because filthy living conditions can cause children's illness and death. Also, while investing in better health care or nutrition may address the symptoms of illness/death, it fails to address its cause. Moreover focusing attention on improving living conditions has positive impacts on health, and contributes to the fulfilment of basic human rights (Nandy et al 2005:214).

As the children specified under the housing dimension in Chapter 6, the size and location of their houses were important factors influencing their quality of life (comfort, safety, privacy etc.), alongside the available amenities/equipment and physical appearance of the house. Moreover, children typically spend around half of their growing years in the home environment (and then school). So for poor children (e.g. Khona, for whom overcrowding in their RDP house was a challenge), it means that they spend most of their lives in uncomfortable and/or unsafe environments. It is therefore important to assess children's lived realities on the household front. This is especially as Hall & Wright (2010:56) noted that children are often not considered in housing and service infrastructure targeting, perhaps because it is thought that they automatically enjoy household benefits.

House/Dwelling Type

The physical attributes and amenities of the house a child is raised in are strong social determinants of the child's physical wellbeing. As well, the density of household members relative to the size of the house is another important determinant. The prevalence of

dwelling types of children’s households and accompanying amenities/infrastructure are discussed below, starting with the types of houses that children live in. 97% of children living in shacks are African and the remaining 3% are Coloured.

The accompanying amenities – (i) those specific to households (e.g. water, electricity and toilet/sanitation) and (ii) those common to the neighbourhood (e.g. street lighting) are important elements of household ambience. Noteworthy is that it is not just important for amenities to be available; they need to be in good working condition. Data is available on household ownership of landlines (working and defunct), but I deem its relevance as declining because mobile phone usage is increasingly replacing land phone usage, perhaps not for businesses, but definitely for households and their members.

Water

The distribution of main water sources by population group is shown in the table below:

Table 8.9. Household’s main water source (by population group)

	African	Coloured	Asian/Indian	White	Total
Piped (in dwelling or yard)	67	97	97	100	72
Public Pipe	20	2	0.0	0	17
Surface water and well	10	0	0	0	8
Borehole	2	0	3	0	2
Water carrier/tanker	1	1	0	0	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

$X^2 (15) = 1,682.75, N=4,317, P<0.01$

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

When considering issues of privacy, accessibility/distance from the house/dwelling and uninterrupted availability, African children constitute the majority of children in households with ‘poor’ water sources (i.e. rain, water tanks, streams, dams, wells and springs).

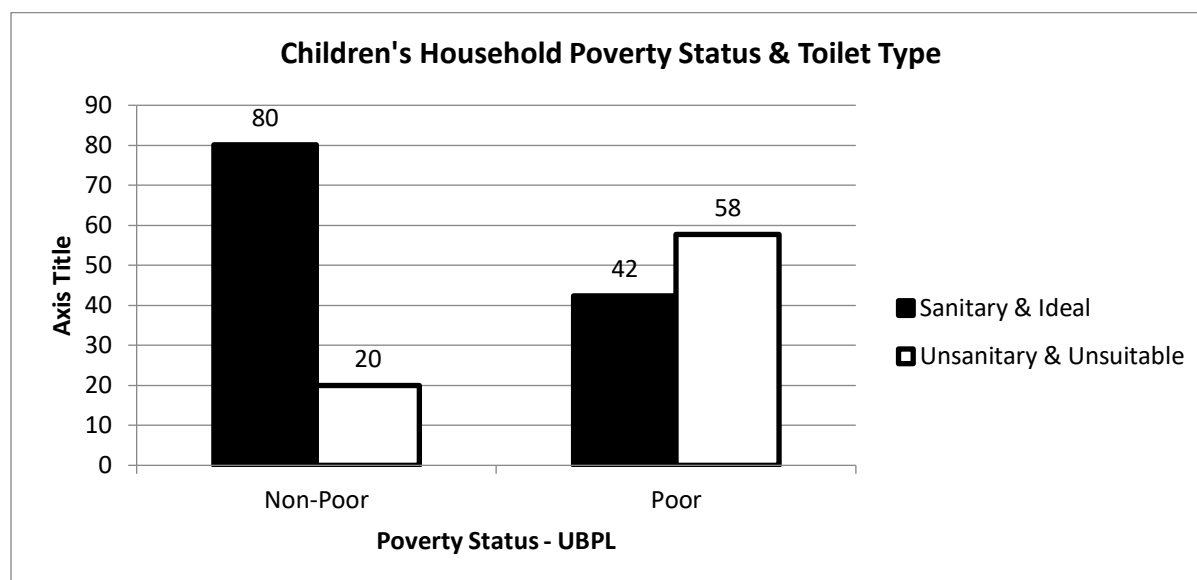
Analysis at GeoType level reveals that a majority of dwellings with water sources above 500m, and 1km or more away are in Tribal Authority Areas. The children’s narratives about the poor living in rural areas and having dams as their water sources hinted at this. Still the possibility of living conditions in tribal authority areas being the worst is conceivable given their rural nature and the targeted deprivation that these areas suffered during apartheid. Furthermore, a disaggregation by population group shows that houses with water sources above 500m, and 1km or more away comprises solely African households.

Sanitation: Toilet Facilities

The types of toilet available for use by children’s households could be classified into two (based on privacy, disposal methods and ease of use): (i) Sanitary and Ideal and (ii) Unsanitary and Unsuitable. About 49% of children’s households were in the latter category, including 4% of children who didn’t have access to any type of toilet. Also, as shown in the

chart below, 80% of non-poor households had access to sanitary and ideal toilet types, compared to 42% of poor households.

Figure 8.7. Toilet conditions & poverty status



As well, 27% of children’s households were sharing toilets with other families, and almost half of these shared toilet facilities were unsanitary and unsuitable. The Khayelitsha children portrayed this situation in previous drawings of communal outdoor/mobile toilets – a situation which speaks about lack of access to adequate/non-communal and hygienic sanitation. The risks associated with sharing toilets have far-reaching health consequences. For instance, in an empirical study of childhood diarrheal morbidity in Ghana, Owusu Boadi & Kuitunen (2005) reported: “children living in homes without access to toilet have high incidence of diarrhoea”. Also, households sharing toilets with more than five other households were at increased risk of childhood diarrhoea and dysentery, which mostly affected children from poor households, because unsanitary conditions aided the breeding of vectors that transmit these diseases (ibid). As well, Halfon et al (2001) designated sharing of toilet instruments as possibly responsible for transmission of the Hepatitis C virus (HCV).

At the provincial level, the highest incidences of toilet sharing occurred in Gauteng (9%), KwaZulu-Natal (4%), Western Cape (4%) and Limpopo (3%). Based on GeoType, over 75% of the sanitary/ideal toilet facilities are in Urban Formal areas, while about 80% of the unsanitary/unsuitable toilet facilities are in Tribal Authority Areas.

Electricity & Street Lighting

85% of children’s households lived with electricity and 15% without. At the provincial level, the incidence of children’s households without electricity is highest in KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Gauteng provinces, in descending order. The distribution of this statistics across GeoType areas shows that most of the children’s households without electricity are located in Tribal Authority Areas. Analysis by poverty status shows that 14% of poor children’s households lack electricity, and 86% have electricity. It should be noted that most poor households (especially in informal settlements) illegal grid connections and unpaid electricity bills.

Related to the access to electricity, is the availability of street lighting near children’s homes. Over 67% of children’s households lacking street lighting near their homes, are located in Tribal Authority Areas. Surprisingly, urban informal areas have the majority of children’s households with defective streetlights. As shown in the table below, analysis by poverty status reveals that compared to about 34% of non-poor children’s households, 60% of poor children’s household don’t have streetlights near their houses.

Table 8.10. Existence of Street Lighting near Dwelling (by Poverty Status - UBPL)

Existence & Condition	Non-poor	Poor
No	34	60
Yes - Currently in working condition	61	31
Yes – Currently not in working condition	5	9
Total	100	100
$X^2 (2) = 33.07, N=417, p < 0.01$		

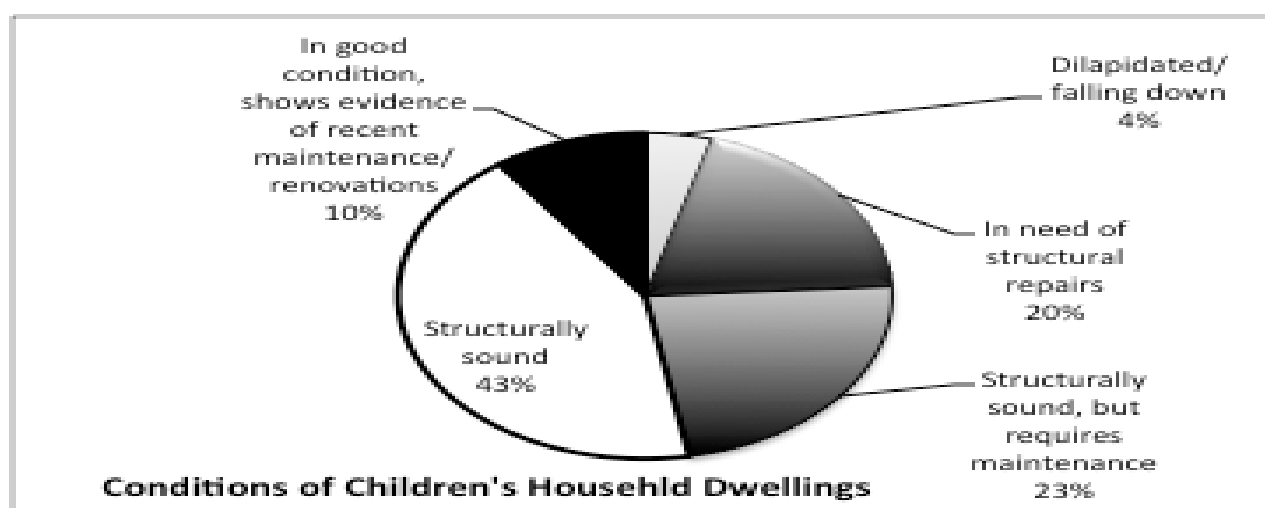
Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

The more rural provinces of Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape (89%, 76% and 71% respectively) had the highest proportions of their children’s households without nearby street lighting. At the population group level, 60% of African children’s households lacked street lighting near their houses, compared to 17%, 21% and 7% of Coloured, Asian/Indian and White children’s households respectively. Also, at the UBPL, almost 70% of children’s households without street lighting qualify as poor.

Housing/Dwelling Quality

The state of an individual’s house significantly determines the level of his/her physical comfort. From a summary review of previous research, Evans et al (2003:482) also reported a positive correlation between housing quality and psychological wellbeing. It is therefore relevant to assess the condition of children’s houses, as it could guarantee, improve or impair their development, directly or indirectly. The overall structural condition of children households represented in the chart below indicates that about 24% of them are living in houses which are dilapidated or in need of essential repair.

Figure 8.8. Conditions of Children’s Houses/Dwellings



Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

The housing situation of this 24% of children’s households portends an impasse: to be homeless or to live in unsafe housing and at risk of fatality or severe bodily harm. The analysis of flooring materials used in children’s households also indicates that 13% of them used mud/earth for flooring, with 12% of these households being African.

As shown in the table below, further analysis of housing quality by the UBPL indicates that around 65% of poor children’s homes are in unsatisfactory states. However, 38% of non-poor children’s homes are also in unsatisfactory conditions.

Table 8.11. Housing quality (by poverty status – UBPL)

Dwelling Condition	Specific State	Non-poor	Poor
Unsatisfactory	Structurally sound, but requires maintenance	24	28
	In need of structural repairs	10	28
	Dilapidated/Falling down	4	9.0
	Subtotal	38	65
Satisfactory	Structurally sound	53	32
	In good condition, shows evidence of recent maintenance/renovations	9	3
	Subtotal	62	35
	Total	100	100

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

Overcrowding

Overpopulation/Congestion is a situation that could cause houses to be in such rundown conditions (being dilapidated and/or needing structural repair), because there is extreme pressure on housing amenities, and space is being overused beyond ideal capacity. Beyond damaging physical effects on houses, overcrowding adversely affects household members, especially children. Based on findings from previous studies, Cutts et al (2011:1508) noted that crowding has adverse effects on mental health, ability to manage stress, interaction between parents and children, social relationship and sleep.

Also, overcrowding fosters the spread of communicable diseases like Tuberculosis (TB), which is present in many informal settlements with high population density like Khayelitsha. For instance, in commencing a review of the scope, process and performance of HIV and TB services in Khayelitsha, Coetzee et al (2004) noted that “tuberculosis has been endemic for many decades and transmission has been enhanced by overcrowding and poor living conditions”. Other disease-enabling factors arising from overcrowding include ineffective ventilation, stuffiness, and difficulty in maintaining hygiene. As a result, childhood infections could easily spread among children especially babies and toddlers with emergent bodily immunity.

Noting the relationship between overcrowding and poverty, Goux & Maurin (2003:4) stated, “overcrowded housing is an important way in which parental poverty affects children’s outcomes”. Essentially, overcrowding could constrain children’s capabilities and affect

children’s functionings (e.g. if a child contracts TB and it goes untreated or isn’t detected early, he/she is at risk of death or poor health in his/her lifetime). Moreover, Cutts et al (2011:1508) stated that ‘housing insecurity¹¹⁷ is associated with poor health, lower weight, and developmental risk among young children’. Relatedly, Bailie et al (2012) reported the need to reduce overcrowding and improve children’s community environments in order to reduce the occurrence of common childhood infections. There are also concerns about safety, as children are at more risk of abuse (physical and sexual) in overcrowded environments.

This study adopts Hall & Wright’s (2010:57) definition of overcrowding as when there are more than two people per habitable room. Specifically, overcrowding is measured as the ratio of household members to the number of rooms in the household, including kitchens, but excluding bathrooms and toilets. This is consistent with Goux & Maurin’s (2003) description of over crowdedness as at least two individuals per bedroom.

A new variable was created for overcrowding by dividing the total number of household members by the number of rooms available. Significant results of analysis by GeoType, Population Group and Province were that: (i) children’s households in urban informal areas – usually informal settlements and townships like Khayelitsha (e.g. Khona’s house) – are overcrowded, with a mean of 2.08, (ii) overcrowding doesn’t appear to occur for any population group, but Coloured and African children’s households have the closest averages (1.92 and 1.71 respectively) to being overcrowded, (iii) only the Western Cape Province with a mean value of 2.00 is on the verge of overcrowding.

The child participants in this study raised the issue of overcrowding, as a poverty problem at the household-level. Analysis by poverty status affirms their narratives, as the mean of overcrowding for poor children’s households is almost double that for non-poor children’s households as shown in the table below:

Table 8.12. Overcrowding statistics (by poverty status)

Poverty Status (By UBPL)	Overcrowding (Mean)
Poor	1.65
Non-poor	0.96

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

For the child participants, given the lack of alternatives, their coping strategy was to manage the space. Evans et al (2003:495) however noted that providing spaces of escape (within the home) from overcrowding and uncomfortable housing conditions may reduce the effect of suboptimal housing conditions. This speaks to the need for fundamental living space per individual; for instance, school-going children having private space to do homework or having a designated play area for their toys and games.

¹¹⁷ Housing insecurity refers to “high housing costs in proportion to income, poor housing quality, unstable neighbourhoods, overcrowding or homelessness”. (US Department of Health and Human Services cited in Cutts et al 2011)

8.6.3. Basic & Social Policy Needs: Food, Appearance: Clothing & Shoes, Education & Health

Food

The available NIDS data on food were mainly on food expenditure, types and sources of foodstuffs consumed, and value of specific foods eaten from own shop/own production. Key questions relating to the food/nutrition dimension of poverty were not available e.g. food insecurity that could be reflected by (i) going hungry, (ii) eating inadequate quantities of food, (iii) reducing food quality, (iv) eating only particular staple foods etc. The available data appears rather basic and doesn't score well on uncovering children and household's nutrition struggles.

The issue of food insecurity is serious for children as they are in the developmental stage of life where nutritional deficiencies could result in permanent defects. For instance, drawing on findings of previous studies, Cutts et al (2011:1511) noted that food insecurity increases children's risk for hospitalization, poor health, developmental delays and anaemia. Moreover, gathering data on the type of foods consumed and how often could provide insights into the propensities of the two forms of food malnutrition – (i) under nutrition and (ii) obesity, as they relate to poverty.

Appearance: Clothing & Shoes

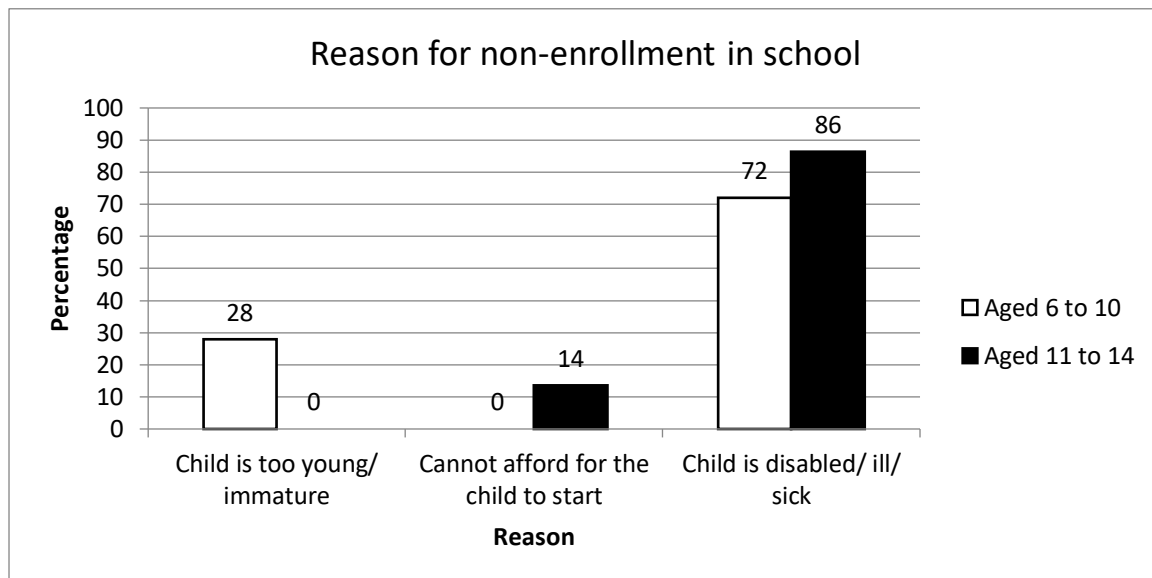
The available information was on whether money was spent on shoes and clothes in the past 30 days (at the household level), and how much. The data is presented as a combined household variable, and doesn't specify spending on clothes and shoes for children. This information does not contribute much and meaningfully to analysing the appearance dimension of child poverty per the children's suggestions.

Education

The data collected on education/schooling for children related mainly to the amount spent on fees and transportation, mode of transport and time spent to reach school, days absent from school, mother and father's highest school grade, source of child's school fees, reason for dropping out, reasons for never being enrolled in school etc.

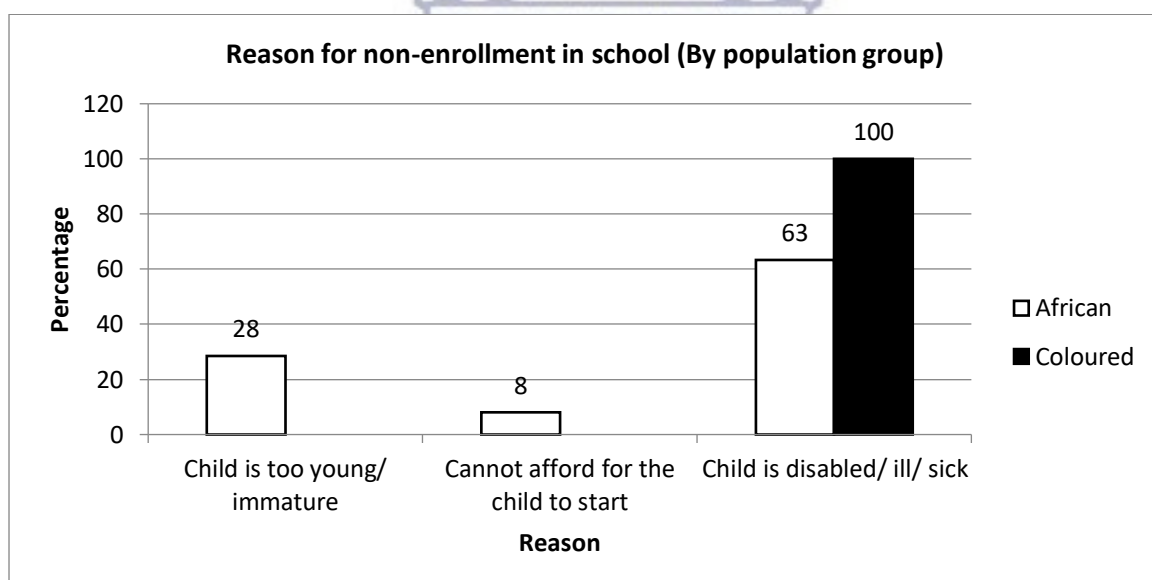
Of these data, reasons for not attending school is deemed crucial as it could help unpack and address the problem of low enrolment. Few children of school going age (6 to 10 and 11 to 14) had never attended school for reasons including immaturity, poverty and the child's ailment/disability. The general perception is that enrolment rates among the poor are low because they lack money to pay school fees (Fiske & Ladd 2003:10). However, most of these kids who had never attended school were disabled or ill/sick children. They were also only African and Coloured children as shown in the charts below:

Figure 8.9. Reason why child has never attended school (by child's age)



Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

Figure 8.10. Reason why child has never attended school (by population group)



Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

This finding speaks to the need for formal learning spaces that accommodate the specific needs of disabled children so they are not unduly excluded from being educated.

Health

The importance of medical aid is not far-fetched, as paying out of pocket for medical treatment could be costly, especially for poor households. However in South Africa, almost 89% of children do not have medical aid cover. Expectedly, compared to Asian/Indians and Whites, most African and Coloured children lack medical aid cover.

Table 8.13. Access to medical aid cover – (by population group)

	African	Coloured	Asian/Indian	White	Total
No	92	84	66	42	89
Yes	8	16	34	58	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100
X2 (3) = 1,486.35, N=1,782, P<0.01					

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

Interestingly, a significant majority (87%) of non-poor children lack medical aid cover, alongside 99% of poor children as shown below; a feasible explanation for this is that most families possibly resort to public healthcare.

Table 8.14. Access to medical aid cover (by poverty status - UBPL)

	Non-poor	Poor
No	87	99
Yes	13	1
Total	100	100
P=0.0000		
X2 (1) = 22.76, N=220, P<0.01		

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

This general lack of medical aid raises some concerns about whether young children (especially those in poor households), are receiving the compulsory vaccination/immunization and routine examinations as and when required. A more worrisome situation is that of children suffering from various chronic diseases including Tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, Diabetes, Heart disease and Epilepsy/Fits. Over 80% of children with these life-threatening conditions lacked medical aid. The long-term effects of childhood infections and diseases that could accompany an individual into adulthood are another cause for concern.

Given this, the South African government has made provisions for free primary healthcare especially for children aged below 5 and pregnant women. A key strategy is to increase the number and availability of primary healthcare facilities. Still, the capacity of parents to access routine check-ups and immunizations or to seek appropriate medical attention for their children when ill is however constrained by several factors including long distances, lack of (safe) transport, lack of resources (time and money) etc. For instance, Hall et al (2016:119) reported that about 4 million children still travel for over 30 minutes to reach their usual health facility (regardless of mode of transport). Taking a racial poverty perspective, Hall et al (ibid) reported that:

“Close to a quarter (24%) of African children travel far to reach a health care facility, compared with only 1 – 10% of Indian, White and Coloured children. Racial inequalities are amplified by access to transport: if in need of medical attention, 95% of white children would be transported to their health facility in a private car, compared with only 10% of African children and 31% of coloured children”.

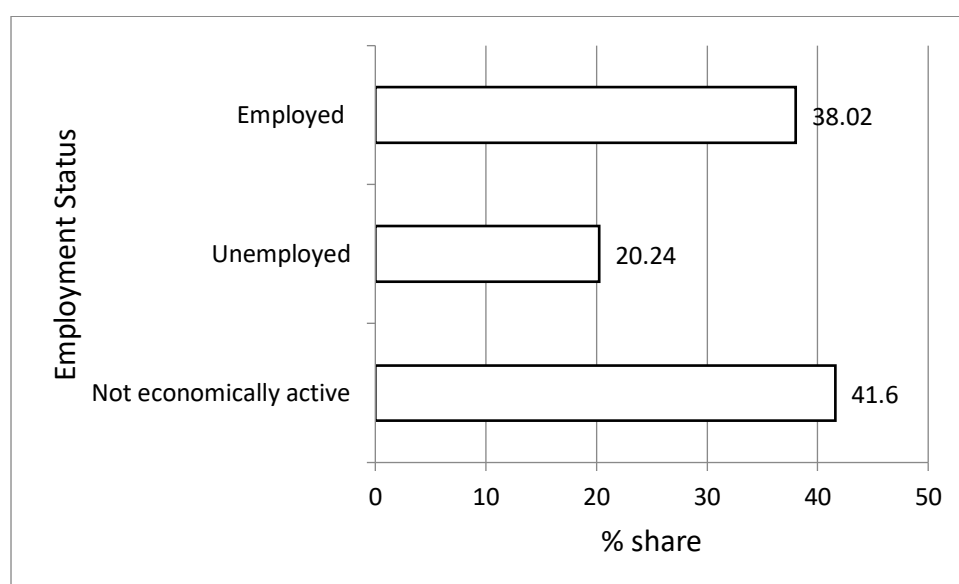
Overall, a child's health status is a primary determinant of his/her child's capabilities, both now and in future. So, poor health outcomes arising from poverty could adversely affect a child's capacity to achieve certain functionings in childhood and adulthood.

8.6.4. Financial sources: Jobs & Employment, and Child Support Grant (CSG)

Jobs & Employment

The analysis of employment is based on households in which at least 1 biological child was resident with his/her parent. The employment status of the adult/proxy (parent) in these households as shown in the figure below indicates that about 20% of children live in households with unemployed parents and just over 40% live in households with parents who are not economically active:

Figure 8.11. Employment status of adults/proxies in households with at least 1 resident biological child



Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

Social Protection: Child Support Grant

The importance of the CSG for children and their households has been clearly highlighted in the preceding two chapters, as some households depend mostly on a pooling/combination of grants for survival.

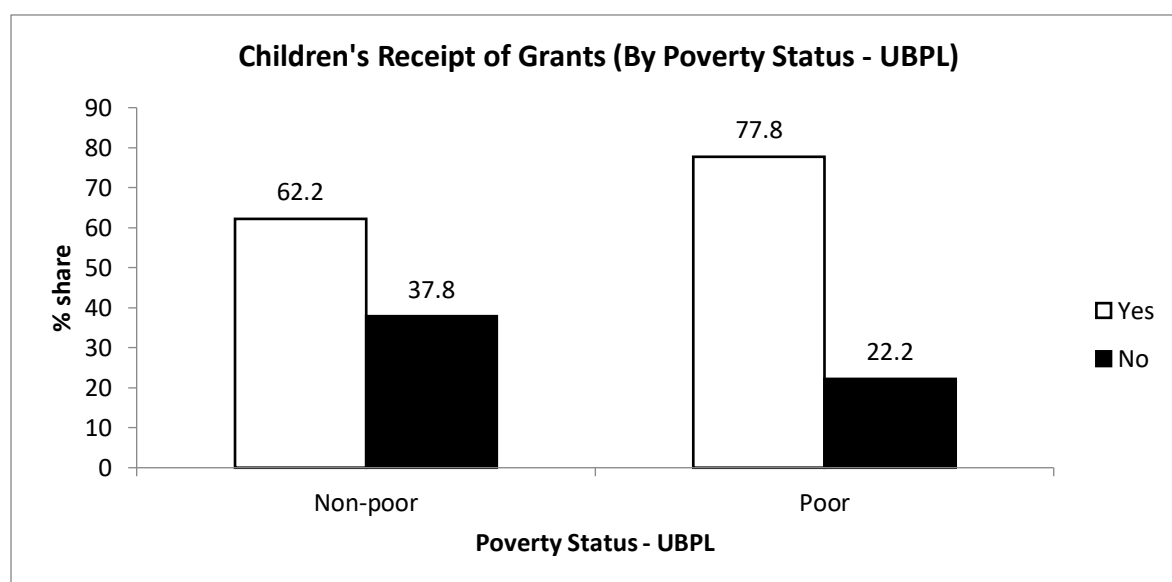
Over 70% of children were receiving a social grant, and with the CSG constituting about 96% of the total child-related grant portfolio, it is the most utilised. Perhaps it is this high level of take-up/utilization (which is driven by many people qualifying to receive it due to high levels of poverty and unemployment which result in low/no income) that informs its low monetary value.

The distribution of child-related grants by population shows that African children constitute the relative majority (92%) of beneficiaries across the CSG, FCG AND CDG. This is conceivably because African children's caregivers qualify more as per the means testing – for low or no incomes.

The uptake of child-related grants is however still fraught with difficulties including lack of required documents (National ID, birth certificate), problems with the application process (cost and procedures) etc. Earlier on, the Metas (a child respondent) identified the poor as those lacking IDs. This includes about 2% of children do not have birth certificates, implying that they won't have access to available social services including the child support grant.

And while the monetary value of the CSG (R360) is well below the food poverty line of R415, social grants still play a central role in poverty alleviation in South Africa, for households experiencing different depths of poverty e.g. chronic poor and poor. In fact, as shown in the chart below, analysis by poverty status reveals that significant proportions of both non-poor and poor children (62% and 78% respectively) receive some type of grant. The proportion of poor children not receiving any grant (22%) but who ideally qualify to is likely due to inability to access the grant for various administrative reasons as discussed earlier.

Figure 8.12. Children receiving grants (by poverty status – UBPL)



Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

Corroborating the general importance of social grants in poverty reduction/alleviation, especially the Old Age Pension and Disability Grant, Hall & Wright (2010:65) noted that the two latter higher-paying grants are more effective in reducing child poverty than the CSG.

Furthermore, it is useful to assess whether the primary caregiver of the child is the person receiving the child's social grant, as a non-conforming situation implies that the child's grant may be diverted to other uses, thus defeating the primary aim of the CSG. This analysis is shown in the table below:

Table 8.15. Comparison of primary caregiver relationship with CSG recipient

Caregiver and CSG Receiver Relationship	Column %
Same Person	84%
Different Persons	16%

Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

The ideal situation: where the child's primary caregiver is also the recipient of the child's social grant, occurs in around 84% of cases, while there is a mismatch rate of 16% i.e. when

the person responsible for taking care of the child and the person receiving the child's grant are different persons.

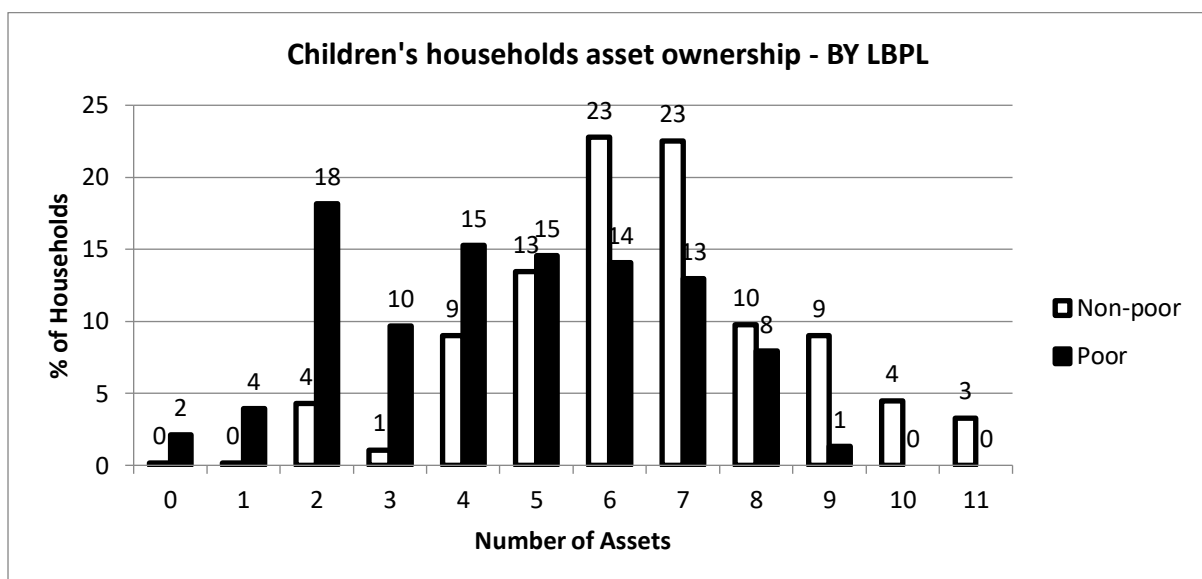
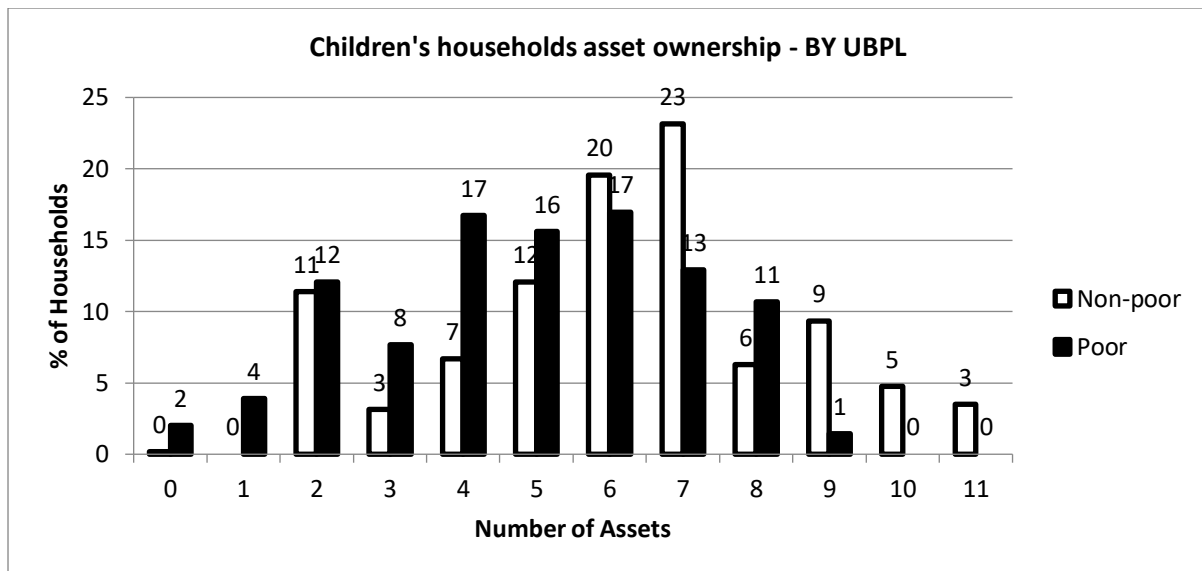
The most frequent incidences of mismatch occurred when the grandparents (or uncle/aunt) are the child's primary caregivers, but the child's father/mother are the recipients of the child's grant. This buttresses the earlier identified pattern of grandparents using their old age pension to meet their family's household needs, especially their grandchildren's needs. However, non-conforming/mismatch instances may also relate to peculiar household arrangements/agreements about financial responsibility and childcare. The fluid nature of households as earlier discussed (see Chapter 2) may be a cause. For instance, Adato et al (2003:4) noted that in South Africa, "households are complex units involved in a web of social relations, and are fluid entities with people and resources circulating among them". Thus, different proximal and distant households could be sharing resources including the CSG.

8.6.5. Support Infrastructure & Social Relations: Material Possessions/Technology, Transportation, Play & Leisure and Safety

Material Possessions/Technology

NIDS collects extensive information about ownership of household appliances/equipment and agricultural assets. This information is useful as asset ownership is an indicator of general household welfare. In like manner as Hall & Wright (2010), I selected 12 of these assets (excluding agricultural ones), based on general relevance, core household needs, and those mentioned by the children. The assets were: (i) Radio (ii) Television (iii) Satellite Dish (iv) Videocassette recorder/DVD player (v) Computer (vi) Camera (vii) Cell phone (viii) Electric stove (ix) Gas stove (x) Paraffin stove (xi) Microwave (xii) Fridge/Freezer. It is important to state that some of these assets are possible but infrequent substitutes (e.g. stoves - electric or gas or paraffin). Also, some of them could be deemed luxury assets in some instances but are included on the basis of selection.

Information was analysed across the assets rather than individually, and an asset scale was developed, and tested for scale reliability and validity – to see how many assets households own in general. Asset ownership appears almost normally distributed, with majority of households owning between 4 and 8 assets, and 6 assets being the mode. Poor households under either the UBPL or the LBPL have fewer assets than non-poor households, with the poor mostly owning between 0 and 5 of these assets, and the non-poor mostly owning 6 assets and more as shown in the charts below.



Analysis within population groups indicates that African, Coloured, Asian/Indian and White households mostly have 6, 7, 8 and 9 assets respectively. Furthermore, as the number of assets owned increases, more Asian/Indians and Whites own more assets and African and Coloureds own fewer assets.

Transportation

Children make use of following modes of transportation to school: Foot (74%), Motor vehicle (11%), Taxi (10%), Bus (5%), Bicycle (1%) and Train (0%). An analysis by GeoType area shows that most of the children who walk to school reside in Tribal Authority Areas. Analysis by poverty status (UBPL) reveals that compared to non-poor children, poor children utilise modes of transport that require payment (Train, Bus, Taxi) less. Almost 90% of poor children commute to school by foot compared to 72% of non-poor children.

Information about the distance between home and school wasn't provided, but information about the duration of travel is available. About 91% of children get to school under an hour,

6% get to school in an hour and 1% of children spend two hours. Also, children in Tribal Authority Areas consistently spend the most time to get to school. Within the NIDS sample, a Black African child in a Tribal Authority Area spent 3 hours to get to school (i.e. a 6 hour total commute to and from school) – a most undesirable situation which disturbs the child’s psychological and physical wellbeing and would affect his/her academic performance.

Play & Leisure

NIDS data collected on children’s leisure activities related to the amount of money spent on toys in the last 30 days preceding the interview. This information is not the best fit for child poverty analysis as intended in this study because it is static and the period under review is short and cannot account for average spending on toys (which would be a more ideal measure). Nevertheless, it still provides some insight into household spending patterns for children’s leisure activities as shown in the table below:

Table 8.16. Amount spent on toys (in past 30 days) in children’s households (by population group)

Population Group	Highest Frequency & amount spent	Minimum spent	% Frequency	Maximum spent	% Frequency
White	7% spending R200	R100	6.7	R5,000	5.7
African	10% spending R50	R5	2.2	R1,000	1.4
Coloured	3% spending R100	R20	0.2	R550	0.4
Asian/Indian	4% spending R100	R50	0.2	R2,500	0.4

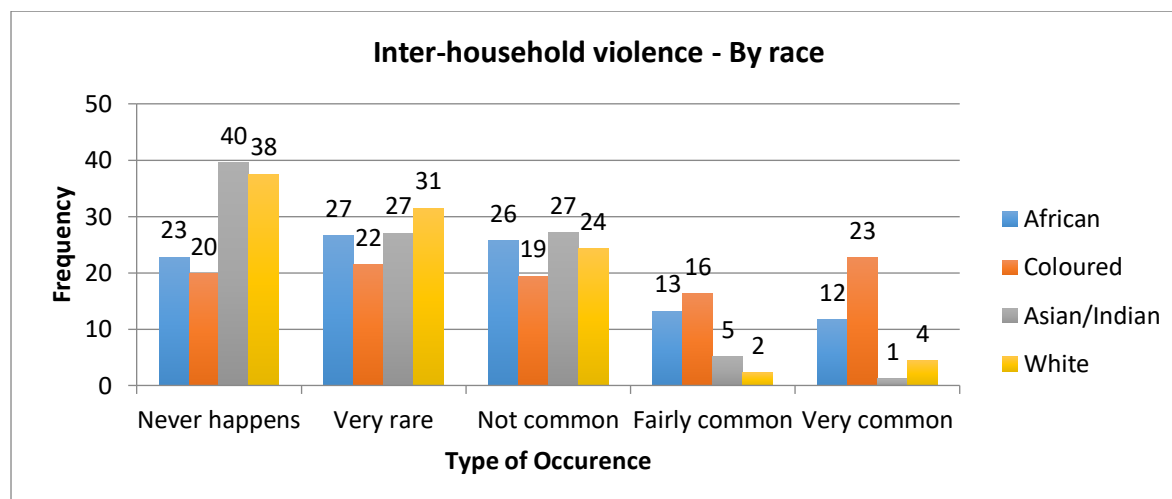
Source: NIDS 2012 Dataset

Whites had both the highest minimum and maximum spent amounts, Africans had the lowest minimum spent amount and Coloureds had the lowest maximum spent amount.

Analysis by poverty status (UBPL) did not reveal any significant differences between the non-poor and poor children’s household’s spending on toys in the stated period. This either implies that the review period is too short or that the purchase of toys is not a customary practice for a majority of South African children’s households. The latter reason may well be due to the dispensable nature of toys/recreation equipment for children during play, as the children earlier mentioned (see discussion under Play/Leisure dimension in Chapter 6).

Safety

A comparison of the frequency of ‘inter-household’ violence (i.e. violence among different households in the same neighbourhood, not intra-household/domestic violence)¹¹⁸ within (not across/among) population groups shows that the incidence of “very common” inter-household violence is highest among Coloured households (23%) and lowest for Asian/Indians (1%). Inter-household violence “never happens” for 23% of Africans and 38% of Whites respectively. This data is presented in the chart below.



The incidence of theft and burglary being “very common” is however highest within Coloureds (37%) and Africans (31.8%), and lowest within Asian/Indians (27%) and Whites (11%). These figures on theft and burglary are corroborated by Lemanski (2004:105), who drew on the 1998 Cape Town victim survey, and noted that while almost all Whites (95%) feel “very” and “fairly” safe at home, only about half of Blacks (52%) and Coloureds (56%) feel this way. Actual victimization reports indicated that most White victimization (79%) occurs away from their homes, most Black and Coloured victimization (51% and 55%) occur in their homes (ibid). The children’s accounts of safe and rich houses as those mostly inhabited by Whites and located in the suburbs confirm this. Their descriptions of their own environments (Khayelitsha) relayed the prevalence of gangsterism, stealing and violence.

Regarding alcohol abuse, children’s overall exposure to “very common” alcohol abuse has the highest frequency at 56%. This distribution persists when considering poverty status of the children’s households. In fact, non-poor households have a higher incidence of “very common” alcohol abuse (58%) than poor households (44%), probably due to their higher disposable incomes. The effects of exposure to alcoholic abuse are extensive, with these children being at higher risk of alcoholic abuse compared to other children who don’t witness such misuse. In fact, studies including Anda et al (2002) and Kilpatrick et al (2003), have reported that children exposed to alcohol abuse in the home and community are more likely to experience all forms of violence including substance abuse, alcohol abuse. They are also at higher risk of experiencing post-traumatic stress disorder.

¹¹⁸ It is important to note that NIDS’ question about the frequency of violence among different households in the same neighbourhood relates to general neighbourhood safety, and does not capture domestic violence which is included in another question.

An analysis by population group shows that the alcohol abuse is prevalent in Black African (59%) and Coloured (63%) children's neighbourhoods, but less so for Asian/Indians and Whites for whom neighbourhood alcohol abuse is mostly very rare. The child respondents in this study (who are themselves Black African and Coloureds) hinted at this possibility with their repeated mentions of alcoholism as a societal problem.

8.7. CHILDREN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO ENHANCING NIDS SCOPE FOR CHILD POVERTY MEASUREMENT

The dimensions and indicators of child poverty proposed by the child participants in this study were discussed in Chapter 6, and elaborated on in Chapter 7. The preceding analysis in this chapter has partly addressed research objective 3 listed under section 1.5.1.2. of Chapter 1.

To fully address the objective, the proposed indicators (per dimension) gleaned from findings presented in the preceding two chapters are set out in the table below, and have been generally aligned to conform to these guidelines. Regarding indicator selection, Roelen et al (2010:132-133) suggested some guidelines: Indicators should be: (i) Child-specific (ii) Easily observable and measurable (e.g. quality of services is not). (iii) Easily interpretable (iv) Factual not subjective and (v) Adhere to the values and norms of the specific society in order to be meaningful.

It is noteworthy that the information presented in the table below is not an exhaustive list of (direct or derivable) information in NIDS. However, the children's suggestions relate to direct and implied/derivable indicators that could either be incorporated into or elaborated on in NIDS. The proposed indicators/areas of interest vary across dimensions, with some areas having more outcomes than others as presented in the table below:

Table 8.17. Select areas & sample indicators proposed to measure child poverty

S/n	Dimension	What NIDS Collects (Examples from available data)	Outcomes from this study (Children's suggestions)
1	Family Belonging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary caregiver's information • Living status of Mother & Father • Relationship status of child's parents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children with absent fathers (i.e. fathers who are not dead but also not active in their children's lives) • Children in non-biological family care (i.e. neither nuclear nor extended) • Children without adult care/supervision
2	Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overcrowding (Derivable data) • Roofing, Floor and Wall materials • Housing conditions • Amenities – Water, Sanitation, Energy source etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street children (Abandoned & Absconded Children) • Having separate living and cooking areas • Location of house (safety concerns)

3	Food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food expenditure information • Food consumption information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How many times the child went hungry in school and/or at home (to bed) • How many times the child ate inadequate quantities of food or reduced food quality • If and when the child's household eats only particular staple foods • How many meals the child eats daily, on average • Food source(s): bought vs. borrowed vs. begged for • If the child eats adequate and nutritious food (balanced diet) • If and how often a child eats at the school feeding scheme
4	Appearance: Clothing and Shoes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amount spent on cloth and shoe purchases in past year 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No suitable clothes (for school, play and festive occasions) • Wearing same clothes repeatedly • Clothing and Shoe conditions • Clothing and Shoe source(s): bought vs. borrowed vs. begged for
5	Water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Water source(s): access to clean pipe-borne water 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unrestricted access (private or public/shared, including unlimited quantities) to clean and dependable water sources
6	Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reasons for non-enrolment in school • Dropout rates and reasons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (In)ability to pay tuition and buy school aids (uniforms, stationery etc.) • Relative quality of education: school standards and amenities • Enrolment in and completion of University degree (may be relevant in retrospect)
7	Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to hospital when sick • Medical aid coverage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Availability of and access to hospital care and medication when sick re: affordability

			and transportation
8	Finances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main income source 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (Un)availability of money to meet basic needs • Existence and value of debt
9	Jobs & Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment status 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Type of job and skill-level required: skilled or unskilled
10	Social Protection (CSG)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grant beneficiaries • Reasons for not receiving social grant 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What needs (child or household) the CSG is used for • Whether the CSG is enough or has to be supplemented with other grants and/or income. By how much and how often?
11	Material Possessions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household Assets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership of a doll • Ownership of a soccer ball
12	Technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to/Ownership of Computer • Access to/Ownership of Phone 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internet access
13	Transportation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Usual mode of transport to school • Amount spent on transport to school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical comfort and safety • Affordability
14	Play & Leisure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amount spent on purchasing toys 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Availability of and access to safe parks in the neighbourhood • Availability of and access to recreational aids and equipment • Friends to play with i.e. social network ties
15	Safety	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incidence of violence among households in neighbourhood • Incidence of theft and burglary in neighbourhood • Incidence of alcohol abuse in neighbourhood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incidence of rape in neighbourhood • Incidence of kidnapping in neighbourhood • Prevalence of drug pushing in neighbourhood • Presence of physical security measures (e.g. gates) in neighbourhood • Responsiveness of Police to crime in neighbourhood

Source: Author's Construction (2017)

The additional dimensions and indicators suggested by the children in this study as presented in table 8.17. above are yet to be tested for reliability and/or validity, because this would require data collection – an endeavour which though not a primary objective of

this research, can be conducted as further research (as suggested in section 9.4. of Chapter 9). Still, a logic review of the children’s suggestions indicates that poverty measurement according to the proposed dimensions and indicators appears realistic and measurable – if the required data is collected.

Furthermore, their suggestions highlight the need for and importance of contextualization. For instance, with respect to the indicators for the Safety dimension as specified in the table above, the children have recognized the need for more robust measures that highlight the culture of violence in South Africa: rape, kidnapping, drug pushing, the need for physical security and responsiveness of the Police to crime. These indicators are specific and directly related to poverty stricken communities in South Africa, where they occur most frequently. They propose an extension of measurement beyond the ‘usual indicators’ of neighbourhood safety like violence among households, burglary/theft and alcohol abuse captured by NIDS. Also, the emphasis on indicators of social protection, provided by the Child Support Grant (CSG) – its utilization, sufficiency and supplementary efforts – reflects the crucial value of the CSG for poor South African children – a measure which may not matter in other country contexts (developed or developing). Essentially, the proposed indicators meet the guidelines set out by Roelen et al (2010), especially acquiring meaning/relevance by adhering to the values and norms of South Africa.

Earlier in Chapter 3, the dimensions and indicators used to measure multidimensional child poverty in related studies across developed and developing country contexts were presented in section 3.3. Also, children’s conceptualisations of child poverty from existing studies were presented section 3.4. of Chapter 3. In relation to these existing studies, the children’s propositions in the table above corroborate the fact that there are some dimensions that are indispensable in measuring child poverty e.g. Adequate care (Family Belonging), Food, Housing, Education, Health etc.

The United Kingdom is renowned for consciously tracking child poverty over the years, with efforts being made at both government and non-government levels. In an analysis of child poverty in the United Kingdom using the Poverty and Social Exclusion (PSE) survey 2012, Main & Bradshaw (2014) grouped a list of socially perceived necessities (SPN in (overlapping) domains, to help identify deprivations in these specific areas. The domains and SPNs included:

Table 8.18. – Socially perceived Necessities in Poverty and Social Exclusion Survey (PSE) 2012

Domain	SPN constituents
Food	3 Meals; Fruit; Meat
Clothes	Coat; Shoes; Clothes; Trousers
Participation	Celebrations; Hobby; Clubs; Day trips; Holiday, Leisure
Development	Study; Game; Computer; Lego; School trips
Environment	Garden/Outdoor space; Bedroom
Finance	Pocket money; Saving money
Family	Holiday; Day trips; Celebrations
Individual	Clubs; School trips; Leisure

Source: Main & Bradshaw (2014)

Main & Bradshaw’s (2014) SPN list is similar to the SPN list used in this study (see section 6.7.1. in Chapter 6), lending credence to the shared areas of concern in child poverty

measurement, across countries. Another study of ‘*Child and Family Poverty in Wales*’, by a charity organisation, Children in Wales, surveyed adults’ opinions about poverty issues, including key dimensions. They also conducted a workshop with young people (in Year 12). Beyond suggesting indicators of child poverty, outcomes from the workshop included additional insights on the limiting effects of child poverty on (short-term and long-term) capabilities as presented in the table below:

Table 8.19. – Findings from Child and Family Poverty in Wales, United Kingdom

Dimension	Indicator	Immediate effects on Children, including Capabilities and Future Outcomes
Food	Low nutrition	Low attention span due to lack of energy
	Need for free school dinners	Less opportunities
	Lack of hot meals	Poor concentration resulting in poor attainment in school and possibly a harder life and inability to get a decent job in future
Housing	Unhygienic housing conditions (e.g. dampness)	Poor health
	Lack of heating	Exposure to cold
	No space to study for school	Loss of private space
	Rough neighbourhoods	Bad influences result in no productivity, resort to drug usage, and decrease chances of success in life
	Poor housing	Child depression
Debt (i.e. Finances)	Family debt with increasing interest	Vicious cycle of poverty which affects ability to meet basic needs including educational materials
Employment	No decent jobs	Low wages
Transport	Lack of transport	Inability to attend school, work

Source: Children in Wales 2017

These findings reaffirm the indispensability of certain dimensions, and also suggest that the effects of child poverty while not identical are closely related. For instance, for the financial dimension, while South African children suggest the existence and value of debt as an indicator of poverty, children in the UK extend the discourse by highlighting the effect of increasing interest on the debt.

Overall, for this study, the children’s suggestions indicate the need to move beyond conventional dimensions and indicators, and towards gathering more robust data that helps unpack the dynamics and lived realities of poverty in a contextual manner. Still, it is noteworthy that while NIDS collects data on anthropometrics, the children did not dwell so much on issues relating to physical stature/bodily wellbeing (e.g. stunting, wasting and obesity). Their mention was limited to saying that being thin is indicative of poverty. Given the research objectives, anthropometric analysis was however not conducted as it extends beyond the research scope of comparing dimensions emerging from this study with available NIDS data.

8.8. CHAPTER SUMMARY

The analysis above indicates that generally, poverty is predominant in rural areas; children's households in Tribal Authority Areas are poorest, with inadequate access to basic amenities like water and electricity. The mostly rural provinces where these households are located are also the poorest, by income and expenditure-based poverty measures. This supports Hall & Wright's (2010:48 & 56) conclusion that children are disproportionately represented in rural and non-metropolitan areas, which are "under-resourced" and "under-serviced". As well, children's households in urban informal areas – townships and informal settlements – experience more deprivations compared to those in urban formal areas. Analysis by both income-based and expenditure-based poverty measures also indicate that older children aged between 6 to 10 and 11 to 14 are the poorest.

Furthermore, the findings above largely corroborate most from Streak et al's (2009:189) review of previous child poverty measurement research in South Africa; they identified the following common conclusions relating to the child poverty profile:

- Concentration of child poverty amongst the African and (to a lesser extent) the Coloured child populations.
- Higher child poverty rates in rural than in urban areas.
- Higher child poverty in households without wage income.
- Over-representation of households headed by women in the poor child population.
- Large variation across the nine provinces.

This study also uncovered the still important role of the extended family in child nurturing¹¹⁹, and shows the lasting effect of apartheid on current day structures and processes. Besides, the dynamics of child poverty as shown in the analysis of NIDS above justifies why Black African and Coloured children were the only population groups included in the qualitative aspect of this study; statistically and in reality, they have peculiar views and first-hand experiences of poverty compared to Asian/Indian and White children.

Hall & Wright (2010:66) referred to the value-added by NIDS in highlighting the pathways through which child poverty leads to poor child outcomes:

"This information can be used by policy makers to address not only the present day challenges faced by children but also to promote positive outcomes further down the line".

So, the responsibility of researchers extends beyond analysis that identifies poor children and the extent of their poverty, to using the findings to inform, direct and influence policymaking. This is the message of Wolfensohn's quote at the beginning of this chapter. Essentially, survey analysis should contribute to influencing and improving children's capabilities and functionings, now and in future (i.e. in both childhood and especially in adulthood).

¹¹⁹ Noteworthy is that the children's narratives did not touch on the discourse of children as carers; they usually positioned children as needing/receiving care rather than as giving care.

Overall, the use of participatory methods in this study has helped highlight issues of topical and evolving relevance concerning dimensions and indicators of child poverty in South Africa, and provide deeper insight about the children's faces behind the numbers categorised as poor. This in turn contributes to realising the central aim of NIDS: to understand and track the dynamics of poverty in South Africa over time.



CHAPTER 9 – CONCLUSION

"Extreme poverty anywhere is a threat to human security everywhere" — Kofi Annan

"Poverty does not belong in civilised human society. Its proper place is in a museum" - Muhammad Yunus

9.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarizes and concludes the thesis. It begins by presenting an integrated summary of the mixed methods components – objectives, methods and key achievements. The outcomes of the study per research objective/question are presented next, highlighting the key findings per theme. This feeds into the study's empirical, methodological and theoretical contributions to research, policymaking and development namely: (i) an expansion of empirical boundaries of knowledge about (child) poverty in South Africa and its complexities (ii) a reliable and replicable methodology for participatory mixed methods analysis of child poverty and (iii) an evidencing of the theoretical relevance and practicalities of linkages among poverty, capabilities and children's/human rights. Based on the scope of the study and in relation to new knowledge about what remains unclear and/or unknown, suggestions are made for further research. The thesis then ends with concluding thoughts about the study's findings and implications for effective poverty alleviation and eradication in the context of South Africa.

9.2 INTEGRATING OUTCOMES, ANSWERING RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SUMMARISING CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to achieve three primary objectives. The first objective was to compare children's conceptualisations of poverty with existing ones and also ascertain the dimensions (and indicators) that they prioritise compared with those used in existing studies. The second objective was to examine the incidence, causes and solutions of poverty that children identify as important in South Africa's context, and analyse their strategies to cope with poverty as individuals and household members. The third objective was to create a data picture of child poverty in South Africa per specific social categories. Two theoretical frameworks - (i) Sen's Capabilities Approach and (ii) Children's Rights were used to guide the interpretation and analysis of findings in the study.

A mixed methods design entailing a sequential integration of qualitative methods and quantitative (descriptive) analysis was employed to achieve these three objectives. The first two objectives were realised through participatory research methods with the children including drawing, sentence completion, story-telling/writing, scenario vignettes, thematic questioning, interviews and focus group discussions. The third objective was accomplished through basic descriptive analysis of secondary data from the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS), a longitudinal and nationally representative survey for South Africa. The combined goal of these 3 objectives was to make a unique contribution to the study of child poverty in South Africa (and efforts to alleviate and eradicate it by (i) creating and expanding knowledge of the nature and context of child poverty in South Africa from children's experiences and perceptions and (ii) using qualitative findings to improve the extent of data collection and the depth of quantitative assessments.

The qualitative findings served to conceptualise (child) poverty in South Africa and identify its relevant dimensions from children's perspectives, develop contextual understandings

about it and provide a foundation for analysis of quantitative data in NIDS. It also functioned as a mirror to reveal grey areas of children's experiences and perceptions of poverty. These were in turn matched to available quantitative data with the aim of examining the sufficiency of existing poverty data, suggesting areas of improvement in the scope of data collection and improving measurement outcomes. As a by-product, the quantitative analysis mostly corroborated the findings from the qualitative sessions with the children. This mixed methods approach, termed the *Participatory Child Poverty Assessment Workflow (PCPAW)* represents a broader approach to studying and understanding the complexities of (child) poverty in South Africa.

The subsequent paragraphs present the detailed conclusions reached by this study.

9.2.1. Children's concepts, dimensions and indicators of poverty versus existing studies

Conceptualisation of poverty

The study first aimed to ascertain how children understand and define poverty – from experience and perception. An ensuing inquiry was whether their concepts about poverty reinforces, expands or challenges existing knowledge about child poverty. Findings revealed that the children conceived poverty as basic needs/absolute deprivation, monetary inadequacy/material lack, relative deprivation, capability deprivation, social exclusion and psychological strain. These concepts of poverty reinforced existing concepts, with the first five conventional concepts featuring most prominently in the children's narratives. The overall message was that poverty should be defined as a combination of the six concepts.

A permeating theme in the children's narratives about concepts of poverty was the linkage of poverty to capabilities – what an individual can do or be given what s/he has access to (resources) and the influence exerted by his/her environment. All of these were in turn determinants of an individual's eventual choice and his/her actual achievements, now and in future. The general idea was that poor individuals lack access to basic resources and are therefore very restricted in what they can do or be (capability sets), if anything at all. The freedom to choose (i.e. having options) was also perceived as something that the poor lack. These connections strongly support and connect to the capabilities theoretical frame of the study. The depth/intensity of poverty also emerged as an important component to distinguish between the rich and poor as well as identify different levels of poverty: poor vs. very poor.

Multidimensionality of poverty: Dimensions and Indicators

Building on the proposed concepts, the study examined the dimensions and indicators that the children prioritize for measuring poverty in relation to those used in existing studies. The outcomes from this was that the children expanded the ambit of dimensions to be included in poverty measurement by proposing the inclusion of Family Belonging, Appearance (Clothes & Shoes), Jobs & Employment, Social Protection: Child Support Grant (CSG) and Safety as new/additional dimensions to measure child poverty. The children also proposed the conventional dimensions currently used in existing studies; these included Education, Health, Nutrition, Water & Sanitation, Housing, Finances, Material possessions, Technology, Play/Leisure and Transportation.

Noteworthy is the children's emphasis of the importance of family belonging, not just as a conduit for satisfaction of life needs but also as a foundational source of attachment and kinship - an important factor in children's holistic development.

Beyond establishing the interconnectivity of the various dimensions in relation to capabilities and functionings (e.g. how being uneducated affects the availability and quality of jobs that a poor child can aspire to in future, which in turn affects whether or not the child remains poor or escapes poverty), the children's narratives also related specifically to the dimensions. For example, how poverty (defined as a lack of resources e.g. housing), imposed limitations on the capability sets of the poor (e.g. possibilities of being safe, being warm, being comfortable, being clean, being happy) and their functionings (what they could achieve in life e.g. a healthy body, psychological wellness, social interaction, longevity).

The proposed dimensions also correlated strongly with both theories underlying the study, by mapping firstly unto a list of child-focused capabilities proposed by Biggeri (2004) and secondly unto the 4 P's categories of children's rights in the UN CRC (*Provision, Protection, Participation and Prevention rights*).

Furthermore, the children relayed indicators across certain categories: economic/financial, biological/socio-emotional, physical/bodily use and household/environmental circumstances, as priorities in assessing child poverty. The children were relatively less concerned with poverty indicators across other categories: social/technological, mental/educational and fun treats/vocational/recreational.

9.2.2. Incidence, causes and solutions of poverty including coping strategies

Incidence of poverty

The children identified, described and emphasised the historic and still current racial slant of poverty in South Africa, whereby generations of the Black African and Coloured populations have been entrapped in poverty cycles over the years. Specifically, using race as a category, the poor were listed as Black people and Brown (Coloured) people, but with a handful noting that some Whites, though few, are also poor. On the basis of ethnicity, Xhosa people were mostly identified as being poor. Other classifiers including locality (e.g. living in the township vs. living in the suburb and/or living in rural vs. urban areas), employment status (including skill level and job type/quality) and asset ownership (farm labourers/blue-collar workers vs. owners/entrepreneurs) were proposed as markers of the scope of poverty and wealth.

Causes of poverty

The racial prevalence of poverty was mainly attributed to South Africa's apartheid history and its legacies, which negatively affect the quality of life of many Blacks (especially Africans and Coloureds) till date. The place of individual shortcomings and public corruption as secondary factors in creating and enabling poverty were also recognised.

Categorising the causes of poverty as structural (apartheid), personal (alcoholism, laziness, reckless spending and family separation) and external (unemployment, inadequate/no wages, incomplete/no education, poor social welfare), the children's accounts detailed how the interactions of these three categories of causes sustain poverty. Corresponding causal categories of wealth were structural (historical advantage, appropriation and inheritance),

personal (higher education, hard work, entrepreneurship) and external (corruption, privileged jobs).

Solutions to poverty

Likewise, the solutions proffered cut across the responsibilities of individuals (children), family (society) and government. The key role of government in effective and sustainable poverty eradication was emphasised. From empirical findings, Krishnakumar (2008:131) noted,

“a better social and political environment implies not only a better conversion of capabilities into achievements, but also enhances the capabilities themselves”.

Essentially, government is instrumental to the improvement of citizen's capabilities to do and/or be, and their actual life achievements. In fact, the success of all other efforts was hinged on the nature and extent of government's will, policies/programmes and interventions because poverty was largely perceived as a structural problem. The children however expressed their discontent with the South African government's commitment and efforts to fulfil its promises to South Africans, especially poor children. Relatedly, Nandy & Gordon (2009:222) earlier concluded that the political will to prioritize children's needs is generally lacking in developing countries due to financial scrimping.

Other suggestions covered the importance of family/fostering for poor children, the crucial provision of basic needs (food, shelter, clothing and water), the need for non-discriminatory and quality education, the economic value of jobs and wages, the indispensability of social security for the poor and the fundamental importance of responsible and people-focused leadership. The children also advocated for restitution efforts: in clear terms, for a once off pay out to deprived citizens, and imprecisely, for Blacks to be given their belongings back.

In discussing the solutions, the children generally expressed their desires for improved living standards, healthy social relationships and an equitable South African society that is truly free from the shackles of apartheid and its legacies.

Coping strategies – as individuals

For managing poverty as individuals, the children reported adopting a number of psychological and physical strategies aimed at solving, stalling and/or snubbing the problems. These problems related mostly to lack of food – in school and at home – and inability to meet certain needs when due or desired e.g. having new clothes at Christmas.

Sharing with friends, with the understanding that the giver today could be the one in need tomorrow, mostly solved the problem of inadequate/no food. Essentially, asking for food was not a shameful action, as sharing was common practice among the children. The school feeding scheme was also an option for when children did not have home-packed lunches or lunch money at school. Persevering and/or deferring the fulfilment of needs were coping strategies adopted to manage other needs-related problems.

Coping strategies – as household members

At the household level, problems experienced included inadequate/no food, no money and overcrowded living. Strategies including cutbacks, borrowing, sharing and resource pooling were adopted to manage food and financial shortages.

Specific actions entailed reducing the quantity and/or quality of food consumed by household members as well as reverting to staple foods. Occasionally, drinking tea or water for dinner was a last resort when food was scarce. The children also reported that their parents leveraged on social ties to manage food scarcity; they borrowed or collected food from neighbours and friends, bought on credit from the local *Spaza* or resorted to food (and resource) sharing clubs called *Stokvels*. A common financial strategy was also to pool household members' social grants to buy basic staple foods to last for the month. When their households had financial difficulties, borrowing from loan sharks and acquaintances was a reported coping strategy alongside using their grandparents' social grant. On the other hand, the children dealt with the problem of overcrowding in their houses by a resolve to fate because there were no immediate solutions.

All the strategies to cope with poverty – as individuals and household members – relied mainly on social networks (including kinship and goodwill) and then on government support in the form of social grants.

9.2.3. Data picture of child poverty in South Africa

The Upper Bound Poverty Line (UBPL) of R965 was used to distinguish between the poor and non-poor, and relevant data across the dimensions proposed by the children were analysed to highlight the incidence of poverty across groupings by race, age, location and province. Findings confirmed the children's accounts and reports of existing studies, that Black Africans and Coloureds wear the racial face of poverty in South Africa, and the tribal authority areas that suffered great neglect during apartheid remained the poorest. At the provincial level, Eastern Cape, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo provinces were the poorest.

The approach of this analysis was not to be driven by data availability, but to use the children's contributions to uncover and highlight areas to which attention should be directed to during data collection, thereby improving measurement outcomes of child poverty in South Africa. So, areas of improvement in data collection emerged (across the 15 dimensions proposed by the children), from comparing specific propositions from the children's narratives with the available data in NIDS. These areas of improvement proposed by the children comprised the inclusion of data on: incidences of street children, instances of going to bed/school hungry, number of daily meals, availability of clothes for different occasions, financial difficulties related to schooling, access to health care (cost & transportation), existence and value of debt, CSG spending and questions about its sufficiency, internet access, quality of transportation (cost, comfort and safety), safe access to nearby parks/playgrounds and response rate of police to neighbourhood crime among others.

9.3 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

This study set out to make a tripartite contribution to empirical knowledge, methodological approaches and theoretical understandings. The specific outcomes of this are:

9.3.1. Empirical contribution

This study contributes primarily to existing knowledge in the area of poverty studies, (across academia, general society and international development), by providing an extensive inquiry which appreciates and utilises the unique value of children's experiences and perceptions. This is relevant given that children's voices are not currently incorporated in studies to understand and measure child poverty. Moreover, because poverty is a highly personal experience, this study fills a knowledge gap which is crucial to the success of interventions aiming to reduce and eradicate child poverty in South Africa. With this, and by further analysing the context in numbers (the data picture of child poverty in South Africa), the study has made a concrete epistemological contribution to creating a contextual understanding of child poverty in South Africa.

Likewise, the establishment of linkages between qualitative findings and available quantitative data (see table 8.17 in Chapter 8) helped highlight possible areas of improvement in survey data collection and by extension, would help improve the scope and depth of child poverty measurement. This is in itself a unique contribution of relevance to child poverty measurement, and to the successful and meaningful implementation of child poverty alleviation and eradication policies and programmes in South Africa.

Furthermore, as an overall secondary contribution, the execution and outcomes of this study fulfills a fundamental role of the field of childhood studies in academia and general society: proving children's capacity to participate in research on complex issues, even poverty. As Ben-Arieh (2007:13) noted,

“indeed incorporating children's subjective perceptions is both a prerequisite and a consequence of the changing field of measuring and monitoring child well-being”.

This study therefore affirms children's competence as social actors capable of contributing meaningfully in studies about their lives. This motivates why children should be approached as independent-thinking individuals, not only as attachments to their families/households. It also justifies why they should be active subjects of research rather than inactive objects of study.

Overall, to the best of my knowledge, no empirical study has examined (child) poverty in South Africa either with the intents and approach of this study or to the scope and depth that this study has. This creates a further potential contribution in terms of the SDGs, specifically SDG 1: Target (1.2) to 'by 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions'. The findings of this study help validate the use of erstwhile measures of progress for this target. The additional dimensions/indicators suggested by the children could be used for improved assessment of South Africa's progress towards achieving this SDG target – an approach that is justified on the basis of being first-hand submissions of the subjects themselves.

9.3.2. Methodological contribution

The added value of mixed methods in poverty research is gradually gaining recognition (Hayati et al 2006) because it allows important connections (between qualitative and quantitative processes) to be made and deepens insights about the intricacies of poverty.

The formulation and application of the *Participatory Child Poverty Assessment Workflow (PCPAW)* in this study, improves on conventional methods and processes of studies seeking to understand and measure child poverty. It is a case in point of how participatory research can be blended with quantitative inquiries. By extending knowledge from qualitative methods to test and improve quantitative input (data), the PCPAW provides evidence of how methods can be integrated to improve poverty measurement efforts and outcomes. And the PCPAW is not confined to South Africa's context; it is a workflow that can be adapted and applied to other countries - developed and developing.

An accompanying methodological contribution is the value affirmation of the ethical principles of (i) willfull participation (ii) informed consent/assent (iii) best interest and (iv) individual wellbeing and confidentiality, (expressed in Figure 5.2 of Chapter 5) as sufficient model tenets to guide any child participatory research studies, especially in a context of poverty. The absence of negative eventualities (social, emotional, physical etc.) that could have occurred in this study (given the sensitivity of conducting research with children in poverty and the myriad of regulations that generally guide child research), is the major consideration on which this contribution is hinged.

9.3.3. Theoretical contribution

The extensive review of the concepts and dimensions (including indicators) of child poverty in light of capabilities and children's rights expands existing and ongoing discourses about the relationship among capabilities, rights and poverty. The study demonstrated how direct linkages can be made between the nature and depth of an individual's poverty and what that individual can do and/or be, now and in future. The study also established how poverty and deprivation qualify as affronts to children's rights given the justiciability of children's rights and the immutability of government's responsibility for its child citizens. These outcomes confirm how capabilities and children's rights work in tandem to influence poverty. Specifically, the study provides evidence of the counterbalancing relationship between rights and capabilities on poverty reduction and eradication. The study therefore highlights the combined theoretical value of Sen's capabilities approach and the human (children's) rights approach to conceptualising and understanding poverty as shown in Table 6.4 where links were made among Biggeri's (2004) list of capabilities for children, the dimensions proposed by child participants in this study and categories of children's rights as set out in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN CRC).

The children's narratives also evidence and extensively support Sen's proposition that children's capabilities should be treated as potential functionings, with emphasis placed on what they can do and/or be in future, not now. They advocate for the value of theoretical insights in determining children's future freedom to choose what they can do and/or be. This knowledge assists policy makers, development workers and researchers to make concrete and practical connections between past and present circumstances and future outcomes in the design and delivery of poverty interventions.

As well, the study uncovered and showcased the fuzziness between child poverty and general poverty. This justifies why and how theoretical perspectives, assumptions and

expectations about poverty (as a crosscutting social problem) should be developed and/or adjusted accordingly.

9.4. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study has incorporated children's views about poverty into improving understandings and measurement of (child) poverty in South Africa, with the aim of filling a knowledge gap. However, the outcomes of this study can be improved upon in terms of the research sample size, country coverage, depth of multidimensional poverty measurement and scope of data analysis.

Firstly, this study included only a small sample of Black and Coloured children across two poor locations (urban informal and rural formal) in South Africa, who share either living or schooling contexts. However, this group of children do not sufficiently represent the views of all Black and Coloured children living in poverty, and are not a nationally representative sample of the Black and Coloured child populations. They also don't represent the poorest of the poor children in South Africa (recall that the depth/intensity of poverty was an important component of poverty for the children). This affects the extent to which generalisations can be made and inferences drawn. It would therefore be useful to apply the PCPAW (qualitative phase) using a nationally representative sample that includes children across various levels of poverty and children from different contexts (e.g. rural formal, tribal authority areas, urban formal and urban informal) etc. This is because their daily experiences of poverty are likely to differ, thus necessitating different customised solutions. Also, the study could be extended to include poor children across the all four South African population groups, to contrast and compare how different children conceptualise and experience poverty. This may also help assess whether race is a stronger factor (than socio-economic status/poverty level) influencing children's experiences of poverty. The qualitative phase of the PCPAW can also be applied to non-poor children in South Africa (across all four population groups), to compare whether or not poor and non-poor children conceptualise poverty differently.

Secondly, the PCPAW can also be applied across countries in a comparative analysis with other countries especially those without histories scarred by racial inequality like South Africa's. This could help assess the socio-economic impact and opportunity costs of such histories on economic growth and development, citizen equality and current patterns of resource ownership and control.

Thirdly, the objectives of this study informed the conduction of quantitative analysis at indicator level rather than subsuming them into an index. Further research can attempt to develop a multidimensional child poverty index for South Africa using the Alkire-Foster method (Alkire & Foster 2007, 2009). This method has been and is still being used by researchers in both developing (Roelen et al 2010 – Vietnam; Trani et al 2013 – Afghanistan; Bader et al 2016 – Lao People's Democratic Republic) and developed (Wust & Volkert 2012 – Germany; Mitra et al 2013 – United States of America) country contexts.

Lastly, NIDS data collection could be expanded with the dimensions and indicators proposed by the children. The more robust data incorporating children's views can then be analysed, cross-sectionally for profile assessments or longitudinally to track the shifting face of poverty in South Africa. This would also provide an avenue to conduct reliability and validity tests on the dimensions and indicators proposed by the children.

9.5. CLOSING THOUGHTS

South Africa is a country that carries a burdensome history which created and sustains its current problems especially the racial structure of poverty and wealth. As constant in the children's narratives, poverty is primarily caused by a loss or lack of resources. In South Africa's case, this loss/lack of resources was deliberately created and strategically entrenched via repression and dispossession.

Since 1994, government efforts to improve equitable access to and ownership of resources have only been partially successful as the structure of resource ownership and control remains inequitable. Besides basic social policy and infrastructural provisions (e.g. free/subsidised public primary education, functional transportation system, well-maintained roads, free/subsidised public healthcare etc.), the social grants system is another visible and effective intervention that caters to over a third of the nation's citizens. However, as Devereux & Waidler (2017:24) observed, "the social grants are not high enough, and social grants alone are not enough". So, it is obvious that social grants, including the efficient CSG can't help the poor escape poverty permanently.

Even before the end of apartheid, Wilson & Ramphela had (in 1989), noted that uprooting poverty in South Africa does not only involve transformation in agriculture, power and ownership structures, racist ideologies and general society; it requires a crucial redistribution of power. They also concluded that:

"A metamorphosis in South African society is needed. Specifically, the redistribution of wealth and the development of organizations which promote fair practice and equality should be implemented" (ibid).

Over two decades after the end of apartheid, it is clear that this metamorphosis requires a strategic undoing of the consequences of apartheid. Gavin Keeton (2014)¹²⁰ rightly summarised this undoing thus:

"if inequality is the cause of all problems, then the solution to all problems must be to take from the rich and give to the poor".

The question of when, how and how soon this undoing will start however remains unanswered for many poor South African children, their families and generations to come.

¹²⁰ <http://www.ngopulse.org/article/inequality-south-africa>

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APPENDIXES

Table 1 - South Africa – Poverty and Inequality Indicators

MEASURE	DESCRIPTION	1993	1995	2000	2006	2009
GINI COEFFICIENT	GINI index	59.33	56.59	57.77	67.4	63.14
INCOME SHARE (DECILES)	Income share held by highest 10%	46.66	45.09	44.93	57.54	51.69
	Income share held by lowest 10%	1.25	1.53	1.28	1.07	1.17
INCOME SHARE (QUINTILES)	Income share held by highest 20%	64.33	61.83	62.65	72.21	68.21
	Income share held by fourth 20%	18.17	18.38	18.81	14.2	16.3
	Income share held by third 20%	9.3	10.15	9.88	7.08	8.16
	Income share held by second 20%	5.25	6.07	5.6	4.06	4.63
	Income share held by lowest 20%	2.95	3.57	3.06	2.45	2.7
NUMBER OF POOR	Number of poor at \$1.25 a day (PPP) (millions)	9.11	8.38	11.53	8.37	6.92
	Number of poor at \$2 a day (PPP) (millions)	15.41	15.61	18.88	17.25	15.73
	Number of poor at \$2.5 a day (PPP) (millions)	18.31	19.00	22.32	21.20	19.83
	Number of poor at \$4 a day (PPP) (millions)	23.97	25.59	29.06	28.72	27.88
	Number of poor at \$5 a day (PPP) (millions)	26.33	28.28	31.86	31.81	31.30
	Population, total (millions)	37.47	39.12	44.00	48.27	50.22
POVERTY GAP	Poverty gap at \$1.25 a day (PPP) (%)	6.92	5.22	8.18	3.27	2.3
	Poverty gap at \$2 a day (PPP) (%)	16.84	15.02	18.31	12.31	10.16
	Poverty gap at \$2.5 a day (PPP) (%)	22.49	20.89	24.03	17.84	15.24
	Poverty gap at \$4 a day (PPP) (%)	35.52	34.77	37.22	30.86	27.64
	Poverty gap at \$5 a day (PPP) (%)	41.86	41.63	43.65	37.26	33.93
POVERTY HEADCOUNT RATIO	Poverty headcount ratio at \$1.25 a day (PPP) (% of population)	24.3	21.43	26.2	17.35	13.77
	Poverty headcount ratio at \$2 a day (PPP) (% of population)	41.11	39.9	42.9	35.74	31.33
	Poverty headcount ratio at \$2.5 a day (PPP) (% of population)	48.86	48.57	50.73	43.92	39.48
	Poverty headcount ratio at \$4 a day (PPP) (% of population)	63.96	65.42	66.04	59.49	55.52
	Poverty headcount ratio at \$5 a day (PPP) (% of population)	70.25	72.29	72.4	65.91	62.33

Source: World Bank Databank (Poverty & Inequality database - Last updated 07/07/2014)

Table 2 - Methods used in previous research with children

S/N	TITLE OF PUBLICATION	TYPE OF PUBLICATION	METHODS USED	AGES OF CHILDREN	REFERENCE/LINK
1	Exploring children's stigmatisation of AIDS-affected children in Zimbabwe through drawings and stories.	Journal Article	Drawing Stories	10-12	Campbell, C., Skovdal, M., Mupambireyi, Z., & Gregson, S. (2010). Exploring children's stigmatisation of AIDS-affected children in Zimbabwe through drawings and stories. <i>Social science & medicine</i> , 71(5), 975-985.
2	Ethiopian childhoods: a case study of the lives of orphans and working children.	PhD Dissertation (Norwegian Centre for Child Research, Norwegian University of Science and Technology)	Semi-participant observation Informal dialogues Multiple interviews In depth and focus-group discussions Field notes Story-writing Household visits	8-18	Abebe, T. (2008). Ethiopian childhoods: a case study of the lives of orphans and working children. http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:123904/FULLTEXT01.pdf
3	Indonesian Children's Views and Experiences of Work and Poverty	Journal Article	Semi-structured conversations (simply talking) Drawing Observation	Between 10 and 16	Bessell, S. (2009). Indonesian Children's Views and Experiences of Work and Poverty. <i>Social Policy and Society</i> , 8(04), 527-540. https://crawford.anu.edu.au/pdf/staff/sharon_bessell/2010/bessell_children's_perceptions_of_poverty_in_indonesia.pdf
4	South African children's views	Journal Article	Interviews	South	Bonn, M., Earle, D., Lea, S., & Webley, P.

	of wealth, poverty, inequality and unemployment			African Black (African) aged 7, 9, 11 and 14	(1999). South African children's views of wealth, poverty, inequality and unemployment. <i>Journal of Economic Psychology</i> , 20(5), 593-612. http://ac.els-cdn.com/S0167487099000264/1-s2.0-S0167487099000264-main.pdf?tid=9a60b3b4-5449-11e4-a0a2-00000aab0f02&acdnat=1413363762_05861c57e3ca0701bdcb6a4d5cfa501c
5	“Even If She Learns, She Doesn’t Understand Properly”. Children’s Understandings of Ill-being and Poverty in Five Ethiopian Communities	Journal Article	Qualitative methods: Conversation Drawing Writing Activity-based methods (e.g. creating a timeline) Quantitative methods: Questionnaires	5-6 and 11-13	Camfield, L. (2010). “Even if she learns, she doesn’t understand properly”. Children’s understandings of ill-being and poverty in five Ethiopian communities. <i>Social indicators research</i> , 96(1), 85-112. http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11205-009-9468-z/fulltext.html
6	Children's representation of economic inequalities: The effects of social class	Journal Article	Interviews (based on picture prompts and monopoly money)	7-12	Emler, N., & Dickinson, J. (1985). Children's representation of economic inequalities: The effects of social class. <i>British Journal of Developmental Psychology</i> , 3(2), 191-198.
7	The perception of poverty among adolescents	Journal Article	Questionnaire	Mean age: 15	Furnham, A. (1982). The perception of poverty among adolescents. <i>Journal of Adolescence</i> , 5(2), 135-147.
8	Young people’s understanding of mental illness	Journal Article	Focus Group Discussions	12-14	Secker, J., Armstrong, C., & Hill, M. (1999). Young people's understanding of mental

			Individual Interviews		illness. <i>Health Education Research</i> , 14(6), 729-739. http://her.oxfordjournals.org/content/14/6/729.full.pdf+html
9	A focus group investigation into young children's understanding of mental health and their views on appropriate services for their age group	Journal Article	Focus Group Discussions	10 and 11	Roose, G. A., & John, A. M. (2003). A focus group investigation into young children's understanding of mental health and their views on appropriate services for their age group. <i>Child: care, health and development</i> , 29(6), 545-550. http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy.uwc.ac.za/doi/10.1046/j.1365-2214.2003.00374.x/pdf
10	Imagining migration: placing children's understanding of 'moving house' in Southern Africa.	Journal Article	Drawing Writing	10-17	Van Blerk, L., & Ansell, N. (2006). Imagining migration: placing children's understanding of 'moving house' in Malawi and Lesotho. <i>Geoforum</i> , 37(2), 256-272. http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/573/4/Geoforum%2B-%2BImagining%2Bmigration.pdf.txt
11	Children's experiences of migration: moving in the wake of AIDS in southern Africa	Journal Article	Questionnaire (to choose sample) Focus-group discussions Migration storyboards Migration mapping	10-17	Van Blerk, L., & Ansell, N. (2006). Children's experiences of migration in Southern Africa: moving in the wake of AIDS. <i>Environment and Planning D–Society and Space</i> , 24(3), 449-471. http://bura.brunel.ac.uk/bitstream/2438/588/3/EPD%20children's%20experiences%20of%20migration.pdf.txt
12	'But They Just Don't Respect	Journal Article	Questionnaire survey	12-16	Gaskell, C. (2008). 'But They Just Don't

	Us': Young people's experiences of (dis)respected citizenship and the New Labour Respect Agenda		Focus group discussions Small group diagramming techniques		Respect Us': young people's experiences of (dis) respected citizenship and the New Labour Respect Agenda. <i>Children's geographies</i> , 6(3), 223-238. http://content.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.uwc.ac.za/ContentServer.asp?T=P&P=AN&K=33225455&S=R&D=a9h&EbscoContent=dGJyMNxb4kSep7M4zdnyOLCmr0yepRRsq u4S7SWxWXS&ContentCustomer=dGJyMPGvtU2vqrJMuePfgeyx44Dt6fIA
13	Multiple methods in qualitative research with children: more insight or just more?	Journal Article	Focus Group Interviews Mapping Photovoice (photographs)	4-12	Darbyshire, P., MacDougall, C., & Schiller, W. (2005). Multiple methods in qualitative research with children: more insight or just more? <i>Qualitative research</i> , 5(4), 417-436.
14	Children's perceptions of physical punishment in Ghana and the implications for children's rights	Journal Article	Diaries Interviews Questionnaires	10-16	Imoh, A. T. D. (2013). Children's perceptions of physical punishment in Ghana and the implications for children's rights. <i>Childhood</i> , 20(4), 472-486. http://chd.sagepub.com/content/20/4/472.full.pdf+html
15	"Children don't do sex with adults for Pleasure": Sri Lankan children's views on sex And sexual exploitation	Journal Article	Anonymous self-completed questionnaires	13-17	Miles, G. M. (2000). "Children don't do sex with adults for pleasure": Sri Lankan children's views on sex and sexual exploitation. <i>Child abuse & neglect</i> , 24(7), 995-1003. http://gmmiles.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/childrendontdo sexarticle.pdf
16	'A daddy is the same as a	Journal Article	Interviews (based on	5-8	Malmquist, A., Möllerstrand, A.,

	Mummy’: Swedish children in Lesbian households talk about Fathers and donors		drawings the children made of families)		Wikström, M., & Nelson, K. Z. (2014). ‘A daddy is the same as a mummy’: Swedish children in lesbian households talk about fathers and donors. <i>Childhood</i> , 21(1), 119-133. http://chd.sagepub.com/content/21/1/119.full.pdf+html
17	THE 2003 WAR IN IRAQ An ecological analysis of American and Northern Irish children’s perceptions	Journal Article	Interviews	5-12	Blankemeyer, M., Walker, K., & Svitak, E. (2009). The 2003 War in Iraq An ecological analysis of American and Northern Irish children's perceptions. <i>Childhood</i> , 16(2), 229-246. http://chd.sagepub.com/content/16/2/229.full.pdf+html

Source: Author’s Compilation (2014)

Table 3 – Biography table of child participants

LYNEDOCH GROUP					
	NICKNAME	AGE	GRADE	SEX	RACE
1	Brakenveld	14	7	Male	Coloured
2	Abby 1	13	7	Female	Coloured
3	Abby 2	13	7	Female	Coloured
4	Noesie	13	7	Female	Coloured
5	Noeska	13	7	Female	Coloured
6	Ouna	14	7	Female	Coloured
7	Angel	13	7	Female	Coloured
8	Rasta	14	7	Male	Coloured
9	Dina	14	7	Female	Coloured
10	Liesie	13	7	Female	Coloured

11	Moeksie	14	7	Female	Coloured
12	Koekie	13	7	Female	Coloured
13	Julies	15	7	Male	Black African
14	Metas	14	7	Male	Coloured
15	Pips	14	7	Male	Black African
16	Benie	14	7	Male	Coloured
17	Lulu	13	7	Female	Coloured
18	Ling	14	7	Male	Black African
19	Khulu	13	7	Male	Black African
20	Biesie	13	7	Male	Coloured
21	Vino	16	7	Male	Coloured
22	Lino	14	7	Male	Coloured
23	Oupa	15	7	Male	Coloured
24	Wana	13	7	Female	Coloured
25	Kayla	15	7	Female	Coloured
26	Landie	13	7	Female	Coloured
27	Jockey	15	7	Female	Coloured
28	Wiena	15	7	Female	Black African
29	Kelly G	14	7	Male	Coloured
KHAYELITSHA GROUP					
	NICKNAME	AGE	GRADE	SEX	RACE
1	Angie	8	1	Female	Black African
2	Khona	11	4	Male	Black African
3	Yethu	8	2	Female	Black African
4	Ilo	8	2	Female	Black African
5	Mehlo	7	1	Male	Black African
6	Nke	10	4	Male	Black African
7	Wando	9	3	Male	Black African
8	Kho	9	2	Male	Black African

9	Sipha	8	3	Male	Black African
10	Uvo	8	2	Male	Black African
11	Hlehle	10	5	Female	Black African
12	Lisa	9	3	Female	Black African
13	Mandy	10	4	Female	Black African
14	Ntle	9	2	Female	Black African
15	Nga	10	4	Female	Black African
16	Lili	12	5	Female	Black African
17	Anya	11	6	Female	Black African
18	Vani	7	1	Female	Black African
19	Ezona	13	6	Female	Black African
20	Nalo	14	7	Female	Black African
21	Natasha	13	6	Female	Black African
22	Sanda	14	8	Female	Black African
23	Bravery/Ree	18	11	Female	Black African
24	Anitha	12	6	Female	Black African
25	Skhotho	12	5	Male	Black African
26	Zakes	12	7	Male	Black African
27	Cwan	9	3	Male	Black African
28	Sipho	13	8	Male	Black African
29	Nathi	8	1	Female	Black African
30	Ona	14	7	Female	Black African
31	Andi	14	8	Male	Black African
32	Antla	13	6	Male	Black African
33	Lali	8	2	Male	Black African
34	Zee	13	6	Female	Black African

Source: Author's Compilation (2015)

Figure 1 - (A child-focused and multidimensional model of child poverty for South Africa)



Source: Noble et al (2006a:4)

Picture 1 – Example of Amagqiyazana Children’s Dance Group



Source: YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7HNJGH-br-4>)

Thesis Supervisor's Introductory Letter for Fieldwork Support



22 August, 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN,

PhD Candidate: Adefehinti Bolutife O.F. Student Number: 3409597

Bolutife Adefehinti is a PhD student at the Institute for Social Development, School of Government, University of the Western Cape (UWC), Cape Town, South Africa. She commenced her studies in January 2014 and is in receipt of a prestigious DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) scholarship. The School of Government is part of a Centre of Excellence established at UWC with funding from DAAD for the education and training of leaders and scholars in Africa in the development field. I am the supervisor for Ms. Adefehinti's research and the Director of the Institute for Social Development. I am an economist with 28 years of experience in this field and have completed the supervision of over 26 post-graduate students.

Ms. Adefehinti is in the process of securing approval for her PhD proposal on the prospective research topic: "Exploring Child Poverty in South Africa via quantitative and participatory poverty assessments: An incorporation of children's views into the poverty measurement discourse" The proposal is being reviewed by the University's Senate Higher Degrees Committee and the Humanities Ethics Committee. From December 2014, she would be undertaking fieldwork with children in South Africa to collect the data she requires to complete her doctoral thesis. In carrying out her fieldwork and research, Ms. Adefehinti will abide by the strict research ethics principles set out in the University's Research Policy, particularly in relation to voluntary participation, informed consent and confidentiality. The interviews she conducts and the information she collects will be used solely for the purpose of her thesis, and the anonymity of respondents will be guaranteed. On completion of her degree, she will be encouraged to publish the results in academic journals and to present her findings to appropriate audiences in South Africa.

If you are able to assist Ms. Adefehinti in carrying out her fieldwork in South Africa, I would be very grateful and would like to thank you in advance for the support you provide.

Yours sincerely

Prof Julian D. May
Director, Institute for Social Development



Ethical Considerations of Child Research



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the rights of the Child
RCPCH	Royal College of Pediatrics & Child Health
RECs	Research Ethics Committees
NHA	National Health Act
UWC	University of Western Cape



BACKGROUND TO CHILD PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

The clamoring for children's voices to be heard could be said to have originated from two sources. First from the United Nations Convention on the rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989), which in Articles 12 & 13 stipulates that, children's views should be considered (according to their level of maturity) when making decisions affecting them and that children are entitled to freedom of expression respectively. Second (which may well have roots in the first source), is from a social stirring/responsiveness to the intellectual capability of children to express their opinions on a variety of issues in an objective and unambiguous manner. This second perspective was inspired by the sociology of childhood school, which challenged the pervasive designation of children as being inherently incompetent. Qvortrup (1994), a prominent voice on this flawed social construction of childhood, problematized the notion of childhood as an 'in-transit phase' of incompleteness and the perception of children as 'human becomings' rather than 'human beings'. This is essentially because childhood is not just a transient state in the 'metamorphosis to adulthood'; it is a state of being & life in itself, knowledge of which gives unparalleled insights into individual's prospects and societal structures.

The consideration to hear children's voices has since permeated social science research spaces, especially as it relates to subjects that directly concern them. Children occupy a central place in this study on child poverty - as social actors whose activities and silences can affect, determine and contribute to the formation of social realities and ultimately influence decisions and responses. While Lansdown (1994:38) cited in Morrow & Richards 1996:97) pointed out that "society simply lacks a culture of talking to children", I deem the tendency not to talk to children as lying somewhere on the spectrum between being a conscious neglect (based on the mentality that children have nothing meaningful to say) to being an unknowing oversight (due to the multitude of complex issues that need attention). I would however add that while interaction with children may start with talking to them, it should end with hearing and listening to them such that their opinions influence our eventual actions/decisions as a society.

The aforementioned predisposition to amplify and focus on the acclaimed inadequacy of children's capabilities in society has however fostered a relative relegation of children (compared to adults) to the background of active participation in social science research. This philosophy also largely guides the concern of ethics in research with children, much to the detriment of gaining new knowledge from insights into children's perceptions of knotty issues like child poverty.

ORIGINS OF RESEARCH ETHICS

The foundation of research ethics lies in the Nuremberg Code (1947), which was formulated after the discovery that prisoners in Nazi concentration camps were being used for medical experimentation (Shuster 1997:1436). With principles like voluntary and informed consent, minimal risk being outweighed by the derived benefit, freedom of research subject to opt out, duty of scientist (researcher) to terminate the experiment if continuation is deemed harmful etc., the Nuremberg Code is a template for legal instruments and medical ethics guidelines today that

stipulate the rights of research subjects. These include the South African Constitution, which stipulates that: “everyone has the right not to be subjected to medical or scientific experiments without their informed consent” (Section 12, sub-section 2c).

Thus, global legal restrictions and formal guidelines on ethical obligations as a result of research findings, generally relate to medical and scientific research, which have more extensive and potentially hindering consequences for human physical and psychological wellbeing than social science research like this study proposes. This has however resulted in a prejudice as there are hardly globally/nationally recognized and specialized guidelines for other lines of research with/on humans e.g. social science research. Specifically in South Africa, common law provisions stipulating at what age children’s sole consent is acceptable are mostly medically inclined e.g. use of contraceptives and HIV/AIDS testing at age 14, sex at 16 and abortion at any age (Strode et al 2005:227). Still, a bridge of insight and relevance can be drawn to this research, which though not medical, may carry psychological implications for child participants, mainly because poverty is a sensitive subject and social stigma, even amongst a young population like children.

It is noteworthy that a school of thought concerned with medical research ethics (The Medical Research Council of the UK cited in Morrow & Richards 1996:93; Royal College of Paediatrics & Child Health - RCPCH 2000 cited in Allmark 2002:10) contended that ‘research should not be done on children if the desired responses/results can also be obtained from adults’. Relating that stance to this study, it is important to note that the central focus/underlying theme of this research is to avoid the conventional, pervasive and inefficient practice of using children’s parents & caregivers (or those in loco parentis) as proxies for (re)presenting their children’s’ opinions even though children are the subjects of research. Moreover, the processes and implications of medical and social science research differ on a wide spectrum of features and uses/functions.

This study particularly needs to hear children’s voices because poverty is mostly a social phenomenon that is best known by experience than description i.e. you need to have experienced/known it to explain what it feels like because symptoms (as seen) and effects (as felt) are different. Bessant (2006:56) rightly observed that research based on ‘outsider sources’ or secondary source material¹ has direct implications for the effectiveness of policies aimed at addressing problems. It is therefore crucial to get children’s views about child poverty – what they think causes it, what they think it causes and how they propose it should be alleviated or combatted.

As an illustrative example, goose pimples could be described by someone seeing them ‘as a hyperventilation of skin pores’, but would be more helpfully described by

¹ Including parents/guardians, gatekeepers and secondary data.

someone experiencing them 'as a tingling/prickly sensation of odd coldness or chill'. Likewise, the difference between actual experience & imagination creates a wide chasm between the quality of research about children's lives that involves children and those that don't. (Bell 2008:10) noted that children's views of the world are not always the same as that of adults and even child researchers; children have unique understandings and perspectives. For instance, an interesting anecdote by Garbarino (1992:220- 221, *The Meaning of Poverty in the World of Children*) on middle-class children's responses to his question: 'which would be worse, to be poor or to be blind', revealed that a majority of the children chose being poor as the worse alternative because according to them, 'you could do something about being blind, but you couldn't do anything about being poor'. While these children's responses may be designated childish, it just goes to show how different the view about poverty is from children's' perspective. Garbarino (ibid) also recalled that his colleague's daughter wrote in a school composition that she was the poorest child on her block because she lived in the smallest house...a 7-bedroom house on a block of mansions. So, children could also be said to measure their poverty relative to the wealth of their peers, like adults and indeed international money-metric measures of poverty do.

DEFINING ETHICS

Ethics, defined as "moral principles that govern a person's behaviour or the conducting of an activity", can be further defined as the "the principles of right and wrong behavior that govern a person's behaviour or the conducting of an activity" i.e. when the definition of moral is infused.

A reflexive question would then be 'who/what defines what is right or wrong'? Innately, the human conscience does, but because man can override his/her conscience, we have laws and guidelines that specify the rights and wrongs of society. With respect to child participation in social science research, formalized structures, usually Research Ethics Committees (RECs) are thus established for ethic guidelines formulation and monitoring; this is due to the wide and contentious range of ethical dilemmas that surround conducting social science research with or on children (similar to the one intended in this study). Most national governments and institutional guardians of children (and their rights) set codes of best practice which may either be rigid (as a list of legally-binding principles) or flexible (in form of standardized guidelines) to adhere to or consider when researching children (Morrow & Richards 1996:90).

A broad review of the ethical concerns of child research generally, and then specifically in the South African legal context is presented below.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS & IMPLICATIONS OF CONDUCTING RESEARCH ON CHILDREN

Some of the recurrent concerns of conducting ethical research with or on children include:

Competence –are children competent enough to participate in research?

It is generally believed that children are incapable of fully understanding the intricate nature of research (i.e. its processes and essence, expectations of them, the usefulness of its outcomes etc.) primarily because their young age and corresponding intellectual capabilities are not adequately developed to comprehend such complexities. The competence discourse is mainly about the inability of children (as young inexperienced persons), to make rational life choices, having considered the full spectrum of required resources, outcomes (positive & negative), opportunity costs and alternative approaches that may yield similar results.

While this concern is valid, I would add that the competence of children to participate meaningfully in research is not just a function of age, but also of gender, race/ethnicity, the child's personal characteristics (temperament type, intellectual capacity, life disposition etc.), cultural and social context and also of the research subject, its purposes and relevance to children as active participants. Competence is therefore a relative and subjectively defined term, implying that for child participation in research to be ethical and effective, individually suitable and age-appropriate methods of interaction should be employed. Thus, the model of childhood assumed in this study is that 'children are complete opinion-holding individuals capable of adequately understanding and subsequently expressing their views on issues of social research, provided that the subject is relayed to them in age appropriate ways.

Birbeck & Drummond (2007:23) also noted that age is but one of many factors that determine competence to recall information; they highlighted 'stress' and 'lapse of time' as two other factors identified by Spencer & Flin (1993). While in this study, poverty can be designated as a stress factor, it has been argued by Birbeck & Drummond (ibid) that little evidence exists to prove that stress decreases the effectiveness of children's memories. Moreover, poverty as would be engaged in this study is an ongoing lived reality of the child participants, so it can be surmised that time lapse is not a factor of importance, and poverty as a stressor is a daily experience they have learned to 'live with' or adapt to.

Informed Consent – who gives it?

Stemming from the child competence discourse is the capacity and suitability of children to knowledgeably consent to participate in research i.e. are children competent enough to give their informed consent, after duly considering the research intentions and possible effects of their participation?

Erring on the side of caution, most ethical guidelines stipulate that the duty to seek and obtain parental/care givers' consent is of central importance to conducting ethical research with children as it impacts both directly and indirectly on the success/failure and outcomes of research. The direct impact is that parents & guardians could prevent their children from participating; the indirect impact is that in some instances, the co-operation of parents/guardians may be needed e.g. to provide household related information.

It can be argued however, that this duty to obtain parental consent is in conflict with the individuality unhindered agency of children as it somewhat implies that they are deemed property of their parents & caregivers, not individuals with independent opinions (Morrow & Richards 1996:94). This is especially in instances where children's own consent is not sought, is coerced or is assumed given. Related to this is the capacity of older children (late teenage years) to independently give informed consent as they can be considered as 'young adults' – i.e. the need for consent may vary with age and perceived cognitive development.

While the need for parental consent is an important requirement, I would add that it should also be of equal (if not more) importance that children's informed assent or dissent to participate in research be sought in addition to parents' consent, especially for children who are deemed competent of giving informed consent.

Moreover, the parental consent seeking process is usually fraught with loopholes especially when the research is conducted outside the home. For instance, the risk of falsehood and futility exists when consent letters are sent to parents through their children who fail to deliver it, when the child forges the parent's signature or when the parent is illiterate and cannot understand the contents of the consent form.

Child Safety & Protection – how is it guaranteed?

An important concern in conducting child research is children's holistic welfare, and ensuring that the children are not adversely affected physically, psychologically or otherwise as a result of participating in the research. The sole obligation to ensure this lies with the researcher, who should, at every stage of the research process, be cognizant of the fact that the costs of participation for the children should not outweigh the benefits therefrom i.e. the children should not be exposed to any risk that they could have avoided had they not participated in the research.

THE LEGAL VOICE ON ETHICS OF RESEARCH WITH CHILDREN IN SOUTH AFRICA

In the South African context, formal legal guidelines that directly and indirectly regulate the conduct of ethical research with and on children exist, including the South African Constitution of 1996, the National Health Act of 2003 and the South African Child Act of 2005. Their approaches to ethical child research via their general & specific provisions are highlighted below.

The South African Constitution of 1996:

Besides general human rights specifications, Section 28 of the Constitution is devoted to children's rights, defining a child as a person under the age of 18 years. While there is no specific directive on children's rights in relation to participation in research, the Constitution directs that "every child's best interests are of paramount importance in every matter concerning the child" (Section 28, sub-section 2), and "each child has the right to be protected from maltreatment, neglect, abuse or degradation" (Section 28, sub-section 1d). It is however stated in Section 16, Chapter 1 of the generally applicable founding provisions that:

“Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes ... academic freedom and freedom of scientific research” ...

The applicability of the above statement to children’s participation in research is however tenuous because it is ambiguous whether the rights of free expression are to participate in research or to conduct research.

The National Health Act (NHA) of 2003:

This instrument takes a health research focus and specifies that therapeutic research³ on minors may only be conducted if:

- It is in the minor’s best interests.
- It is in line with prescribed conditions and manner.
- The consent of the parent or guardian is obtained,
- And the consent of the minor is obtained if the minor is capable of understanding (Section 71, sub-section 2).

Non-therapeutic research³ may only be conducted upon fulfillment of the same conditions above, excluding the best interests’ clause and including that the consent of the Health Minister is obtained (subject to many stringent conditions).

The NHA however uses some generally ambiguous terms and is inconsistent in supplementary provisions e.g. Section 71, sub-section 1 states that the written consent⁴ of a living person is required for research to be conducted on him/her, but in Section 71, sub-section 2, simply states that consent of minor, parent/guardian or Minister is needed for research (both therapeutic and otherwise) with minors. It fails to clarify if the consent required is written as in sub-section 1. Several other ambiguities exist as highlighted by Strode et al (2005) in a comprehensive critique of the NHA in itself, and in comparison with other national children’s law. Whether these ambiguities in the NHA were planned to aid equivocality or were a draft oversight are unclear.

Zuch et al (2012:2) also criticized the NHA as adopting too broad a definition of health research (defined as “any research which contributes to knowledge of the biological, clinical, psychological or social processes in human beings”), and highlighted how social science research is not spared from the ‘(written) consent

³ The National Health Act fails to define therapeutic and non-therapeutic research (Strode et al 2005:226); Redmon (1986:77) however defined non-therapeutic child research as “medical intervention directed towards the child which is intended more for the purpose of producing knowledge, than for the benefit of the child, and which would be done even if there were no benefit to the child”. The definition of therapeutic research can thus be derived as the opposite.

⁴ An expressly affirmative consent in writing as against the ‘default consent’ which assumes assent when there is no communication to the contrary.

a legal guardian' equivocal rule. Moreover, the designation of consent issuance authority to only parents/guardians implies that de facto guardians are not recognized. This implies the exclusion of a good number of South African children who do not live with legal guardians e.g. those forced into orphanhood and child-headed house-holding by the HIV/AIDS pandemic etc., especially as SAHRC/UNICEF 2011 (cited in Zuch et al 2012:3) noted that only 32% of South African children live with their biological parents. The ambiguity is deepened by the fact that the NHA fails to define who qualifies as a guardian – do caregivers qualify? The effects of this for research are a restricted/biased sample population of potential child participants (particularly as the ones without adult care and ironically needing research attention have been excluded) and consequently in reduced meaningful participation.

The South African Children's Act of 2005:

With provisions similar to that of the UNCRC, the Children's Act mandates that the standard of best interest should be applied in all matters concerning the child (Section 9), and with respect to child participation, that:

“Every child that is of such an age, maturity and stage of development to participate in any matter concerning the child has the right to participate in an appropriate way, and views expressed by the child must be given due consideration” (Section 10).

It also states that “every child has the right not to be subjected to social, cultural and religious practices, which are detrimental to his or her well- being” (Section 12) and that “the child may consent to medical treatment and surgical operation if over the age of 12 years and of sufficient maturity and mental capacity to understand the benefits, risks social and other implications of treatment” ... “for children under the age of 12 or those over the age of 12 but insufficiently mature, the parent, guardian or care-giver may consent” (Section 129).

Some vagueness also lies in the use of the term 'due consideration', with respect to what consideration can be said to be 'due', who adjudges its fairness and whether it can be upheld in informal and unmonitored spaces like research fieldwork?

Nevertheless, a review of the 3 national instruments above shows that the best interest principle, child participation and obtaining informed consent are crosscutting themes relevant for ethical research. While the first two are mostly problematic in terms of interpretation and social acceptance respectively, the informed consent principle is particularly problematic in terms of application/execution. This is because of the uncertainty surrounding the competence of a child to independently and adequately give informed consent, and whether it should be written or verbal, and above all, whether it is truly given based on an adequate and thorough understanding of the commitments being made by whosoever gives it i.e. is it well informed consent?

Specifically, Strode et al (2005:225-226) in an examination of the legal and ethical challenges of involving children in medical research in South Africa (specifically HIV/AIDS vaccine trials), noted the absence of law prohibiting child⁵ participation in research or specifically addressing the issue of seeking/giving informed consent for child participation and how to ascertain acceptable levels of research related risk for which consent for child participation may be sought/given. They therefore posited that child participation in research would be legally permissible if:

- The child's constitutional rights were protected and promoted by the research.
- Consent to participate in the research was not against public policy (human dignity, equality and non-sexism should be upheld alongside non-exposure to undue harm, the responsibility of parents/caregivers to protect children from harmful research and alignment with community interests).
- The research was 'in the best interests of the child' i.e. a consideration of beneficial and harmful effects of the research on the child.

In relation to the concluding point above, it could be asked if there is a generally acceptable interpretation of what is in the 'best interest' of children with respect to ethical research. I would decline to answer affirmatively, as against Strode et al's recommendation (2005:228) that general criteria to apply the best interest principle in a 'non-individualistic' manner should be developed to aid research. My contention stems from the knowledge that while a basic/fundamental minimum standard can be set, every child has been raised in entirely different economic, social and cultural settings, and thus has an individualistic notion or opinion of how he/she should be treated i.e. everyone is accustomed or structurally attuned to certain ideas of what is suitable or unsuitable for them. Moreover, personal circumstances vary. For instance, what is in the best interest of an unsheltered street orphan would obviously differ from what is in the best interest of a child in an affluent complete biological parent family, even when both participate in the same research.

Also, while acknowledging that the ethical issues surrounding child research are universal, Clacherty & Donald (2007:147) recognised that "equivocality is required when researching children in different social contexts; mainly because the interpretation and application of ethical principles must consider varying *contextual* (addition/emphasis mine) factors" (paraphrased). Furthermore, each person's childhood is a uniquely individual experience, to the extent that blood siblings raised in the same family settings, may experience and describe their childhoods differently. This re-emphasizes the importance of applying individually suited methods on issues of commonality.

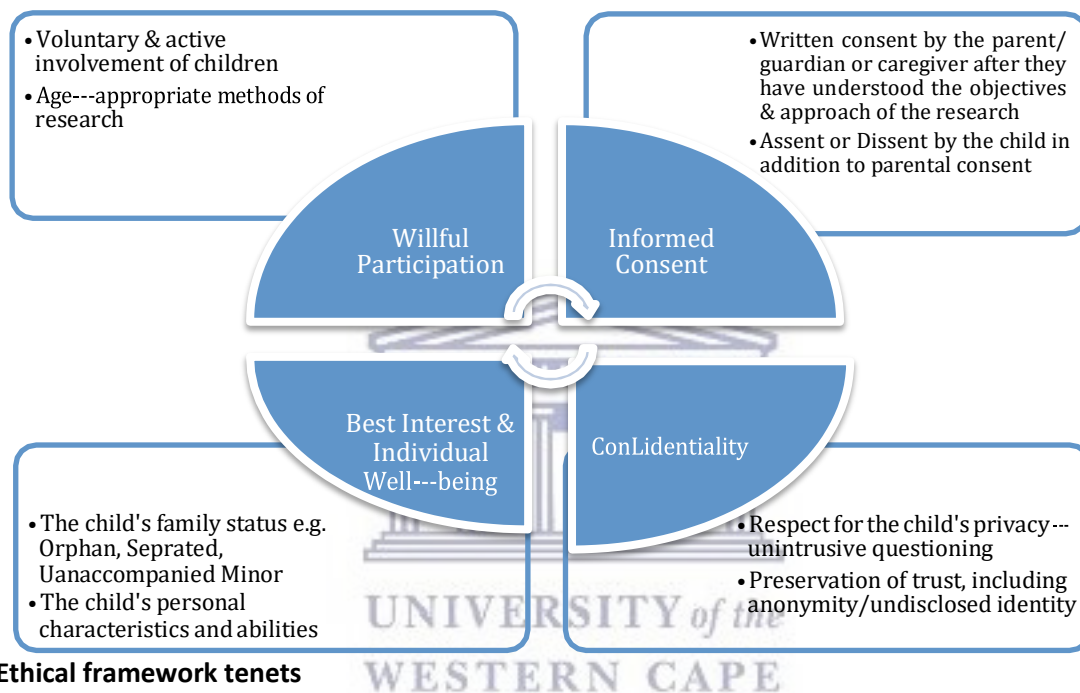
Therefore, each interpretation and application of the best interests' principle should be customized per child, as a 'one-size-fits-all' strategy would defeat the essence of

⁵ Strode et al (2005) used the term 'adolescent' in place of children, although both terms were used interchangeably in their paper.

the best interests' principle in its entirety. Moreover, in as much as children have rights to participate in research, there is a need for a tripartite balance – of the cost of participation to the child, the benefits of participation for the child and the child's age, maturity and stage of development – all of which are individual-based concerns.

ETHICAL PRINCIPLES OF THIS STUDY

Having given due consideration to the range of ethical issues raised above, this study would adopt the following ethical principles in ongoing application throughout the entire research process:



Other auxiliary principles that would guide this study include that:

- The participatory costs to the child should be outweighed by the participatory benefits to the child, in material and psychological terms. The aim of this is to minimize the costs while maximizing the benefits of participation i.e. the cost-benefit consideration.
- 'Participation blues' for child participants should be curtailed or avoided altogether. This would be largely achieved through using child friendly data gathering approaches, as explained further in the methodology section.
- The rights of silence and standstill would be respected i.e. where the child participants decline to respond to a question or decide to opt out of the project when questions are being intrusive.
- Child participant's rights would not be sacrificed on the altar of research objectives (Maijala et al 2002:32). While this portends friction and a conflict of best-practice obligations & researcher's interests, I opine that it is in the ultimate interest of the research that child rights take an upper hand, for 2 reasons: first, to keep in line with the pivot/essence of the research which

uses child rights as a compass and second, in alignment with best practice and ethical obligations to protect the child above all other interests.

- Where a conflict of interest exists between the best interest of the child and the researcher's duty of confidentiality, the former would take precedence while employing adequate safeguards and support to protect the child. For instance, when discussions with a child reveal sexual abuse or domestic violence, the researcher's duty transits from one of keeping confidentiality to one of breaching confidentiality to protect the child.

Underlying all these is awareness of my implicit duty to protect the University of Western Cape (UWC) against any litigation or negative publicity arising from my research methods.

CONCLUSION

In summary, the byword of the ethical perspective of this study is 'don't leave them (child participants) worse than you met them'. This has important implications for the research methodology and entire research process execution as would be explained subsequently.

Furthermore, the ethical stance of this research is rooted in the direct relationship between children's rights as laid out in the UNCRC & Child research ethics. As noted by Bell (2008:10) both contexts share certain key principles including respect for human dignity and equality, individual autonomy, informed consent, privacy and confidentiality, security, freedom of expression, access to information etc.

With specificity to the South African context, Clacherty & Donald (2007:148 &154) however noted that while the importance of child participation is being increasingly recognised and accepted in academic research and in developed societies, the validity of children's voices has not been warmly welcomed in South African social space largely because of the cultural entrenchment of power relations between children and adults. In similar language, and referring to findings by earlier studies (Berry & Guthrie 2003, Bray 2002), Moses (2008:328) noted that in South Africa, there has been a lack of research around children's rights to participation, and children's roles in South African society need to be better understood. In agreement, I would add that children have a right to participate in research concerning them, as they are indispensable contributors that bring a new perspective to the research issue – a first-hand impartial stance on the research subject from children's lived realities.

This research can therefore be deemed timely, as the essence is to obtain first-hand insight into children's knowledge and experiences of poverty, with the aim of using the information obtained therefrom to create new knowledge (a child-centric multidimensional child poverty index) about children's lives, which both affirm and challenge existing knowledge, ideas, perceptions and suspicions about child poverty in South Africa. The economic and social importance of this is not far fetched as it is well known that South African children are situated in the midst of equitably enough, if not an abundance of resources. Yet, they are structurally deprived of basic human needs by socially sustained forces of historical inequality and deprivation. As in the words of President Jacob Zuma:

“And whilst there still seems to be so much doom and gloom, statistics indicate that

as far as poverty is concerned we have made a lot of progress and yet I am so acutely aware that the levels of poverty among vulnerable groups such as children and women still remain a major challenge". (South Africa MDG Report 2013:3)

Finally, the importance of formulating a National Social Science Research Ethics Act is also evident because social science research is in itself a crucial tool to understand the poverty and inequality that is rife in South Africa. It should therefore not be subsumed under medical/health research or neglected altogether because although it may not have physical therapeutic and instantaneous benefits (due to the need for planned implementation and the gestation period for benefits to mature), it helps bring new understandings to the daily lives of humans – inevitably sustaining mankind as importantly as medical research does. Moreover, while not all people benefit directly from medical research (e.g. medically fit people), most if not all humans benefit from social science research directly and indirectly.

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FIELDWORK INSTRUMENTS & GUIDES

STORY TELLING/WRITING

Write/tell a story about how a rich boy/girl became poor.

Write/tell a story about how a poor boy/girl became rich.

DRAWING

Draw a picture of a poor boy or girl.

Draw a picture of a rich boy or girl.

Draw a picture of a rich man's house showing what he owns.

Draw a picture of a poor man's house showing what he owns.

Draw a picture of Khayelitsha.

Draw your South African bag and write in it what you want from life in South Africa.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Topic: Family

What is a family?

Who are the members of a family?

What are the things that a family shares together?

Must a child be part of a family? Why?

If a child is not part of a family, how is he/she affected?

Can a child be unhappy in a rich family?

Do poor people have families? (Poor people who are homeless). So, why don't they live with their families?

What about rich people that don't have families? What do you think made them not have families?

Why is it important for a child to have a family?

Which is more important for a child to have: (a) A family or (b) Friends?

What is the ideal family size (how many people should a family be made up of). Why? List these people?

Must a family live together under the same roof/in the same house?

Which is more important to you – Family or money? If you had to choose one which would you choose? Why?



What do you think the Government should do to help poor children who don't have families?

Do you think poor children can have a good future?

Topic: Food

What do rich people eat?

What do poor people eat? Where and how do they get their food?

Are poor people always hungry?

What foods are: (i) Rich foods (ii) Poor foods? Why?

Is it right to say some foods are 'rich people's food' and some are 'poor people's food'?

Is rich food good food? Is poor food bad food?

Give examples of good/healthy food and bad/unhealthy food?

Do you prefer home-cooked food to food bought outside? Why or Why not? Which is better?

Do you prefer highly processed foods (like Fritos, Nik-naks, and Vinegar Chips etc.) to fruits (Like Apple, banana, Pear)? Why? Which is healthier?

If you had R20, what kinds of food will you buy with it? List them.

What is your favorite food? Why?

Topic: Education

Should all children go to school compulsorily? Why?

What is the highest level of education that a child should get so that he/she can live a good life?

How is education important – now and in future – for children?

What will you advise a person who has finished matric to do – continue schooling or start working?

In what ways does dropping out of school affect a child?

Does being educated ensure a good life – if you attend school and graduate from University does this improve your quality of life and opportunities in life?

Given that there is free education in South Africa; do you think poor children attend school? How? Do you know of any poor children who attend school? How do they cope?

The school that rich children attend, is it different from the one that poor children attend? How and Why?

Must you be educated to be rich? Give examples of people you know if you say Yes or No. What did they do?

Topic: Housing

Describe a rich house: how does it look outside and what does it have inside?

Describe a poor house: how does it look outside and what does it have inside?

What is a rich house built from and what is a poor house built from?

Is it different living in a rich house than a poor house since they both provide you with shelter?

In what areas of Khayelitsha or Cape Town are there: (i) rich house and (ii) poor houses?

Why don't some poor people have houses?

Can the Government help these poor people with houses? How?

What are the things that a house MUST have – the necessary things? List them.

Must a house be big or beautiful to be nice?

What makes a house safe to live in?

Why is it important to have electricity in a house?

Why is it important to have water in a house?

Why is housing important for humans?

Topic: Appearance – Clothes & Shoes

Is there a difference between how the rich look and how the poor look? What are these differences?

Is the way someone looks about how much money the person has?

Why is it important for a child to have and wear clothes and shoes?

What brands do you associate with rich clothes/shoes?

What brands do you associate with poor clothes/shoes?

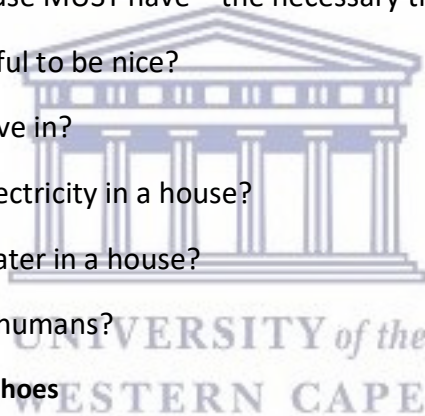
What kind of clothes do rich people wear?

What kind of clothes do poor people wear?

What shops do rich people buy their clothes from?

What shops do poor people buy their clothes from?

What kind of shoes do rich people wear?



What kind of shoes do poor people wear?

What shops do rich people buy their shoes from?

What shops do poor people buy their shoes from?

If a person's dressing looks poor, does it mean he/she doesn't have money? Does money reflect appearance?

Topic: Water

Can humans survive without water? Why?

What do we need water for?

What does water do for our bodies?

What are the sources of clean/good water?

Do the poor people have access to good/clean water? How? Why/Why not?

Where do the poor people get water?

Is there anything like 'rich water' or 'poor water'? Or is all water the same?

Topic: Finance/Income

How do rich people get money? Give examples.

How do poor people get money? Give examples.

Is there bad/ill-gotten money? How? Give examples.

How much do you think a child should have daily to spend by himself/herself? Why?

How much do you think is enough for a family to meet all their needs in a day? What should they use this money for?

How much do you think rich people spend in a day? Is it too much?

How much do you think poor people spend in a day? Is it too small?

Is it good that some families only depend on grant money for survival? Why/Why not?

Do you think that grant money is enough for a family to survive on only or must Government increase it?

How much is the ideal amount for Child Support Grant that you think is enough for a child? Why?

So do you think the Child Support Grant should be increased?

Do you think the Child Support Grant should be given to more groups of children than those receiving it now? What additional groups of children should receive it?

Topic: Jobs/Employment

Are there bad jobs that people do but should not be doing? Give examples.

Is there a difference between rich and poor peoples' jobs? How? Give examples of each.

Must every adult be employed? Why?

What if someone is looking for a job but can't get one. What should he/she do in the meantime while searching for a job?

At what age should a person start working?

Is it good to start working after Matric – not go to University? Why/Why not?

Is it good for a poor child to work to help his/her family? How? What kind of jobs can he/she do?

Do you think that rather than go to school compulsorily, a child should be allowed to choose if and when to work? Why?

Topic: Transportation

What are the means of transportation in South Africa?

Which is: (a) Most expensive (b) Most convenient (c) Safest (d) Cheapest?

What means of transportation do you like to travel with? Why?

Do you feel safe in the taxis?

Do you think the current taxi fares are okay, too cheap or too expensive? Why/How?

Are the trains in South Africa safe?

Should the trains be made nicer and faster or are they okay as they are now?

Do you think train tickets are too cheap, too expensive or their prices are just okay as they are now?

Do you think it is okay to have 1st and 3rd class coaches on the train? Why/Why not?

Give examples of people that you find in: (a) 1st class train coaches and (b) 3rd class train coaches.

Topic: Safety

What is safety OR How do you define feeling safe?

How important is safety for an individual's life and survival?

Are all rich people safe? If Yes/No, Why/Why not?

Are all poor people safe? If Yes/No, Why/Why not?

Why must a child live in a safe environment?

Do you think security gates, dogs and guards make a place safe? How and Why?

What makes a place safe?

How can the government and community help keep children safe in their homes, schools and society?

What are the things that can happen to a child in a place that is not safe?

Topic: Material possessions

Give 5 examples each of things that: (a) A rich boy has (b) A rich girl has (c) A rich boy doesn't have (d) A rich girl doesn't have

Give 5 examples each of things that: (a) A poor boy has (b) A poor girl has (c) A poor boy doesn't have (d) A poor girl doesn't have

Give 5 examples each of things that: (a) A rich family has (b) A rich family doesn't have (c) A poor family has (d) A poor family doesn't have

Topic: Health

Is it important to visit the hospital when you are ill as a child? Why?

How does health affect an individual's ability to live well?

Topic: Technology

How does technology help us?

Give examples of different technologies and how they are used.

What kind of technology devices MUST a child have access to?

How important is it for a child to know how to use a computer? Why?

How important is it for a child to have access to a phone? For what and Why?

Topic: Play

Is it important for a child to be able to play? Why? How does playing help a child?

Do poor children have opportunities to play?

How can government and the community help children improve their options of and access to play?

Give examples of play activities? Where do they occur? Who and what does a child play with?

Topic: Rights & Responsibilities

What are human rights?

Does everybody (old, young, rich, poor, black, white) have human rights? If yes, do they actually all get their rights?

What are your rights as a South African child? List them.

Explain what these rights mean to you.

Are you currently enjoying all your rights? If No, which one are you not enjoying and why/why not?

Has someone ever knowingly denied you of your rights or cheated you? When? What happened? How did you react? Was the issue resolved? How?

Do you think rights are important for children? Why?

Are there any rights that you think are important but are not currently recognised by the South African government?

Is the South African government doing a good job to protect and ensure children's rights? Give examples of such situations or things that the government does for children?

What is the most important right to you as a South African child? Why is this the most important right for you? If you are denied of this right, what may happen?

If you were the President of South Africa, what rights will you focus on for children to have a better life?

Do you know that as a child citizen of South Africa, you have responsibilities? If yes, list some of these responsibilities?

Why is it important for a child to have both rights and responsibilities?

Do you think South African children are being responsible?

Are all the children in South Africa – Black, White, Coloured, Indian/Asian – enjoying their rights equally? If Yes/No, Why and how?

Can rights for children become a bad thing or have bad consequences? Give examples.

Can poor children enjoy their rights in South Africa?

How does poverty deny children of their rights?

Can the communities and government do anything to help poor children enjoy their rights?

Have you ever witnessed rights violation at school?

Does your teacher beat you?

Do you think children's rights are the same all over the world?

Topic: Children's views about poverty

What does it mean to be rich? Who are the rich people? Give examples of (popular) rich people you know. Why do you think they are rich? Where do they live? What assets do they have? Do you think they have any problems in life? If yes, what problems do you think they have? If no, why do you think they don't have problems?

What does it mean to be poor? Who are the poor people? Give examples of (popular) poor people you know. Why do you say they are poor? What factors in life generally do you think made them poor? Where do they live? What assets do they have? How do they live? Do you think they are happy at times?

Is there a difference between being 'poor' and being 'very poor'? If yes, explain the difference using examples of 2 imaginary people (list at least 5 differences). If no, why do you say so?

What are the differences between the rich and the poor? List at least 10 differences?

Do you think rich people have ever being poor in their lives? If yes, how do you think they came out of poverty?

Do you think poor people have ever being rich in their lives? If yes, how do you think they became poor now?

What are the kinds/characteristics and/or signs/indicators of poverty that matter to you as a person? What are those that matter for children generally? (Mention as many as possible)

Topic: Children's assessments about child poverty in South Africa.

Who are the poor people in South Africa? Why are there poor people in South Africa?

How come there are both rich and poor people in South Africa? (Why are some people poor while others are rich?) I.e. what are the causes of poverty in South Africa and how do these factors cause poverty?

Do you think the poor and rich have the same characteristics all over the world (in other countries apart from South Africa?)

Can everybody become rich in South Africa? How? What should a person do to become rich?

How do you think the government can help poor people become rich? Why do you think these solutions are important to end poverty in South Africa?

Think about a girl or boy in your community who is rich. Why is he/she rich? What do you think can happen that would make him /her become poor?

Think about someone who is poor? Why is this person poor? Do you think you are better or worse than them? How and why?

What would you do if you had a lot of money? Why?

General /Background FGD

Who is a child? Who do you define or describe a child as?

Why are there poor children in South Africa?

Who are these poor children and where do they live? Are they of a particular race/skin colour? Which one? Do they attend school? What is their daily life like?

Did their parents cause their poverty?

How do you think poor children manage/handle their poverty so that they can survive in school and at home?

How can the community and government help poor children so that they don't become poor adults when they grow up?

Is a poor boy/girl different from a normal/average boy/girl? How? Can you give examples?

How can poor children help themselves?

How can their parents help them?

Do you think life is fair to poor children? Why?

If government gives poor children's families a lot of money, do you think this will stop/solve their poverty?

Do you think poverty can be ended in South Africa? How? What can be done so that there are no more poor children in South Africa?

Is poverty for a child different from poverty for an adult? Do adults (men and women) experience/feel poverty the same way as children (boys & girls)? Explain how if you answer is Yes or No.

Is it better for an adult to be poor than for a child to be poor. Explain and give reasons for your answer.

What is your understanding of poverty for children – how will you define it in a simple sentence?

Why is it the Black people in South Africa that are poor? Why not the Whites, Indians Coloureds? Are they doing something wrongly or something happened in the past that makes them always poor?

What signs of poverty are most difficult for you to accept and deal with as a child in South Africa?

How does poverty show on a person – you can describe a poor boy or girl.

Can you tell if someone is rich or poor from the way he/she looks? How? Explain.

Is being rich only about money? Explain.

Is being poor only about lack? Explain.

The Government hopes to end poverty for all children in South Africa. Do you believe they can do this? How?

Is it important for a child to play – with friends and toys? Why? How does this help or improve the child?

Measurement of child poverty – the "if game".

Family

If a child does not have parents and lives in a foster home or orphanage, is he/she poor? What of if he/she lives on the street? Explain why.

If a child has both a father and mother but they don't take care of him/her, is he/she poor?

If a child has very rich parents but they are both too busy and don't have time for him/he, is that okay? Does that make being rich a bad thing?

Food

If a mother can ONLY PROVIDE BREAD & WATER for her son to eat daily, does that make him a poor boy? Why?

If a girl can eat ONLY 1 GOOD MEAL A DAY (Potatoes, Fish & carrots), is she rich or poor? Why?

If a family eats different kinds of food but in small portions/quantities such that their children are always still hungry/not satisfied, are they poor? Why?

Finance/Income & Employment

If a mother and father have no jobs and depend ONLY on the Child Support Grant to feed their family of 5 (Father, Mother and 3 Children). Are they poor?

If a boy has to drop out of school after Grade 7 to get a job to support his mother who is a domestic worker. He earns R100 a day. Is he a poor boy – because he can't attend school but instead has to work for money?

Housing

If a child lives with his father, mother and 2 sisters in a room, is he a poor boy?

If a house has running water but no electricity is it a poor person's house?

Khayelitsha is generally seen as a poor area. Does this mean that everybody living there is poor?

Education

Some children can't attend school because it is too far from their homes and they can't afford transport. Are they poor?

If a boy doesn't bring anything at all to school and MUST ALWAYS eat the school food so that he doesn't go hungry. Is he a poor boy?

Others

If a family has only a radio – no TV in their house. Are they poor?

If a family lives in an area that is not safe – robberies every day and thieves everywhere. Are they poor?

If a family can buy ONLY 2 new clothes for their daughter in a year. Is she a poor girl?

If a man lives in a Wendy house but owns a small car. Is he poor?

VIGNETTES – CASE SCENARIOS

Case 1: A girl lives with her father and mother but her mother is very ill. Her father works as a Taxi Driver. One day, she returns from school to find out that her mother has passed away. She cries a lot. 3 months after her mother died, her father is involved in a terrible accident and he can't walk or drive again forever. He has to use a wheelchair for life. What should the girl do to help herself because now, there is no one to take care of her?

Case 2: A boy in Grade 12 is writing Matric. He finishes his exams and passes very well. But his parents are very poor and can barely feed him and his 4 brothers. Fortunately, he gets a bursary and admission to study medicine at University for 5 years and become a Doctor. But he also gets an opportunity to start working as a Grocery Packer with Shoprite immediately? What will you advise him to do – take the job at Shoprite or go to study medicine at University? Why?

Case 3: a man wins R500,000 in the lottery. He owes the Banks R600,000 and the Banks are already disturbing him to pay. His friend wants to sell a house for R450,000. Should the man pay the Banks to settle some of his debt or use the winnings from the lottery to buy his friend's house?

Case 4: A poor boy gets R20 from a generous stranger. When he gets home, his mother tells him there is no food at home for her, himself and his two sisters. He was planning to use the R20 to take the train to school the next day. Would you advise him to give the money to his mother to buy a loaf of bread for all of them to eat or to keep the money for his transport to school? If he gives his mother the R20, he will have to walk to school for 2 hours the next day.

Case 5: A poor girl has just finished matric. A rich man likes her and wants to marry her but she does not like him. Should she marry him so she can help her family with the money she gets from the man? Or should she continue with her education hoping that she will get a job when she graduates from University after 4 years?

THREE WORDS/SENTENCES ABOUT...

Poverty in South Africa

Wealth in South Africa

Poor Boy in South Africa

Poor Girl in South Africa

Family in South Africa

Your Current Life in South Africa

Your Future in South Africa

Safety in South Africa

The Problems of South Africa

The Solutions to South Africa's problems

INTERVIEWS

Background information

(Name/Pseudonym, Date of birth, Sex, Schooling level, Parental existence/occupation, Family size and position in family, household composition, Religion, Ethnicity)

General ideology

Is education important for children? Why?

What kinds of foods do you think are important for children to grow well? Why?

How many times a day do you think a child should eat?

What kind of house is the best to live in? In what areas?

Family circumstances

What do you love the most about being a member of your family?

If you could change anything about your family and your life, what would it/they be?

Household Welfare

What kinds of food do you love to eat but don't eat at home? What do you usually eat at home? What is junk food?

Do you think you are too many living in your house? If yes, how many people should live there?

Do you have a flush toilet in your house?

Do you get the Child Support Grant? Is it used for you or for the household needs generally? Is the CSG enough to meet your needs?

Have you ever being driven in a private car?

Where would you love to visit but can't go?

When any member of your household falls sick, where do they go for treatment?

How often do you go to the shopping mall?

Have you ever used a computer or laptop? If yes, where and when?

Personal Experiences

Have you ever experienced being rich? What happened and how did it feel?

Have you ever experienced being poor? What happened and how did it feel?

Identity, Difference & Class

How do you define yourself (e.g. Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana etc.)? Why?

Do you feel out of place (because you are Black African) with White, Coloured and Indian children? When/at what times/in what situations does this happen?

Have there been particular instances when you have experienced discrimination or bullying?

Are you proud to be a Black African? Why?

Aspirations

What do you cherish the most about your life presently?

What do you desire or what are your plans and hopes for the future?

INTERVIEWS: COPING STRATEGIES TO MANAGE POVERTY (FOLLOW-UP ON FGD AND INTERVIEW RESPONSES)

Individual Experiences

1. What do you do when you don't have money for lunch at school? How do you cope? Do you go hungry?

2. When your mom or dad cannot buy you something that you need because they don't have enough money, what do you do/ How do you manage the situation and get going?

Household Level

3. What happens when there is no money for food at home? What does your mom or dad do? When this happens, what do you do as a child of the house?

4. What happens when your Child Support Grant finishes before month end and you have things you need, like clothes, books or snacks? What do your parents do? How do you as a child cope or manage this situation when it happens?

