

Psychology Masters: Research Dissertation

Submitted 25 November 2011

Submitted with corrections 9 March 2012

**SOUTH AFRICAN CHILDREN'S
UNDERSTANDINGS AND PERCEPTIONS OF 'RICH'
AND 'POOR': A SOCIOCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE.**

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Masters in Social Sciences, in the School of Psychology, University of KwaZulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg, under the supervision of Carol Mitchell.

The financial assistance of the National Research Foundation (NRF) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NRF.

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As the candidate's Supervisor I have approved this dissertation/thesis for submission

Signed



Date 24/11/2011

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Carol Mitchell for her support, help and encouragement on this project.

I would also like to thank the school and children who participated in this study for the use of their facilities, access to their pupils, and their cooperation, time, and effort.

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ABSTRACT:

Given the focus on cognitive-developmental trends in how children understand rich and poor, many researchers have developed a concern that research has ignored the influences of children's contexts. For this reason this study aimed to build on previous research (particularly that by Leahy, 1981, and by Bonn et al., 1999) by combining the cognitive-developmental model with the need to recognize contextual influences inherent in children's understandings of social constructs, while relating this to a theoretical framework which can provide a more thorough picture of the way in which children understand rich and poor. This was done using a qualitative interpretive design. Specifically this involved a combination of focus groups and drawing activities with a group of 20 South African children from a local government, former model C, primary school located in a relatively lower socioeconomic area in Pietermaritzburg, in which their perspectives and understandings of socioeconomic status were explored. In applying the sociocultural approach in data analysis, Rogoff's (1995, 1998) notion of the sociocultural three planes of analysis were used to examine how the children's accounts reflect the personal, interpersonal, and contextual factors. Within each of these planes, the principles and methods of a sociocultural discourse analysis using interpretive repertoires was applied, with a focus on the respective level. Results revealed that while the trends in the children's ideas were consistent with Leahy's (1981) cognitive developmental trends, the particular ideas expressed by the children were embedded and predominantly informed by the social and cultural context of the interpersonal group, their everyday lives, and South African society.

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South African Children's Understandings and Perceptions of 'Rich' and 'Poor': A Sociocultural Perspective.

1. INTRODUCTION

With the continued polarization of the wealthy and poor, particularly in South Africa, poverty research has more recently acknowledged the need for child-participatory and child-centred research which includes the views and experiences of children, under the understanding that children are competent social actors within their own cultural and social worlds and are worthy of study in their own right (Sutton, 2009). While social class and socioeconomic status have long been known to have a great effect on a wide variety of psychological characteristics and social interactions, there has been limited research on how children come to understand social class and inequality (Leahy, 1981; Sutton, 2009; Weinger, 2000).

Further, recent research has begun to acknowledge that the neo-Piagetian cognitive developmental approach present in the majority of current research on children's understandings of socioeconomic factors ignores the social and cultural influences/contexts in which the child's thought processes take place and leads to a very limited 'universalized' picture of how children understand socioeconomic circumstances (Bonn, Earle, Lea & Webley, 1999; Robbins, 2002). These studies, such as those by Leahy (1981); Naimark (1983, in Ramsey, 1991); Ramsey (1991); and Tudor (1971), have focused on investigating children's understandings of socioeconomic status and inequality using a cognitive-developmental and functionalist perspective, which has led to a situation where very little has been revealed about the manner in which children in different contexts view social classes (Bonn, et al., 1999; Camfield, 2009; Sutton, 2009). Hence, current research has been criticised for limiting the understanding of socio-economic socialization to a solely cognitive developmental process which ignores the social and cultural influences in which the child's thought processes takes place (Bonn et al., 1999).

Given that by their very nature social class and socioeconomic status are social experiences that are largely influenced by contextual factors in understanding what defines a rich or poor person (thus the concept of 'relative' poverty and the cultural differences in explanations for poverty), one needs to take into account how social and cultural factors in the South African context may influence South African children's ideas and understandings of socioeconomic circumstances

and income inequality (Bonn et al., 1999; Wertsch & Kanner, 1992; Wertsch, 1985). Considering that there has thus far only been one other study in South Africa (by Bonn et al., 1999) which has acknowledged the influence of contextual factors in children's accounts of socioeconomic factors, there is a need for further research in South Africa into how children's ideas and perceptions of socioeconomic status and inequality reflect the social and cultural context in which they occur (Bonn et al., 1999).

The sociocultural approach provides a particularly useful framework for investigating this as it is a theoretically grounded and well-established framework that allows one to justifiably interpret and explain children's accounts of socioeconomic status and inequality by recognizing the cultural and social influences on their thinking. Since the goal of the sociocultural approach is to explain and illustrate this relationship between social context and human mental functioning, the aim of the current study is to build on to Bonn et al.'s (1999) findings, while relating this to a theoretical framework which can account for the manner in which children in different contexts form different understandings and ideas of social phenomena/processes (Robbins, 2005). It is hoped that this will result in a more thorough picture of children's understandings of socioeconomic factors (Robbins, 2002). For this reason this study is interested in applying the sociocultural perspective as a framework for exploring South African children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status and income inequality (Robbins, 2002).

Therefore, this study explored a group of South African children's subjective understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status by focusing on children's descriptions and ideas of what it means to be 'rich' or 'poor'. The sociocultural approach was used as a theoretical framework for making sense of and interpreting these accounts to illustrate how understandings and perceptions of relative wealth and poverty reflect the contextual, social and interpersonal factors/contexts in which the children's thinking occurs.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW & RATIONALE:

The Social and Psychological Effects of Social Class

Social class and socioeconomic status have long been known to have a great effect on a wide variety of psychological characteristics and social interactions and have been discussed from a number of different theoretical perspectives (Leahy, 1981; Sunal & Phillips, 1988). In addition to the more obvious impacts of income inequality directly related to income-based available resources (such as differing living circumstances; access to health care; employment; education opportunities; government support; and mental health concerns), the fact is that the costs of socioeconomic disparities are not only material, but are also profoundly social as well (McDonald, 2009).

Research has shown that most adults hold popular conceptions of social classes which are comprised of sets of stereotypes that essentially construct and create social divisions along socioeconomic lines (Tudor, 1971; Weinger, 2000). These social class systems incorporate and reflect economic inequalities and influence the way people view one another (Sunal & Phillips, 1988). Research has shown that as income inequality intensifies, society becomes more divided, preoccupied with status and prejudice, and polarised into a social hierarchy that belittles those that are relatively poor (Leahy, 1981; Sutton, 2009; Weinger, 2000). This means that socioeconomic inequality is not only an individual problem, but a collective social problem that affects the dignity of a human and their subsequent capacities and opportunities to participate in society (Otovescu-Frasie, 2008). Children are in no way excluded from these effects.

Existing research on socioeconomic circumstances has shown that in industrial countries with widening income differences, these popular stereotypes of social class and social hierarchies are already well-developed by the time of adolescence (Tudor, 1971; Weinger, 2000). This means that these conceptions and views of social class are already evident and developing in childhood, and would thus affect the lives of children just as much as that of adults.

Although socioeconomic and class-based exclusion among children is linked to the exclusion of their parents, there are also child-specific dimensions of exclusion that impact on the lived experiences of children and young people (Noble, Wright, & Cluver, 2006; Sutton, 2009). Ridge (2002, in Sutton, 2009), for example, observed how children from lower income families were excluded both within school and in their wider communities; held concerns about having

the ‚right‘ clothes; and faced difficulties in making and sustaining friendships (Noble et al., 2006). This internalisation of income difference appears to occur very early in life, with studies showing that children as young as six years of age are able to classify people by social class and children as young as seven are able to identify differences in school uniforms and exclusion from school activities due to economic differences (Horgan, 2009; Tudor 1971). Further, existing research on children’s perceptions of poverty and affluence have shown the persistent nature of negative stereotyping of poor children, and that children themselves are in fact the main perpetrators of this stereotyping (Ramsey, 1991; Sutton, 2009; Tudor, 1971).

However, despite this there has been limited research on how children come to understand social class and inequality (Weinger, 2000). Thus although gross income inequality exists and continues to heighten, children’s understandings, views and perceptions of socioeconomic class and income inequality are at present generally not well known (Camfield, 2009; Leahy, 1981; Weinger, 2000). In order to understand how the conception of economic inequality develops it appears necessary to explore children’s descriptions, views and comparisons of rich and poor people, and their explanations, justifications and perceptions of social class and social mobility (Sunal & Phillips, 1988). This literature review will discuss the importance of a child-focused approach to exploring social differences and the existing research on children’s understandings of socioeconomic differences, arguing for the need for an approach which acknowledges the social and cultural influences on children’s understandings of rich and poor.

The Importance of a Child-Focused Approach in Exploring Social Difference

Given that one of the primary shortcomings of current research into socioeconomic circumstances is a lack of attention to children’s perspectives, poverty research has more recently included the views and experiences of children, with the understanding of the need to develop a greater understanding of children’s discourse and agency (Walker, Crawford, & Taylor, 2008; Camfield & Tafere, 2009; Sutton, 2009). Since children’s rights have increasingly been linked to the notion of listening to children and the importance of children’s voices and participation in the processes that affect their lives (especially in South Africa), children themselves must be understood as competent social actors in their own right and their agency regarded as important (McDonald, 2009). This means moving away from imposing adult-centred ideas around what one suspects children think, feel and understand, and instead enabling children to express their own views and understandings, and valuing these as important and insightful (Sutton, 2009).

Recent studies both internationally and in South Africa on child poverty (e.g. Ridge, 2002, in Sutton, 2009; Guthrie et al., 2003, in Noble, et al., 2006; Coetzee & Streak, 2004, in Witter & Bukokhe, 2004; Witter & Bukokhe, 2004; Sutton, 2009) have thus begun to recognize the need for wider child-focused and child-participatory understandings of poverty (both absolute and relative) and social class, given that children may experience and perceive many child-specific dimensions related to income inequality and socioeconomic status (Horgan, 2009; Noble et al., 2006). This small body of, mostly qualitative, literature undertaken predominantly in the UK and Ireland (including Davis & Ridge, 1994; Roker, 1998; Dowling & Dolan, 2001; Daly & Leonard, 2002; Ridge, 2002; Willow, 2002; Backett Milburn, Cunningham, Burley & Davis, 2003) reinforces the key assumption that the experiences and views of children matter and need to be acknowledged and further studied (McDonald, 2009). Examining how children identify themselves in relation to others will aid in developing a child-centred view of the themes and issues that are associated with socioeconomic status and how children themselves perceive their own and others' socio-economic circumstances, thus contributing to a fuller understanding of childhood identities and experiences in the face of South Africa's socio-economic disparities (Sutton, 2009).

Some theorists have, however, raised the critique that this approach would assume that children and adults have divergent viewpoints, whereas in fact the words 'rich people' and 'poor people' are shared (have the same meaning between children and adults). It has also been argued that children's tendency to change both the subject and their views means that they may not have the ability to express pertinent views on complex issues such as socioeconomic inequality.

Although the appropriateness of involving children in research according to their social maturity and cognitive capacities is acknowledged, this line of argument views children and young people as incompetent "objects acted upon by others rather than social actors in their own right" (p. 85) who are not able to deal with information appropriately (Robinson & Kellet, 2004). This orientation of research all but circumvents children themselves in studying children, denying them the competence to understand, using adults as their 'interpreters', and relying heavily on adult accounts and perspectives of children's worlds and supposed understandings.

Research has however found that children do in fact provide insight into class related issues such as poverty and exclusion, and that they are able to provide new perspectives on what it means to be rich or poor, and that these views do in fact differ from those of adults (Noble, et al., 2006; Witter & Bukokhe, 2004). Thus, if one assumes that children are incompetent or unreliable in discussing issues that affect their lives, one would be ignoring the growing literature that has shown that children's accounts encompass extensive thematic breadth (which

is especially evident in studies where the same methods were used with adults) and provide important and insightful perspectives into social phenomena (Camfield, 2009).

The reality is that children act, take part in, change and become changed by the social and cultural worlds they live in, they are not simply a passive ‚part of‘ an ‚other‘ (Robinson & Kellet, 2004). Unless it is known how children think about and understand social class differentiation, one will not be able to engage effectively with their misconceptions and the way in which they engage with socioeconomic circumstances and income inequality (Short, 1991). The transition of viewing children as objects to viewing them as social actors means that there is an imperative to engage with children at an active level to understand how they themselves engage and view their worlds (Robinson & Kellet, 2004). Thus there is a need, firstly, to recognize the literature which takes into account children’s views and perspectives, and secondly, for wider child-focused and child-participatory understandings of poverty (both absolute and relative poverty) and social class. This literature review will now address these aspects.

Existing Research on Children’s Understandings of ‚Rich‘ and ‚Poor‘: A Largely Cognitive-Developmental Trend

Existing child-focused research on has generally tended to fall into two distinct trends. Early studies examining age-related differences in children’s *abilities to recognise* various facets and factors related to social class. Or, those studies which are interested in the way in which children *explain and justify social class inequalities* at differing ages and how these explanations change with age (Short, 1991).

Early research into children’s understandings and perspectives of socioeconomic circumstances was largely driven by the work of Stendler (1949); Jahoda (1959) and Tudor (1971) and consists of those studies which have focused on the age at which children share adult stereotypes of social classes, and how they identify and distinguish between people of different classes at different developmental stages (Short, 1991). These studies found that children as young as six years of age are aware of class differences in respect to possessions and physical appearances, but could not categorise social classes in respect of the behavioural meaning (e.g. their likelihood of having gone to college) and life chances (Tudor, 1971; Short, 1991). However, by age nine or ten there was substantial agreement between adults and children in their rank ordering of occupational prestige (Simmons & Rosenberg 1971). These authors argued that children’s awareness of social class involves three dimensions: 1) a cognitive dimension (i.e. simple perception or recognition of social differences); 2) a behavioural

dimension (i.e. recognition that behavioural differences are linked to the cognitive cues, or identified social differences); and 3) an evaluative dimension (i.e. where evaluations such as good and bad are attached on the basis of the cognitive cues, or identified social differences) (Tudor, 1971). With age these dimensions gradually develop and influence children's understandings and perceptions of social class and income inequality (Tudor, 1971).

On the other hand, the second trend of research into children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic class and income inequality has been primarily concerned with the way in which children explain and justify social class inequalities at differing ages and how these explanations change with age. This body of research has been largely driven by Leahy's (1981) comprehensive investigation into how children conceptualise and explain social class inequality (Short, 1991). Leahy (1991) criticized the approach of the above mentioned researchers (Stendler 1949; Jahoda 1959; Simmons & Rosenberg 1971; Tudor 1971) for describing development as 'differences in information deficit', which he argued reveals little about the manner in which children do view social class, and thus set out to explore the development of class concepts in cognitive-developmental terms (Leahy, 1981).

Following Piaget (1932), Leahy predicted that justifications of economic inequality would show marked age trends based on cognitive-developmental trends in social cognition. He thus explained the age related differences in dimensions of social class by the change in emphasis from observable 'peripheral' qualities to the inferred psychological or 'central' qualities of a person in terms of Piaget's stages of cognitive development (Leahy, 1981; Short, 1991). In this view, the recognition that people may be grouped by any consistent attribute (e.g. wealth and poverty) reflects the ability to classify persons according to an exhaustive category, an ability which develops at age four or five. This ability changes between the ages of five and eight, and results in older children recognizing that classes may intersect at common points and be subsumed by other super-ordinate categories which allow children to draw on other sociocentric conceptions of social structure (Leahy, 1981).

In investigating this, Leahy (1981) asked a total of 720 metropolitan children and adolescents (divided into age groups of ages 5-7; ages 9- 11; ages 13- 15; and ages 16- 18) from the United States various questions pertaining to social class, and analyzed their descriptions and comparisons of rich and poor people by categorizing their responses into the types of dimensions which the children drew on in their responses. These included whether their responses in describing 'rich people' and 'poor people' were characterised as peripheral (referring to possessions; appearances and behaviours), central (referring to traits and thoughts),

or sociocentric (referring to life chances and class consciousness, and the idea that social classes exist within and are affected by social structure).

Leahy (1981) found that with increasing age, more emphasis was placed on inferred psychological and social properties of rich and poor people and less on their external observable qualities (Short, 1991; Sunal & Phillips, 1988). He consequently proposed a developmental sequence in which children's understandings and perceptions of social class change along cognitive-developmental trends (Short, 1991).

Leahy argued that as children approach adulthood, their understandings of social class differences shift from perceptions of peripheral cues (age 6 to 11), to psychological concepts (ages 11 to 14), to sociocentric concepts in which an individual's status is seen in the context of the overall system (ages 14 to 17 years) (Ramsey, 1991). Further, Leahy (1981) found "a developmental shift from concern for consequences to the poor (the only category used frequently by six year olds), to equality, to equity and fatalistic conceptions given by adolescents" (p. 99). This indicates that, in accordance with Piagetian theory, adolescents were more likely to explain and justify inequality by referring to equity (work, effort, education and intelligence etc) and were more fatalistic in their conceptions of change and in justifying wealth and poverty (Short, 1991; Sunal & Phillips, 1988). Younger children, on the other hand, were more likely to claim that individual mobility and social change could be achieved by giving money to the poor and less likely to say that change could be achieved by changing the social structure (Short, 1991). This overall pattern of results sparked a number of similar studies within this second stream of research into children's understandings of socioeconomic status, and is consistent with findings from a variety of studies carried out in different parts of the world (Short, 1991).

Naimark (1981; 1983, in Ramsey, 1991) found similar age-related shifts in children's explanations of wealth and poverty, however, Naimark argued further that because of their growing awareness of the role of money (which is identifiable in particular stages of understanding between the ages of three and five), preschoolers were expected to show age-related increases in identifying members of different social class groups and associating social class with money (Ramsey, 1991). Sunal and Phillips (1988) replicated Leahy's study with rural American children, and found similar age related increases in referring to central characteristics when describing the poor in six to twelve year olds. However the findings differed from Leahy's study in that they did not find a decrease in referral to peripheral characteristics with age. Ramsey (1991) found that preschoolers were more likely to view the rich and poor as more dichotomous because of their difficulty in coordinating simultaneous similarities and

differences, and thus argued that children sorted them into distinct exhaustive classes. Short (1991), found a disjunction between the thinking of six year olds and eight and ten year olds, where eight and ten year olds were more likely than the younger children to think in terms of employment, education, and inheritance as the main explanation for income inequality and were more likely to add behavioural values such as „laziness’ to the poor.

All of these studies on children’s understandings of socioeconomic status (as well as most of the growing body of literature into economic socialisation) are based on describing development within the neo-Piagetian tradition, illustrating age-related stages through which children have to pass in order to gain a full understanding of socioeconomic concepts (Bonn, et al., 1999). While Leahy does briefly acknowledge the possibility that the age trends described in his extensive research may not be manifested in other societies or historical periods as a limitation to his study and suggest that cross-cultural research may “reveal somewhat different emphases” (p. 531), these studies have focused on investigating children’s understandings of socioeconomic status and inequality using a cognitive-developmental and functionalist perspective. Their emphasis is based on children’s age-related awareness of status symbols, ability to recognize the similarities and differences between people, and proficiency in classifying people into social classes according to certain indices and dimensions (i.e. peripheral, psychological or sociocentric characteristics).

Although the researchers differ on the number of stages and types of stages, they all express three basic levels in the development of children’s ideas around socioeconomic inequality: 1) no understanding; 2) understanding of some isolated concepts; and 3) linking of isolated concepts to full understanding (Bonn et al., 1999). Whilst the importance and value of age-related cognitive developmental trends is not denied, these broad generalized arguments based on cognitive developmental models (which implicitly assume that *all* children would follow these patterns) has lead to a situation where very little has been revealed about the manner in which children in different contexts view social classes (Bonn, et al., 1999; Camfield, 2009; Sutton, 2009).

This is because the cognitive developmental model in the majority of literature on children’s understandings of socioeconomic inequality essentially stresses intra-individual differences as the child matures- that is, the changes within the child and how their internal cognitive development affects their understandings and views of the social world (Bonn et al., 1999). Hence, this approach has been criticised for limiting or reducing the understanding of socio-

economic socialization to a solely cognitive developmental process which ignores the social and cultural influences in which the child's thought processes takes place (Bonn et al., 1999).

The Limitations and Difficulties of a Purely Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Understanding Children's Thinking

A substantial amount of critical review over the past ten to twenty years has argued that the tendency to examine children's thinking in isolation from the context in which it occurs creates a reductionist view that fails to take into account the breadth, depth and complexity of children's thinking (Robbins, 2002). Thus, there is a need within childhood research and practice to consider alternative ways of studying children and their thinking. Although Piaget's later (and less well-known) work did acknowledge the influence of contexts and social relationships on development, theorists have argued that Piaget's earlier (and more persistent) cognitive-developmental theory has led to a particular view of children as 'individuals in isolation' who construct their own understanding of the world in a predetermined, stage-like, universally applicable manner that occurs independently of the context in which they exist (Robbins, 2002).

This cognitive developmental trend continues to be a major influence within much current childhood research and education, and has ultimately lead to researchers (and educators) having preconceived, oversimplified assumptions about children's expected knowledge and understanding. This often results either in a deficit view of children who do not live up to these assumptions, or it tends to trivialise and ignore the depth and complexity of children's thinking (Robbins, 2002). Children's ideas that do not fit these preconceived categories about what they are expected to say because they seem inadequate, uninitiated, naive or are alternative to the majority, are dismissed (Robbins, 2005). Further, those children who are verbally skilled, proficient in the language of the researcher, live in the Western world, and are confident with adults are valued over other children who do not meet these expectations (and their views). Knowledge is treated as though it is individualistic and perpetuates both the view that there are certain correct (adult and Westernised) perspectives and promotes responses regarding the 'cuteness' of children's ideas (Robbins, 2002).

This trend maintains the view that children, regardless of their context, universally pass through chronologically ordered and hierarchically arranged stages along a continuum to eventually think and reason in a manner similar to adults (despite the fact that adults themselves do not reason or think the same). These models and approaches would predict (and promote)

considerable uniformity among classes, people, and nations as to the nature and explanations of wealth and inequality (Bonn et al., 1999). Yet little attention is paid to why they respond the way they do, the contexts which they come from, the tools with which they are familiar, or the interrelationships with their communities (Robbins, 2005).

In this way, most current research and literature appears to overlook, ignore or dismiss the diversity and complexity of many children's lives, particularly those children whose lives and experiences are different to the „universals' on which this cognitive developmental theory is based (Robbins, 2002). Robbins (2002) describes this tendency in research as focusing on cognition in children as “thinking and understanding as though it occurs in a vacuum” (p. 2) that is free from any cultural, institutional and historical influences, and is completely separate from the kinds of activities in which children participate in everyday life (Robbins, 2002; Rogoff, 1990; 2003). But, perhaps the criticism of this trend should be directed towards the unquestioning acceptance of these ideas by researchers and academics, without acknowledging that Piaget's ideas themselves were derived from middle-class European early twentieth century contexts (Robbins, 2005).

Increasingly researchers and academics are highlighting the limitations of the taken for granted (dominant) assumption of the universal nature of human development in research methods and approaches with children (Robbins, 2005). Rogoff (2003, in Robbins, 2005) points out that the assumption of cognitive development in children's thinking is often unquestioningly accepted by researchers, and yet issues of age transitions and appropriate development are themselves based on cultural perspectives. As a result of this tendency, many researchers and academics have developed a concern that many of the current studies on children are inclined to ignore the fact that children cannot remain untouched by their contexts (Graue & Walsh, 1995, in Robbins, 2002). Graue and Walsh (1995, in Robbins, 2002) argue that to try to think about children without considering their life situations and the context in which their thinking occurs, is to strip children and their actions, thoughts and understandings of meaning.

For this reason, Robbins (2002) argues that there is a need for a shift away from the view of the child as a solitary learner to an understanding that acknowledges and encompasses the idea that human mental processes (such as thinking) are not independent of the socio-cultural setting in which individuals and groups function. Bringing a sociocultural perspective to research provides the opportunity to question some of these „accepted' ways of thinking about children.

A „New’ Perspective: The Sociocultural Approach

With the growing recognition of the important roles of social and cultural factors in learning and development, sociocultural theories have been receiving increasing attention and recognition in child research and literature (Mahn, 1999). This is because rather than focusing solely on broad universal mental functioning that exists within the individual alone and which is thought to exist across cultures, a sociocultural approach begins with the assumption that human behaviour and mental functioning reflects and creates the specific setting in which it occurs.

Essentially in differing from the cognitive-developmental trend, it is an approach in which attention is paid to social, cultural and historical aspects of development (Robbins, 2005). Thus any description or explanation of human behaviour and mental functioning needs to consider how this behaviour/functioning are situated within the cultural, historical and institutional context in which the individual exists (Wertsch, 1991; Wertsch & Kanner, 1992). Sociocultural approaches consequently incorporate context into theoretical frameworks for understanding human behaviour and processes, and focus on how these contexts create and reflect mental functioning (Wertsch & Kanner, 1992).

In this view cultural and social norms and traditions in a given context regulate, express, transform and permeate the human mind, creating contextually based differences between people (Wertsch & Kannerer, 1992). The argument is that people develop as participants in cultural communities, and their development cannot be understood without taking into account the cultural practices, ways of thinking and circumstances in their context. Consequently, children’s understandings and ideas cannot be examined without acknowledging that they are situated within and reflect the context in which the child develops (Rogoff, 2003).

The sociocultural approach originates in the work of Vygotsky, whose theory of social cognition introduced the notion that children learn through their interactions with more experienced adults and peers, who assist them in engaging in thinking beyond the „zone’ in which they would be able to perform without assistance (Meadows, 1993; Rogoff, 2003). Although Vygotsky’s (1978) theory is mainly concerned with the development of higher forms of mental functions and processes, it can be seen as a theory of how the interaction between the individual and society shapes behaviour, understanding and knowledge and at its core examines “humans as meaning makers” (Mahn, 1999 p. 341).

Vygotsky (1978) focused on the way in which a child co-constructs meaning through social interactions, and the role word meaning plays in the development of thinking (Mahn, 1999). He

further explored the interdependence of culture and nature in his examination of the transformation of biological, „unconscious’ cognitive-developmental mental functions into sociocultural, conscious mental functions. In doing this, Vygotsky argued that psychological models need to analyze and explain higher mental functions and behaviour as *processes in action* rather than simply analyzing and describing them as objects or states since there is an inherent relationship between external and internal activity (Wertsch, 1985; Wertsch & Kanner, 1992; Mahn, 1999).

This involves going beyond mere description in order to reveal and explain the actual causal relations underlying human processes and behaviour by looking at the social origins of children’s thinking (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch & Kanner, 1992). For Vygotsky this means that one needs to understand the origins of human behaviour and mental functions (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch & Kanner, 1992). This source or origin of individual development and behaviour, Vygotsky argues, is found in society and culture (Wertsch & Kanner, 1992). Fundamentally, Vygotsky argues that humans are essentially cultural social beings and that the knowledge, norms and practices of a social/cultural context are internalised to become the foundations for thought and the means for understanding the world (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1992). In this way, a great deal of mental functioning and behaviour in the individual has its origins in and is shaped by society and social life through a child’s interaction and collaboration with others and with their social contexts and communities (Wertsch & Stone, 1985; Wertsch & Kanner, 1992).

This approach recognizes that child development is a social process that is historically and culturally dependent, with an emphasis on the relationships between people, contexts, actions, and meanings, and is mediated by the use of cultural tools and artefacts (Robbins, 2002). Different social systems call for different modes of everyday norms and practices in social life and therefore cognitive abilities, norms and practices required in development and socialization are essentially historical and social products for practical and social purposes in any given society (Rogoff, 1990; Valsiner, 1997). Thus, there is a dynamic interdependence between social and individual processes, and cognition involves a collaborative process as people engage in thinking together with others (Robbins, 2005).

This does not mean that the child is a passive recipient of social and cultural norms and values, but rather that through their interactions and experiences with others in their immediate social environment children actively construct their own knowledge of the world (Bonn et al., 1999). As different social systems and contexts call for different social norms and practices, cognitive abilities can be seen as historically elaborated products of practical and social purposes that

have emerged within any given context, and will vary across contexts and cultures (Rogoff, 1990).

In this way children's development and learning are seen to begin on a social level through the interactions with others and is then internalised within the child (Wertsch, 1985; Wertsch & Kanner, 1992). Sociocultural theorists therefore recognise that cognition is not an individual construction, but is a collaborative process that is intrinsically related to the context in which it occurs (Rogoff, 2003; Robbins, 2005). In researching children's thinking from a sociocultural approach, attention is focused beyond the individual child and the expected cognitive-developmental aspects of their thinking, to the contextual nature of their thinking (Robbins, 2005).

Acknowledging the view that inherent within the sociocultural approach is the notion that individual, social and cultural approaches are interrelated, Rogoff (1995; 1998; 2003) argues for the use of three foci of analysis that can be useful in interpreting children's development and thinking. Instead of separating individuals, others and context, this involves examining: 1) the participation and cognition of individuals (i.e. at the personal level); 2) the collaboration between the child and their social partners (i.e. at the interpersonal level); and 3) the cultural/institutional/historical factors (at the contextual level) (Robbins, 2005).

At the first *personal level*, the focus is on the individual child and their understanding of and responsibility for activities (what they individually say or do), but the interpersonal relationships and the contextual factors remain 'in the picture' and are kept in mind by the researcher. At the second *interpersonal level*, the focus is shifted to the interactions, communication and coordination of children with others, and the guidance and support of others in what children do and say at the first level. This is an examination of the mutual involvement of individuals with their social partners, the social situation, the dynamic interdependence between individual and social processes, the exchanges between children and their partners (including researchers themselves), and how these influence children's individual thinking. At the third *contextual level*, the focus is on the contextual or community factors which influence both the children's thinking and the interactions with their partners. These are the broader factors influencing and interacting with the other levels, which strive to acknowledge the sociocultural view that context is seen as integrated with (and influenced by) individual action and thought. At this level attention is paid to the cultural tools being used (both physical- for example drawing utensils, maps, books, television, computers- and psychological, including language, different kinds of numbering or counting, writing schemes, art works, diagrams, drawings, stories etc); the values, histories and cultural norms and practices; the ways of

behaving; the skills and ways of learning emphasized; the values placed by the community/institution on the activity, and how these are integrated with their engagement in the activity (Robbins, 2002; 2005; Rogoff, 2003).

Rogoff (1995; 1998; 2003) emphasized that while one focus of analysis highlights a certain aspect of the activity, the others remain less distinct in the background. However, importantly one cannot interpret what individuals are doing without understanding how it fits into the ongoing events and context of the other foci of analysis since their development and thinking can never be separated from their interpersonal interactions and contextual backgrounds (Robbins, 2002). Although the focus is on the child, the interpersonal relationships and contextual nature of the activity are still taken into account and the attention goes beyond simply what the child ‚knows‘ or can do at a particular ‚stage‘ in development (Robbins, 2002). The building of knowledge can therefore be seen as a socio-cognitive process, which relies greatly on and is greatly influenced by the culture and circumstances in which the child lives (Bonn et al., 1999).

In this way, the sociocultural approach provides a way of understanding how different contexts create and reflect different systems of thought in different children. Importantly, this sociocultural approach is different to cultural or cross cultural research (Robbins, 2005).

Whereas cultural and cross-cultural studies focus on how culture ‚influences‘ the development of children, a sociocultural approach takes the perspective that the context is *integrated* into children’s thinking and not seen as something which impacts on development (Robbins, 2005). In this perspective, thinking and development occur through a process of changing participation in dynamic cultural communities, in which individuals, their social partners, practices, beliefs and norms, cultural tools (including language, books, drawing implements etc), technologies, circumstances, and value systems create new ideas and views of the world.

Further, a sociocultural approach is also different to a social constructionist approach. In social constructivist theories the individual is considered the unit of analysis, and the impact of ‚social influences‘ on an individual’s thinking and development are examined as independent ‚outside‘ variables which are drawn on by the individual in creating meaning (Robbins, 2005). In a sociocultural approach, however, the individuals cannot be separated from the activities and contexts in which they participate as the individuals, others, activities and contexts mutually constitute one another and the individual contributes to as much as they are contributed to by the activities in which they participate. Meaning creation is a joint activity and which influences the social context as much as it is influenced by the social context in which it takes place (i.e. it is collaborative) (Robbins, 2005).

Thus, Robbins (2002) argues that bringing a sociocultural perspective to the study of children means that one can go beyond simply viewing the child as an independent single unit of analysis, and instead can result in a more thorough picture and understanding of children's cognition which takes into account the importance of the social and cultural context in children's understandings of their social worlds. This focus sets sociocultural approaches apart from those arising from Piagetian perspectives, and allows research to examine the ways in which learning and thinking takes place under cultural circumstances and in different historical contexts (Robbins, 2005). The goal of research is to understand how children attain those meanings and how these correspond to their social and cultural contexts. In this way, this approach would predict considerable cultural and social differences as children construct the meaning of being rich and poor from their participation in their immediate social environment (Bonn et al., 1999).

The Importance of the Social and Cultural Context in Children's Understandings of Rich and Poor

It can be argued that social class and socioeconomic status are, by their very nature, social constructs which are largely influenced by contextual factors in understanding what defines a rich and poor person. Psychological research has suggested that using indices to stratify and classify people into social classes (such as income, education level and occupation) is ineffective in understanding the meaningfulness of social class (Ming Liu, 2006). In fact, research examining the subjective interpretations of social class suggests great within-group variation (Ming Liu, 2006). Hence the concept of 'relative' poverty, indicating the complexity involved in distinguishing the poor from non-poor (Noble et al., 2006).

Debates around poverty (and what definitively separates society into socioeconomic social classes), have frequently lacked clear distinctions between the concept, definition, measurement and enumeration of poverty and wealth since the boundaries between these are not necessarily as clear as often implied (Noble et al., 2006). The common definition of the poor as 'those living below the poverty line' has been widely criticised by researchers and theorists as an arbitrary classification. This is because this 'poverty line' is not specific enough, does not capture the complexity of those living at that line, and may inadvertently include groups (such as university students) not socially considered 'poor' as their income is low, but their prestige and power is high (Ming Liu, 2006). Further, in classifying people into a single group as 'poor people' it is implicitly assumed that this is an objective classification and that all people will see the world similarly.

While this does not deny or minimize the clear and objective consequences of poverty, it does speak to the fact that to suggest a dichotomy between rich and poor that can be clearly defined and understood is to miss the complexity of social relationships in current society (Ming Lui, 2006). Definitions and understandings of relative poverty (and wealth) and social class differentiation essentially reflect an individual's underlying social class worldview, which is situated in his or her economic culture and defined by certain expectations and beliefs of what it means to live well (Ming Lui, 2006; Yamamoto & Takahashi, 2007; Camfield and Tafere, 2009). Social class in this sense can therefore be defined as the beliefs and attitudes that help an individual to understand the demands of his or her economic culture, to develop the behaviours necessary to meet the economic cultural demands, and to recognize how class based stereotypes function in his/her life (Ming Lui, 2006). These would undoubtedly, in their very essence, be influenced by social and cultural factors which shape these views and cultural beliefs.

This notion that concepts of socioeconomic inequality and social class are essentially embedded in social and cultural understandings has been further supported by a growing number of studies which have acknowledged (although not always as their primary findings) the context-based differences in the ways in which children understand rich and poor.

Camfield (2009) argued that in reviewing a number of studies on children's understandings of poverty (e.g. Bonn et al., 1999; Giese et al., 2002; Boyden et al., 2003; Witter & Bokokhe, 2004; Harpman et al., 2005; Johnson, 2006; Camfield, 2009), these studies suggest that children's understandings of poverty are informed predominantly by their own experiences and those of their social circles, arguing that they are profoundly social and context-specific. For example, Furnham (1982, in Bonn et al., 1999) found interesting differences for the explanations of poverty depending on a person's socioeconomic context, with middle class adults and adolescents tending to favour individualistic explanations for poverty, while lower income groups and the less well-educated favoured structural (economic) explanations. This was later supported by a similar study of Scottish children's understandings of economic inequality by Emler and Dickenson (1985, in Weinger, 2000), in which significant class differences between children from working class and middle class backgrounds in their estimates of incomes for different occupations, and the fairness of income differences, were found. In this study they found that middle class children had overall higher income estimates, perceived clearer divisions between manual and non-manual jobs, and appeared more certain about the justice of economic inequalities (Emler & Dickenson, 1985, in Bonn et al., 1999). Similarly, in exploring US children's views of their own and others' socioeconomic status, Weinger (2000) argued that how children identify with others in poverty or in relative affluence

depends on their own class or income status. Weinger (2000) further pointed out that although in Leahy's (1983) study all adolescent respondents tended to uphold the legitimacy of income inequality, a closer look reveals that upper-class children and middle-class children differed in their ideas around economic stratification and mobility (with middle class children more convinced that social stratification is a natural unchangeable fact of life).

More recently, Horgan (2009), in his study on the impact of poverty on young children's experiences of school, argued that children's school experiences are shaped by their family background and the area in which they live, and that their views of one another are determined by the level of disadvantage they face. However, Backett-Milburn et al., (2003, in Sutton, 2009) found that poor children themselves challenged the idea that their lives were worse than others, while wealthier children minimised their own material advantage. In addition, Sutton (2009) found that British children from a disadvantaged housing association estate and from an independent private school substantially differed in how they perceived themselves and positioned themselves in society, with their socioeconomic backgrounds profoundly affecting their understandings of who they are and who they are not.

In research across contexts, differences have also been found in the ways in which children see social class. For example, Furnham (1987, in Bonn et al., 1999), investigated the perception of economic justice among adolescents in Great Britain and South Africa by describing hypothetical workers and asking respondents to allocate monetary rewards. He found that South African subjects remunerated white workers more than black workers (a result that reflects the reality of the economic world in which they live). Roland-Levy (1990, in Bonn et al., 1999) found the dominant explanations for both poverty and wealth of Algerian and French children were quite different. French children attributed wealth and poverty to the socioeconomic system, whereas the Algerian children referred more to personal characteristics (such as lack of effort or abilities). Further, whereas French children mentioned fate as a reason for being rich more than for being poor, Algerian children mentioned fate more as a reason for being poor than rich and were more aware than French children of the power of the government in the country (Roland-Levy, 1990, in Bonn et al., 1999). Other cross-national differences have found that Italians tend to blame societal factors, the Danes fate, and the British the poor themselves (Lewis, Webley & Furnham, 1995, in Bonn et al., 1999).

What is clear from these studies is that despite the consistency of the pattern of development across children, there are cultural and social differences in explaining and understanding poverty and social class (Bonn et al., 1999). In this way, it is important to recognise that social class and socioeconomic inequality are essentially socially-situated constructs that cannot be

examined without acknowledging the social and cultural factors which guide our ideas of what defines relative wealth and poverty.

Given that by their very nature social class and socioeconomic status are social experiences that are largely influenced by contextual factors in understanding what defines a rich or poor person (thus the concept of ‚relative’ poverty and the cultural differences in explanations for poverty), one needs to take into account the knowledge, norms and practices in the South African social/cultural context and how these are internalized to become the foundations for thought and the means for understanding the world for South African children (Bonn et al., 1999; Wertsch & Kanner, 1992; Wertsch, 1985).

The Need for Further Research, Particularly in South Africa

The South African census in 2001 reveals the harsh socioeconomic reality our children face, with 11.8 percent of those under 18 living in informal dwellings and shacks; 37.7 percent not having piped water in their homes or within 200 metres of where they live; 49.3 percent not having a refrigerator in their homes; and 60.8 percent not having a flush toilets in their homes (Noble et al., 2006). Since 1994, South Africa has made a number of commitments that relate to the well-being of our children, however the disparity between rich and poor remains largely segregated along social and political lines. Nowhere in the world is this socioeconomic disparity as situated within the social, political, and institutional historical context as in South Africa. Consequently, it is near impossible to ignore the influences this would have on children’s views of socioeconomic circumstances and income inequality (Noble et al., 2006). However, although this notion that children’s understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic circumstances are influenced by the social and cultural context in which they occur has been acknowledged in a growing number of studies worldwide (e.g. Emler and Dickinson, 1985 in Bonn et al., 1999; Weinger, 2000; Horgan, 2009; Sutton, 2009), it has thus far only been explored in one other study in South Africa.

Bonn et al. (1999) aimed to explore the understandings of black South African children aged seven, nine, eleven and fourteen drawn from a rural, an urban and a semi-urban setting, with the purpose of building on existing research by investigating children’s understandings of economic inequalities. Bonn et al. (1999) argued for the use of three different locations from which to draw children because they provided very different social environments in which the children were gathering their ‚economic knowledge’ about the world, and thus 225 children (80 rural, 60 urban, and 85 semi-urban) from Pretoria (the urban group) and the North West Province (the

semi-urban and rural groups) were interviewed in their first language of Setswana. The questions used by Bonn et al. (1999) very closely resembled Leahy's (1981) questions.

However contrary to most previous research (such as that by Leahy, 1981), Bonn and colleagues found that South African children's knowledge about wealth, poverty, inequality and unemployment was influenced by their social environment and argued that their expressions of these concepts reflect the social reality in which the children live (Bonn et al., 1999). The results indicated that children's views about wealth, poverty, inequality and unemployment showed some differences both between children of different ages and between the three samples, which suggested that the children's responses were linked to their age as well as their specific social background. Bonn et al. (1999) argued that although the age trends were in line with Leahy's (1981) study and the cognitive developmental trends suggested by previous research, the details and specifics expressed in the children's knowledge about wealth, poverty, inequality and unemployment were influenced by the children's environment.

For example, the children's definitions of poverty and wealth reflected the relative poverty and wealth of their own experiences and surroundings, with rural children (in whose community everyone is both black and poor) most frequently responding that the rich "are the Whites", but semi-rural and urban children (whose environments provided them with evidence that Black people may also be rich) referred more frequently to individual characteristics and less to the rich being „the Whites' (Bonn et al., 1999). Thus, Bonn et al. (1999) concluded that the social environment affects the expression of socioeconomic concepts, but that their integration is age related.

In this way, Bonn et al. (1999) argued that approaches which emphasize cognitive developmental trends are not necessarily mutually exclusive from other approaches which take social and cultural factors into account. While the cognitive developmental trend is important in understanding intra-individual processes, an approach which acknowledges the importance of context is better at describing inter-individual variations between children of the same age (Bonn et al., 1999). This study provides a particularly useful and unique insight, as it appears to merge the cognitive developmental model consistent with research on children's understandings of socioeconomic status and inequality, with the need to recognize the cultural and social influences inherent in children's understandings of social constructs. Given that South Africa is a society where there still remain very large and deep-rooted differences in wealth based on racial and political grounds, and where there exists a history of extremely limited social mobility for the poorer groups, there is a need for further research in South Africa into how

children's ideas and perceptions of socioeconomic status and inequality reflect the social and cultural context in which they occur (Bonn et al., 1999).

The sociocultural approach is a particularly useful framework for doing just this as it is a theoretically grounded and well-established framework that allows one to justifiably interpret and explain children's accounts of their understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status and inequality by recognizing the cultural and social influences on their thinking. Since the goal of the sociocultural approach is to explain and illustrate this relationship between social context and human mental functioning, this allows one to build on to Bonn et al.'s (1999) existing findings (discussed above), while relating this to an existing theoretical framework which can account for the manner in which children in different contexts form different understandings and ideas of social phenomena/processes (Robbins, 2005).

In this way, applying the sociocultural approach to understanding children's thinking would involve going beyond a focus on just the child or group of children alone, but rather broadening the focus to examine the personal (i.e. what the child knows or expresses), interpersonal (i.e. the interactions between the child and their social partners), and the contextual (i.e. the tools and factors in the child's environment and context that influence their thinking) factors in which children's conceptions and thinking are embedded (Robbins, 2002; Robbins, 2005). Robbins (2002) argues that bringing a sociocultural perspective to the study of children means that one can go beyond simply the child as an independent single unit of analysis, and instead can result in a more thorough picture and understanding of children's cognition. For this reason this study aimed to apply the sociocultural perspective as a framework for exploring South African children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status and income inequality.

3. AIMS

The proposed aim of this study was to explore South African children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status using the framework of the sociocultural approach to illustrate how these understandings and perceptions reflect the contextual, social and interpersonal factors in which the children's thinking occurs.

Further, the purpose of this study was to build on previous research (particularly that by Leahy, 1981, and by Bonn et al., 1999) by investigating children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic inequalities in a society where there are enormous and entrenched historically based differences in wealth based on racial and political grounds and where, in the past, social mobility for the poorer groups has been limited.

The particular research questions were:

What are South African children's perceptions and understandings of socioeconomic status and income inequality?

How do these reflect the cultural, historical and social context in which they take place?

The first hypothesis was that children's responses would show age-related trends consistent with Leahy's (1981) cognitive developmental model. Specifically, it was expected that older children would provide more complex explanations for inequality and wealth than younger children. Secondly, it was hypothesized that the children's responses and accounts of socioeconomic status and income inequality in this study would reflect (by making reference to and drawing on): 1) the interpersonal context between the children and their social partners (i.e. collaborating with other children and the researcher to create a shared understanding). 2) Their everyday social context (i.e. people they know, their own circumstances, people in their community and the media). 3) The social, cultural and historical factors within the South African context (i.e. the current and historical nature of income inequality and socioeconomic circumstances, prominent figures in South Africa etc).

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to address the research questions, this study made use of a qualitative interpretive approach to investigating South African children's ideas and perceptions of rich and poor.

Qualitative research is based on the assumption of the subjective nature of people, knowledge and research methods, with an emphasis on understanding human actions and experiences within the context in which they take place (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006; van der Riet & Durheim, 2006). Qualitative research strives for depth of understanding, and focuses on the way in which people interpret their experiences and the world in which they live (Greig, Taylor & MacKay, 2007). It is, therefore, about making sense of people's experiences by listening and interacting with them in order to piece together the personal and societal context, so that human creations, words, actions and experiences become meaningful within the contexts in which they are grounded (Terre Blanche et al., 2006).

Furthermore, the interpretive approach involves going beyond mere description to make sense of people's experiences and actions by providing a position, elaboration or explanation of the account (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). For interpretive researchers, individual understandings take place within and are influenced by their context, which creates a specific and unique account or position towards their social world. An interpretive approach involves trying to understand the social world from the point of view of the child living in it, and how this affects the way they view others (Greig, Taylor & MacKay, 2007). Thus, the importance of understanding people and how they create meaning within their context, using context-derived terms and categories, is fundamental to the interpretive approach (Terre Blanche et al., 2006).

This paradigm and theoretical framework is useful for this study as it emphasizes the importance of subjective experiences/ accounts that cannot be generalized across contexts or people, is holistic, idiographic (examines phenomena/actions in their structural coherence to the larger context), inductive, and attempts to view the world through the eyes/perspective of the social actors themselves (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Terre Blanche et al., 2006). In this way, this paradigm and framework recognises the need to take children's perspectives seriously and to understand their views and perspectives of their social worlds. This is, firstly, consistent with the need for child-centred and child-participatory understandings of (both absolute and relative)

poverty that emphasize how children *themselves* perceive their own and others' socio-economic circumstances.

Secondly, it is consistent with the idea that understandings of socioeconomic circumstances and income inequality differ across contexts. Within the qualitative interpretive framework knowledge and understanding are not fixed and unchanging, but are subjective positions which are mediated and constructed through the use of language to create shared, mutually-agreed upon meaning in everyday norms and interactions within a particular context (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Durrheim, 2006; Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007). In this way, the qualitative interpretive framework has at its core the assumption that knowledge and understanding are created and constructed within a context.

Thirdly, this approach is consistent with many of the main assumptions of the sociocultural approach itself (discussed above in the literature review). Both the sociocultural approach and the qualitative framework are interested in how individuals construct meaning, understandings and experiences through social interaction and language use. Within both these approaches, attention is paid to the reciprocity and negotiation of meaning between various participants (including the researcher, who cannot be considered neutral or unacknowledged) within the research activity. Further, both involve a subjective, naturalistic and holistic approach to understanding humans that cannot be generalized across contexts or people and which require going beyond what people say to find how their experiences and interactions influence their views of the world (Mahn, 1999; Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Durheim, 2006; van der Riet & Durheim, 2006).

Thus, within this qualitative interpretive framework, this study explored South African children's subjective understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status by focusing on children's descriptions and ideas of what it means to be ‚rich‘ or ‚poor‘. The sociocultural approach was then used as the theoretical framework for making sense of and interpreting these descriptions and accounts within the context in which they occur.

Specifically this involved a combination of focus groups and drawing activities with a group of South African children from a local government, former model C, primary school located in a relatively lower socioeconomic area in Pietermaritzburg, in which their perspectives and understandings of socioeconomic status were explored. These focus groups were divided into younger (ages 8-9) and older (ages 10-12) age groups, in order to allow for comparisons with the studies by Bonn et al. (1999) and Leahy (1981) discussed in the literature review. Once

parental consent and assent from the child had been obtained (discussed in more detail below), the study was presented to the children by explaining that the researcher is interested “how children see the world and how they think about other people, so I will be asking you questions about rich people and poor people”.

Consistent with the argument of the sociocultural approach that drawing is a mediational tool that can contribute to the formulation of meaning for children (Brooks, 2009; Robbins, 2002), drawing activities were used in conjunction with the traditional focus groups used by Leahy (1981) and Bonn et al. (1999). In the drawing activity, the children were requested to draw a picture showing “what rich people and where they live might look like”, and “what poor people and where they live might look like”. These instructions as to what to draw were deliberately vague so as to allow the children the freedom to include in the drawing what they understand of these statements, therefore allowing the children to express their ideas freely. The particular questions used to facilitate the children’s discussions of socioeconomic status and income inequality in the focus groups were based on the two previous studies by Leahy (1981) and by Bonn et al. (1999) (see Appendix 3: Data Collection Schedule). This was done in order to facilitate possible comparisons with these studies through, 1) contrasting the sociocultural approach to understanding children’s accounts of socioeconomic status and inequality with Leahy’s (1981) traditional neo-Piagetian cognitive-developmental approach; and 2) building on the idea that children’s understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status and inequality reflect the social and cultural context in which they occur as shown in Bonn et al.’s (1999) study.

In applying the sociocultural approach in data analysis, this essentially involved broadening the focus to examine how the children’s accounts reflect the personal; interpersonal; and contextual factors in which children’s conceptions and thinking are embedded (Robbins, 2002; 2005). This study, thus, made use of a discursive approach in analysing the data, using the notion of interpretive repertoires (McKenzie, 2005; Potter & Wetherell, 1990) to investigate what cultural tools the children drew on in their conversations to create culturally situated accounts of socioeconomic status and income inequality. Specifically, a sociocultural discourse analysis focuses on the use of language as a social mode of thinking, and locates meaning at a cultural and social level, rather than at an individual level (Mercer, 2004). Rogoff’s (1995, 1998) notion of the sociocultural three planes of analysis were used as the starting point for this analysis, by looking at the interpretive repertoires along the three planes of: 1) the participants themselves (i.e. a *personal* focus of analysis, what they said/expressed and their ideas); 2) Their collaboration with one another (*interpersonal* focus of analysis, how they collaborated and interacted with their social partners to transform and create their ideas and understandings,

including how they collaborated with the researcher); and 3) the cultural, historical and institutional factors (community or *contextual* focus of analysis, how they used cultural and social knowledge, norms, references and tools to express and construct their ideas) (Robbins, 2002; 2005). Within these foci, this approach provided opportunities for children to develop and present their thinking in a variety of culturally relevant ways (in this case drawing and discussing their ideas in small groups), and considered the context in which their thinking is embedded. Within each of these planes of analysis, the principles and methods of a sociocultural discourse analysis using interpretive repertoires was applied, however, with a focus on the respective level (see „Data Analysis’ below).

4.2 SAMPLING

This study made use of a non-probability purposive sampling strategy. The sample consisted of 20 South African children between the ages of 8 and 12 years old from a local, urban, government, former model C, primary school located in a relatively low socioeconomic area in Pietermaritzburg.

While no school has a completely homogenous socioeconomic composition, this local school can be characterised as a relatively lower socioeconomic government school that consists of a predominantly black, low income demographic. However, it is important to emphasize that no claim is made here that the children who participated in this study are living in absolute poverty or wealth, rather the relativity of their circumstances in comparison to other schools in the area is emphasized (Sutton, 2009).

Socioeconomic background of the area in which the school is based

The area in which the school is based (Oribi) was officially designated a low-rental Government village for poor whites in 1957. Since 1995, however, accommodation for all race groups has been provided under the administration of the KwaZulu Natal Provincial Housing Development Board (Zaverdinos-Kockott, 2004). To qualify to reside in Oribi, a person must not be a homeowner and must earn under R2000 per month (Piper et al., 2003, in Zaverdinos-Kockott, 2004). A waiting list of over 5000 families on social grants remains every year, and houses are allocated according to the size and genders of the family unit (Zaverdinos-Kockott, 2004).

According to census data (Statistics South Africa, 2004, in Zaverdinos-Kockott, 2004), in 1996 the majority of Oribi residents were white, with significant numbers of unemployed and disabled people and pensioners. However, a survey by Piper et al. (2003, in Zaverdinos-Kockott, 2004) revealed that in 2003, 51% of residents were black, 41% white, and the remaining 8% mainly coloured. According to this 2003 study, new black residents of this area reportedly appeared to be better off than white residents, with over 67% of black households having an employed household head compared to only 50% of white households, and the remaining percentages of each of these groups on welfare support (Piper et al., 2003, in Zaverdinos-Kockott, 2004). Further, the issue of illegal residents (those who have gained houses illegally) had been cited as a source of racial antagonism in the area on the part of white residents, and was exacerbated by the socio-cultural differences and the perceived link between the growing number of black residents and the increased crime levels. On the other hand, almost all black residents, in Piper et al.'s survey, reported that they were satisfied with their lives in Oribi, and saw it as an economic upward step from township life.

Piper et al.'s survey (2003, in Zaverdinos-Kockott, 2004) revealed that (despite low rentals) an estimated 90% of residents in 2003 did not pay rent; that electricity and water supplies were frequently cut due to non-payment; and that provincial government's management of Oribi was poor. In this survey residents reported that rubbish dumps on empty lots are ever-growing; that shebeens (unlicensed or illegally operated pubs or bars) and brothels are widespread; and that these factors (as well as the low socioeconomic conditions of residents) have resulted in increased crime, with one resident reporting that "the police are tired of Oribi" (Piper et al., 2003, in Zaverdinos-Kockott, 2004: 14).

Amid this negative socioeconomic picture, it must be noted however that all government houses in Oribi have piped water and electricity, and that residents have access to telecommunication in the form of telephones, cell phones, and pay phones (Zaverdinos-Kockott, 2004). There is a community clinic for primary healthcare and mental health care which opens twice a week, and the municipal mobile library bus visits weekly. In addition, there are a number of long-standing organisations, most of which are run by the *Natalse Christelike Vroue Vereniging*, including a baby day-care; a pre-primary school; and a senior centre (which provides cheap cooked meals), as well as funeral and dance/ cultural societies run by residents. Numerous small businesses are also run by residents in the area from residential premises, including hairdressers, tuck shops and telephone centres (Zaverdinos-Kockott, 2004).

The school from which participants were drawn for this study is situated within a kilometre of Oribi and a large Government housing estate, at which a large number of the children reside. This school has electricity and water, as well as a well-stocked library.

Sample rationale

This sample was chosen for a number of reasons.

Firstly, there is a need for research on South African children's views of socioeconomic circumstance and income inequality. As discussed in the literature review, social and cultural factors in children's understanding of socioeconomic inequality has thus far only been explored in one other study in South Africa (Bonn et al., 1999). Given South Africa's unique social and political history, this provides a particularly rich site for exploring the social and cultural influences on children's thinking and the meaning they give to social circumstances.

Secondly, the use of a sample from a lower socioeconomic (predominantly black) South African population allows for comparisons with Bonn et al.'s (1999) South African study. The sample used in this study is not completely equivalent to Bonn et al.'s due to the unique historical and social context of the school and surroundings areas, the English medium language use, and the inclusion of white and coloured children. The use of a South African lower socioeconomic sample of similar age groups does however facilitate possible comparisons. Further, the use of the sociocultural framework to illustrate the contextual nature of these understandings allows for comparisons based on the age related trends and the use of contextual factors in the children's responses.

Third, the views of children from lower socioeconomic circumstances are likely to reflect sociocultural factors that are specific to the South African context. This is because those from lower socioeconomic circumstances are likely to have had personal exposure to a wide demographic of people from different socioeconomic circumstances in their everyday social interactions in their school, church, neighbourhood, parents' workplaces, wider community etc in the South African context. Further, the unique history of the population demographic in the area in which the school is based means that the children from this school are also likely to reflect some specific factors consistent with the context of their communities.

Lastly, the use of this sample allows one to gain insight into how South African children from lower socioeconomic circumstances (who have less privileges and opportunities and are seen as lower in the social hierarchy) view themselves and others in light of the socioeconomic disparities and income inequality in South Africa.

The limited access to resources and constrained timeframe involved in a Masters dissertation also made this a convenient and easily accessible sample as the School of Psychology has good relations with the school that participated in this study. Further, although the majority of the children are first language isiZulu speakers, the school's medium of instruction is English, which allowed the researcher to carry out all aspects of the study herself as language was not a barrier.

Sampling procedure

Following ethical clearance, permission was obtained from the school to conduct this study with the pupils and a meeting was held with the school's vice principal in which access to the children and school facilities were negotiated. The school's vice principal disseminated a total of 20 parental consent forms to children at the school's discretion. The only instructions from the researcher were that the study required 10 children between the ages of 8-10 and 10 children between the ages of 11- 12, with equal gender distributions between in each group. The school chose to select children from two classes (Grade three and Grade six, respectively). Although additional consent forms were given to the school, should some parents not consent to their child's participation in this study, the parents' of all 20 children selected by the school consented. Further, no child asked to take part in this study refused.

The sample consisted of equal numbers of male and female participants within each age group (10 males, 10 females). The racial demographic of the sample consisted of 14 black children, three white children and three coloured children. In data collection, the children were divided into younger and older age groups (ages 8-9 and ages 10-12, respectively). Each focus group consisted of 10 children. In the younger age group, the mean age was nine years old, with three children aged eight; six aged nine; and one aged 10 years. In the older age group, children were equally distributed between the ages of 11 and 12 years, with five children aged 11 and five children aged 12. Separate focus groups were conducted with each age group, however using the same instructions, questions and tasks described below.

4.3 DATA COLLECTION

Procedure:

In investigating the research questions from within a qualitative interpretive design, this study made use of a combination of focus groups and drawing activities with the children. All

procedures were carried out by the researcher herself (See Appendix 3: Data Collection Schedule). The recordings of each focus group were transcribed by the researcher, and the transcriptions then analysed.

Data Collection Session One:

Upon entering the area in which the study was conducted, the children and researcher were seated in the focus group circle. The study was introduced to the children, explaining what was required of them and what procedure would be followed (See Appendix 3: Data Collection Schedule). The use of the audio voice recorders was then negotiated with the children, and issues of anonymity and confidentiality were discussed.

Once assent from the children had been obtained (discussed in more detail in the „ethical considerations’ section below), the researcher requested that the children divide themselves into pairs at the drawing area. Pairs were used in the drawing activity in order to encourage more direct and interactive collaboration with the children and their social partners, however as all children in each group were seated at the large table, the children also worked with other pairs. The children were given 15 minutes for the drawing activity, during which time the researcher observed and chatted with the children about their drawings. These conversations were non-directive and based on the children’s own discussions which they initiated during the drawing activity. In this way, the researcher encouraged the children’s participation in conversational exchanges directed by the children, as a means of exploring their thinking and meaning-creation.

In the formal focus groups, questions (adapted from Bonn et al., 1999, and Leahy, 1981, see Appendix 3: Data Collection Schedule) were posed to the group of children in an open-ended manner and each child was allowed to answer in his or her own way. In addition, the children were encouraged to use their pictures in the discussions, and each pair was given the opportunity to discuss their drawings near the end of the focus group session. At the end, the children were then debriefed, and given the opportunity to share some ideas on how they felt the session had played out. The researcher then pre-empted the subsequent focus group with each age group by asking the children to think of and bring any further ideas about rich and poor to the next focus group, conducted at a later stage (after a three week school holiday).

Data Collection Session Two

As in session one, the children and researcher were seated in the focus group circle. The study was reintroduced to the children, reminding them of the purpose of the research, issues of confidentiality and sensitivity, and audio-recording (see Appendix 3: Data Collection

Schedule). The children were then reminded of what had been discussed in the previous session and the procedures for session two were explained.

The second data collection session was used in order to allow the children additional opportunities to discuss the questions and topics covered in session one, as well as to allow the researcher to probe areas covered in session one in more detail. Thus, session two consisted of focus group discussions with the children, using the same facilitation questions (See Appendix 3: Data Collection Schedule) which were used in data collection session one, with the researcher following the question with non-directive probes. In addition, the researcher made use of additional probing into topics the children had covered in session one based on initial data analysis. The researcher further encouraged the children to work together to jot down their responses on a sheet of news print during discussions of questions one to four. This was used to structure the children's ideas and allow them to focus their responses, by encouraging them to decide which points needed to be jotted down as core ideas or responses to the questions.

At the end the children were then debriefed, and given the opportunity to share some ideas on how they felt about how both sessions had played out. The children were also reminded of the importance of confidentiality and sensitivity to what had been discussed in the focus groups.

Data Collection Techniques

Focus Groups

Group interviews such as focus groups have received much empirical support (in a number of methodological reviews for research with children) as a more useful approach than asking children directly about their family, home or experiences because this "talking together" is similar to that of the small group setting in classrooms (Horgan, 2009, p. 362). This group setting (as opposed to individual interviews) allows children to interact with and draw on their social partners, and provides a site for children to take control of the discussion and raise issues which they would like to discuss, in a way that is less intimidating than in one-to-one interviews with a stranger (Kellet & Ding, 2004). In this way, the researcher is placed in the role of facilitator rather than interrogator, and the children are enabled to construct their own understandings and accounts by directing the discussions as they choose (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Horgan, 2009; Sutton, 2009).

This is consistent with the need to take a participatory, child-centred approach in this study, as well as the focus of the sociocultural approach on the interpersonal factors which influence

children's thinking. This is because it allows one to focus on doing research *with* children rather than *on* children (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Sutton, 2009). Importantly, Horgan (2009) argues that researchers recognize that reducing power imbalances between the researcher and child participants, combined with the general shortage of knowledge about children's views of social phenomena, means that qualitative research with children needs to maintain a degree of openness to ensure that children are able to direct the discussion in a manner which reflects their own views, perceptions, and thoughts. Although group interviews such as this may not be successful with older children, as participants may feel less comfortable talking in front of other children, this was not an issue in this study as this study did not attempt to elicit information from the children about their own socioeconomic circumstances.

As discussed in the design section, the particular questions used in the focus groups to facilitate the children's discussions of socioeconomic status and income inequality were selected from Leahy (1981) and by Bonn et al.'s (1999) studies. Those questions selected from the Bonn et al. (1999) study had been piloted by Bonn et al. on a number of South African children from similar geographic locations as the children participated in their study, prior to conducting his study. Both the questions from Leahy (1981) and Bonn et al. (1999) were framed using the same wording as in these studies, with non-directive probes as described in these studies.

Drawing Activities

The use of drawing activities in conjunction with the focus groups is also consistent with the sociocultural approach. Within the sociocultural approach drawing is seen as a mediational tool that can contribute to the formulation of thinking and meaning for children by helping children to structure and express their thinking through visual representations to illustrate their ideas (Brooks, 2009; Robbins, 2002). In this study drawing activities were used as a means to allow the children to visually represent, express and explain their ideas of rich and poor (Brooks, 2009).

Brooks (2009) argues, using a Vygotskian sociocultural framework, that some ideas may need more processing than others and suggests that the process of drawing can assist children in processing their ideas and moving towards higher level understanding and perception. If drawing is considered a mediational tool, then it stands to reason that drawing might contribute to the formulation of meaning for children (Brooks, 2009). In this way, a drawing might be seen as an externalization of a concept or idea in much the same way that language is used to externalize ideas. Research shows that when children are encouraged to revise and dialogue

through and with their drawings, they are able to represent and explore much more complex ideas (Brook, 2009). Further, since drawing is also frequently used in classroom work, it is a familiar and comfortable cultural and social tool in the primary school context, which children appear to enjoy and relate well to in the school setting (Brooks, 2009; Robbins, 2002). Thus, the use of drawings provided an additional means for children to share their ideas and construct meaning with others, in a way in which language may not fully express.

4. 4. VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY (CREDIBILITY, DEPENDABILITY, CONFIRMABILITY, AND TRANSFERABILITY)

Validity, reliability and generalisability ensure that the way in which research is conducted leads to sound and truthful conclusions; that the same/similar results would be attained if repeated; and that the findings from the data and context are applicable to a broader population and setting (Silverman, 2000; Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). This is important in convincing one's audience and peers, firstly, that the findings of a study are genuinely based on critical examination and reflection of all the data and not just a few well-chosen examples. Secondly, that the findings are meaningful and applicable to a broader population. Thirdly, that the study does justice to the respondents and phenomena under investigation (Silverman, 2000; Babbie & Mouton, 2005).

However, considering that qualitative research operates under very different assumptions and practices, the traditional (quantitative) standards for assessing good research may not fit with the epistemological assumptions or intentions of qualitative research. Thus, rather than focusing on validity, reliability and generalisability in the traditional sense, qualitative researchers focus on credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability in assessing their research (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006).

Credibility is the qualitative equivalent of validity and refers to whether research produces findings that are convincing and believable (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). Validation in this sense becomes about whether claims and findings are defensible, well-grounded, and sound (Silverman, 2000). In this study, the research design and argument is based on the application of a theoretically grounded and well-established framework, as well as the findings of previous research in the field (e.g. Leahy, 1981; Bonn et

al., 1999; Guthrie et al., 2003, in Noble et al., 2006; Coetzee & Streak, 2004; Sutton, 2009). This includes the data collection and data analyses methods used in this study (such as the use of questions from Leahy (1981) and Bonn et al.'s (1999) studies in the focus groups), and the use of theoretically supported sociocultural tools and approaches. Thus, this study is theoretically supported and grounded in established research findings in the field of children's perceptions and understandings of socioeconomic inequality, as well as an established theoretical framework which can account for the manner in which children in different contexts form different understandings and ideas of social phenomena/processes. In this sense, this study can be considered credible, as it builds on the findings of previous studies; makes use of a sound theoretical framework; and has a coherent design that follows from and is supported by the theoretical framework and previous research (Babbie & Mouton, 2005).

Dependability requires that qualitative researchers convince others that the findings did indeed occur as the researcher claims they did and that if the study were to be repeated with the same or very similar respondents in the same context, the findings would be very similar (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). This is different to reliability in that the focus is on repeatability in the *same* context with the *same* participants (it is contextually bound) (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). However, as children's knowledge and meaning creation are considered „processes in action' from within the sociocultural approach, it is important to note that the exact responses children provided in this study would be constantly changing as they interact with others, their environment, and their experiences in an attempt to create meaning within their contexts (Wertsch, 1985; Wertsch & Kanner, 1992; Mahn, 1999). This does not mean, however, that this study is not repeatable or dependable. Importantly, the focus of this study was to illustrate how children's understandings and perceptions of relative wealth and poverty reflect the contextual, social and interpersonal factors in which the children's thinking occurs by applying the sociocultural framework, and to build on the previous research. In this way, this study is repeatable and dependable as this purpose and aim can be applied to other contexts, and will provide findings which are influenced by and reflect the contextual, social and interpersonal factors in which those children's thinking occurs.

Closely related to dependability is the notion of confirmability, or the “degree to which the findings are the product of the focus of inquiry and not the biases of the researcher” (Babbie & Mouton, 2005: 278). This involves the notion of objectivity and whether the conclusions, interpretations and findings can be traced back to the original data (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). In this study, dependability and confirmability have been maintained through the use of data collection techniques drawn from previous studies and from the sociocultural framework; providing detailed descriptions of the data collection techniques and methods used (see „Data

Collection: Procedure' section above, and Appendix 3: Data Collection Schedule); creating detailed transcriptions of the focus groups (see Appendix 5: Data Transcriptions); and through providing clear descriptions of the data analysis/ interpretive processes and methods used (See 'Data Analysis' section below).

In addition, the credibility, dependability and confirmability of this study were further maintained and ensured throughout this study through: triangulation of data (thus the use of both focus groups and drawing activities; several focus groups with both younger and older age groups; and multiple foci of analysis); consensual validation (by seeking the opinions of the researcher's supervisor and peers); critically engaging with the literature and data; providing thick and detailed descriptions of all aspects in the study; clarifying researcher bias from the start; and attempting to maintain objectivity (Babbie & Mouton, 2005; Creswell, 1998; Silverman, 2000).

Given that this is a qualitative interpretive study with a very small and specific purposive sample, generalisability is most likely not achievable. However, in qualitative research the emphasis is rather on the extent to which findings of a particular study can be applied to other contexts (i.e. are transferable) (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). Since the focus of this study was to build on the previous research by using the framework of the sociocultural approach to illustrate the contextual nature of children's thinking, the argument of this study highlights that generalisability across contexts should be avoided and discouraged (as discussed in the literature review). For this reason, this study does not aim for generalisability from the sample used, but instead, it is hoped that an argument will be made for the sociocultural approach as a framework for exploring children's understandings and perceptions. This argument may then be transferred to other children in other contexts (Babbie & Mouton, 2005). Although the particular content of the accounts given by the children in this study would be contextually bound, the argument and findings will have relevance in other contexts. In this way this study is dependable and transferable to other contexts as it is likely that if it were repeated, researchers would find that the participants in that study's accounts of socioeconomic status and inequality would be influenced by social and cultural factors relevant to that context.

4.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Research with children is always ethically and legally complex, and research on sensitive issues such as poverty and wealth with children considered potentially vulnerable as a result of being in a relatively lower socioeconomic situation is even more problematic. Thus, a great number of

considerations needed to be taken into account (Sutton, 2009; Wassenaar, 2006). This study was reviewed and fully approved by an ethics committee at the University of KwaZulu Natal's Faculty of Humanities (Ethical Clearance number: HSS/0176/011M).

Gatekeepers and Parental Informed Consent

In order to protect the autonomy of the children in this study a number of precautions and procedures were put in place. Firstly permission to gain access to the school pupils and facilities was sought from the school by approaching the principal and fully explaining the purpose of the study and the practicalities of data collection, both in writing and verbally (see Appendix 1: Letter of Permission to School).

Once permission from the school had been obtained, letters were sent home with the pupils to obtain informed consent from the children's parents or legal guardians. These letters (see Appendix 2: Parental Consent Letters) fully explained and described the purpose of the research and how it would be conducted. Given that the majority of the pupils from this school are first language isiZulu speakers, this parental consent letter was translated into isiZulu, and both English and isiZulu copies of the consent form were given to all potential participants. No deception was used in this study at all, and parents were provided with the contact numbers of the researcher and her supervisor for any queries or questions, as well as the contact details of the Ethics Committee should they have any complaints or concerns about the nature of the tasks, treatment of the children, or any further ethical issues in this study. In these letters the parents were also requested to speak to their children about the study and discuss whether their child would like to participate prior to signing the informed consent forms. In this way the parents or legal guardians were requested to start the initial discussions with the children about the study, thus allowing the child to be involved in the parental consent process and respecting their autonomy from the start. Children whose parents consented to their participation returned these letters to their class teachers. The children were asked to bring their signed parental consent forms with them on the day of data collection, and these were collected by the researcher at the start of the session.

Informed Assent from the Children

Verbal assent to participate in this study was obtained from the children on the day of data collection. The researcher explained that the children would not be individually called on to participate or directly questioned by the researcher in the activities or discussions, but that they were encouraged to freely discuss the topic and volunteer information as they felt comfortable

at their own will. Further, since children can often consent to involvement in something as a result of encouragement from adults or simply because their peers are consenting (Horgan, 2009), in order to maintain respect for the children's autonomy the children were informed that they may talk as much or as little as they like in the discussions. In addition they were informed that, should they no longer feel comfortable participating during the discussions or activities, they would not be forced to participate, and may excuse themselves from the focus groups at any time or may simply sit and listen to the discussions without participating. This ensured participants' autonomy in deciding to take part in this study and allowed them to freely withdraw or choose not to participate in the activities at any time they wish.

Sensitivity of the Research Topic and Vulnerability

Since socioeconomic circumstance is a particularly sensitive topic that can result in stigma and social discrimination, much care and sensitivity had to be taken in managing the research process (Sutton, 2009). It is important to emphasize that the purpose of the study was to gain insight into children's understandings and perspectives (*not* their personal experiences or lives) of socioeconomic status and income inequality without labelling or stigmatizing the children. During the groups children were not identified as 'poor' or 'rich', nor were questions raised concerning the children's own socioeconomic circumstances, experiences or any related factors (Sutton, 2009). Further, all questions and instructions were presented in the third person plural (i.e. using the term 'people' in general) to ensure that the children did not feel that they were being asked to talk about their own experiences/life circumstances directly. However, the children were not explicitly discouraged from offering information from their own lives if they felt comfortable to do so.

Although the school can be considered as a relatively lower socioeconomic school compared to others in the area, this was in no way brought to the children's attention. In addition, it is unlikely that the content of the discussions or reasons for which their school specifically was selected for this type of study would be questioned by the children as university students from the School of Psychology regularly visit their school to teach Life Orientation classes as part of a service-learning course (which involve similar types of discussions in small group settings, not much unlike the focus group and poster drawing activity this study involved).

Confidentiality and Anonymity

Although focus groups present complications concerning confidentiality (especially with children), the children were briefed about confidentiality risks at the start of the focus group and encouraged to maintain confidentiality and, at the least, to be sensitive in discussing the focus groups with others. The area in which the study was conducted was also located in a private,

quiet area of the school in which there were few distractions or interruptions from outside noise and in which confidentiality during data collection could be restricted to those participating in the study. Although complete anonymity was not possible during data collection as the researcher, teachers and the children's peers knew who had participated in the study, during transcription and in the research report itself the children's names were not used, but rather they are referred to as 'child 1; 2 etc'. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained by ensuring that signed informed consent forms are stored by the researcher and are not accessible to anyone apart from the researcher and her supervisor. All the consent forms from the study will be kept by the researcher for a period of five years and will then be destroyed via shredder. Participants and parents/legal guardians were told in the informed consent form that the data may be used for future research, but that since it requires no personal information and the informed consent forms would be destroyed, no information will be traced back to them.

Research Benefits

Although there are no substantial long-term benefits for the children participating in this study, the children are likely to have found the experience enjoyable as it allowed them to freely and openly discuss a prominent issue in society. As discussed in the literature review, the importance of conducting child-focused participatory research where children are given the opportunities to express their views and ideas on pertinent issues, particularly in South Africa, has received growing support in light of the argument that children are important and competent social actors and are worthy of study in their own right (Camfield & Tafere, 2009; McDonald, 2009; Noble et al., 2006; Sutton, 2009). In this way, this study provided the children with an opportunity to express their views and understandings of socioeconomic status and income inequality, and thus potentially aided in developing a greater understanding of the meaning and interpretations they give to social phenomena and issues (McDonald, 2009; Sutton, 2009). Further, this study compliments and contributes to current research on children and socioeconomic circumstances as it provides a unique insight into South African children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status and income inequality by using the framework of the sociocultural approach to illustrate how these understandings and perceptions reflect the contextual, social and interpersonal factors in which children's thinking occurs.

4.6 DATA ANALYSIS

This study will make use of a discursive approach in analysing the data, using the notion of interpretive repertoires (McKenzie, 2005; Potter & Wetherell, 1990) to investigate what cultural tools the children draw on in their conversations to create culturally situated accounts of socioeconomic status and income inequality.

The Theoretical Approach Used: Sociocultural Discourse Analysis

First and foremost, discursive approaches highlight the interpretive nature of any research, not just with children. They emphasize the aim of capturing children's lived experiences of the world and the meaning they attach to those experiences (Alldred & Burman, 2005). However, discursive approaches locate these meanings at a cultural rather than individual level. A discursive approach attempts to go beyond capturing participants' authentic intentions, meanings or experiences, but rather data is analysed at a macrosociological level as social texts, with interpretive repertoires as the basic analytical unit (Talja, 1999).

Interpretive repertoires (sometimes called discourses) are understood to mean "broadly discernible clusters of terms, descriptions, common-places and figures of speech often clustered around metaphors or vivid images and often using distinct grammatical constructions and styles" (Potter & Wetherell, 1990, p. 209). Further, discourses are frameworks of meaning produced in language, which not only reflect the social world but serve to construct it (Alldred & Burman, 2005). The notion of discourses and interpretive repertoires used here points to the contextualization of accounts. Interpretive repertoires are always reflexive, contextual and textual; because the objects of talk are not abstract neutral entities which everyone sees the same way (Talja, 1999). Thus, the study of interpretive repertoires requires attention to both a range of possibilities, as well as the sociocultural source of individual accounts because it is grounded in the idea that an individual's account relates to a *perspective* or a subjective position (Alldred & Burman, 2005).

The starting point of discourse analysis is the assumption that meanings, values, and understandings are created by people in communication and social interactions within a particular context. This is because language allows for multiple versions of an event or phenomena depending on the position and context of the social actor and their social world (McKenzie, 2005). Research (and data production) is framed as the production of "culturally situated accounts of cultural meanings and practices (discourses), often through the study of how particular individuals are able to draw on, or are positioned within these discourses"

(Allred & Burman, 2005, p. 175). This is because research and interview talk (or any other talk for that matter) is by nature a cultural and collective phenomenon. The meaning of an answer is not simply an external or internal reference, but also depends on the situational and contextual discursive and social system in which the talk occurs (Talja, 1999).

This means that a discursive approach to researching children acknowledges the cultural context in which children give their accounts, as well as the interpersonal context in research (including the particular social and interpersonal context created in data collection; and the influence of the researcher) (Allred & Burman, 2005). This is because discourses reflect the social world of the speaker. Although there are various forms of discourse analysis, common to all are the assumptions that: 1) language is structured to create and constrain sets of meanings; 2) that the social world can be accessed and interpreted using language; and 3) that this means that the social world can be studied using an approach which acknowledges the use of language (Allred & Burman, 2005). Discursive approaches thus focus on the analysis of knowledge formation through language, as it is influenced by (and organizes) institutional and social practices and societal reality (Talja, 1999).

Within this approach, people use language to position themselves and others in particular ways to serve certain functions. These positions are not fixed, but are changing as subjective positions (and positioning) are ordinary features of everyday life. This is because different accounts can be understood as drawing on different linguistic resources made available in different cultural and social contexts and practices to create multiple situationally constructed positions (Allred & Burman, 2005). In this way, each discourse is based on a few background assumptions or unspoken theories about the nature of things, and these assumptions are the implicit starting points behind particular ways of speaking about a topic (Talja, 1999).

A discursive approach using interpretive repertoires therefore sees children's accounts as reflecting social, cultural, and contextual influences, and so potentially offers insight into relevant contextual aspects which may inform their understandings and perspectives. This approach aims to recognize the contextually available meanings children may rely on by encouraging analyses that connect the microlevel (including the children's accounts and the interview dynamic) with the macrolevel of broader social conditions and meanings (the social positioning of children, and local cultural meanings and understandings) (Allred & Burman, 2005). Further, discursive analysis using interpretive repertoires invites attention to the underlying social and cultural sourcing of individual accounts and the ways in which accounts are constructed (McKenzie, 2005).

Specifically, a sociocultural discourse analysis focuses on the use of language as a social mode of thinking (a tool for thinking collectively) (Mercer, 2004). This means that it is less concerned with language itself and more focused on its functions for the pursuit of joint intellectual activity (Mercer, 2004). From this perspective language is a social and cultural tool for getting things done and for creating understanding and meaning.

As discussed in the literature review, Vygotsky argued that knowledge is shared and people jointly construct understandings of shared experiences (Mercer, 2004). Studying the joint construction of knowledge and understanding is thought to provide insight into the nature of spoken language as joint knowledge building is an essential requirement of conversational interactions (Mercer, 2004). In this way, any interaction between people (including between the researcher and participants) has both a historical aspect and a dynamic aspect. Historically, the interaction is situated within a particular social, institutional and cultural context, which influences their discourses and meaning creation (through each of their past experiences, or from the ‚common knowledge‘ available in that context). Dynamically, the basis of common knowledge upon which shared understanding depends, is constantly developing and being constructed through collaboration and interaction with others (Mercer, 2004).

In this sociocultural discourse analysis the focus is on the use of language as a social mode of thinking in interactions within a particular context- a tool for teaching and learning, constructing knowledge, creating joint understanding and tackling problems collaboratively (Mercer, 2004). It differs from linguistic discourse analysis in being less focused on language itself and more on its functions as a tool for pursuing joint intellectual activity. It also differs from conversational analysis as cognition and the social and cultural context of talk are viewed as legitimate concerns which cannot be separated (Mercer, 2004). Through a sociocultural discourse analysis one is able to examine and assess how language is used to create and construct understandings through interactions with one’s social partners within the social and cultural context in which this occurs. Thus, a sociocultural discourse analysis is consistent with the argument and purpose of this study, as well as the assumptions of the sociocultural framework.

Data Analysis Procedure:

Applying the sociocultural approach in data analysis within this approach essentially involved broadening the focus to examine how the participants’ accounts reflect the personal; interpersonal; and contextual factors in which children’s conceptions and thinking are embedded (Robbins, 2002; 2005). Rogoff’s (1995, 1998) notion of the sociocultural three planes of analysis were used as the starting point for this analysis, by looking at the interpretive

repertoires along the three planes of: 1) the participants themselves (i.e. a *personal* focus of analysis, what they say/express and their ideas); 2) their collaboration with one another (*interpersonal* focus of analysis, how they collaborate and interact with their social partners to transform and create their ideas and understandings); and 3) the cultural, historical and institutional factors (community or *contextual* focus of analysis, how they use cultural and social knowledge, norms, references and tools to express and construct their ideas) (Robbins, 2002; 2005). Within each of these planes of analysis, the principles and methods of a sociocultural discourse analysis using interpretive repertoires was applied.

Specifically this involved:

Transcription:

Firstly, the text was generated by transcribing the audio recordings of the data collection procedures (see Appendix 4: Data Transcriptions). The researcher transcribed all aspects of the data collection process recorded from both sets of data collection sessions with all age groups. The decision was made to transcribe all recorded conversations by the children verbatim (including ‚non-relevant’ conversations, interruptions, and non-word utterances, such as “mmm” and “aah”s). Where the accurate transcription of a word was in doubt, it is followed by a question mark in parenthesis ‚(?)’, and utterances which could not be understood were marked as ‚(inaudible)’. Where the children spoke in isiZulu, this was not directly transcribed but rather was indicated by stating that the children were speaking in isiZulu in parenthesis. Standard punctuation was used in the text in order to best represent pauses and conversational nuances (including the grammatical organisation of speech) as used by the children. Any non-verbal aspects of the encounter thought to be relevant were also noted.

It is important to bear in mind that in transcribing the data the researcher was using her own understandings of the meanings intended by the children in the punctuation of the text (and her memory of the nonverbal communication and intended meanings expressed), which are essentially selective and interpretive in themselves (Alldred & Burman, 2005). This would necessarily invoke the researcher’s own individual and cultural norms and the researcher’s involvement in the interview dynamic, which would influence the transcription process. This evidences how the researcher remains situated within the data collection and analysis.

Stage 1: The Personal Focus

Once the data was transcribed, the interviewer started the data analysis process with a traditional focus on the participants themselves and what their perceptions and understandings of socioeconomic status and income inequality were.

At this stage of analysis the researcher started by examining the children's individual responses to the research questions using Leahy's (1981) categorizations of the types of dimensions which children draw on in their responses. This was done in order to explore whether there were any age related trends consistent with the results of previous research (particularly those by Leahy, 1981, and Bonn et al., 1999). Using Leahy's (1981) categories of superordinate classifications for sociological concepts of class, the data was initially analyzed in terms of whether the children's responses (and their interpretive repertoires) in discussing rich and poor people were characterised as: peripheral, central, or sociocentric.

As in Leahy's (1981) study, peripheral descriptions were defined as those references to the external qualities or surroundings of rich and poor people (possessions; appearances and behaviours). Central descriptions were defined as those references by the children to inferred psychological qualities of rich and poor people (traits and thoughts). Sociocentric descriptions included sociological conceptions of class, such as life chances (the quality of life or opportunities as the consequence of wealth or poverty, for example being able to pay the bills); class consciousness (explicit references to the conflicts between persons of different classes, for example expressing that the rich may look down on the poor); political power and prestige (responses referring to their influences in society or government, or respect associated with socioeconomic position); and the idea that social classes exist within and are affected by social structure (Leahy, 1981).

Stage 2: The Interpersonal Focus

At the second interpersonal level, the focus shifted to the interactions, communication and coordination of children with others, and the guidance and support of others in what the children did and said at the first level. At this level this study was interested in exploring how the children's ideas reflect the interpersonal context between the children and their social partners, and how they collaborate to create these understandings. This involved an examination of the mutual involvement of individuals with their social partners; the social situation; the dynamic interdependence between individual and social processes; the exchanges between children and their partners (including the researcher), and how these influence children's individual thinking. The researcher focused the discourse analysis on the children's collaboration with others and what was happening within the groups at an interpersonal level. Thus, the focus was on the interpersonal context reflected in the exchanges and repertoires used by the children and on their discursive action (i.e. what they are doing through the discourses they use in the group), rather than on the content of responses.

This was done using Robbins' (2005) consideration of collaboration in researching children within a sociocultural framework, and Alldred and Burman's (2005) guidelines to analysing children's accounts using discourse analysis, by looking at the interpretive repertoires in terms of:

- What is the nature of the interactions? Are there historical or traditional factors affecting these?
- What distal relationships (physical and historical) might exist? How are these parts of the activity?
- Is there a power base within the relationships, and where does this lie?
- What sort of world is being constructed? How are different subjects being positioned? What are the relations between subjects?
- How are the children engaged in shared endeavours?
- How are the activities being shared? Is there fluidity in roles?
- What shared understandings are being co-constructed, and meanings and perspectives bridged? How are the children collaborating and coordinating in doing this?

Using these considerations and questions, the researcher used a discursive approach to examine connections and recurring repertoires being used which illustrated the influence and nature of the interpersonal context on children's responses. Responses were then grouped into 1) describing the nature of interactions and positioning by the children, 2) how the children engaged in shared endeavours, and 3) how the children co-constructed meaning and bridged their ideas.

Stage 3: The Contextual Focus

At the third contextual level, the focus is on the contextual or community factors which influence both the children's thinking and the interactions with their partners. These are the broader factors influencing and interacting with the other levels, consistent with the sociocultural view that context is seen as integrated with (and influenced by) individual action and thought. At this level this study was interested in exploring how the children's ideas reflect the cultural, historical and social context in which they take place.

This was done using Robbins' (2005) consideration of context in researching children within a sociocultural framework, as well as iterative frames based on the hypotheses in this study, by looking at the interpretive repertoires in terms of:

- How is participation in particular contexts (with their histories, values, beliefs, artefacts, and ways of behaving) integrated in the children's responses?
- How are their everyday social contexts (i.e. people they know; their own circumstances; people in their community and the media) reflected in their responses?
- What social, cultural and historical factors within the South African context are reflected in the children's ideas (i.e. the current and historical nature of income inequality and socioeconomic circumstances; prominent figures in South Africa etc)?

Attention was paid to 1) the cultural tools being used, both physical (for example books, television, computers) and psychological (including language, art works, diagrams, drawings, stories etc), 2) the values, histories, and cultural norms and practices, and 3) how these are integrated with their engagement in the activity (Robbins, 2002; 2005; Rogoff, 2003). Importantly, the focus was both on the children's everyday social contexts and the cultural and social factors in the South African context.

5. RESULTS:

In keeping with the sociocultural approach to data analysis, the results are organized into Rogoff's (1995, 1998) three planes of analysis: 1) the personal level, 2) the interpersonal level, and 3) the contextual level. At each level the results are discussed according to the focus at that level and important trends which arose in data analysis. Table 1 outlines a summary of the focus of analysis at each level. Although the researcher met with both groups on two occasions, there was no noticeable difference in the quality of the responses of the children over time, and the second group merely allowed the researcher to probe issues raised in the first session in more depth. Thus, excerpts and results from both sessions are discussed simultaneously in the results.

Table 1

Summary of foci of analysis utilized at each level

	Focus of Analysis	Particular Frames of Analysis Used	Trends
The Personal Level	<p>The participants themselves.</p> <p><i>What are children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status and income inequality?</i></p>	<p>Leahy's (1981) superordinate classifications for sociological concepts of class (peripheral, central, sociocentric characteristics).</p>	<p>Age-related trends.</p>
The Interpersonal Level	<p>The participants' collaboration with their social partners.</p> <p><i>How do the children's ideas reflect the interpersonal context between the children and their social partners?</i></p> <p><i>How do they collaborate to create these understandings?</i></p>	<p>Robbins' (2005) considerations in researching children within a sociocultural framework: collaboration.</p> <p>Allred and Burman's (2005) guidelines to analysing children's accounts using discourse analysis.</p>	<p>The nature of interactions and positioning shaped by interpersonal and school context.</p> <p>Co-constructing and bridging ideas in the interpersonal space.</p>
The Contextual Level	<p>The contextual and community factors</p> <p><i>How do the children's ideas reflect the cultural, historical and social context in which they take place?</i></p>	<p>Robbins' (2002, 2005) consideration of context in researching children within a sociocultural framework.</p> <p>Considers the children's everyday contexts, and the broader South African context.</p>	<p>The children's everyday contexts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Their local neighbourhood and city. - Their immediate social circles. - Books and the media. <p>The broader South African context:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The social context of South Africa. - Cultural and historical factors in South Africa.

5.1 THE PERSONAL FOCUS

What are children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status and income inequality?

Age-Related Trends

The Younger Group

Within the younger age group (ages 8- 9), the children drew on 'peripheral' repertoires much of the time, frequently making reference to the possessions, appearances and behaviours of rich and poor people in their responses to the focus group questions.

In discussing poor people and *what it means to be poor*, the younger children commonly referred to being poor as having to beg for money and food, digging in the dustbins, having no cars (and "having to walk everywhere"), not having a house, and not having water and food. In describing the poor (who they are and what they are like), the younger children described the poor as having no money, "ripped and torn clothes", very old and broken shoes, "wearing the same old clothes", having a small house (e.g. shacks, sheds, mud huts, or one-roomed houses/flats), houses with broken windows and old or broken doors, having no houses (e.g. living in the streets, or on the pavement), and having no beds or "beds with holes in them". They also reported that the poor are "street adults" or "street kids", people who beg next to the roads with "cardboard saying 'please can I have some food'", or people living in huts or shacks .

In discussing rich people and *describing the rich*, the children frequently referred to rich people as having big "fancy" cars, big houses and mansions (with double or triple storeys, Jacuzzis, pools, "big things", "fancy stairs", for example), " money and jewels and stuff", being "surrounded by girls", having fancy expensive cars (e.g. 'Lamborghinis', 'Mercedes Benz', 'Mini Coopers'), having big guard dogs, and having smart clothes (e.g. "very nice dresses"). They further responded that being rich meant having "lots of money and being able to afford lots of stuff", being able to "buy anything you want", spending "lots of money and doing whatever you want", and having many possessions.

In describing *how rich people are different from poor people*, although some responses reflected some psychological or central characteristics (for example, "if they like something... they don't care about anything"), again the younger children's responses were largely characterised by references to differences in appearances (e.g. having fancy clothes),

possessions (e.g. “rich people have fancy cars, which means they have a lot of money”, “rich people are different to poor people because rich people have money and poor people don’t”), and behaviours (e.g. “[when] rich people go to the store, ...when the change comes they just say ‚keep it’.”). Likewise, their descriptions of *how rich and poor people are the same* also centred on external qualities, such as “sometimes rich people also look in their wallets and there is no money” and “sometimes rich people don’t have money, sometimes poor people do have money”.

Some children did however express repertoires consistent with Leahy’s (1981) ‚central’ characteristics. For example, some children inferred that rich people are nasty and selfish by describing them as shutting the door on beggars and saying “when poor people ask for food or money, [the rich people] say... ‚no get your own money’ ... and ‚don’t ever come here again”, as “spiteful”, referring to rich people as “mean and nasty... and saying lots of ugly things to poor people”, describing rich people as “they [rich people] like to feel big because they have lots of money”. Further, in some instances poor people were described as sneaky (“bribing” the rich people, poisoning rich children), as dangerous, and in one instance one child said “some poor people are crazy”.

However, the younger group very rarely drew on ‚sociocentric’ repertoires. In one instance one child made some reference to poor people’s life chances/ opportunities based on their class by saying “they can’t afford to go to the doctor because they don’t have enough money”, and in another instance making reference to conflict/ resentment between the social classes by imitating the rich people laughing at the poor for not having any money. Thus, the younger children’s repertoires and discussions of rich and poor were largely characterised by references to Leahy’s (1981) peripheral characteristics, with some references to certain central characteristics and fewer references to sociocentric qualities.

The younger children’s responses to the reasons *why there are rich and poor people* showed more of a mixture of peripheral and central qualities, with a few sociocentric responses. For example, there was a general consensus amongst the younger group that socioeconomic inequality exists because “some people work and some people don’t... and then at the end of the month they get paid... some people just have a lot of money” (a reference to peripheral, external characteristics of working and having money), and similar responses about money, possessions and jobs. However some children also expressed that there are socioeconomic differences between rich and poor people because “rich people just think for themselves and buy everything for themselves” (a more central quality or trait of rich people), and that “...when some poor

people were born, they were poor because their mothers were poor” (a reference to the life chances of people born into poor families).

Further, the younger children’s discussions around *social mobility and social change* were characterised by responses showing concern for the poor and suggesting the need for equality in society, particularly by giving money to the poor (“... I don’t know why the rich person has [a big] house... I was thinking maybe the rich person can give the poor person money”). They further perceived the mobility between rich and poor as open and easily changeable, with one child expressing “...sometimes the rich people don’t have money, sometimes the poor people have money...they keep changing”, and another adding that “... some people they go from poor to rich, and then rich to poor, and then back up to rich”.

This suggests that the younger children were less fatalistic in their individually expressed understandings of rich and poor, and were more in favour of equality and social mobility between socioeconomic positions. It also suggests that their understandings of socioeconomic status and inequality centred predominantly on perceived peripheral characteristics, and to a lesser extent on central qualities, rather than more structurally based sociocentric qualities.

The Older Group

On the other hand, the older children (aged 10- 12), while still referring to peripheral qualities, made far more reference to central and sociocentric qualities of socioeconomic inequality.

In responding to the question of what it means to be rich and *describing rich people*, the older group still made reference to many of the peripheral characteristics the younger children referred to, such as possessions (e.g. “having anything you want... all the nice things”, having big houses and mansions- with many storeys, Jacuzzis, pools, having expensive cars, jobs, televisions, big birthday parties, private jets, and having a lot of smart clothes); appearances (e.g. having new and “nice” clothes); and behaviours (e.g. being famous or a celebrity, spending a lot of money and being “...[able to] buy many things”). In much the same way, in describing *what it means to be poor*, the older children still referred to the peripheral characteristics of possessions (or lack thereof, for example, having torn old clothes, living in a small house without running water, having no car, having a toilet “outside the house”, living in mud huts); appearances (e.g. “you can see poor people from miles away...poor people sometimes they have clothes that you gave to your sister long time ago”, poor people “stinking”); and behaviours (e.g. having to beg for money, digging in dustbins for leftover food, sleeping on the pavement, having to bath and fetch water from the river, selling things on the streets).

However their responses frequently also made reference to the inferred psychological traits and thinking of rich and poor people, as well as the sociocentric qualities associated with wealth. For example, there was a general consensus in the older group that being rich meant more than having money, but that “when you are rich you are past the needing and you go into the wanting”. The older children further *described rich people* as “greedy”, as not knowing “what to do with their money” (and thus using drugs or „wasting it’), as bragging and “showing that they are rich”, and as not having “true friends”, indicating more central qualities. Further, poor people were described as “trying to hide that they are poor... and try to show that they are ok, they are fine”, “trying to do the best for their family”, as “having no ways of life”, as “much kinder than rich people”, happier than rich people and more thoughtful of others (“wanting to help people” and having “true friends”).

The children further, went beyond the peripheral “rich people have money, while poor people don’t” differences between rich and poor, and expressed that *poor people are different from rich people* in that “poor people go to church but rich people don’t have time to even think about church” (suggesting that poor people are dedicated to their religion, whilst rich people are not), that “rich people when they were still young they learn very hard and poor people didn’t care about learning” (suggesting that rich people are hardworking and poor people are lazy), and that “[poor people] will try and help you in all the ways they can, even though they may suffer.... while rich people if you fell...poor people will come run and help you, while rich people will just say ‚it’s none of my business’”, thus indicating the perceived traits and thinking of the rich and poor.

Further in discussing how *rich and poor people are the same*, the older children drew far more on central psychological qualities (such as “both being made from God”, being “the same inside and out, except that rich people are more greedy than poor people”, describing them as having gone to the same schools and being equal, “but when they grew up the other one showed his talent and the other one didn’t”, and “both went to school and got an education, but the poor people didn’t care... they don’t go and use their future”).

The older group also frequently mentioned sociocentric qualities, such as life chances, class consciousness, and power and prestige, often by *contrasting rich and poor people*. For example, the older children described rich people and being rich in terms of life chances such as being able to “get a better job if you succeed” (contrasting it with poor people who “can’t have any jobs and have to sit on the road and beg for money”), expressing that “rich people can go to school, and sometimes poor people’s moms can’t afford their education”, and “rich people

succeed in what they do and some poor people don't". Poor people and being poor were described as "not achieving everything you wanted and then... you not gonna [sic] have a very bright future for yourself", and as being displaced by the decisions of rich people as "rich people decide things to help the economy, and sometimes they will have to take poor people out of their jobs". They further reported that "when they see you poor they think that you just nothing. But when you rich, they shoot [look at] you in the eyes" and "the poor people... to the rich people they calling them „sir sir"", suggesting a perceived power differential and class consciousness between the rich and poor people.

Thus, although peripheral qualities were still used, the older children's repertoires and discussions of rich and poor were characterised more frequently by references to Leahy's (1981) central characteristics and sociocentric qualities.

The idea of power differentials and political prestige between rich and poor people were also expressed in their responses to *why there are rich and poor people* (in which they referred to the rich people bribing or threatening the poor and the poor "selling their bodies, and the rich people pay for them"), as well as their descriptions of rich people as the "MECs", "ministers", "president" and "the people working in the government". Although the older group did express similar views on the equality and equity of rich and poor people (with some references made to the rich people sharing their money with the poor, rich people "also landing up poor", and "rich and poor should be equal"), their responses as to why there were rich and poor were also expressed using more fatalistic and sociocentric ideas. For example one child responded that "...maybe we have them... maybe because God wanted us to see these rich people and make them our role models". This suggests that the older children's views of *social mobility and social change* were based more on the idea of equity than complete equality, and that they had some views which suggest that they do not perceive the social structure as easily changeable or open. Rather they expressed more of a hierarchical system which is more accepting of socioeconomic inequality than the way in which younger children viewed rich and poor.

This suggests that the older children were more fatalistic in their individually expressed understandings of rich and poor, expressed more sociocentric factors and qualities to socioeconomic inequality, and that they were more in favour of equity between socioeconomic positions. It also suggests that their understandings of socioeconomic status and inequality went beyond simply perceived peripheral characteristics, to incorporate more central qualities and some structurally based sociocentric qualities.

5.2 THE INTERPERSONAL FOCUS

How do the children's ideas reflect the interpersonal context between the children and their social partners? How do they collaborate to create these understandings?

The Nature of Interactions and Positioning

An important aspect of the interpersonal context in which the children's thinking and responses took place was that of the school context.

During discussions, while the children appeared to share the roles of guiding, leading and following one another in their interactions, the researcher was positioned through the children's repertoires as an authority figure by the children. The children insisted on calling the researcher "miss", and interacted with her from within a teacher-student frame (e.g. asking her permission to draw certain things, raising their hands to talk and waiting for the researcher to address them). This reflects the interpersonal nature of interactions between adults and children within the school context in which the study was being conducted. For example, the following excerpt reflects how one child's prior expectations of the evaluative nature of the tasks are situated within the school context, in which an adult coming into the school setting would naturally take on an evaluative role as an authority figure.

Child 8: We thought it's difficult.

R: You thought it's difficult?

Children: Yesss

Child 1: I was like...(sucks in breath)!

R: Is it difficult?

Child 1: I was... I was...excited but also scared.

R: Oh dear, but it's not so difficult now?

Child 7: kind of.

R: Kind of? It's a bit difficult to draw?

Child 7: I just sometimes have these problems to... problems of, kind of like, writing and of finding out what to draw. And maybe you draw the wrong things." (Younger Group).

This appeared to reflect the broader institutional dynamics and the nature of interpersonal interactions between adults and children within a school context through their discourses, and would necessarily influence how the children responded because of this interpersonal context and the need to avoid doing/ saying/ drawing "the wrong things".

In addition, through their repertoires of rich and poor, the children positioned themselves and other people in particular ways to create relationships between them. In both groups the children tended to use repertoires in such a way as to position themselves as separate observers of socioeconomic status, neutrally neither rich nor poor. The children used much „othering’ language (e.g. ‚they’, ‚them’, ‚the rich’, and ‚the poor’) in discussing both rich and poor much of the time. In fact, when other children did make use of one another in developing their perceptions and understandings of rich and poor, this was met with much opposition (and in the second example below, rationalisation for why they are not rich or poor).

“Child 6: You are rich, these are rich...

Child 7: No I’m not!

Child 6: You are rich, I saw yesterday!” (Younger Group)

“Child 3: sometimes, sometimes, the people who are living in flats, living in flats... they have small money, but then they live in their poor houses, but they began to be rich... some people they go from poor to rich, and then rich to poor again, and then back up to rich...

R: Ohh, yes...

Child 8: Me and my mother stay in the flats.... Close by there...

R: Oh, that’s nice, you live close by...

*Child 5: in Acacia! (*referring to the local Government housing estates in the area).*

“(Child 8 glares at child 5)

Child 5: I saw you, you live in Acacia!

Child 8: my mother... my mother...

Child 5: What she say?

Child 7: She said that um she....

Child 8: ... my mother said that my father should get a work because... um he quit his...um ... they told him he must come out his other work, and then they hire a new person... then umm... so now my father has to find like another work, another job...” (Younger Children).

In addition, the younger group tended to position themselves and their families as helping the poor and as kind to the poor (by giving them money, food, clothing), which was less evident in the older group. The younger children often gave examples of how their parents or immediate family members had helped the poor out of charity and goodwill.

“Child 8: ...And every time when me and my father drive past and then we see people begging for money and then I tell my father to give them.”

“Child 5: My dad’s when he drives past and then we saw this man with like... with no money and stuff and he was like shivering to death, so me and my dad gave him a jersey and blanket.”

In this way, they clearly positioned themselves as neither rich nor poor, but as charitable to the poor. The older children on the other hand, included themselves in discussions about rich and poor in more instances than in the younger group. They frequently more openly positioned themselves in the interpersonal space in which socioeconomic status was being discussed as being poor.

“Child 1: The poor people, they have to, like my grandmother passed her high heels onto me because she hates high heels and I love high heels, and I only have two pairs of high heels that she gave me.”

“Child 1: Street sweepers, rubbish cleaners, and lots of other things because that’s the only jobs they can afford. And their children can’t even go to school, like in the Grange. It’s a low school- like my neighbour went there but she had to come to this school, she was in Grade 4, and then she landed up in Mrs S’s class because she can’t read, because they told her mother to take her out of that school.”

The older children were also more ambivalent in their descriptions and positioning of the poor, while maintaining the younger children’s generally negative discourses around the rich as ‚nasty’, ‚mean’, ‚selfish’.

“Child 3: Some poor people are... ah... nice...

Child 2: But some are mean...

Child 6: ...some are kind.

Child 5: Some of them just want money to buy drugs, because some of them if you give them money for food they will just buy drugs.

Child1: Some are sad and some are happy.”

The older children appeared to counterbalance or resist negative discourses of the poor, with much positive discourse centering on Leahy’s (1981) ‚central’ characteristics of the poor. For example, they emphasized that the poor are trustworthy (e.g. paying their school fees even though they do not have money), hard-working (“trying to do the best for their families”), kind (helping others even when they themselves “will have to suffer”), devoted to their faith (e.g. going to church, whereas rich people do not), “more clever than the rich”, and as having “true friends”. They appeared to show far more respect and sensitivity in discussing the poor and in how the poor were positioned. This is likely to reflect the older children’s realization of the need for sensitivity in discussing the poor, given disclosures from their peers of being poor.

his suggests distinct patterns in how the children characterized the nature of their interactions with the researcher, and the ways in which they positioned themselves and rich and poor people through the discourses they used. These appeared to reflect both the school context, which

defined the nature of interactions with the research, as well as their positioning of themselves and others in the interpersonal context of the group, which is likely to have influenced their views of the poor and sensitivity in discussing the poor.

Co-constructing and Bridging Ideas

In constructing their ideas and perceptions about rich and poor, the children appeared to draw on one another to structure their thoughts and collaborated to create shared meaning. For example, in the drawing task the children often spent much time „talking through’ their drawings and discussing what they were planning to draw. This was particularly evident in the younger group, who engaged in more group discussions during drawing.

“Child 8: Draw the people with cars ok?

Child 7: How?

Child 8: You just... like this (inaudible)

Child 1: You draw big and he draw small...

Child 6: It’s supposed to be like this (whispering)

Child 8: Over here like this...

Child 1: You don’t get it, oh well! That is it... (laughs).....

..... Child 6: Go draw the people... the house.

Child 5: What?

Child 2: The door’s starting to break off at the bottom, at the bottom.

Child 8: Why don’t you draw cracks and stuff?

Child 7: Jaa....cracks!” (Younger group).

“Child 5: What are we gonna do?

Child 6: Can I draw a car Miss? (Child 5: laughs... That’s a great idea)... Miss? Can we draw a car?

R: You can draw anything you want... (Child 5: Yes!) If you want to draw a car, you can.

Child 1: Are you guys starting with rich people?

Child 6: No we starting with poor people.

*Child 1: But you just said you want to draw a car!
(inaudible)*

Child 6: Speaking in isiZulu to child 1.

Child 5 (to child 1): Just leave us alone!” (Younger group).

In addition, the children used one another to build on their ideas, often adding to what others had said and engaging in „inter-thinking’ in the interpersonal space. The children seem to share and construct their ideas in the interpersonal space of the group by adding to the ideas of their

social partners to create a shared picture of rich and poor people. Thus, they answered the focus group questions less on an individual basis, and more as a collective group.

*“Child 7: [Being rich means that] you can buy anything you want.
 R: You can buy anything you want?
 Child 6: Yes!
 Child 7:.... like...
 Child 1: ...A house in one month!
 Child 6: ... and two cars in one day!
 Child 7: ...then you can spend a lot of money and can do whatever you want.
 Child 2: Oh yes! And pay all your school fees for the whole 7 years!
 Child 6: ... and have 5 garages!
 R: and have 5 garages?
 Child 6: Ja, in one day!
 Child 8: and a big house!
 Child 6: it’s unbelievable, Miss.
 Child 7: And a big house!
 R: and a big house?
 Child 4: yes, a big house... and ...
 Child 3: and they gonna, and they gonna... and the boys are gonna be surrounded by girls... Ooooh!...”(Younger Group).*

Through the discussions and exchanges between the children and their social partners (each other and the researcher) the children co-constructed meaning to develop their views and ideas by adding to and extending one another’s ideas. They frequently extended one another’s ideas and worked collaboratively to give examples from common experiences:

*“Child 7: When I go... when I go with the combi... when we drive up the road we see people with like some powder on their face...
 Other children: Yesss (gesturing to face)
 Child 8: ... and they want money.
 R: The children begging in the street for money with the powder on their faces?
 Children: yess!
 Child 5: At the robot there...
 Child 3: And when we like... and some people come... they take a card board and then they write there ,please can I have some food’...” (Younger Group)*

The children used one another’s ideas to extend the conversations to include new examples and descriptions of rich and poor. Rather than each child expressing their own views, through their interactions the expressed understandings and perceptions became a shared co-constructed view. Additionally, through their disagreements with one another’s beliefs and understandings, the children bridged into new perceptions, and critically examined their ideas.

*“Child 10: ... there is like poor people...
 R: Mmm, oh there on the pictures on the wall?
 Child 10: ...like Moses...
 R: The pictures of the.... (Child 3: The people from the bible stories...)
 Child 5: Those people, I know they not poor...
 R: They not poor?
 Child 6: Then why do they, look they giving them money... the granny...
 Child 5: They in church!
 Child 1: She is a witch!
 Child 7: No, she is an old lady!” (Younger Group).*

In their disagreements about who is rich (using picture displayed on the walls), the children were essentially negotiating meaning about who is poor and who is not poor. They were drawing on pictures from their environment, from their individual views, and from one another to construct a picture of who is rich and who is poor.

Furthermore, through their co-construction with one another (and the researcher) the children's individual ideas were transformed and changed. For example, in their ‘inter-thinking’ the children's discussions moved from peripheral characteristics of possessions to the behaviours and lifestyles of rich and poor people.

*“Child 6: They [the rich people]... (children chattering)... Miss, they have the Mini Cooper (R: a Mini Cooper?)... Mmm a Mini Cooper!
 Child 2: And they have like the car with no roof!
 R: They have the...?
 Child 2: They have the car with no roof, and they keep driving the car with no roof (R: ohhh yes the car with no roof)...
 Child 3: ...and they like keep driving the girls around, and they can drive... (inaudible, many children talking)
 Child 5: ... and they go to the club, and dancing (imitates a little dance)... (children laugh)...” (Younger group).*

Later, these collaborative discussions extended the children's responses into more central characteristics of the poor (i.e. to being dangerous and cruel):

*“Child 8: Well, we have rich people... when we have poor people it's because when the people... when the people that were rich, they became poor and then when some poor people were born, they were poor because their mothers were poor...
 Child 2: ...when they were little...
 Child 6: Sometimes, like, street kids....street people.... they are dangerous...
 R: ... sometimes street kids are dangerous?...
 Child 6: yes... cos sometimes they ask for money...*

Child 7: my mommy told me sometimes you mustn't give money to those... to those kids on the road because they just want to buy glue, so they... so then they can drink it, and then they can die. And then they, they can get sick in their stomachs...

R: ...mmmm...

Child 3: ...and sometimes they also buy cigarettes instead of food, and then they smoke and smoke, and then they keep going and keep going to buy things that are... just food... and after that they are put poison in the food and then they... people buy it from them and then they also get poison and then they die..." (Younger Group)

This change from types of peripheral characteristics (possessions to behaviours) and from peripheral to central characteristics, does not occur at an individual level through one child. It occurs as the children combine their ideas and work collaboratively to describe rich and poor people, which bridged their ideas to new areas.

In this way, the children collaboratively constructed their ideas and responses to the questions by drawing on one another's ideas and co-constructing their understandings of rich and poor. This was done through their exchanges, shared examples, and disagreements about how rich and poor should be positioned. Through this, their collective ideas were changed and transformed in the interpersonal space to extend into additional characteristics of rich and poor people.

This suggests that the children's repertoires reflect the social situation and dynamics between the children and broader social processes as they position themselves in relation to the researcher and broader society. Through their interactions with one another, in the interpersonal space of the group their individual ideas appeared to flow into collective ideas to create shared responses to questions. In this way, their individual responses reflect the mutual involvement of the children with their social partners, the social situation, the dynamic interdependence between individual and social processes, and the exchanges between children and their partners (including researchers themselves).

5.3 THE CONTEXTUAL FOCUS

How do the children's ideas reflect the cultural, historical and social context in which they take place?

The Everyday Social Context

In their discussions of socioeconomic status, the children frequently drew on their own observations and experiences from their everyday interactions within their immediate and local social context. The children particularly drew on examples from and references to people in their local neighbourhood and city (Pietermaritzburg and surrounds), their immediate social circles (neighbours, friends and teachers), and books (specifically the bible) and the media.

Their Neighbourhood and City

The children frequently made reference to their own observations of people in their neighbourhoods and local context to illustrate and explain their ideas about socioeconomic status.

“Child 1: And sometimes by my house there is a, there is some poor people that doesn't have a house... that's always wearing the same old clothes and most people just run away from him...” (Younger group).

“Child 6: [In discussing poor people] And also one time when I went to the shop by Pelham (A surrounding neighbourhood), miss, there were these guys sitting there and they were singing the song.” (Older Group).*

“Child 3: ...They [poor people] try to steal food, like the garage that is here by Alexandra road, they go there and try to steal food but they can't because there is a security camera...” (Younger Group).

“Child 7: They [poor people] live, like, they live like in... in different places... like when we travelled the one time, we was going somewhere and then I saw huts, and then I saw their were poor people living there.” (Younger Group).

These examples were mostly used in describing poor people whom the children had observed in their local contexts. The children also drew on local people within Pietermaritzburg and the surrounds, such as a local well-known homeless man, and street children in certain areas of town. (In the both excerpts, the researcher also participates in the co-construction and draws on her knowledge of the local context to ensure shared meaning.)

“Child 1: I don't know their names, but I know an old man who is always wearing the same trousers... (Children: Yes!)...”

Child 3: ...and they have holes everywhere... (Child 7: ... and the shirt!)

Child 1: ...And they always, they always holding that stick... maybe to hit other people... (Children: Ja! The man with the stick!)

R: Oh yes, I know which man you are talking about. That man with the stick? And he stands there....

Child 8: Oh yes! There the other side! And he always talks to himself... (Children: Ja! There!)... and he just walks around...” (Younger Group).

“Child 2: And some of them [poor people], we see them next to the old shops...

Child 8: And some people they put the white thing on their face and they dance in the roads.

R: Mmm yes sometimes we see them in the road...

Child 7: There by Hayfields!

Child 4: its like, it’s like when you go to Durban by there, by there.... they paint their faces white then they dance so they can give the money.” (Younger Group).

In addition, in describing where rich and poor people live they made use of local neighbourhoods and contexts in the surrounding areas of Pietermaritzburg. In discussing where poor people live, the children described them as living in France, Imbali, Swartkop (local townships outside Pietermaritzburg), “The people who have to send their children to schools like Grange, and who live like in the Grange area where the houses cost little”; and making reference to a local children’s home (“Orphanages, because [poor] children have to go to the Salvation Army.”). One child even expressed that “Miss, and some poor people live in Oribi”, while in another child’s drawing of poor people, they drew a sign with the name ‘Oribi shop’ written on (see Drawing 1).

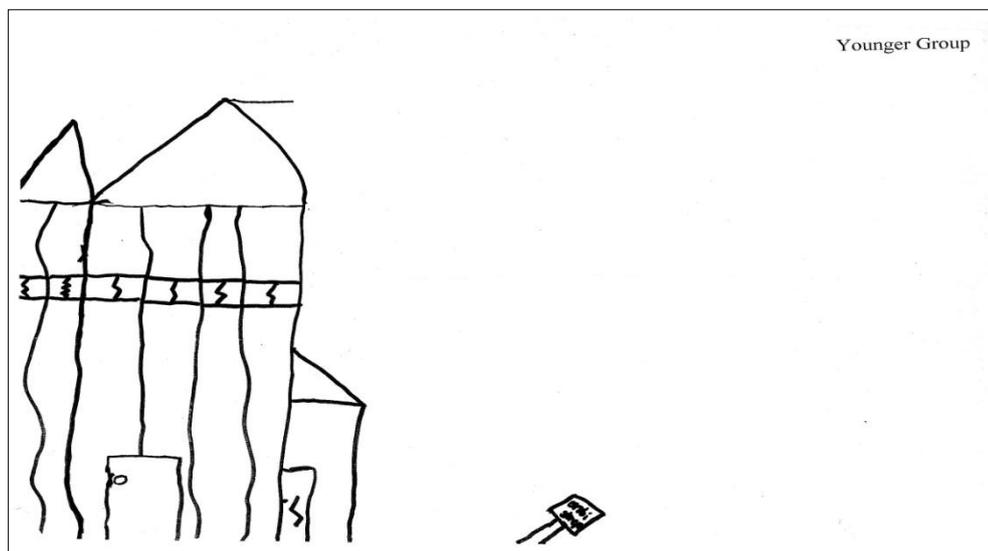


Figure 1. Child from younger group’s depiction of ‘where poor people may live’.

In describing rich people, fewer references were made to specific neighbourhoods and places within the children’s local neighbourhood and city, but the children described the rich people as living generally in big houses and “fancy neighbourhoods” in larger places such as Durban,

Sandton (in Johannesburg), Cape Town, London, New York, and “here, Miss, from „Martizburg.” In addition, the pictures of the rich were often depersonalized, showing no people, while the pictures of the poor showed many personal details and signs of familiarity.

Their Immediate Social Circles

In discussing socioeconomic status and constructing their perceptions and ideas around rich and poor, the children also frequently drew on examples from their immediate social circles and people they know in their everyday lives to illustrate their ideas about rich and poor. This included examples from neighbours within their community, teachers, friends, and family members.

“Child 1: ...And their [poor people] children can't even go to school, like in the Grange. It's a low school- like my neighbour went there...” (Older Group).

“Child 5: And the teachers, miss!

R: ... and the teachers are rich?

Child 8: Some of them!

Child 5: The teachers are rich, I seen them!

Child 2: ... yes some of the teachers are rich...” (Younger Group).

“Child 8: [In discussing poor people] Some... I once heard of, my mother's friend she used to be a vet, and she didn't get enough money as vets should get and now she quit her job... she only has little money and now she's gone to learn by... she's going to work by her son and she... he'll pay her more than she got by the people she used to work for... and she does know about computers... and she is going to be trained up to be a secretary.” (Older Group).

“Child 3: ... my mom's dad is very rich....” (Younger Group).

“Child 2: My dad stays in Jo'burg, in Sandton and he is always rich. When he plays Lotto he is always just winning.” (Younger Group).

In this way, the children made use of people they knew from their own lives to illustrate who they perceived to be rich and poor.

Books and Media

The children also frequently made references to books in their responses, particularly biblical stories in addressing the reasons why people were poor and the ways in which poor people should be treated.

“Child 1: And the rich people are bad because when I read on the bible there was one poor guy and a rich guy, and he went to ask him for food... and the rich guy just chased him away, then when they both died the poor guy went to heaven and the rich one went to hell. And then Jesus appeared to them and said ... say you talking to him... ,I know that guy, that’s the guy that came to beg at my house’, and then the poor guy said ,I never knew you’.

Child 8: I read in the bible that there was a woman that put her last money in the holders, and then the rich people chased her away. Then Jesus called her back and then his disciples said that he’s wrong, but then he said that ,we shall judge people as we would like to be judged’.

Child 7: Um Ma’m, I read in the bible that another woman that said that... she was expecting Jesus to come ma’m. And then Jesus came, but he came like a poor person, with dirty clothes and stuff. And she was busy cleaning, and he came and said ,please can you give me food’ and then the woman said ,just go go go! I’m waiting for Jesus, what is Jesus going to say when you here? You dirty and I am clean, so please just go!’. But then by the next day... then the woman saw Jesus and asked Jesus ,why didn’t you come at my house yesterday, because you told me that you gonna come?’ And then Jesus said ,I did come’, and then she said ,I didn’t see you!’ And then Jesus said ,I was the boy that was looking dirty and needing food, but you didn’t welcome me.’” (Older Group).

Further, these excerpts demonstrate how the children essentially draw on the ,ultimate’ authority (God) to support their position of how the poor should be treated. This contributes to their positioning as they draw on biblical stories to support their negative discourses around the rich, and positive and sympathetic discourses toward the poor.

In addition, the children frequently drew on media depictions of rich and poor people. Interestingly, more depictions and examples of rich people were cited from the media and television than from local contexts. Many examples of rich people were cited from American television programmes currently showing on local SABC television (such as ,Cribs’, ,My Super Sweet 16th’, ,Suite Life on Deck’, and ,Oprah’), or examples of celebrities, singers and actors (such as Lady Gaga, Rihanna, Chris Brown, Beyonce, Hannah Montana, Selena Gomez). While most examples of rich people were based on American television and media, the children also made some references to South African celebrities and television shows, such as Charlene Woodstock and presenters from the local television show ,Expresso’.

“Child 8: [Rich people are] the princes.... all the families that are royal are rich because they doing that and... I saw on TV that the prince of Monocco is going to marry on the 2nd of July... and they showing it at 3:30.” (Older Group).

The children also used depictions from media of presidential-type houses in their drawings and discussions of their drawings to illustrate where rich people may live (see drawing 2 and excerpt below).

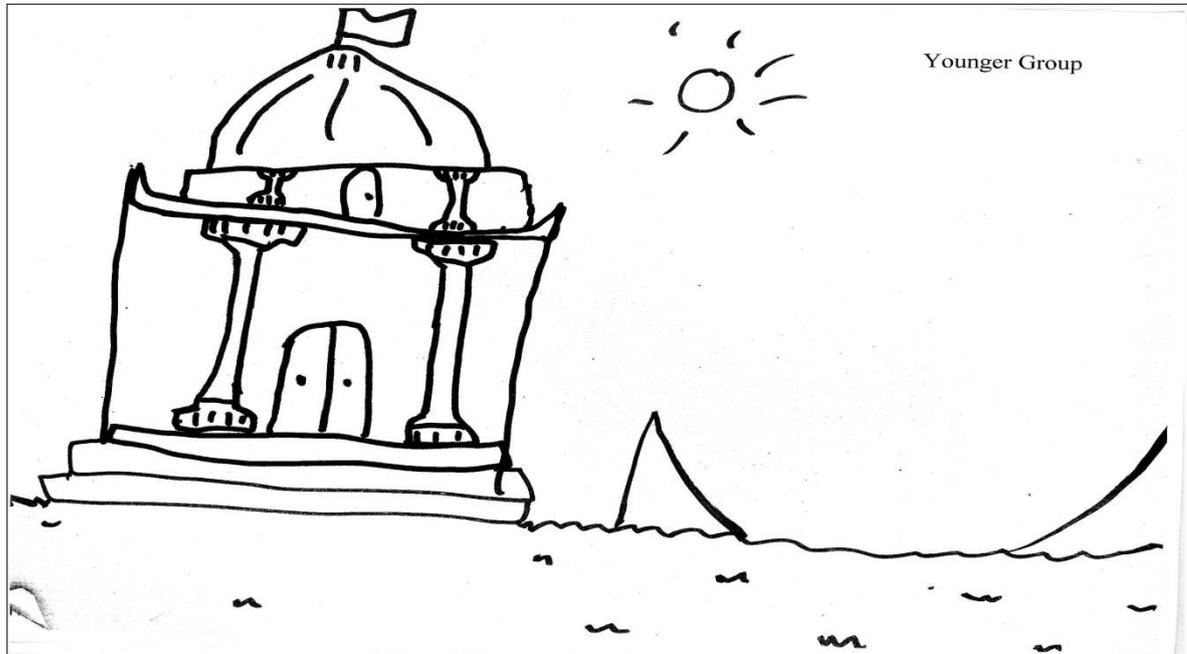


Figure 2. Child from younger group's depiction of 'where rich people may live'.

"R:... Oh you drew such a smart house there!

Child 6: It's like a bank (inaudible)...

R: It's like a bank?

Child 8:... or like the president's house! (Children laugh)

R: ... Mmmm like the president's house. Rich people have a house like a bank?...

(Children: ja...). It looks like the parliament building... where the president stays?

Child 1: The president of the United States! Da dad a daaaa! (Children laugh)"

(Younger Group).

Depictions of poor people from the media were less common in both groups, and were often found in newspapers or news programmes.

"Child 2: I saw on TV, that some of the poor people collect... like in the rural areas where people uh, they collect the poo and stuff in the people's buckets and then they get new ones." (Older Group).

In this way, it appeared that children drew more on their experiences and observations in their everyday local contexts (people in their local neighbourhoods and city, and their immediate

social circles) and biblical stories in describing the poor, and more from American television and media in describing the rich.

The Broader South African Context

In their descriptions and responses, the children's repertoires frequently illustrated or implied social, cultural and historical factors within the South African context. In particular the repertoires children used could be categorised as falling into two broad categories: those referring to the social context of socioeconomic inequality in South Africa (such as social issues around socioeconomic inequality, social factors associated with being rich and poor, and prominent South African figures), and cultural and historical factors influencing the children's repertoires around socioeconomic status (such as race and language).

The Social Context in South Africa

In their responses, the children's repertoires of socioeconomic status either directly or indirectly made reference to social issues around the nature of income inequality and socioeconomic status in South Africa, particularly associated with being poor (including issues around housing, toilets, and the types of jobs poor people may have).

The children repeatedly reported that poor people live in shacks, in the 'rural areas', and in traditional settings ("whose houses are made of mud"), referring to populations and living circumstances which are somewhat unique to the African and South African setting.

"Child 1: [Poor people are] people who have to go and get grants for their children, the pensioners, the... people who have to live in shacks, and on the road... and work in other people's houses...." (Older Children).

As this second excerpt indicates, the children also made reference to social circumstances and factors associated with being poor in South Africa. This included citing jobs of the poor as being "garden boys" and "maids" (derogatory terms for gardeners and domestic workers), car guards, vendors on the streets, and people "who make stuff out of wire...and beads". Additionally, in discussing the poor, the children referred to social issues around poverty in South Africa which had recently had media attention during local government elections (such as housing, sanitation, and overcrowding).

"Child 7: ...And then poor people has these small houses and there are so many that need to live in... with their family." (Older Group).

“Child 3: When you have like, a huge family when you poor the house that you are living in can have one bedroom and one bathroom and one kitchen, but... so all of you sleep there and some of you sleep on the floor.” (Older Group).

“Child 7: Usually poor people have like, toilets outside because like they can’t afford money so like.... and rich people have the nice toilets that is inside the house.” (Older Group).

“Child 1: and they don’t bath, and when theyThey just go to the rivers to bath...” (Younger Group).

In much the same way, the children’s drawings also depicted the living circumstances of poor people in South Africa, such as living in shacks made of tin (with rocks to keep the roofs on) and not having access to sanitation, electricity or water (see Figures 3, 4 and 5), which are frequently seen around South Africa and in media depictions of the poor in South Africa.

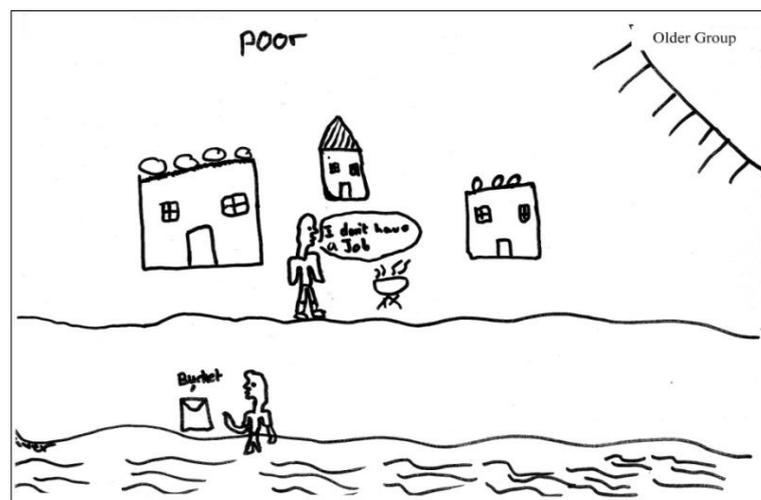


Figure 3. Child from older group’s depiction of ‘where poor people may live’.

A child from the older group’s depiction of where poor people may live in Figure 3 shows a scene of three houses (two of which are shacks, with large rocks securing the roofs) near a river. The child has further drawn one man cooking outside on a fire using a large pot with the speech bubble stating “I don’t have a job”, and another person fetching water from the river using a bucket. The houses have an uncanny resemblance to shacks and informal housing found in many informal settlements and townships in South Africa.

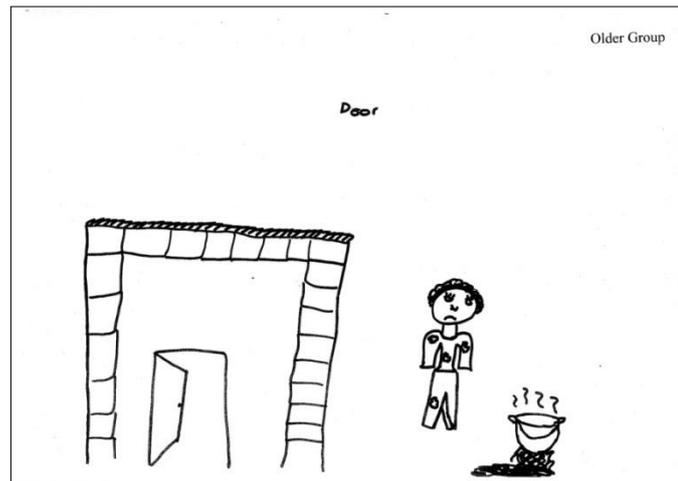


Figure 4. Child from older group's depiction of 'where poor people may live'.

Figure 4 shows an older child's depiction of a poor person near a shack-like house with no windows and a single door. This house again shows much resemblance to the types of shacks and informal housing found in South African informal settlements and townships. The child has also depicted a person with torn clothes cooking in what appear to be a traditional 'potjie', pot over a fire outside.

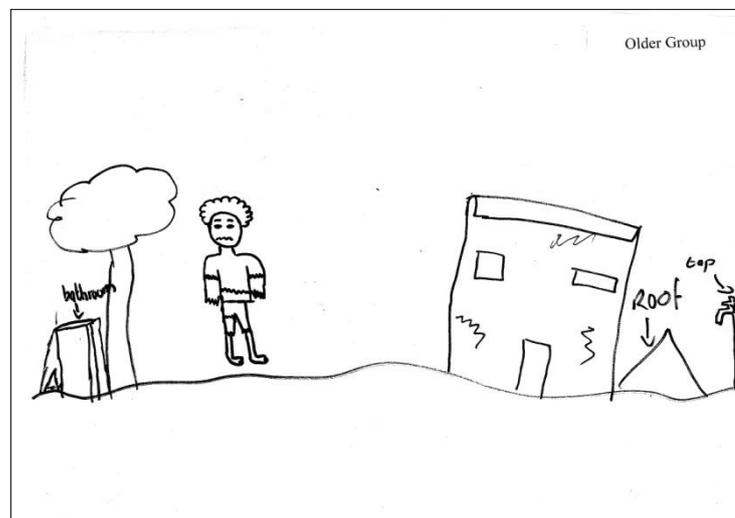


Figure 5. Child from older group's depiction of 'where poor people may live'.

The drawing in Figure 5 shows a depiction of a person with torn clothes standing near a house, which the child has indicated has its roof lying next to the house. The drawing also shows a tap outside the house, as well as what appears to be an outhouse toilet which the child has marked 'bathroom'.

In discussing rich people, the children's repertoires reflected factors around the nature of income inequality in South Africa. The children described rich people by making reference to prominent people in South Africa, such as Nelson Mandela, Jub Jub (a South African celebrity who was recently in the media for killing school children whilst racing an expensive vehicle), South African comedian Trevor Noah, local soccer players Tshabalala and Tseko Modise, and local soccer teams (Kaizer Chiefs and Bafana Bafana).

Interestingly, the older children appeared to use references to social issues in the South African context far more frequently than the younger children, who often made more references to their everyday social contexts than broader factors in the South African context.

Cultural and Historical Factors

In their accounts and repertoires, the children also made use of certain cultural and historical references. The children frequently mixed English with isiZulu and drew on isiZulu words to describe rich and poor, thus using the languages as cultural tools to express their ideas when the English terms did not suffice.

“Child 1: They [poor people] are always wearing the brown dirty things, with holes on the ,mkhwapas’ (IsiZulu word meaning ,under the arms’) (children laugh) and they shoes are... and they don’t wear shoes and they shows are... and they don’t wear shoes, and they have a ,imbobo’ (isiZulu word meaning ,hole’) right here (children laugh).” (Younger Group).

“Child 1: [The poor people live] ... And by the ,makhayas’ (lay isiZulu term referring to the rural areas)... I don’t know what it’s called in Zulu, in English...” (Younger Group).

“Child 1: I’m gonna draw the poor wearing like ,dabukile’ (isiZulu word meaning ,torn’) pants. (laughter)

Child 6: She means ripped pants!

Child 1: No I don’t! I mean dabukile pants. (giggling)

Child 6: Ja right, but it means ripped.

Child 1: I know what it means but I just want to say it in the Zulu words.” (Younger Group).

In addition, the children drew on cultural references and practices in their descriptions and responses about rich and poor, for example referring to traditional African attire (such as

wearing traditional straw hats and painting traditional markings on one's face) in describing poor people. This may reflect an underlying assumption by the children of the historical nature of socioeconomic status, in which traditional African people are viewed as poor. This was also reflected in some children's references to race, in which black people were indirectly positioned as poor and white people as rich.

“Child 1: ...And then they [poor people] are always black, and they put like white dots down here on their... they go like this (gestures to face)...” (Younger Group).

“Child 1: ... [In describing rich people] the president of the United States lives in the White House... and he's got a little girl, I think her name is Sophie or something...

R:... Mmm... president Obama's girls?

Child 1: No! The WHITE president! Of the United States!” (Younger Group).

In addition to indirectly reflecting racial bases for socioeconomic inequality in South Africa, the children also mentioned rich people as being people such as President Jacob Zuma and members of government (such as MEC's, ministers, and “runners of youth clubs”, possibly referring to the ANC Youth League President Julius Malema). This is a particularly contentious issue in South Africa at present, and may reflect an underlying assumption of the political basis of socioeconomic inequality.

“Child 2: Some of them [rich people] are working for the government and some of them are... the president is also rich because he has a lot of money for being the president from all the taxes. And also the people who own stuff, like a hospital... then they can get money...” (Older Children).

“Child 4: The rich people are the president, the ministers... the MEC's... and the ones who are also working in the government.” (Older Group).

This suggests that the children's responses may be drawing on background assumptions or unspoken theories about the nature of things in discussing socioeconomic status, which is shown in their repertoires around race, culture, and political power in speaking about rich and poor people. These reflect the historical and current nature of income inequality in South Africa.

At this contextual level of analysis, the results suggest that the children's repertoires reflect examples from and references to aspects from the children's everyday contexts. In addition, their responses drew on the social, cultural and historical context of socioeconomic inequality in

South Africa. In particular, the results suggest two additional interesting findings: 1) the younger children appeared to draw more frequently on factors within their everyday contexts, while the older children appeared to draw more on broader factors within the South African context than did the younger children. 2) The children appeared to draw more on their experiences and observations in their everyday local contexts in describing poor people, and more from broader media and international contexts in describing rich people.

In this way, each level of analysis provided a focus on a particular aspect of the children's responses, while the others remain in the picture. At the individual level the focus on the children's responses revealed age-related trends in the children's repertoires. At the interpersonal level, the focus on the participants' collaboration with their social partners revealed trends in the nature of the children's interactions and positioning, as well as trends in the children co-constructing and bridging ideas in the interpersonal space. Lastly, at the contextual level the focus on contextual and community factors revealed trends in the children's repertoires drawing on their everyday contexts and the broader South African context. Thus, each level of analysis highlighted a different aspect of the children's repertoires and responses in their understandings and perceptions of rich and poor.

6. DISCUSSION

As discussed earlier, the majority of current research has focused on investigating children's understandings of socioeconomic status and inequality using a cognitive-developmental trend following Leahy's (1981) neo-Piagetian model (Bonn, et al., 1999). Whilst the importance and value of age-related cognitive-developmental trends is not denied, many researchers and academics have developed a concern that current studies are inclined to ignore the fact that children cannot remain untouched by their contexts (Graue & Walsh, 1995, in Robbins, 2002). This study argued that the sociocultural approach provides a particularly useful framework for investigating the contextual nature of children's ideas as it is a theoretically grounded and well-established framework that allows one to justifiably interpret and explain children's accounts of socioeconomic status and inequality by recognizing the cultural and social influences on their thinking.

For this reason this study aimed to explore South African children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status using the framework of the sociocultural approach to illustrate how these understandings and perceptions reflect the contextual, social and interpersonal factors in which the children's thinking occurs. The purpose of this study was to build on previous research (particularly that by Leahy, 1981, and by Bonn et al., 1999) by investigating children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic inequalities in a society where there are enormous and entrenched historically based differences in wealth based on racial and political grounds and where, in the past, social mobility for the poorer groups has been limited. The research questions investigated what South African children's perceptions and understandings of socioeconomic status and income inequality are, and how these reflect the cultural, historical and social context in which they take place.

The first hypothesis was that children's responses would show age-related trends consistent with Leahy's (1981) cognitive developmental model. Specifically, it was expected that older children would provide more complex explanations for inequality and wealth than younger children. Secondly, it was hypothesized that the children's responses and accounts of socioeconomic status and income inequality in this study would reflect (by making reference to and drawing on): 1) the interpersonal context between the children and their social partners (i.e. collaborating with other children and the researcher to create a shared understanding); 2) their everyday social context (i.e. people they know, their own circumstances, people in their community and the media); and 3) the social, cultural and historical factors within the South

African context (i.e. the current and historic nature of income inequality and socioeconomic circumstances; prominent figures in South Africa etc).

For this reason, applying the sociocultural approach to understanding children's socioeconomic ideas involved going beyond a focus on the children's responses alone, but rather broadening the focus to examine the personal (i.e. what the child knows or expresses), interpersonal (i.e. the interactions between the child and their social partners), and the contextual (i.e. the factors in the child's environment and context that influence their thinking) factors in which children's conceptions and thinking are embedded using Rogoff's (1995; 1998; 2003) three foci of analyses (Robbins, 2002; 2005).

The findings will now be discussed at each of these levels. It is important to bear in mind, however, that while one focus of analysis brings a certain level into perspective, the others remain in the background (Robbins, 2002). Thereafter the implications of these findings will be discussed using the framework of the sociocultural approach to illustrate how viewing each level in the context of the others provides a more thorough picture of children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic inequality.

THE PERSONAL LEVEL

At the first level of analysis this study was interested in the question of what the children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status and income inequality are. The results at this level indicated distinct age related trends in the repertoires used to describe rich and poor people.

The younger (ages 8- 9) children's repertoires and discussions of rich and poor suggest that their understandings of socioeconomic status and inequality centered predominantly on Leahy's (1981) perceived peripheral characteristics (differences in appearances, possessions and behaviours), and to a lesser extent on central qualities (inferred psychological traits and ways of thinking), rather than more structurally based sociocentric qualities (such as life chances, class consciousness, political power and prestige). The results also suggests that the younger children were less fatalistic in their individually expressed understandings of rich and poor, were more in favour of equality, and perceived the mobility between rich and poor as open and easily changeable (indicated in the younger children's responses that individual mobility and social change could be achieved by giving money to the poor).

On the other hand, the older children (aged 10- 12), while still referring to peripheral qualities, made use of repertoires and discussions of rich and poor which were characterized more frequently by references to Leahy's (1981) central characteristics and sociocentric qualities. This suggests that their understandings of socioeconomic status and inequality went beyond simply perceived peripheral characteristics, to incorporate more central qualities and structurally based sociocentric qualities. The results also suggest that the older children were more fatalistic in their individually expressed understandings of rich and poor (expressing that God made rich people to be role models for poor people); expressed more sociocentric factors and qualities around socioeconomic inequality (power, prestige, life chances, class consciousness); and were more in favour of equity between socioeconomic positions.

Thus, the results suggest that the older children showed more complex explanations for inequality and wealth than the younger children, expressing understandings and perceptions which are more accepting of socioeconomic inequality than the way in which younger children viewed rich and poor.

This is consistent with the findings of Leahy's (1981) study and subsequent cognitive-developmental research (e.g. Naimark, 1981; 1983, in Ramsey, 1991; Ramsey, 1991; Short, 1991) in showing that with increasing age, the children appeared to place greater emphasis on inferred psychological and social properties of rich and poor people (i.e. being different kinds of people) and less on their external observable qualities. The results are also consistent with the age trends found in Bonn et al.'s (1999) study. Further, the results are consistent with Leahy's (1981) argument for a developmental shift in children's understandings and perceptions of social change and social mobility from equality to equity and more fatalistic conceptions of wealth and poverty by older children. This confirms the first hypothesis of this study.

However, this study differs somewhat in the particular ages at which the children displayed the expected developmental shifts described by Leahy. Leahy argued that as children approach adulthood, their understandings of social class differences shift from perceptions of peripheral cues (at age 6 to 11), to psychological concepts (ages 11 to 14), to sociocentric concepts in which an individual's status is seen in the context of the overall system (ages 14 to 17 years) (Ramsey, 1991). In this study, the results suggest that this shift in children's understandings occurred at a somewhat younger age than in Leahy's sample. While the younger group (ages 8-9) was consistent with Leahy's trends in using predominantly peripheral concepts and the older group (ages 10-12) in shifting to use more psychological concepts, the younger group did include some psychological and sociocentric concepts and the older group did draw on some sociocentric ideas. This suggests that in this study, as opposed to Leahy and subsequent studies,

the developmental sequences in age-related shifts are less clear-cut and that there is more overlap in the characteristics used by the children according to their age groups than described in previous research. This raises some concern about how appropriate the arbitrarily imposed age-categories in the cognitive-developmental model are for investigating specific developmental patterns.

THE INTERPERSONAL LEVEL

At the second level of analysis this study was interested in the question of how the children's ideas reflect the interpersonal context between the children and their social partners, and how the children collaborate to create these understandings. The results suggest that the interpersonal context in which the focus groups took place was an important influential factor on the children's responses and interactions. Specifically, the results indicate that the children's responses were influenced by: 1) the nature of the interactions and positioning constructed through the children's repertoires and; 2) the shared nature of the children's responses as they co-constructed meaning and bridged one another's ideas.

The nature of interactions and positioning

The results indicate distinct patterns in how the children characterized the nature of their interactions with the researcher, and the ways in which they positioned themselves and rich and poor people through the discourses they used. Through their repertoires the researcher was positioned as an authority figure by the children and the interactions were characterized by teacher-student dynamics, with the children expressing their expectations of the evaluative nature of the tasks. Further, in both groups the children tended to use „othering' repertoires in such a way as to position themselves as separate observers of socioeconomic status, neutrally neither rich nor poor. While both groups maintained generally negative discourses around the rich, they appeared to be far more ambivalent in positioning the poor and showed far more respect and sensitivity in discussing the poor. The younger group tended to position themselves and their families as charitable to the poor, which was less evident in the older group. However, the older children appeared to include references to their own socioeconomic status more frequently in discussions of rich and poor (positioning themselves as poor), and often counterbalanced or resisted negative discourses of the poor with much positive discourse centering on Leahy's (1981) „central' characteristics of the poor.

This suggests that the children's repertoires reflect the interpersonal context (particularly, the school context and the interpersonal context of the group) between the children and their social

partners by the way in which they position the researcher, one another, and rich and poor people.

The nature of the interactions between the children and researcher appear to be based on assumptions by the children about the nature of adult-child interactions within the school context, and the evaluative nature of tasks in a school setting. The relationship between the researcher and participants embedded in the ‚teacher-student‘ discourse implies an authority which embodies age-related status hierarchies and potentially positions the researcher to have ‚expert knowledge‘ (Alldred & Burman, 2005). The repertoires the children used reflect the broader institutional dynamic and the nature of interpersonal interactions possible between adults and children within a school context. The type of responses and discourses available to the children were therefore dictated by the nature of the interpersonal space in which the study was conducted and the need to avoid doing/ saying/ drawing “the wrong things” (Alldred & Burman, 2005).

In addition, the children’s repertoires and discourses around rich and poor served an important function in the interpersonal space of the focus groups. As the children spoke, they positioned themselves (and one another) in particular ways, with some positions holding more power than others (Alldred & Burman, 2005). The children’s use of ‚othering‘ repertoires clearly positioned them as neither rich nor poor and allowed them to observe and discuss the rich and poor from an outsider’s perspective, while showing their good nature to the poor. While it is likely that the manner in which the questions were posed in this study (as discussed in the Methodology) may have contributed to this pattern of repertoires, the children appeared to actively resist altering this strategy. When children in the group attempted to make use of one another in developing their perceptions and understandings of rich and poor, this was met with much opposition and rationalisation. For example, at one point a participant becomes flustered in denying living in “Acacia” (a nearby government-subsidized housing facility), while another denies being rich. This suggests that both categories were in fact problematic in this context and have features which threatened positive identity within the interpersonal context of the group. The example of Ridge’s (2002, in Sutton, 2009) study cited in the literature review illustrates how very aware children are of status hierarchies in socioeconomic positions. Ridge (2002) described how children from lower income families were excluded both within school and in their wider communities; held concerns about having the ‚right‘ clothes; and faced difficulties in making and sustaining friendships (Noble et al., 2006). This suggests that the positioning of one another by their social partners would limit the ways the children being positioned could then speak about rich and poor due to the interpersonal implications of such discourses.

However, while the children maintained negative discourses around the rich, they appeared more ambivalent in how poor people were positioned. This is likely to reflect the interpersonal context of the group and the older children's realisation of the need for sensitivity in discussing the poor, given their peers' disclosures of being poor and the lower socioeconomic status of the school. Alternatively, this could also reflect the older children's growing realization that, in the eyes of society, they themselves might be considered as poor, and are thus beginning to defend "the poor" as an in-group. However, even when the older children did position themselves in the interpersonal space as poor, they still maintained the „othering' discourse of poor people and appeared to position „others' as worse off than themselves. This suggests that, even when they identified themselves as being „poor', they resisted altering this „othering' strategy by subsequently positioning themselves as a different kind of poor to the poor people they were discussing. In this way, while the children were more sympathetic towards the poor in their repertoires, they appear to be very much aware of the implications of being positioned as poor in the interpersonal space. This suggests important positioning struggles and strategies related to the children's own perceptions of their „rich' or „poor' identity which took place within the interpersonal context of the group

Thus, the way in which rich and poor were discussed and positioned, and the way in which the children appealed to assumptions about „the way rich/ poor people are' had important links to what was said in their responses and what was going on at an interpersonal level within the groups (Alldred & Burman, 2005).

This is consistent with Vygotsky's (1978) emphasis on the way in which a child co-constructs meaning through social interactions with others and the role word meaning plays in interpersonal interactions. From a sociocultural perspective, the children's individual ideas are constituted by the ways in which they position themselves with regard to others and the influence of others on their thinking. Through their conversations and positioning of one another the children provide the researcher with access to their ideas, which are in turn constructed and positioned in relation to others (Robbins, 2005).

The shared nature of the children's responses

The results also indicate that in constructing their ideas and perceptions about rich and poor, the children appeared to draw on one another to structure their thoughts and collaborated to create shared meaning. This was done through their exchanges, shared examples, and disagreements about how rich and poor should be positioned. The children appeared to co-construct ideas and responses to questions by collaboratively planning and structuring their drawings, and drawing

on their social partners to build on one another's ideas, which bridged their ideas to new areas. Through co-constructing their ideas the children's collective ideas were changed and transformed in the interpersonal space to extend into additional characteristics of rich and poor people, for example from types of peripheral characteristics (possessions to behaviours) and from peripheral to central characteristics.

This suggests that through their interactions with one another, the children engaged in shared endeavours to co-construct meaning. In working together the children were not only interacting, but were engaging in what Mercer (2004) calls 'inter-thinking'. The children not only shared information and coordinated their social interactions, but were also in joint dynamic engagement with the ideas of their social partners (Mercer, 2000). The children's 'inter-thinking' in the interpersonal space of the group meant that their individual ideas appeared to flow into collective ideas to create shared responses to questions. From a Vygotskian perspective, the children's ideas are 'processes in action' (Vygotsky, 1978). As they collaborate and argue with others, they consider new alternatives and recast their ideas to communicate or to convince, and consequently advance their ideas in the process of participation (Robbins, 2002).

In this way, the children's individual responses reflect the mutual involvement of the children with their social partners, the social situation, the dynamic interdependence between individual and social processes, and the exchanges between children and their partners (including the researcher). This confirms the hypothesis that children's responses and accounts of socioeconomic status and income inequality in this study would reflect (by making reference to and drawing on) the interpersonal context between the children and their social partners.

THE CONTEXTUAL LEVEL

At the third level of analysis this study was interested in the question of how the children's ideas reflect the cultural, historical and social context in which they take place. At this contextual level of analysis, the results suggest that the children's repertoires reflect both their everyday interactions within their immediate and local social context, and those based on social, cultural and historical issues in the South African context.

In their discussions of socioeconomic status, the children frequently drew on examples from, and references to, people and places in their local neighbourhood and city (Pietermaritzburg and surrounds), their immediate social circles (neighbours, friends and teachers), and books (specifically, the bible) and the media. In describing where poor people may live, the children

made use of local neighbourhoods, including the area in which their school is situated (Oribi). However, in describing where rich people may live, references to particular places were more general, reflecting larger cities in South Africa and abroad. In drawing examples from media and books, the children made particular reference to biblical stories in addressing the reasons why there were poor people and the ways in which poor people should be treated. Interestingly, the children drew more on their everyday local contexts (people in their local neighbourhoods and city, and their immediate social circles) and biblical stories in describing the poor, and more from broader media and international contexts (e.g. American television) in describing the rich.

In addition, the children's repertoires of socioeconomic status drew on the social context of, and cultural and historical factors around socioeconomic inequality in South Africa. This included making reference to social factors associated with being rich and poor, prominent South African figures, and social issues which are somewhat unique to the African and South African context (including issues around housing, sanitation, types of jobs, and issues around poverty in South Africa which have recently been a focus of media attention during local government elections). In addition, the children appeared to make use of isiZulu terms and phrases to express their ideas; cultural references in their descriptions of rich and poor; and the social nature of income inequality in South Africa (such as references to the poor being traditional African and black people, and the rich being white or in political power). Interestingly, the older children appeared to use references to broader social issues in the South African context far more frequently than the younger children, who drew more frequently on references to their everyday social contexts.

This suggests that the particular ideas expressed in the children's responses about rich and poor were significantly influenced by their own social and cultural contexts. The children's repertoires and responses reflect their immediate social context (including the relatively lower socioeconomic position of the area in which their school is located), as well as historical factors in South Africa which characterise socioeconomic inequality (such as deep-rooted differences in wealth based on racial, cultural and political grounds).

The children's more specific descriptions and examples of whom they perceive to be poor, where poor people live, and views on how poor people should be treated (as justified by the bible) are likely to be a reflection of their everyday lives and the relative low income, lower socioeconomic status of their school. This is exemplified in the children's differences in their depictions of rich and poor people in their drawings. Their likely lower socioeconomic status allows them to draw on familiar details from their own personal exposure to other people of lower socioeconomic circumstances in their everyday social interactions in their school, church, neighbourhood, and wider community as this characterises their everyday lives. However, their

examples and illustrations of what it means to be rich are depersonalized and drawn from their exposure to media and television as they may not have had as much personal exposure and interaction with specific rich people in their everyday lives. This suggests that the children's definitions of wealth and poverty reflect the relative wealth and poverty of their experiences and surroundings.

In addition, the children's use of repertoires around socioeconomic inequality in South Africa reflects underlying contextual assumptions about the 'nature of things'. Specifically, the children's repertoires around race, culture, and political power in speaking about rich and poor people reflect the very real experiences of growing up in South Africa (Bonn et al., 1999). The older children's more frequent use of references to broader social issues in the South African context may be due to a greater awareness of the social issues, possibly through greater attention to the media and broader context. Essentially, at the contextual level, the children are using the cultural tools (of their drawings and their home language); their knowledge and experience of income inequality in South Africa; and their everyday interactions with the community to illustrate their understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic inequality and make sense of what it means to be rich and poor.

These results are consistent with existing research which has acknowledged the social and context-based differences in the ways in which children understand rich and poor (e.g. Giese et al., 2002; Boyden et al., 2003; Witter & Bokokhe, 2004; Harpman et al., 2005; Johnson, 2006; Camfield, 2009), as they suggest that the children's understandings of socioeconomic inequality were predominantly informed by the social reality in which the children live. The results are also consistent with Bonn et al.'s (1999) findings that children's knowledge about wealth, poverty, and inequality appear to be influenced by their social environment. Much like Bonn et al.'s findings, the children in this study showed race-based assumptions in their understandings of socioeconomic inequality which reflect the general social context of income inequality in South Africa.

Essentially the children's responses and repertoires are grounded in and reflect the contexts in which they take place as the children draw from these contexts to create their understandings and perceptions (Alldred & Burman, 2005). Therefore, this confirms the hypothesis that the children's responses and accounts of socioeconomic status and income inequality in this study would reflect (by making reference to and drawing on) their everyday social context, and the social, cultural and historical factors within the South African context.

APPLYING THE SOCIOCULTURAL APPROACH: IMPLICATIONS OF THIS STUDY

The results discussed above suggest that at the personal level, the children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status show cognitive-developmental age-related trends similar to Leahy's (1981) study (with some deviations in the expected ages at which they should be drawing on the different repertoires in discussing central and sociocentric characteristics). However, at the interpersonal level they also suggest that the children's responses were influenced by the ways in which the children positioned themselves with regard to others and the influence of others on their thinking. In addition, at the contextual level it appears that the particular details of the children's responses and repertoires reflect both their everyday social context and the broader social, cultural and historical context of South African society. Although it may be possible to view these separately, by viewing the levels in the context of one another in the framework of the sociocultural approach this provides a more comprehensive picture of the children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status and income inequality.

Within a sociocultural perspective, it is important to bear in mind that each level should not be seen as dichotomous, but as intrinsically intertwined with all other levels. This is because a sociocultural approach argues that one cannot interpret what the individual is doing without understanding how it fits into the ongoing events and context of the other foci of analysis since development and thinking can never be separated from the interpersonal interactions and contextual backgrounds within which they take place (Robbins, 2002). Instead of focusing primarily on the individual, adopting a sociocultural approach means examining how the levels are linked and how children's understandings, perceptions, and thinking occurs through the interpersonal context with others and within the social and cultural context in which they live (Robbins, 2005). In this way, to fully comprehend each focus of analysis (personal, interpersonal, and contextual) requires consideration of the contributions of the other levels (Rogoff, 2003).

If the personal level is viewed within the context of the interpersonal level, the results suggest that the responses categorised at the personal level are not necessarily individual understandings and perceptions of rich and poor, but are collective ideas created in the interpersonal context of the group. The group process of collaboration and co-construction appears to have extended the children's ideas into those areas which are expected at an older cognitive-developmental level according to Leahy's (1981) trends by allowing the children to engage in what the sociocultural

approach would call their zone of proximal development (Robbins, 2005). The children's discussions and disagreements at the interpersonal level essentially shaped the nature of their responses at the personal level as they adjusted their ideas to the social sense of their partners (Robbins, 2002). The interpersonal context can thus be seen to have provided a dynamic region in which the children appeared to grow into the intellectual life of those around them through their collaboration with one another (Vygotsky, 1978).

However, if the individual and interpersonal levels are further viewed within the context of the contextual level, the types of responses and repertoires used to describe rich and poor people can be seen to have important links both to the interpersonal context and the broader context. In this way, it is also possible that the children's earlier awareness and consciousness about class differences is due to the South African context itself. In contrast to Western countries (such as those from which Leahy's samples were drawn), where there is less extreme and obvious poverty, the disparities in South Africa are so great that they are the focus of both individual and collective attention, including the media. This is evidenced by issues around basic housing and sanitation in the South African context which appear on a much larger scale than in most Western countries (and which were reflected in the children's repertoires). Thus, it could be argued that South African children are sensitized and conscientised to these issues earlier as a result of the South African context. In this way, the children's context itself allows them to draw on more advanced characteristics due to the enormous and entrenched differences in wealth South African children are exposed to.

Further, the children's expressions of what it means to be rich and poor reflect the social reality in which they live and in which the discussions are taking place (Bonn et al., 1999). While the positioning by the children can be seen as a device which was used interpersonally, the content from which they derive their positions is contextually based. The children's positioning through their discourses in relation to the researcher directly reflects the school context in which the study was conducted. In much the same way, the positioning of the rich in negative discourses and the poor in ambivalent and sympathetic discourses appears to reflect the lower socioeconomic status of the school and the children's awareness that they themselves may fall under the (relative) category of 'poor' as they had described.

However, the manner in which the children use repertoires reflects important aspects of the children's thinking. Not only do they position the rich and poor in very context-specific ways, but the children then drew on their everyday knowledge of biblical stories and God (the 'ultimate authority') to support and justify the positions being used. This positioning wields

power in their discussions. If the rich are ‚mean‘, ‚nasty‘, and ‚have no friends‘, and the poor are ‚good‘ people (and God has supported these views), then those who may be on the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy (such as the children from this lower socioeconomic school) can hold certain positions in their discussions of rich and poor in the interpersonal space of the group. Thus, being rich becomes an undesirable quality (as was illustrated by one child protesting that she is not rich when her peer positioned her as such), and poor becomes a morally upstanding quality. The children are essentially using certain repertoires interpersonally to position themselves in ways that allow them to discuss rich and poor in certain ways, but their repertoires are situated in their own contexts. They reflect the children’s own socioeconomic positions and the South African context.

Essentially, when integrated the results suggest that while the characteristics of the children’s responses reflect cognitive-developmental trends, the particulars of the children’s understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic inequality (including the ages at which they display the age-related trends), and how they position rich and poor, are influenced by their (local and broader) contextual environment and their relationships in the interpersonal space of the group.

As discussed in the literature review, a sociocultural approach encourages an investigation of the relationship between individual thinking, and the social and contextual factors influencing it (Mercer, 2004). In this study, the results suggest that the children’s understandings and perceptions of rich and poor are not individual constructions, but develop in a collaborative process that creates profoundly social and context-specific accounts (Rogoff, 2003; Robbins, 2005). The children’s ideas and understandings of rich and poor are inherently contextual in nature (Robbins, 2005). In their individual responses the children chose to speak about rich and poor people in certain ways. These intrinsically reflect the interpersonal nature of the group (as they co-construct meaning), the school’s relatively lower socioeconomic status (by using negative discourses to describe the rich, and positive and ambivalent discourses to describe the poor), their everyday social contexts (by drawing on local people and neighbourhoods to describe the poor, international media to describe the rich, and God and biblical stories to support their positions), and the South African context (reflecting the racial, cultural and political socioeconomic reality of South African society). While the children’s responses, according to superordinate classifications for sociological concepts of class, reflect cognitive developmental trends, the children’s ideas and understandings of socioeconomic status and income inequality cannot be understood without acknowledging that the social and cultural

factors in their everyday lives and broader South African society guide their ideas of what defines wealth and poverty.

In this way, viewing the individual, interpersonal and contextual levels within the context of one another allows one to see how the children's expressed understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status and income inequality are embedded in the social and cultural context in which they are discussed. While simply focusing on the personal level and how the children's ideas are consistent with cognitive-developmental trends does confirm existing research on children's age-related awareness of social class, this fails to recognize that there is so much more going on within and between the children's individual responses. This ignores the complexity of children's expressed ideas and understandings, and the social and cultural influences on children's ideas of socioeconomic inequality.

Applying a sociocultural approach to investigating children's understandings and perceptions of rich and poor allows one to pay attention to the social, cultural and historical aspects of children's thinking (Robbins, 2005). The argument is that people develop as participants in cultural communities and therefore their accounts will be contextual in nature (Rogoff, 2003; Robbins, 2005). There is essentially a dynamic interdependence between social and individual processes, and cognition inherently involves a collaborative process as people engage in thinking together with others (Robbins, 2005). This means that in researching children's thinking from a sociocultural approach, attention is focused beyond the individual child and the expected cognitive-developmental aspects of their thinking, to the contextual nature of their thinking (Robbins, 2005).

In this way, the sociocultural approach provides a way of understanding how different contexts create and reflect different systems of thought in children. Consequently, this allows one to recognize that children's understandings and ideas of socioeconomic circumstances cannot be examined without acknowledging that they are situated within and reflect the context in which the child exists (Rogoff, 2003). This means that the development of socioeconomic understandings needs to be conceptualised as an active and continuous process in which the child constructs and tests ideas which are embedded in social and cultural factors (Bonn et al., 1999).

Thus, this study illustrates that bringing a sociocultural perspective to the study of children means that one can go beyond simply the individual understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic inequality children may have at particular cognitive-developmental stages. Instead applying a sociocultural approach contributes to a contextualised rather than

universalistic understanding of the development of children's ideas around socioeconomic status and inequality. In this way, this study builds on the work of Leahy (1981) and Bonn et al. (1999) by combining the cognitive-developmental model with the need to recognise the cultural and social influences inherent in children's understandings of social constructs, and by using the framework of the sociocultural approach to provide a more thorough picture and understanding of the way in which children understand rich and poor.

LIMITATIONS

Although this study shows promising results, there are a number of limitations which need to be acknowledged.

Firstly, while this study was based on applying the framework of the sociocultural approach to illustrate the social and contextual influences on children's ideas of rich and poor, the use of a single sample limits the conclusions which can be drawn from this data. The use of possibly two or more different samples from different relative socioeconomic circumstances is likely to have provided a stronger argument for the contextual nature of children's understandings of socioeconomic status. These would have allowed for comparability across socioeconomic circumstances to show how children's ideas of socioeconomic status may differ across contexts. The use of a single sample in this study also somewhat limits this study's comparability with Bonn et al.'s (1999) study as their findings were based on the use of samples from three different settings. Thus, while this study does illustrate the usefulness of a sociocultural framework in providing a more thorough picture of the contextual nature of children's understandings of socioeconomic inequality, it does not allow one to draw conclusions about how children from different contexts would view social class. In this way, it suffers from the same limitations as existing research on children's ideas and understandings of socioeconomic circumstance (Bonn et al., 1999).

In addition, the relativity of the socioeconomic position of the sample in this study must be emphasized. While the school may be considered a relatively lower socioeconomic school due to its history and comparability to other schools in Pietermaritzburg, this does not necessarily presuppose that the children in this sample are in fact of a lower socioeconomic position themselves. Although the argument is made that the school's relatively lower socioeconomic status would predict the children's relative socioeconomic circumstances, reports from the teachers during data collection indicated that pupils from this school have a wider range of socioeconomic circumstances than predicted. During informal discussions teachers reported that

while many pupils are from the surrounding areas, there are a growing number of pupils enrolled at the school who are from higher socioeconomic positions (arriving at school in expensive cars, name brand clothing, and who have expensive cell phones). Unlike the samples used in Bonn et al.'s (1999) study (who were drawn from similar living circumstances), the children in this sample may have a wider range of socioeconomic backgrounds due to the reported heterogeneity of socioeconomic circumstances of children at this school. Thus, the claims in this study of the children's likely relatively lower socioeconomic position need to be considered with some degree of caution.

Further, as mentioned earlier, given that this is a qualitative interpretive study with a very small and specific purposive sample, generalisability is not achievable. However, since the focus of this study was to build on previous research by using the framework of the sociocultural approach to illustrate the contextual nature of children's thinking, the argument of this study highlights that generalisability across contexts should be avoided and discouraged. Although the particular content of the accounts given by the children in this study would be contextually bound, it is hoped that an argument has been made for the sociocultural approach as a framework for exploring children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic inequality. However, further research is needed to establish the sociocultural nature of children's understandings of socioeconomic circumstances.

Lastly, the use of English medium language (and the researcher's limited understanding of isiZulu) during data collection in this study is likely to have limited the range of discourses and repertoires available to non-first language English speakers to express their ideas. Although not all the children were isiZulu speakers and language was not an issue in data collection due to school's English medium instruction, conducting the focus groups and discussions in the children's first language may have provided even greater contextualized accounts. The use of the children's home language in data collection is likely to have provided the children with a greater breadth and depth of repertoires as the children may have drawn on more cultural idioms and expressions to convey their ideas.

7. CONCLUSION

This study explored a group of South African children's subjective understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status by focusing on children's descriptions and ideas of what it means to be 'rich' or 'poor'. The sociocultural approach was used as a theoretical framework for making sense of and interpreting these accounts to illustrate how understandings and perceptions of relative wealth and poverty reflect the contextual, social and interpersonal contexts in which the children's thinking occurs. The aim of this study was to build on previous research (particularly that by Leahy, 1981, and by Bonn et al., 1999) by investigating children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic inequality in a society where there are enormous and entrenched historically based differences in wealth based on racial and political grounds and where, in the past, social mobility for the poorer groups has been limited.

This was done using a qualitative interpretive research design on a sample of 20 South African children between the ages of eight and twelve from a local government, former model C, primary school located in a relatively lower socioeconomic area of Pietermaritzburg. Consistent with the argument of the sociocultural approach that drawing is an important cultural tool, drawing activities were used in conjunction with the traditional focus groups used by Leahy (1981) and Bonn et al. (1999) during data collection. The particular questions used to facilitate the children's discussions of socioeconomic status and income inequality in the focus groups were based on the studies by Leahy (1981) and by Bonn et al. (1999).

Applying the sociocultural approach in data analysis essentially involved broadening the focus to examine how the children's accounts reflect the personal, interpersonal, and contextual factors in which their conceptions and thinking are embedded, using Rogoff's (1995, 1998) notion of the sociocultural three planes of analysis. Specifically, a sociocultural discourse analysis was used in analyzing the data, using the notion of interpretive repertoires (McKenzie, 2005; Potter & Wetherell, 1990) to investigate what contextual references the children drew on in their conversations to create socially and culturally situated accounts of socioeconomic status and income inequality. (Mercer, 2004).

Consistent with the first hypothesis of this study, analyses revealed that at the individual level, the children's understandings and perceptions of socioeconomic status show cognitive developmental age-related trends in the superordinate classifications for sociological concepts of class similar to Leahy's (1981) study. However, consistent with the second and third hypotheses, in broadening the focus to the interpersonal and contextual level the results

indicated that the children's ideas and perceptions of socioeconomic status also reflected and were influenced by: 1) the interpersonal context of the groups (as they positioned themselves with regard to others, co-constructed meaning, and bridged one another's ideas); and 2) by their everyday social context (including the relatively lower socioeconomic position of the area in which their school is located) and the broader social, cultural and historical context of South African society (such as deep-rooted differences in wealth based on racial, cultural and political grounds).

More specifically, while the trends in the children's understandings of socioeconomic status were consistent with Leahy's (1981) cognitive developmental trends, the particular ideas expressed by the children, and the ways in which they expressed these ideas (i.e. how they positioned themselves and others, and their assumptions about 'the way rich/ poor people are'), were embedded and predominantly informed by the social and cultural context of the interpersonal group, their everyday lives, and South African society. This suggests that the children's understandings and perceptions of wealth, poverty and inequality reflect the social reality in which the children live and in which the discussions were taking place.

The results of the focus on the personal level and how the children's ideas are consistent with cognitive-developmental trends do confirm existing research on children's age-related awareness of social class. However, this study also demonstrated how limiting the focus to a purely cognitive developmental approach ignores the complexity of children's expressed ideas, and the social and cultural influences on children's ideas of socioeconomic inequality.

In this way, this study illustrates that bringing a sociocultural perspective to the study of children means that one can go beyond simply the individual cognitive-developmental understandings of socioeconomic inequality children may have at particular ages, and recognise the cultural and social influences on their thinking. This study builds on the work of Leahy (1981) and Bonn et al. (1999) by combining the cognitive-developmental model with the need to recognize the cultural and social influences inherent in children's understandings of social constructs, while relating this to a theoretical framework which can provide a more thorough picture and understanding of the way in which children understand rich and poor.

The sociocultural approach provides a way of understanding how different contexts create and reflect different systems of thought in children, and allows for a more comprehensive investigation of children's understandings and perceptions of their social world. This means that the development of socioeconomic understandings needs to be conceptualised as an active and continuous process in which the child constructs and tests ideas which are embedded in social

and cultural factors (Bonn et al., 1999). This allows research to examine the ways in which learning and thinking takes place under cultural circumstances and in different historical contexts (Robbins, 2005). In this way, this study contributed to a more comprehensive picture of children's understandings and perceptions of wealth and poverty, and highlighted the need for a shift towards contextually based understandings of children's thinking.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Although this study has made important contributions to existing research in the field by acknowledging the influence of contextual factors in children's accounts of socioeconomic circumstances, there is still a need for further research into the manner in which children's perceptions of socioeconomic status and inequality reflect the social and cultural context in which they occur (Bonn et al., 1999). It is thus recommended that further research be conducted in this area, particularly in South Africa, through the use of the sociocultural framework to establish the sociocultural nature of children's understandings of socioeconomic circumstances.

It is specifically recommended that future research in this area make use of comparative studies between samples from different contexts to provide a stronger argument for the contextual nature of children's understandings of socioeconomic status, and to develop an empirical base for the manner in which children from different contexts would view social class. Future studies are recommended to make use of samples from different population groups and from different areas in order to explore the understandings and perceptions of rich and poor the children from those contexts may have, and how these may be qualitatively different from the responses of the children in the current study. This would allow for comparisons between participants from different socioeconomic areas, and would allow one to demonstrate contextual differences in children's responses. This may take the form of a doctorate by the researcher in which samples from various socioeconomic positions (private schools, public schools, semi-urban schools, rural schools, for example) and areas in South Africa (possibly according to statistics of wealth and poverty from census data) may be used to comparatively analyze the perceptions and understandings of children from differing contexts. By making use of the sociocultural approach as the analytic framework, this would essentially contribute to developing a research base for the contextual nature of children's understandings of socioeconomic inequality. In addition, this would contribute to qualitative knowledge of South African children's experiences of their socioeconomic circumstances and how they perceive the world, which would contrast with the quantitative statistics of socioeconomic inequality in South Africa.

It is also recommended that future research allows for the children to draw on repertoires and discourses from their home languages. This would allow for the children to make use of their home language as a cultural tool in expressing their ideas, which is consistent with the sociocultural approach and the analyses used in this study. As discussed in the limitations section above, this would provide greater depth and understanding to their expressed ideas (through the use of cultural idioms and expressions).

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9. APPENDICES:

Appendix 1: Letter of permission to school:

Megan du Toit
 Educational Psychology Masters student
 School of Psychology
 University of KwaZulu Natal
 Pietermaritzburg campus
 Email: 207508448@ukzn.ac.za

Supervisor: Carol Mitchell
 Email: mitchelle@ukzn.ac.za
 Tel: 033 260 6054

[School name, removed for confidentiality purposes]
 The Principal

Request to conduct research at your school

Dear sir/ madam,

My name is Megan du Toit, I am an Educational Psychology Masters student from the School of Psychology at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg campus. As part of my Masters course I am doing a study in which I am investigating children's understandings of 'rich' and 'poor'. I am interested in looking at how children see the world and how they think about other people.

I would like to request your permission to conduct this research at your school with your learners. If you choose to allow us access to your pupils and facilities, I would send informed consent letters home with your pupils requesting permission from their parents to allow them take part in this study, and request that the pupils return these letters to a box I will place in your school office. I will print all copies of these letters myself and will deliver them to your school, asking that your teachers simply send them home with the pupils. A copy of this parental consent letter is attached for your interest. I would also like to request the use of your school facilities (specifically, a classroom or small room with approximately 11 chairs and 4 tables; and the use of toilet facilities for the children) to conduct this study for approximately an hour and a half on four occasions in April or early May. The dates and times for this can be arranged at your convenience. I will provide all the other equipment and supplies needed for this study myself, and will conduct all aspects of the study myself.

This study will involve the children taking part in a series of small group discussions (i.e. focus groups). The children will be divided into older and younger age groups (ages 7-9 and ages 10-12, respectively) and separate group discussions will be conducted with each age group, however using the same instructions, questions and tasks. Each focus group will consist of approximately 8 to 10 children, with the researcher running one to two focus groups per age group. In these groups, the children will be asked questions about rich and poor people (for example "What does it mean to be rich/poor?"; "How are rich people different from/the same as poor people?"; "Why are some people poor while others are rich?"), and will be given the chance to discuss this as a group. The children will also be asked to draw pictures of rich and poor people and where they may live. The children will NOT be asked about their own life circumstances and experiences, nor will they be asked to discuss anything related to their

family's income, house etc, or your school. The children will simply be asked to discuss *people in general* and what they understand of what it means to be rich or poor. It is important to emphasize that the purpose of this study is to gain insight into children's understandings and views of socioeconomic status and income inequality (*not* their personal experiences). There are no possible harms or risks for your school or your pupils and there is absolutely no deception in this study. With the children and their parents' permission these group discussions will be recorded using an audio voice recorder and later transcribed for data capture purposes.

The children's participation is completely voluntary and your pupils are not being forced to participate in this study. The children or their parents can withdraw consent at any time, and there will be no repercussions. If you choose to allow us access to your pupils and school facilities for this study it will greatly be appreciated, but unfortunately I cannot offer any direct benefits to you or your pupils for participating. However, the children are likely to find the experience enjoyable as it allows them to freely and openly discuss a prominent issue in society. In this way, this study will provide the children with an opportunity to express their views and understandings of socioeconomic status and income inequality, and allows us to developing a greater understanding of the meaning and interpretations they give to social phenomena and issues.

Although the researcher and the children's peers will know who has participated in the study, neither the name of your school nor the names or any identifiable characteristics of the pupils will be used in any records or reports. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained by ensuring that signed informed consent forms are stored by the researcher and are not accessible to anyone apart from the researcher and her supervisor. The results of this study will be written into a dissertation report which will form part of my Masters degree, and may be presented at conferences. There may also be a chance that information from this study could be used for further research or possibly published in journal articles in the future. But since it requires no personal information and the informed consent forms would be destroyed, no information will be traced back to the children or your school. If you would like to be made aware of the results of this study once it has been completed, a summarised copy of my dissertation will be sent to the school for your interest.

If you have any questions or queries about this study, feel free to contact me via email at 207508448@ukzn.ac.za or my supervisor, Carol Mitchell at mitchellc@ukzn.ac.za (Tel: 033 260 6054). If you have any complaints or concerns about the nature of the tasks; treatment of the children; or any further ethical issues in this study at any point, you may also contact the School of Psychology Higher Degrees Ethics Committee (Tel: 033 260 5853).

Thank you for considering this request.

Yours sincerely,

Megan du Toit

Appendix 2: Parental Consent letters

1. Parental Consent Letter: English

Request for your child's participation in a Psychology study

Dear parent/guardian,

My name is Megan du Toit, I am an Educational Psychology Masters student from the School of Psychology at the University of KwaZulu Natal. As part of my Masters course I am doing a study in which I am investigating children's understandings of 'rich' and 'poor'. I am interested in looking at how children see the world and how they think about other people. I would like to request your permission to allow your child to participate in this study, which we hope will benefit us in understanding how children understand concepts such as 'rich' and 'poor'.

If you choose to allow your child to participate in this study, your child will take part in a series of two small group discussions with 8-10 other children for roughly an hour, at your child's school, on the mornings of the **23rd of June 2011** and the **22nd of July 2011**. In this group, the children will be asked questions about rich and poor people (for example "What does it mean to be rich/poor?"; "How are rich people different from/the same as poor people?"; "Why are some people poor while others are rich?"), and will be given the chance to discuss this as a group. The children will also be asked to draw pictures of rich and poor people and where they may live. Your child will NOT be asked about his/her own life circumstances and experiences, nor will s/he be asked to discuss anything related to your family's income, house etc. The children will simply be asked to discuss *people in general* and what they understand of what it means to be rich or poor. It is important to emphasize that the purpose of this study is to gain insight into children's understandings and views of socioeconomic status and income inequality (*not* their personal experiences).

Your child's participation is completely voluntary and your child is not being forced to participate in this study. The choice of whether you would like your child to participate is yours and your child's alone. You or your child can withdraw consent at any time, and there will be no repercussions. **I encourage you to speak to your child about this study and discuss whether your child would like to participate before you sign this form.** The purposes of this study and what is required of your child will also be explained to your child on the day the group discussions are to take place, and your child will be given the chance to withdraw if s/he does not wish to participate. Please note that your child will not be forced to participate in any tasks or discussions if s/he does not feel comfortable and they may excuse themselves from the group at any time. Your child can talk a little or a lot, or may simply sit and listen to the discussions without participating. If you choose to allow your child to participate in this study it will greatly be appreciated, but unfortunately I cannot offer any direct benefits to you or your child for participating. However, the children are likely to find the experience enjoyable as it allows them to freely and openly discuss an important issue in society.

With your and your child's permission these group discussions will be recorded using an audio voice recorder and later transcribed. Although the researcher and the children's peers will know who has participated in the study, no names or identifiable characteristics will be used when we report what we have found. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained by ensuring that signed informed consent forms are stored by the researcher and are not accessible to anyone apart from the researcher and her supervisor. All the consent forms from the study will be kept by the researcher for a period of 5 years in a locked drawer and will then be destroyed via

shredder. The results of this study will be written into a dissertation report which will form part of my Masters degree, and may be presented at conferences. There may also be a chance that information from this study could be used for further research or possibly published in journal articles in the future, but since it requires no personal information and the informed consent forms would be destroyed, no information will be traced back to you or your child. There are no possible harms or risks for you or your child and there is absolutely no deception in this study.

If you have any questions about this study or if you would like to be made aware of the findings of this study, feel free to contact me by email at 207508448@ukzn.ac.za or my supervisor, Carol Mitchell at mitchelle@ukzn.ac.za (Tel: 033 260 6054). If you have any complaints or concerns about the nature of the tasks; treatment of the children; or any further ethical issues in this study at any point, you may also contact the School of Psychology Higher Degrees Ethics Committee (Tel: 033 260 5853). Thank you for considering this request.

Please sign and return the following to the school office if you choose to allow your child to take part in this study *before Wednesday the 22nd of June*:

PARENTAL/GAURDIAN CONSENT:

I voluntarily agree to allow my child _____ (print name) (grade _____) to participate in this study on children's understandings of 'rich' and 'poor'. I understand that my child will not be forced to participate in this study, and my child can withdraw at any point should I, or my child, no longer wish to take part. I have read the description of this study above and I understand what the study involves.

Additional consent to audio or video recording:

In addition to the above, I hereby agree to the audio recording of the group discussions in which my child participates for the purposes of data capture. I understand that no personally identifiable information or recording of my child will be released in any form, and that the identity of my child will be kept confidential in transcripts, reports and any future publications and will not be traced back to me or my child.

Parent/Guardian's signature

Date

Please Note that only a PARENT or LEGAL GAURDIAN may consent to allow their child to participate in this study.

2. Parental Consent Form (isi Zulu):

Isicelo sokuthi ingane yakho ibe ingxenye yalesisifundo

Mzali

Igama lami ngingu Megan du Toit, Umfundi owenza iEducational Psychology Masters ovela Enyuvesi yaKwaZulu Natali. Mayelana nemfundo zama kuleMasters, Ngenza isifundo laengibeka khona ulwazi lwezingane mayelana „nokucweba’ noku „hlupheka’. Ngihlose ukuthola ukuthi izingane ziwubona kanjani umhlaba nokuthi zicabangani ngabanye abantu. Ngiyakucela ukuba uvumele ingane yakho ukuba ibe yingxenye yalolu hlelo, esithembayo ukuthi sizosiza ekuqondeni ukuthi izingane zazini ngezisho nje ngoku „cweba’ noku „hlupheka’.

Uma ukhetha ukuyivumela ingane yakho ibeyingxenye yalesisifundo, ingane yakho izongenela uhlelo lwezinxoxo ezincane ezimbili nezinye izingane ezingu 8-10, kwiHora elilodwa, khona esikoleni sengane yakho, ngesikhathi esiyisivumelwano nesikole (**23rd June 2011 and 22nd July 2011**). Kulenxoxo, ingane zizobuzwa imibuzo mayelana nabantu abacwebile naba hluphekayo (isibonelo “Kuchaza ukuthini ukucweba/nokuhlupheka?”; “Bahluke kanjani abantu abacwebile kulaba/bafana kanjani nalaba abahluphekayo?”; “Kwenziwayini abanye abantu bacwebile abanye bahlupheke?”; futhi bazonikwa ithuba lokuthi babonise ngaloku njengequlu. Ingane zizocelwa nokuthi zidwebe izithombe zabantu abacwebile nabahluphekayo nokuthi bangahlalaphi. Ingane yakho NGEKE ibuzwe mayelana neyayo impilo nalokhu izinto esidlule kuzona, futhi ngeke icelwe ukuthi ikhulume lutho mayelana namahholo omndeni wakho. Izingane zizocelwa ukuthi zibonise ngabantu nje bomphakathi nokuthi bazini ngokucweba nokuhlupheka. Kubalulekile ukuqiniseka ukuthi inhloso yalesisifundo ukuthola ulwazi ekutheni izingane zazini ngezeminoto noku ngalingani kwemihholo (*ayi ekubekene nabo*).

Cela uqonde ukuthi akuphoqi ukuthi ingane yakho ibeyingxenye yalolu ncwaningo, konke kukuwena nengane yakho. Wena nengane yakho ningakhetha ukuhoxa noma yinini ngesikhathi socwaningo. **Ngiyaku khuthaza ukuthi nixoxisane nengane yakho mayelana nalesifundo nibonise ukuthi ingathanda yini ingane yakho ukuba yingxenye ngaphambi kokuba nisayini leliphapha.** Inhloso yalesisifundo nokudingekayo enganeni yakho kuzochazelelwa kwizingane ngosuku lwezinxoxo. Cela uwazi ukuthi ingane yakho ngeke iphoqwe ukuthi ibe yingxenye yalezizinkulumo, uma ingaphatheki kahle ingaphuma noma yinini equlwini. Ingane yakho ingakhuluma kancane noma kakhulu, noma ihlale nje ilalele inxoxo ngaphandle kokuba yingxenye. Uma ukhetha ukuyivumela ingane yakho ukuthi ibe yingxenye kulesisifundo kungabongwa kakhulu, ngeshwa angikwazi ukuthembisa lutho enganeni ngokuthi ibeyingxenye. Kodwa, ingane kungenzeka zithole ukujabula njengoba zizonikwa ithuba loku bonisana ngokukhululeka ngesimo esibalulekile emphakathini.

Ngenvumo yakho nengane yakho lezinxoxisano zizo-rekhodwa nge audio voice rekhoda bese ziyabhalwa phansi. Yize umphathi hlelo nalezi ezinye ingane ebeziyingxenye kulesifundo, awekho amagama noma imininigwane ezosetshenziswa umasekubhalwa imiphumelo. Ukuhloniphana nemfihlakalo kuzoqinisekwa ngokuqiniseka ukuthi amaphapha asayiniwe abekwa ngumhloli walesisifundo angatholwa omunye umuntu ngaphandle komhloli noma umphathi omhloli. Wonke ama fomu esivumelwano azogcinwa isikhathi esingange minyaka emhlanu ekhabethezi elizokhiywa bese iyagaywa ngomshini. Imiphumelo yalesisifundo izobaliwa esiqephini esizoba yingxenye yemiphumelo yami yokungena kwiMasters. Kukhona ithuba ukuthi lesisifundo sisetshenziswe ukuqhuba eminye imicwaningo kabanzi, kodwa ngoba akudingakali mininigwane kanti nezivumelwano zingeke ziginwe, akukho okuzohlenganisa ingane yakho. Abukho ubungozi kuwena noma ingane yakho, kanti futhi ukukho nobugebhengu kulesisifundo.

Uma udinga noma uluphi ulwazi ngamalungelo akho njengomzali ekucwaningweni kwengane yakhe noma unezikhalo mayelana nocwaningo ungathinta mina nge-email ku

207508448@ukzn.ac.za noma umphathi wami, uCarol Mitchell ku mitchellc@ukzn.ac.za (ucingo: 033 260 6054). Ngiyabonga ukuthi wamukele lesisicelo. Cela usayine bese ubuyise lesiqhephu sephepha ebokisini phakathi ehhovisi lesikole uma uvuma ukuthi ingane yakho ibeinxgenye yalesisifundo.

Isivumelwano somzali

Mina ngiyavumela ingane yami _____ (bhala igama) (izinga ___ _____) ukuthi ibeinxgenye kulesisifundo. Ngiyazwisisa ukuthi angeke iphoqwe ingane yami ukuthi ibeyinxgenye, nokuthi ingahoxa noma yinini, uma mina, noma yona, ingasafisi ukuba yinxgenye. Ngisifundile isichazelo ngaso lesisifundo futhi ngiyaqonda ukuthi simayelana ngani.

Esinye isivumelwano ngoku-rekhodwa: Ngiyavuma ukuthi irekhodwa ingane yami kulezizinxoxo ukuze kutholwe imiphumelo. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ngeke kukhishwe imininigwane yengane yami, nokuthi imininigwane yengane yami izofihlakala kwimbhalo, nakokunye ngaphambilini, futhi ngeke ifunwe kumina noma ingane yami.

Signature yomzali

usuku

Cela wazi ukuthi UMZALI kuphela onelungelo lokuvumela ingane ukuthi ibe yinxgenye yalesisifundo.

Appendix 3: Data Collection Schedule

Data Collection Schedule

In investigating the research questions from within a qualitative interpretive design, this study made use of a combination of focus groups and drawing activities with the children. All procedures were carried out by the researcher herself.

The researcher set up the area in which the study was conducted in a quiet corner of the library prior to the children entering by creating a large tabled area in which the children could do their drawings, and a conventional focus group circle in which the focus groups could be conducted. The drawing area was set up near the focus group area using a number of tables pushed together to create an area at which all ten of the children could work collaboratively on their drawings. The focus group area was set up in a close circled seating arrangement, with the voice recorders placed on a small wooden box at the centre of the circle. The children were asked to bring their signed parental consent forms with them to the library area, and these were collected by the researcher at the start of the session. Upon entering the area in which the study was conducted, the children were seated in the focus group circle, along with the researcher.

Data Collection Session One:

On the day of data collection, assent was obtained from the children verbally by:

- Introducing the study to the children by explaining that the researcher was interested “how children see the world and how they think about other people, so I will be asking you questions about rich people and poor people. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions”.
- Explaining what the study would require the children to do and what procedures would be conducted: “We are going to do some drawings and talk about rich and poor people today. Remember, I want to know how children think about other people and how they think about what it means to be rich or poor. I’m not going to ask you about whether you think you or your friends are rich or poor, but I just want to know about people in general and how children see the world. You can talk as much or as little as you want, and nobody will force you to talk if you don’t want to. You can even just sit and listen to what we talk about if you want to and don’t have to talk at all, or you can excuse yourself to go back to your classroom.”
- Negotiating the use of audio recorders: “Another thing, to help me remember I would like to record what we talk about on this voice recorder so that I can listen to it again afterwards and think about what we discuss for my study. Are all of you happy to do that? We can just put it over here and we can chat while it records what we are saying. Is that ok?”
- Allowing the children to set some ‘rules’ as a group which could guide the research process and allow for fair participation: “It’s important that we first set some rules here for our discussion. I would like us to set some rules as a group together. What sorts of rules do you think we should make for the discussions?”
- Addressing issues of anonymity and confidentiality: “One rule which is quite important is about what we call confidentiality. Confidentiality means that if someone says something we have to remember that they trust us and that we can’t go tell all our friends what they say or talk ugly about what people have said in here because what we say in here must be respected. This means that I also won’t tell anybody else who has said what in here, and that I won’t put your names in my study.”

Once assent from the child had been obtained, the researcher requested that the children divide themselves into pairs at the drawing area. Thereafter, the researcher allowed for a five minute break (where she busied herself with fetching the drawing materials on the far end of the room to avoid creating a feeling of pressure or obligation for the children) before starting the data collection to allow „everyone to settle in’ before the drawing activity and those who may not wish to participate to leave freely.

Each child was given a large piece of paper (approximately A3 size) and black markers were placed in the centre of the tabled area. With the children’s permission the audio voice recorders were also placed in the centre of the tabled area. In the drawing activity, the children were given the instruction to work in their pairs to draw a picture showing “what rich people and where they live might look like”, and “what poor people and where they live might look like”. After 15 minutes the children were then asked to return to the focus group area, along with their drawings.

In the formal focus groups, the particular questions used to facilitate the children’s discussions of socioeconomic status and income inequality included the following questions (adapted from Bonn et al., 1999, and Leahy, 1981), with the researcher following the question with non-directive probes:

1. What does it mean to be rich?
2. What does it mean to be poor?
3. Describe rich people. Who are the rich people? What are they like?
4. Describe poor people. Who are the poor people? What are they like?
5. How are rich people different from poor people?
6. How are rich people the same as poor people?
7. How come we have rich and poor people? Why are some people poor while others are rich?

In addition the children were encouraged to use their pictures in the discussions, and each pair was given the opportunity to share some ideas on their drawings near the end of the focus group session. At the end the children were then debriefed about the study, and given the opportunity to share some ideas on how they felt about how the session had played out. The children were also reminded of the importance of confidentiality and sensitivity to what had been discussed in the focus groups. The researcher then pre-empted the subsequent focus group with each age group by asking the children to think of and bring any further ideas about rich and poor to the next focus group, conducted at a later stage.

Data Collection Session Two

At the second data collection session, the study was reintroduced to the children by:

- Reminding the children what the study was about (as in *Data Collection Session One*, see above).
- Reminding them of what was discussed in the previous session and introducing what was required in the second session: "You know the last time we met to hear your ideas I made a recording of what you said and I have been listening to that and there are some things I want to ask you more about. I was also wondering if you have thought any more about any of the things we spoke about and if you have any new ideas, or maybe you thought of something after we finished and you wished you had said that. I know you have had a holiday so it might be hard for you to remember exactly what we spoke about, so what I am going to do is to remind you of the questions that I asked and then you can see if there is anything more you want to say about that thing.")
- Reminding them of issues of anonymity and confidentiality, and audio recording (as in *Data Collection Session One*).

The same questions (adapted from Bonn et al., 1999, and Leahy, 1981) used in the first data collection session were then used to facilitate the children's discussions in a focus group format, with the researcher following the question with non-directive probes. However, the research further made use of additional probing into topics which the children had mentioned in the first session based on initial analyses. An outline of area which the researcher wished to probe based on responses from *Data Collection Session One* are outlined below:

1. What does it mean to be rich?

Younger: Mentioned Cribs and TV shows- Probe TV and newspapers.

Older: "Being rich is past the needing and into the wanting"- explore more, ask the children to elaborate.

2. What does it mean to be poor?

Younger: Mentioned people who live in a shack and in houses made of mud/ huts- probe into whom else may be poor and where poor people come from.

Older: Mentioned street people, not having an education- probe into whom else may be poor and where poor people come from.

3. Describe rich people. Who are the rich people? What are they like?

Younger: NB South African context. Some mentioned the president. Explore in more detail and allow children to discuss this.

Older: Mentioned Oprah, American TV, the Prince of Monaco and Charlene Woodstock, actors and singers. Also, mentioned the president, MECs, Ministers in Government. Explore in more detail and allow children to discuss this. Who are the rich people?

4. Describe poor people. Who are the poor people? What are they like?

Younger: Mentioned street children with powder on their faces in Pietermaritzburg; street people sleeping in town; people living in huts. Explore in more detail and allow children to discuss this. Who are the poor people?

Older: Mentioned child-headed households (children whose parents have died and looking after their family); people who look after cars, car guards. Explore in more detail and allow children to discuss this.

5. How are rich people different from poor people?

Younger: Mentioned different jobs, like car guards or security men.

Older: Poor people described as „kinder’ than rich; rich don’t want to help.

6. How are rich people the same as poor people?

Younger: Mentioned neighbours and people living in flats. Needs more exploration as to how they are different.

Older: "Same education, but didn’t use same opportunities".

7. How come we have rich and poor people? Why are some people poor while others are rich?

Younger: Mentioned street kids, and them buying glue instead of food. Explore in more detail and allow children to discuss this.

Older: TV. Broad references to what seems like the Shri Devani case (asking poor people to kill people for rich people). Needs more time for exploration and discussion.

In the second data collection schedule the researcher further encouraged the children to structure their responses by giving them time to work together to jot down their responses on a sheet of news print during discussions of questions one to four. A large sheet of news print was pasted up on a board in the focus group circle, and the children were asked who would like to volunteer as a scribe. The page was divided in half, with the titles „rich’ and „poor’, and the scribe was asked to jot down important points in discussing the questions.

At the end the children were debriefed about the study, and given the opportunity to share some ideas on how they felt about how both sessions had played out or any questions they had. The children were also reminded of the importance of confidentiality and sensitivity to what had been discussed in the focus groups, and thanked for their participation in the study.

Appendix 4: Children's Drawings

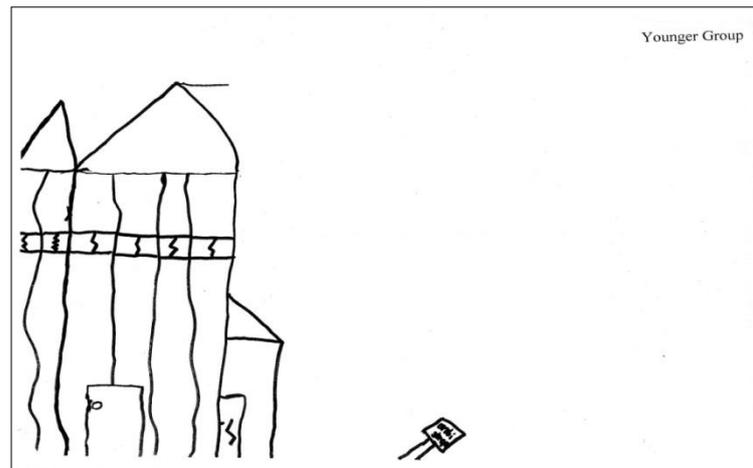


Figure 1: Child from Younger Group's Depiction of 'Where Poor People May Live'.

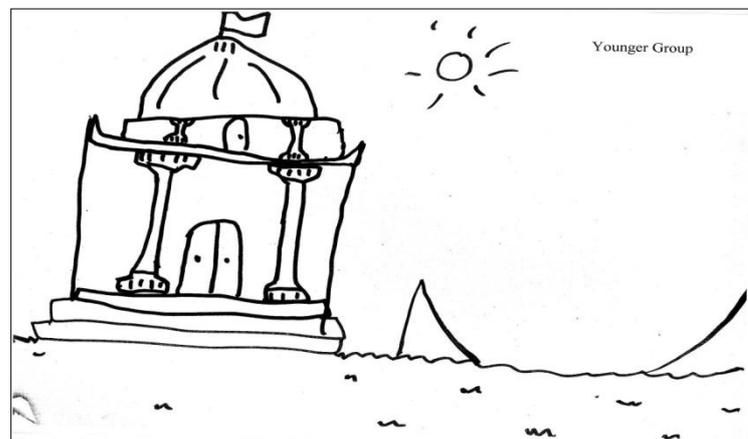


Figure 2: Child from Younger Group's Depiction of 'Where Rich People May Live'.

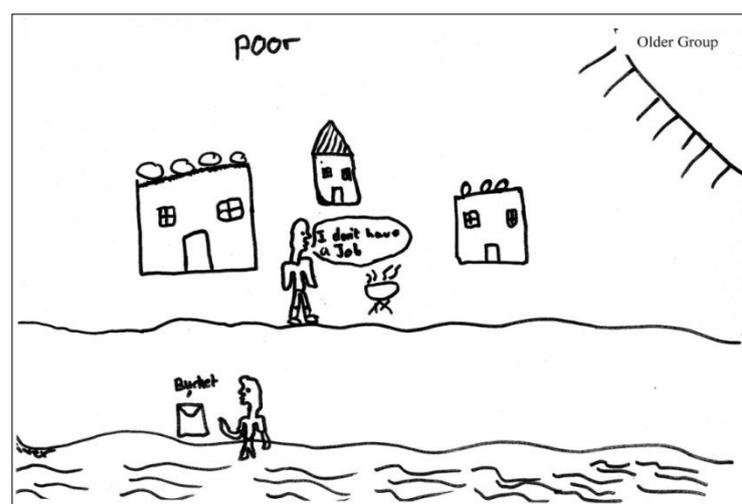


Figure 3: Child from Older Group's Depiction of 'Where Poor People May Live'.

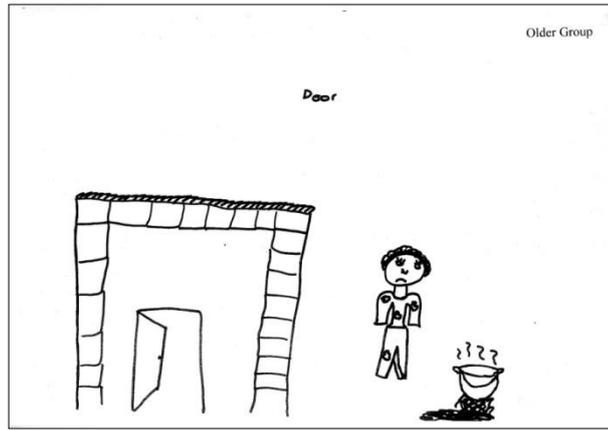


Figure 4: A Child from Older Group's Depiction of 'Where Poor People May Live'.

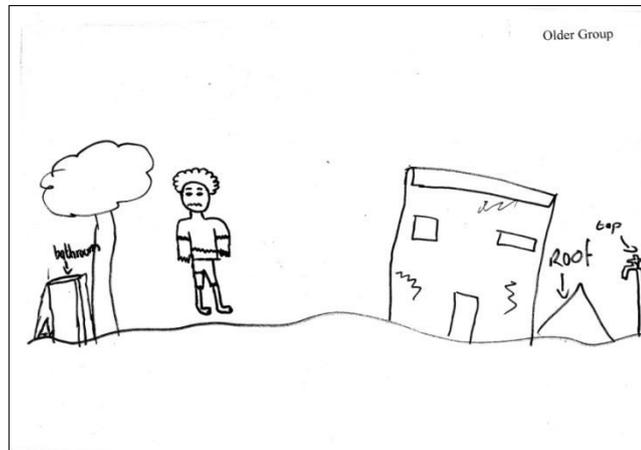


Figure 5: A Child from Older Group's Depiction of 'Where Poor People may Live'.

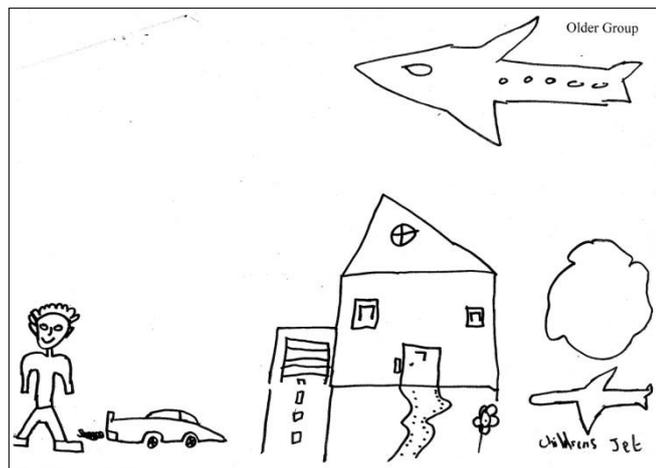


Figure 6: A Child from Older Group's Depiction of 'Where Rich People may Live'.



Figure 7: A Child from Older Group's Depiction of 'Where Poor People may Live'.

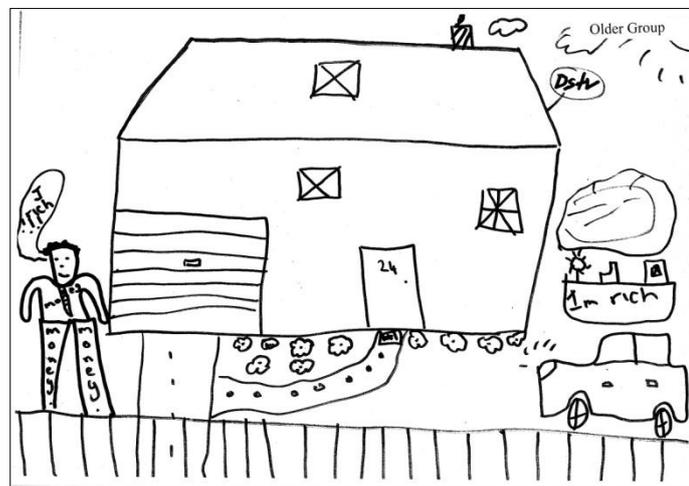


Figure 8: A Child from Older Group's Depiction of 'Where Rich People may Live'.

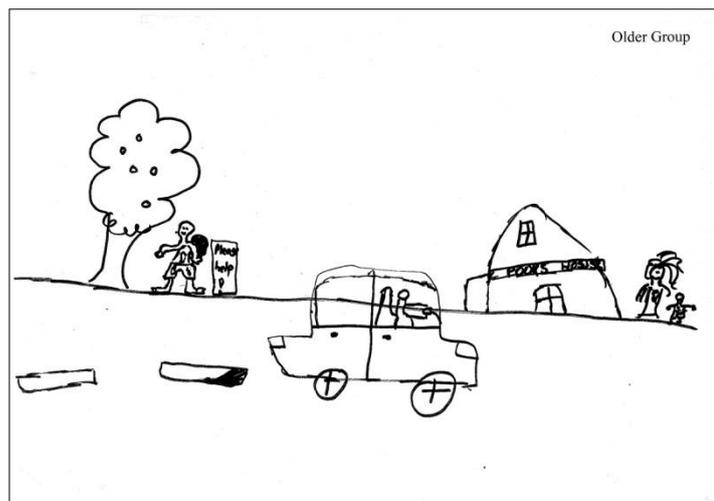


Figure 9: A Child from Older Group's Depiction of 'Where Poor People may Live'.

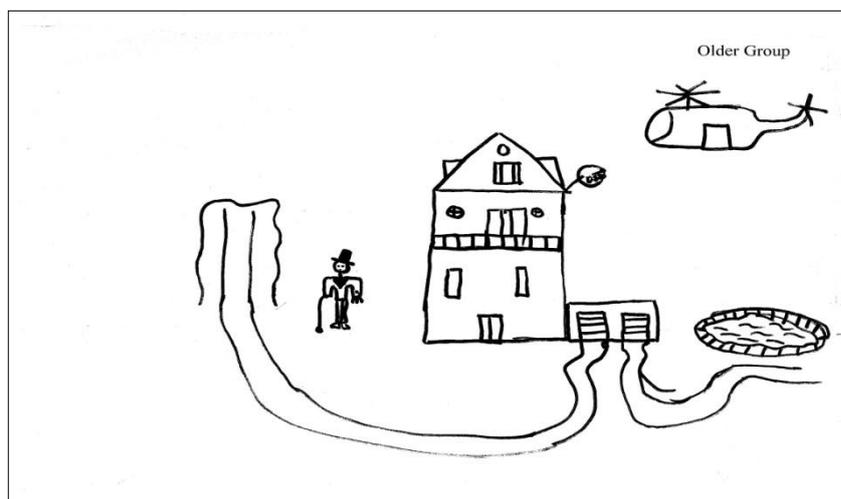


Figure 10: A Child from Older Group's Depiction of 'Where Rich People may Live'.

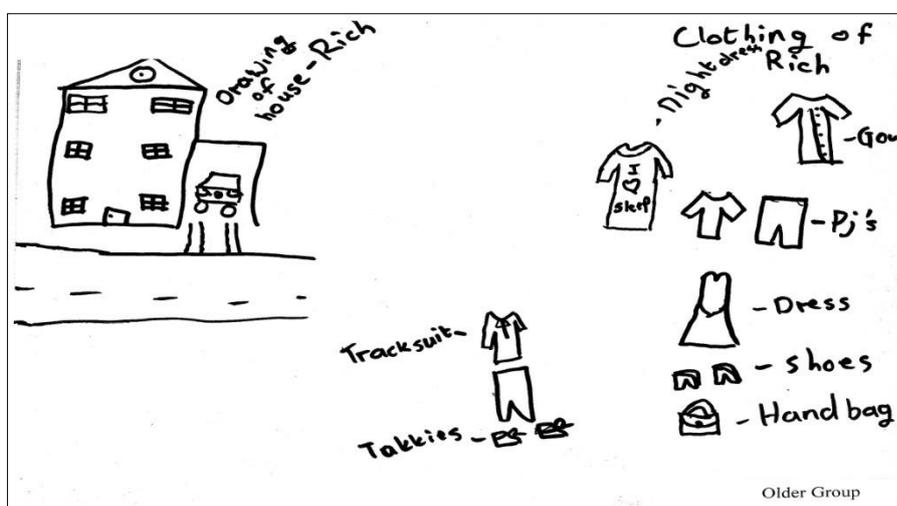


Figure 11: A Child from Older Group's Depiction of 'Where Rich People may Live'.



Figure 12: Children from Younger Group's Depiction of 'Where Poor People May Live'.

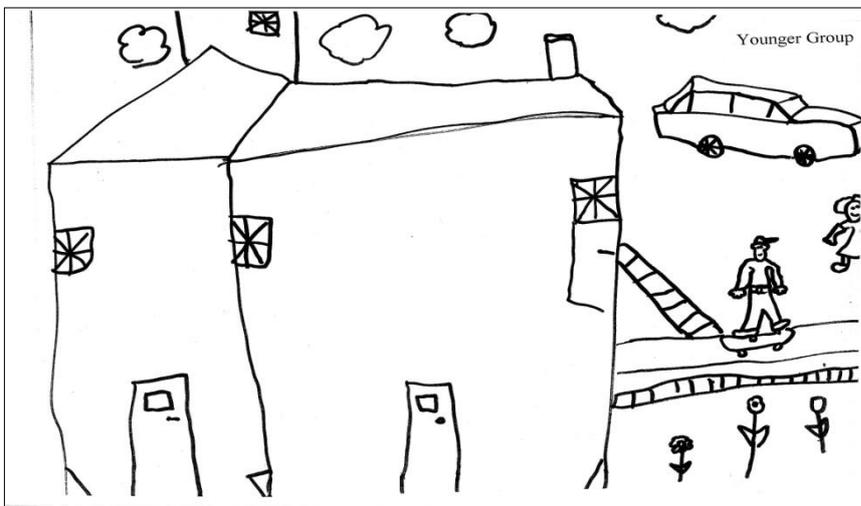


Figure 13: A Child from Younger Group’s Depiction of ‘Where Rich People may Live’

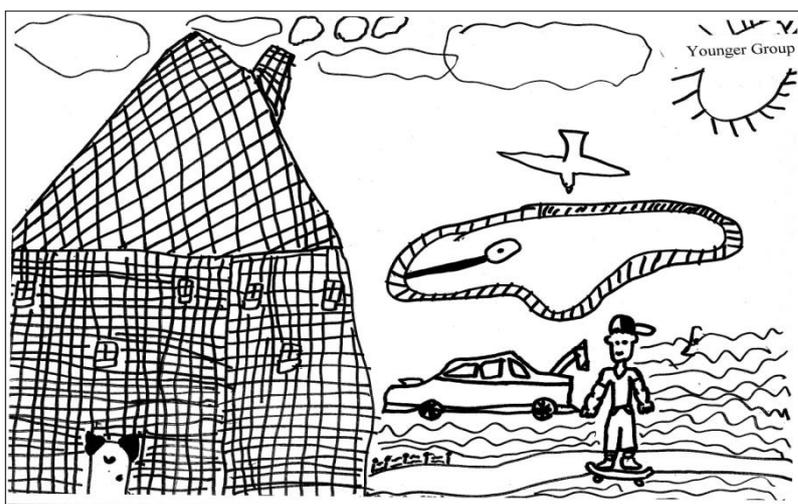


Figure 14: A Child from Younger Group’s Depiction of ‘Where Rich People may Live’

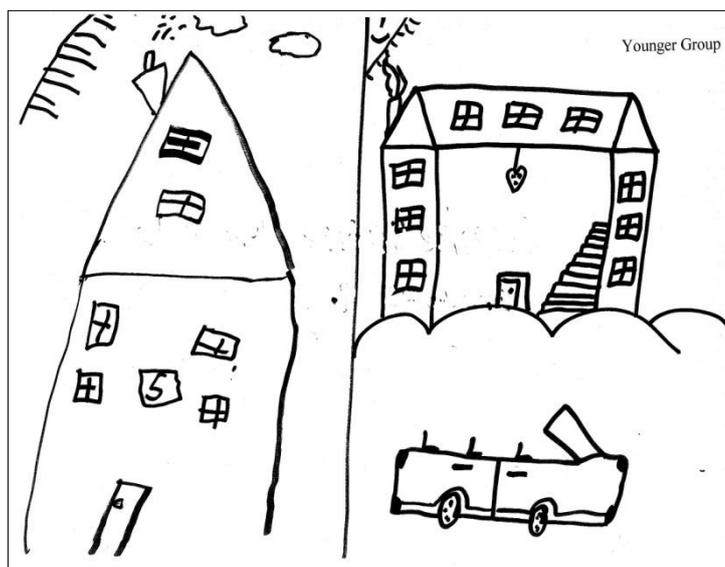


Figure 15: Children from Younger Group’s Depiction of ‘Where Rich and Poor People may Live’



Figure 16: A Child from Younger Group's Depiction of 'Where Rich People may Live'



Figure 17: Children from Younger Group's Depiction of 'Where Rich People may Live'



Figure 18: Children from Younger Group's Depiction of 'Where Rich and Poor People may Live.'



Figure 19: Children from Younger Group's Depiction of 'Where Rich and Poor People may Live'

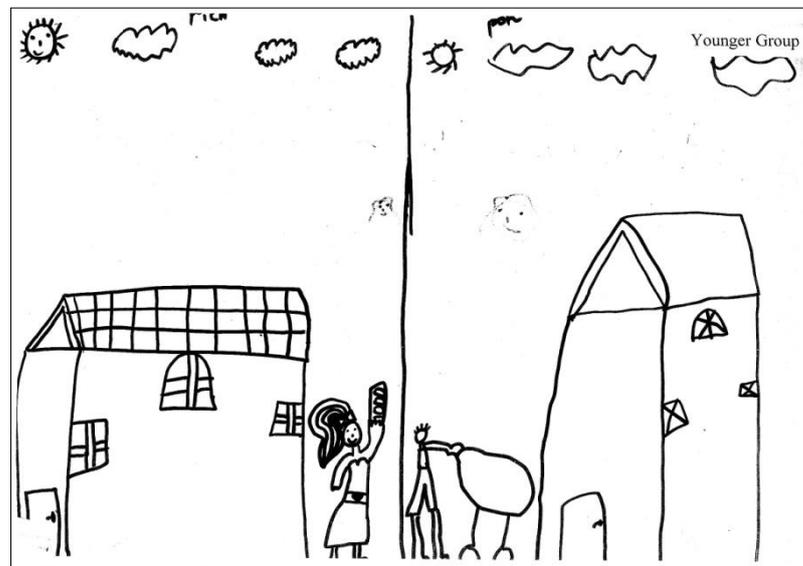


Figure 20: Children from Younger Group's Depiction of 'Where Rich and Poor People may Live'

Younger Group

rich people
 mean and nosy
 pretty
 lots of money and clothes and cars
 pretty hair
 every night they get K.F.C
 go to partys
 celebrity

Zuma

Poor people
 smelly teeth
 They teeth are rotin
 They bath in rivers
 They have no homes
 They sleep in cardboard
 They they the toti
 They cant go to the doctor
 steals the cars and stabbe people

Figure 21: Younger Children's Notes on Rich and Poor From Data Collection Session Two

Rich People

Greedy
 Have Money
 Don't care about family
 mean
 Don't care about school
 selfish
 Hire people to kill
 Kidnap kids
 live in mansions
 have good hearts
 Oprah
 Prince Willem
 nets on Mandela
 Soccer players

Opera
 live in lakes and lodges
 fancy.

Presidents
 singers
 actors
 ministers
 presenters
 ministers
 lady gaga
 Messi
 Whitney Houst
 Justin Gabri
 Soccer Manag

Poor people

dress makers
 people with no clothes
 beggars
 maids
 homemade bookmarks and cards
 street vendors
 rubbish collectors
 car guards
 sell homes
 sell drugs
 nice people
 kind people
 money for drugs
 alcohol addicted
 not stealers

caring for other people
 people who live in shacks
 people who have no parents
 Salvation Army
 Child doing jobs
 people who beg
 sweeping libraries
 wash cars
 do gardens
 rural areas
 farms
 low jobs
 live in huts
 people who live in streets
 people who sleep anywhere
 wash dogs or cats

Figure 22: Older Children's Notes on Rich and Poor From Data Collection Session Two

Appendix 5: Data Transcriptions

Data Collection Session One

Younger Session 1

Drawing activity:

(children giggling)

Child 1: Must we draw on both...one of us first start on one paper?

Researcher (R): Ja.

Child 1: Together?

R: Ja, first start on the one paper and draw what rich people look like and where they might live, then on the other paper what poor people look like and where they might live, ok?

Child 1 (to partner):....you must first start with that one then when you finished do the other one.

Child 2: Oh Ja you can do it like this!

R: Ja, over here draw where rich people look like and where they might live, then where poor ppl live look like and where they might live.

Child 1: Miss, can you, you must make a line?...like a line (gestures down paper) (R: Mmmm).... (to partner) I'll make it.... I'm good at making it (inaudible) ...

R: You can both draw at the same time together, and share the drawing.

Child 3: I'm gonna draw the rich people

Child 1: I'm going to hold the piece of paper and then you start the line, cos look (inadible)

Inaudible chatter

Child 2: yees, the lines down the middle.

Child 1: now you draw this side, I'll draw this side.

Child 2: Poor and poor and rich and rich.

Child 7: We can fold it, and make it half...and measure the middle, easy!

Child 4: I don't have a brain I can't draw.

R: You have a brain and can all draw nicely, just try together.

Child 4: No I can't! (laughs) Uuummmm

(partner laughs)

Child 5: M'am can I have the pen?

Child 1: I'm gonna draw the poor wearing like 'dabukile' (isiZulu word meaning 'torn') pants.
(laughter)

Child 6: She means ripped pants!

Child 1: No I don't! I mean dabukile pants.

(giggling)

Child 6: Ja right, but it means ripped.

Child 1: I know what it means but I just want to say it in the Zulu words Child 2: speaking in isiZulu to partner

(inaudible chatter, mostly in isiZulu)

R: You must talk so this recorder can hear you, k?

Children: Ok... Ok ...Ok

Child 6: speaking in isiZulu.... (children laugh)

Child 5: Hey lets draw each other's things!

Child 6: ok.

Child 2 (points to paper): I'm drawing the... ah... the small house... cos they poor

R: The small house for the poor people?

Child 3: yes

Child 5: After the poor people, I'm gonna draw the big one.

Child: Talk loudly, (other children join) yes talk loudly so that we can hear you with that thing (points to recorder).

(chatter)

Child 6: (louder) I draw the rich people so this house is big (inaudible chatter)... I draw the... (inaudible chatter)

R: Hmmm?

Child 1: Where you get that thing?

R: From the University, they gave it to me to use for today.

Child 1: Oooh.

(inaudible chatter)

Child 1: ok!

Child 7: Miss, miss...

(inaudible chatter)

R: yes?

Child 7: Miss, my mother used to work at the University.

R: Oh thats nice

Child 2: Ay-yiba-diba-dooo

Child 3: Stop being ugly.

Child 2: Its nothing (inaudible)...

(inaudible chatter)

Child 4: rich, poor, rich poor (pointing to two papers)

Child 7: Hey, lets do like money on the floor and jewels and stuff?

Child 8: I'll do money and coins.

Child 6: You are rich, these are rich

Child 7: No I'm not!

Child 6: You are rich, I saw yesterday.

Child 1: Poor people always wear.. sometimes, most of the times their windows are broken. Or their doors are old... they starting to tear off under.

Child 7: Ja.

(inaudible chatter)

Child 7: Ok.. (inaudible whispering) ummmm, I want to start this

R: come on girls, lets start

Child 1: you guys haven't even started drawing anything.... you guys are busy chat chat chatting.

Child 5: What are we gonna do?

Child 6: Can I draw a car Miss? (child 5: laughs..Thats a great idea) Miss? Can we draw a car?

R: You can draw anything you want...(Child 5: Yes!). If you want to draw a car, you can.

Child 1: Are you guys starting with rich people?

Child 6: No we starting with poor people

Child 1: But you just said you want to draw a car

(inaudible)

Child 6: In speaking in isi Zulu to child 1

Child 5 (to child 1): Just leave us alone!

(inaudible)

Child 1: eeee, don't say that.

Child humming

R: your drawings are looking very smart, I can see that you are all working so hard.

Child 8/7: Thank you.

(inaudible whispering).....

Child 4: cool... (inaudible)

R: Then afterwards we going to talk about your drawings as well, and you can tell me about them.

Child 6: yes.

Child 1: there's a lot of these drawings, lots and lots.... Give give give me those, not the big pen the middle size please?

R: The middle size, ok.

(inaudible chatter)

Child 5: ... the grass... draw the grass...

Child 8: Draw the people with cars ok?

Child 7: How?

Child 8: You just... like this (inaudible)

Child 1: you draw big and he draw small...

Child 6: its supposed to be like this (whispering)

Child 8: Over here like this...

Child 1: You don't get it, oh well! That is it.. (laughs)

(inaudible chatter, children drawing)

Child 6: (inaudible)

Child 5: Its fine!

Child 2: sighs

Child 6: what is...begins speaking in isiZulu

Child 6: Go draw the people... the house

Child 5: What?

Child 2: the doors starting to break off at the bottom, at the bottom.

Child 8: Why don't you draw cracks and stuff?

Child 7: Yaa....cracks!

(children whispering)

R: why you whispering?

(Whispering children laugh)

R You don't want the recorder to listen to you?

(children laugh)

Child 1: These boys are shy.

Child 6: Draw like a car

Child 2: We must draw these people together

R: Ja, we must work together

Child 9: Then the second picture...begins speaking in isiZulu.... going to draw this...

R: You must work with your partners together

Child 5: yes.

Child 7: They drawing the people... both with people

R: You both drawing? Which one are you drawing? Rich or poor?

Child 9: Rich people.

R: ...and you drawing?

Child 10: P..Poor peoples.

Child 1: I thought they were both drawing the rich.... and I was like, *what are you doing?!*

(children laugh)

Child 8: Thanks, (child's name).

R: Very nice

Child 4: look at the corners

Children: wooww

R: Ok we have 5 minutes left for drawing (Child 2: for drawing? children: HUUUUHHH), and then we going to sit and talk.

Children: Yes!

Child 1: We going to chat chat.

Child 8: we though it's difficult.

R: you thought it's difficult?

Children: yesss

Child 1: I was like...(sucks in breath)!

R: is it difficult?

Child 1: I was.. I was...excited but also scared.

R: oh dear, but it's not so difficult now?

Child 7: kind of.

R: Kind of? It's a bit difficult to draw?

Child 7: I just sometimes have these problems to... problems of, kind of like, writing and of finding out what to draw. And maybe you draw the wrong things.

R: well here there isn't anything that you can draw that will be wrong because it's whatever you want to draw.

Child 1: I'm going to draw a (inaudible) car.

Child 7: ... the thing with money and with money in her pockets!

Child 2: Nooo, its boring

Child 1: it's not boring, it's just not my type... (inaudible)

Child 7: I'm even gonna draw money coming out their clothes.

Child 1: hey, I'm gonna copy those clothes!

R: which ones?

Children: (pointing to pictures on the wall) those

R: Come on we have less than 5 minutes left.

Child 1: I'm not good at copying things.

Child 2: no, me neither. Out of a book or something.

Child 8: And then I have to trace it

R: I can see you all working very hard with your pictures.

(inaudible chatter)

Child 2: ahhh somethings stinks

Child 1: aww I stink.

Child 3: what do you mean you stink?

Child 1: No really I stink.

(children giggle)

Child 3: Stop it, (child's name).

(inaudible chatter)

Child 1: Oh, no I don't! What smells like that?

Child 4: ... it's the the cokie?

R: Ja, the cokies do smell funny.

Child 9: they smell like, p-petrol.

Child 8: Maybe they made of petrol?

Child 6: Maybe they made of petrol!

Child 1: I like the smell of petrol!

R: You like it?

Child 1: yess

Child 6: Maybe Miss they put petrol first.

(children laugh)

Child 1: they put petrol first then they put the ink

Child 6: Then they take the spray for cokie.. tshhh tshhh...

R: Nearly nearly time, come on guys.

Child 2: ha there's a monkey showdering!

Child 3: Ha! Its raining but its sunny!

R: Oh!

Child 6: the monkeys are getting married if it's raining and sunny

R: Yes it's a monkey's wedding, when it's raining and... (children: and when its sunny)

(Child singing) (child 5 aughs)

(Inaudible chatter)

R: You drew very nicely there, your rich ones. And draw your poor people now this side

Child 10: (sighs) but I'm not good at drawing.

R: you are, you drew very nicely here and I can see you worked hard.

(inaudible chatter)

Child 7: Maybe we must do like a ... a thing?

R: You guys must also draw your poor people as well.

Child 9: We gonna draw them (inaudible)

Child 1:... and with a dress...

R: ok, its nearly time.

Child 4: You drawing the car?

Child 7: Mmm that's a lot of money!

Child 1: rich people have a FANCY car! (children laugh)... a fancy car. Like „Ooh my car is very red, ahh your car is blue“!

Child 6: Maybe the rich house is (inaudible) ahhh...

Child 2: I'll do the rich house and you do the rich things and the car

R: Nearly time, come on...

Child 1: oopsy daisy..... why do I keep saying that?!

Children: what?

Child 1: oopsy daisy... Ah it's a disease, why do I keep saying that! I have so many problems (children laugh)

Child 5: Miss the other one is crazy.

Child 1: yes I am the only one who's crazy at my house, I'm always the one who is jabber jabber jabbering...Oooh I'm just weird, very weird!

Child 7: you remember the once you were only left with the boys? And you were acting like you were crying?

Child 2: You remember when (child's name) was in Mrs.. Class? Why is (child's name) always not here on a Friday then the whole class says its because he doesn't want to do the test, then Mrs said we gonna make him do the tests on Monday and then...

Child 1: Yesss, and then I said „he'll be *very loneelyyyy*! (Children laugh) and that is very *borring*.

Child 7: Now thats funny!

(inaudible chatter)

(children drawing quietly, some shuffling)

Child 8: isn't this supposed to have a balcony?

Child 3: ...they have a double stairs...

R: they always have a double stairs, the rich people?

Children: Mmmmm

Child 1: they always come like, the house with the bottom, and the door and then all the others rooms like (gestures upwards)...

R: oh, at the top...

Child 1: and the window and all the other stuff...

Child 6: Its like a flat

Child 4: what is that?

Child 1: I been trying to build it for years but I just, just end up making... mmm... making something like... weird.

Child 4: You guys are drawing nicely, all of you.

R: Mmmm everyone is

Child 4: Except me!

R: You drawing nicely!

Child 6: and me too, look this house

Child 8: ooh, I was supposed to do a chimney!

Child 7: look at this

R: Ok two minutes left.

Children: haaaaahhh

Child 5: ok ok...

(inaudible chatter)

Child 8: A very thin house, but along one...

Child 1: what am I missing? Oh the sun!

Child 6: You missing the sun?

Child 1: (singing)... Doo da doo da, ay adoo-da-dey....

R: ok one minute left. (children: aaahhhh). it's all right if you don't finish, we jst talking about the pictures so you can also still...

Child 2: You can also still do your imagination.

R: Yes, you can just use your imagination.

Child 1: You say you would've drawn it but there was not enough time. (R: yes)

Child 10: Finished Miss, I'm done.

R: Well done! Ok nearly nearly nearly finished!... 5...4...3....2....1.....ok lets go sit down now. Take these and bring your pictures, lets go sit down..... (inaudible children speaking)... No you can leave the cookies there.

Focus group:

R: Ok! Now we are going to talk about your pictures, and I'm going to ask you some questions and I want you to talk, and you can use your pictures to tell me about the questions. So if I ask you a question, you can say „I drew this and this, and this looks like this..”. Remember I want you to talk loud enough so that we can hear you ok?

Children: Yes...

R: Ok, can you guys tell me... what does it mean to be rich? Yes?

Child 1: Its when you have a lot of money and you can afford a loooottt of things.

R: A lot of things?

Children: hmmm.

Child 6: Hmmm like nice things, like chocolate and stuff...

Child 7: You can buy anything you want.

R: You can buy anything you want?

Child 6: Yes!

Child 7:.... like...

Child 1: ...A house in one month!

Child 6: ... and two cars in one day!

Child 7: ...then you can spend a lot of money and can do whatever you want.

Child 2: Oh yes! And pay all your school fees for the whole 7 years!

Child 6: ... and have 5 garages!

R: and have 5 garages?

Child 6: Ja, in one day!

Child 8: and a big house!

Child 6: it's unbelievable, Miss.

Child 7: And a big house!

R: and a big house?

Child 4: yes, a big house... and ...

Child 3: and they gonna, and they gonna... and the boys are gonna be surrounded by girls... Ooooh!..

(Many children talking)

R: We must talk one at a time please k?

Children: yes, Miss.

R: (child's name) was saying...

Child 5: When I watched Cribs...Miss this one guys had like 15 motorbikes, and 25 cars... on Cribs...

R: Yes on Cribs they have lots of stuff..

Child 6: On Cribs they have a nice bedrooms and...

Child 7: Miss, I don't know why the rich person house... and the poor person, and I was thinking maybe if a rich person can give the poor person money.

R: Mmmm, ja, maybe the rich person can give the poor person some money?

Children: mmm yes

Child 6: They have the big things, the big Jacuzzi, mm the water is so hot and so nice! They swimming in the water! Mm!

(children laugh)

Child 3: And the swimming pool, sometimes the boys are rich and they are, the boys are always surrounded by girls.

R: oh.. (Children: ahhhhh, giggle)

Child 8: Oh come on now!

Child 6: They... (children chattering)... Miss, they have the Mini Cooper (R: a Mini Cooper?)... Mmm a Mini Cooper!

Child 2: And they have like the car with no roof!

R: they have the...?

Child 2: they have the car with no roof, and they keep driving the car with no roof (R: ohhh yes the car with no roof)...

Child 3: ...and they like keep driving the girls around, and they can drive... (inaudible, many children talking)

(inaudible, many children talking at the same time)

Child 5: ... and they go to the club, and dancing (imitates a little dance)... (children laugh)...

R: And what does it mean to be poor?... yes?

Child 7: It means that you haven't... it means that you don't have like, money and...stuff...(children whisper: and cars)... and then you... ah... and then you just have to like not live in a house...

Child 5: ... and its small...

Child 1: ...like a shack...

Child 7: ...or like a shed or something...

R: Like a shed?

Child 10: (inaudible)... and those that didn't have money...

R: Talk a little louder, I can't hear...

Child 10: poor people don't have....

Other children: ...they don't have money and stuff.

R: They don't have money?

Child 5: And these people... (children chatter together, inaudible)

Child 2: ... and they don't have lots of things, and sometimes they sleep with just eating, um, bread and soup. And they wake up and don't have breakfast and sometimes their showers are broken and they can't afford to fix them... and they, and their shoes are very old, they already open here (points to front of shoe) but they can't...

Child 7: ...they already cracked and thin...

Child 2: they can't afford anymore, but they beds have holes under them...and they

Child 7: They don't have beds!

Child 8: and they tear their clothes, and then they have to wear rags.

R: They have to wear rags?

Child 2: ... and they....

Child 8: Or because they don't have homes, and they don't have pools and they don't have... (inaudible)... they don't have clothes, yes they have clothes but they, they come to be old and they still wearing them. And every time when me and my father drive past and then we see people begging for money and then I tell my father to give them.

R: Mmmm

Child 1: L.. Oh!...

Child 6: And their houses is made of mud!

R: Their houses are made of mud?

Children: hmmm, yes

Child 7: They huts!

Child 4: (inaudible)

R: Oh, they are broken when its raining...?

Child 6: and then they come to rich people's houses and ask for food...

Child 7: And then they beg for money, and then they ask for food and stuff.

Child 1: And sometimes by my house there is a, there is some poor people that doesn't have a house... thats always wearing the same old clothes and most people just run away from him. And then my mother gives him... and then and then... and then he asked his for R2 from my mother, and my mother said she doesn't have R2 and then she gives him R20.

R: Ah, that was very kind of your mother. Why do think everyone runs away from him?

Child 1: Its because they think, they think that his clothes is very torn and he... and he smells because he doesn't have a bath time... and he cant bath... and all the people run away from him. And there's a store by my house, and then the poor man goes and buys there...and then he gets food and next year my mom gives him R10 or some other money... or R20 or sometimes maybe R2 when she doesn't have a lot of money. And then when he, and when she has a lot of money she gives him R20 or something...

(inaudible chatter)

R: And what does everyone else think?

Child 1 (to peer): You haven't talked once! You like being quiet.

R: Shhh (child's name) is talking...

Child 5: My dad's when he drives past and then we saw this man with like... with no money and stuff and he was like shivering to death, so me and my dad gave him a jersey and blanket.

R: That was very kind.... And can you describe rich people to me? Who are the rich people?

(whispering)

Child 9: The rich people would like have big houses... (inaudible, children chattering)... like mansions and stuff, and big cars... like a Lamborghini... umm... and stuff.

R: Yes?

Child 2: Rich people have big beautiful houses, and swimming pools... (R: mmm... big beautiful houses...)

Child 6: MM and big guard dogs! (children laugh) You just run away when you see them...and...mmm...

R: They have big guard dogs?

Children: mmm yes..

Child 1: and they have teeth...

Child 8: Some dogs have those cheeks (gestures to cheeks hanging)... (children: mmm, Ja! Those cheeks! With the eyes like that!)

R: Oh the dogs with the cheeks like that (gestures)?

Children: mmmm, yes!

Child 5: The bulldogs...

Child 8: Oh those dogs are nice, and funny... Their ears are hanging down...(gestures to drooping ears)

Child 7: I like those puppies!

(Inaudible chatter)

R: ...and the rich people have small dogs?

Child 3: Mmm, like puppies (gestures to a small size with hands)... (Children laugh)

Child 1: and they also went to the poor people, and the poor people go and ask for food or money, they say „Heeey, get your own food and money!’...Then they shut the door and then they go to the next rich person and the rich person says no... and then when they go to someone whose not rich and not poor... whose someone whose just medium, gives them food and.... my mother gave, my mother gave somebody food who didn't have a house or food, gave them a *whole* loaf of brown bread! Gave him some soup...

R: you said that the rich people don't like giving him money, but they people in the middle will give money... What does everyone else think?...Yes?

Child 7: well, sometimes... the once when we were... when we saw one person...he was like a a asking on the roads, and then he was looking at another person and then he asked for money and then the one person said „no get your own money’.... Then he said „dont come here ever again to my car’.

R: Ha!

Child 3: ... (inaudible)... but like, these things... because very day they dig in the dustbins...

R: They digging in the dustbins...?

Child 3: ... yes, and then then take the stick and eat it because they don't have spoons and their hands are dirty... and the sticks are the only things they can eat with..... (children: mmm) they don't have spoons... sometimes they don't have shoes.

Children: Ja... ja..

Child 1: sometimes they don't have underpants! (children laugh)

R: And what are the rich people like?

Child 7: They like mean and nasty...and stuff and say like lots of ugly things to poor people...

Child 8: Rich people like to feel big cos they have lots of money and don't like to waste their money to give poor people... (R: Mmmm)

(Inaudible chatter, many children talking)

Child 3: ... and all the rich people are nasty...

Child 5: ... some of them...

R: some of them...?

Child 1: Are those things still on Miss (points to recorders)?

R: Yes, they are on... (Child: Miss... miss...)

Child 8: Those things are nice, miss!

R: Who else had their hand up?

Child 9: One day... my uncle... dey, dey gave another boy R100. He asking for R2 then he say he doesn't have change and he gives him R100.

R: That was very kind.

Child 4: Sometimes rich people want to play Lotto so they can get more money and get jackpot... then sometimes there are, they sells their house and then they go buy them... and when they change comes they can use it for the poor people...

R: Mmmm, and when you think about your pictures, can you tell me what rich people are like from your pictures?

Child 2: Rich people have fancy cars (R: fancy cars...), and very nice dresses ... and a very big pool, Jacuzzi...

Child 7: Our picture, our picture has this girl whose...

Child 5: ...a big house this this...

R: Wait, yes girls?

Child 7: In my picture, I drew a girl that has R1 Million...

R: wow, I see she has money in her hands in your picture...

Child 7: yes.

Child 8: I got one girl that's got R1 million as well.

R: I see she also has money in her hands as well...

Child 2: ...10 billion..

R: ooh 10 billion!

Child 1: My granny got 6000 in the Lotto and then she gives some half of the money to the poor people, and then the other half she buys the food... the ... pay the school fees for us.

R: wow... yes?

Child 6: And my dad buy the poor people breakfast... fried eggs... bacon, viennas... and.... bacon (other children: and toast?)...

Child 5: My mom, when she saw a ... (inaudible) which was the a a (inaudible) she just went and checked the bank and the house was R820 000.

Child 7: ummm if we didn't finish our pictures can we draw them just now?

R: yes... And can you describe poor people to me, what are poor people like?

Child 7: ummm, poor people... umm they like, they have like old houses and there are like scratches at the bottom of the house, and the windows are broken. And then they have no cars or, and then if they wanna go somewhere they have to walk.

Child 1: And sometimes when it rains, they, they... they have their windows are broken and they are getting cold...and wet... and then if they want to go outside to get their clothes off the washing line, they take their umbrellas but their umbrellas are also broken so they... the rain also touches them, so they get cold. And then they cant afford to go to the doctor because they don't have enough money.

R: mmmm... you had your hand up?

Child 10: they like to ask money.

R: they like to ask for money?

Child 5: and you see when their houses get full of water, they gotta ask some friends please may I sleep here for the night... (inaudible)

R: Oh, cos their houses got washed away?

Child 9: ... (inaudible) ... and by my house some poor people are crazy, when I was walking by my house I saw poor people, and he was like "come!"

R: some poor people are crazy?

Child 7: some poor people, when people have a lots of money, they keeps going to them when they sees them everyday... then they keeps going to ask some money and they give it.

Child 4: Because my uncle just died, there was a.. there was a.. when I was at my uncles house, I I.. I saw the...eh... eh... eh... a boy and a girl, and the boy was kept hurting the girl and stabbing her in the same place, and then the dogs came and helped the girl... and then the girl tried to punch the boy and fall down... then the boy fall down, then the boy woke up again... and stabbed her... kept stabbing her and kept stabbing her and stabbing her (R: oh dear; children: Ooooh)... and then they kept hurting her and punching her in the face, and then the girl have purple eyes... and then the dogs *RRRIPPED* his pants off, and then the boy ran away.... Then the girl followed him.... I don't know if they were drunk they were walking like that...

R: oh dear!...yes?

Child 5: Miss the girls.. my granny gave some hundred thousand rands ...to the street kids for some school fees.

Child 7: When I go... when I go with the combi... when we drive up the road we see people with like some powder on their face...

Other children: Yesss (gesturing to face)

Child 8: ... and they want money.

R: the children begging in the street for money with the powder on their faces?

Children: yess

Child 5: At the robot there...

Child 3: And when we like... and some people come... they take a card board and then they write there ,please can I have some food'...

R: On the cardboard? Then they write ,please help us'?

Child 7: The once my mother saw...ah... house that... um ...that they were selling... but then she couldn't afford it and then she was poor.

Child 4: And some of the mothers they give birth to...to the... to the babies that are crippled and then, and then their mother abandons them... and then the mother doesn't love them... and then the mother abandons the babies...

R: The mother abandons the babies?

Child 4: Yes, because the babies are crippled and is ugly... and the mother doesn't want to feel embarrassed because of the other kids laugh at the baby, and they abandon their babies and put their babies behind the table (?)... and then some sad people they find the babies and they take care of it and give it some food and bath it every day, and get some fat... and I got a... there was a competition here at school about „feed the babies fund“, they said R30 can feed the baby for a whole... for one whole month... and then I donated R50 and then I got a certificate. And my sister donated R100 and she also got a certificate.

(Inaudible chatter)

Child 7: I also donated...

R: That's very nice... Yes?

Child 5: mm...

Child 2: Sometimes when people are rich they give their family dies.. and then they, they began to be street animals and street kids...

R: Oh, when their family dies, then they become street kids?

Child 2: yes.

Child 8: Once when my father... he called his brother and said that the... they said that the.. the baby died and then the next day it was his birthday and they... he had to bury his child...he already died.

Child7: My cousin he had a baby brother and all the time when I go to their house the brother of him... the brother of the small baby boy he always... the big brother makes the small brother cry...

R: mm, ok and can you tell me... who are the poor people?

Child 8: mm, like um street kids.

R: Street kids?

Child 5: yes.

Child 1: People that don't have a house and water and food and they... (inaudible)

R: mmm...

Child 7: They live, like, they live like in... in different places... like when we travelled the one time, we was going somewhere and then I saw huts, and then I saw their were poor people living there.

R: Oh, the poor people were living in the huts, somewhere else?

Child 1: ...and they also have grass roof and then when it rains the roof gets wet and then all the grass melts down into the house and then they can't move it and get out of the house... and they keep calling out „help! help!“ and then the people they can hear them but they don't know where its coming from and then they see that the rain is going into the huts... and then they know that people are living in there. And then they go and help them and move the grass.

R: Is that why you drew so much rain in your pictures for the poor people? It's raining lots by the poor people?

Child 1: Yes.

R: And what there on your picture... I see the poor people are crying?

Child 1: Yes, its because they don't have a bin inside, they have to go outside when its rainy... and their clothes are torn and their... and they get cold when the rain touches them.

R: mmm, oh ok... who, who else are the poor people?

Child 10: (inaudible)... they sleep.... town...

R: They sleep in town, and they don't have a house?... mmm...

Child 10: ... street adults....

R: ... I can't hear...

Child 10:the street adults.

R: the street adults? ...ja...

Child 8: And some people... ah... the once I saw a poor person, they were sleeping on a cardboard and then he was sleeping on something, I don't know what it was... and then he had like a thing over him, and then he was sleeping on the floor on the roads...

R:... mmm just on the floor on the road..... Mmm and can you tell me, how are rich people *different* from poor people?.....yes?

Child 9: You give them money.

R: you give them money?

Child 9: yes.

R: mmm...Think carefully... how are rich people *different* from poor people?

(some shuffling and a few seconds of silence)

Child 5: If I... If I think, if you think, they think they liking something... they don't care about anything...

R: Rich people don't care about anything? They just buy?

Child 5: yes...

Child 3: Sometimes rich, when they... when they see poor people, they sees them... and then they have fancy cars which means they still have a lot of money, then they keep going to them and asks them for money... sometimes when they park their cars and they standing there then until the person comes back from buying, they keep saying the car must come back... then they give them money... and make them stand there...

Child 8: ... car guards!

Child 3: ... yes... (R: car gaurds?)... and sometimes they save money to buy houses or to make houses...

Child 1: ...ja and to buy food...

R:... yes?....

Child 7: Poor people are different to rich people because rich people have money and poor people don't.

R: mmm...

Child 7: And then some... and then sometimes whenever rich people have lots of money, they just throw it in the air like it is raining money.

R: Oh... (children laugh)

Child 1: And sometimes the rich people, the rich people... give the poor people money... and sometimes they don't.

R: ...Sometimes they don't?

Child 5: Sometimes Miss... they go to the store and then they buy, and when the change comes back... they say ,keep it'....

R: they say keep the change?

Child 5: ja cos they rich...

Child 2:... instead of giving the people who are poor...

R:... mmm... and how are rich people *the same* as poor people?

Child 7: Sometimes they... when a rich person goes to the shop then they buys like *lots and lots and lots*...of stuff, and then they say ‚ah i’ve got lots of money’ ... and then when he looks in his wallet there’s nothing there...

R: There’s nothing there... sometimes rich people also look in their wallets and there is no money...

Child 1: Sometimes, sometimes rich people when they go to the shops and then they come back with lots of stuff... and then there is some money left and then they go... and then when they go to their cars to put... um... to put... the... the food, they see that... the poor people see that they, that that person has lots of money, they rich... very rich... so they always ask them for money.

R: mm... what does everyone else think, how are poor people and rich people the same?

Child 2: Sometimes the rich people don’t have money, sometimes the poor people do have money... they keep changing things...

R: mmm... they changing...so they don’t always have no money or lots of money?

Child 1: yes... and my, my cousin’s mother her car got stuck in the mud and the mud was the sinking mud, and the car kept sinking... and then she called for help, she was going with my cousin... she called for help and then some poor boys came and helped her take the car out, and then she paid them R20 to help her..

Child 6: there was a father next door, he had money and then when the poor people came they talking the money... they ask for money and then he said he doesn’t... he just say ‚go away’ and he didn’t have money... then the poor people were going like... (gestures as though pointing and laughing)...

R: mmm, hey were laughing at him?

Child 6: mm, like ‚ohh you were laughing at me you didn’t see, you don’t have money’!

R: oh, they were laughing cos the rich people didn’t have money anymore?

Child 6: yes...

Child 3: sometimes, sometimes, the people who are living in flats, living in flats... they have small money, but then they live in their poor houses, but they began to be rich.... some people they go from poor to rich, and then rich to poor again, and then back up to rich...

R: ohh, yes...

Child 8: Me and my mother stay in the flats.

Child 8: Close by there...

R: oh, that’s nice, you live close by...

Child 5: in *Acacia*!

(Child 8 glares at child 5)

Child 5: I saw you, you live in *Acacia*!

Child 8: my mother... my mother...

Child 5: What she say?

Child 7: She said that um she....

Child 8: ... my mother said that my father should get a work because... um he quit his...um ... they told him he must come out his other work, and then they hire a new person... then umm... so now my father ahs to find like another work, another job...

R: mmm, ... and how come we have rich people and poor people?

Child 7: Cos some people work and some people don't... and then at the end of the month they get paid... um and some people just have a lot and a lot of money...

Child 5: And when they take... in December they get their increase.

Child 2: Sometimes when people are rich then when they have jobs then... when , when... when um... they keep getting upset when... the day that they go to work, then they go to their boss' office and then find out that they fired. And then they goes, packs their things and then he's wanting some more, more more money... then he goes to a new job.

R: mmm... And why are some people poor while other people are rich?

Child 1: because sometimes the poor people that go ask for money, and then they get it and then the rich people just think for themselves and buy everything for themselves, and then they are running out of money... and then they become poor again.

Child 8: well, we have rich people... when we have poor people its because when the people... when the people that were rich, they became poor and then when some poor people were born, they were poor because their mothers were poor...

Child 2:... when they were little...

Child 6: sometimes, like, street kids....street people.... they are dangerous...

R: ... sometimes street kids are dangerous?...

Child 6: yes... cos sometimes they ask for money...

(Inaudible, noise from plane flying over)

Child 7: my mommy told me sometimes you mustn't give money to those... to those kids on the road because they just want to buy glue, so they.. so then they can drink it, and then they can die. And then they, they can get sick in their stomachs...

R: ...mmmm...

Child 3: .. and sometimes they also buy cigarettes instead of food, and then they smoke and smoke, and then they keep going and keep going to buy things that are... just food... and after that they are put poison in the food and then they... people buy it from them and then they also get poison and then they die...

Child 10: Sometimes the st-street kids go to... go to... rich people's houses and then they ask for bread and a knife...then they say they going to... they going to cut the bread, but they run away with the knife... and then they go and kill the people...

R: they go and kill the people?

Child 2: Sometimes, when , when... the street kids or street adults say ,come take money' or ,come take sweets', then... then people... that person goes there and takes nothing... then the street people... the street kid or the street adult... keep pulling that person... keep pulling that person, until the house, then... then... they keep them there if they does have money, and if he doesn't then they kill him, that person.

R: mmm, they want to steal from them...

Child 5: Miss... they take him and they buy a sucker and then if there's a baby they take the sucker and say ,come here take it, I know you want it', then when the bay come then they put them in the car, and they run away...

R: oh, they steal the baby?

Child 8: ... Miss, rich people are spiteful because when they wanna give money they go like this... (Gestures to give money)... then when the poor person comes they say ,thank you for giving me money'... then when the poor person wants to take the money they pull it away...

Child 7: Yes cos sometimes rich people, they go like this ,take money'... and then they go like this (Gestures to pull hand away), and then they take the money and don't want to give it.

Child 1: Cos sometimes... the... the poor people bribe the rich people and the they say... the bribe because they say ,come, if you give me R100 I'll give you a sucker, but the poor people put drugs in the sucker'... (R: Oh dear, they

put drugs in the sucker?...) and then the baby takes it and sucks it and then sometimes it goes in his stomach and then the baby gets very sick.. very ill and then the baby dies.

R: ...Ok I want to ask you all about your pictures. Now each pair I want you to tell me about your pictures. Tell me about the rich people.... (Children raising their hands) Ok let's start with you guys... tell me about your rich people and your poor people.

Child 2: No, she's partner with... she's partner with him, not with me.

R: Oh you are her partner? (Child 2: yes, I'm with). Ok, you two tell me about your pictures. Show everyone, and then tell us about it.

Child 3:...ummm... it's about these rich people, they have lots of cars and house.... with 8 rooms (R: 8 rooms? That's a big house!)yes....

R: and poor people... oh he's got the poor people, ok you tell me about the poor people...

Child 10: ...ummm there not enough... (inaudible) and there not enough money.... and the house... the windows are broken... (R:... and the windows are broken?...)

R: Thank you. And why don't you guys tell me about your rich and poor people?..... you were with me, ok....

Child 9: (inaudible)...

R: Talk a bit louder please....

Child 9: The rich people is... ah... live in a big... ah the mansion, and they got lots of cars and they... they... (inaudible)...

R: ...mmm and they have a very big house there...and can you tell me about the poor people?

Child 9: They have the cracked windows and cracked doors....

R: cracked windows and cracked doors? ...And (child's name) can you tell me about your pictures? You and your partner.

Child 5: My picture is about the rich people... he's like skating... cos he doesn't want to give people the other money cos he doesn't want other people to come and to...to... (inaudible)...

R: mmmm cos he's got a skateboard...and then you tell me about the poor people...

Child 7: He got...(inaudible) Miss.

R: mmm?

Child 7: They both drew rich people!

R: It's all right...

Child 6: I was supposed to draw rich, and this one was supposed to draw poor...

R: It's all right. Oh you drew such a smart house there!

Child 6: It's like a bank (inaudible)...

R: It's like a bank?

Child 8:... or like the president's house! (Children laugh)

R: ... Mmmm like the president's house. Rich people have a house like a bank?... (Children: ja...). It looks like the parliament building... where the president stays?

Child 1: The president of the United States! Da dad a daaaa! (Children laugh)

R: ok... can you girls tell me about your rich and poor?

Child 1: The poor people, they sometimes have grass roofs and then when it rains or very cold the wind goes inside....cos the windows are cracked and those unders are cracked and when it rains, and there's water puddles... the

water goes under the door because the door is cracked at the bottom... then the water is increasing and increasing... then sometimes they have to hold their breaths and sometimes they gonna die because they can't hold their breath any longer...

R: ...ok... and can you tell me about the rich people?

Child 2: Rich people have fancy cars and fancy dresses... and they have fancy houses... nice...lots of rooms... 8 rooms....

(children: woowwww)

R: Ok, and can you tell me about your rich and poor?

Child 7: Well, um... my rich and my poor... my girl she was living in this house with 10 rooms... and then she gave a poor person just like R10 or 20 or 100... she couldn't give everything because she was all selfish for herself..

Child 8:... she only wanted the money for herself...over here I drew a lady that she won money. And then over here the lady was... she went to go ...(inaudible)... and she went to grow a garden of fruit, and I wanted to draw fruit here. Then she picks the fruit at her house and gives to other people.

R: Ok, guys, this has been lots of fun. We have nearly run out of time so we need to end soon. Let me put this thing off.

Data Collection Session One

Older Session 1

Drawing activity:

Child 1: Can we start ma'm?

Researcher: Ja, you can start... Oh, just in the corner of the paper write your names, grade and how old you are please, k?

Child 2: Must we put both names?

R: Yes please. Both names.

Child 1: Both names, and surnames?

R: ... Just your name is fine, and how old you are and your grade.

(Inaudible whispering and shuffling)

(Children whispering in isiZulu)

(Giggling)

Child 3: I'll do the poor people... no you do the poor people... (Speaks in isiZulu)...

Child 1: Ok, ok... so you draw poor people and I'll do rich people... what you want to draw?

Child 4: I don't know...

Child 1: ...ok...ok...try... tell me... (speaks in isiZulu)...

Child 5: Ok I'll do rich people...

Child 3: No I'm doing rich!... eish eish eish...

Child 5: Cos I dunno what to draw for poor...

Child 6: Miss Megan, can we use the whole paper?

R: Yes, the whole paper.

(Inaudible whispering, children drawing quietly)

R: Are you all shy of the recorder?

Children: Nooo...

Child 3: ... the drawing!

R: Hey? The drawing?

Children: yes.

R: Nobody will judge you on your drawings. Just try your best.

Child 7: Me, miss, I am good at drawing people.

R: You are good at drawing people?

Child 7: Good at drawing *poor* people.

R: Oh, good at drawing poor people.

(Children drawing quietly)

Child 1: ...nice garage! (Child 4 laughs)

R: Ok, we must try draw quite fast because we don't have so much time left. Because the little ones took a bit long.

(Inaudible whispering, children drawing quietly for some time)

(Mostly quiet, with some whispering)

Child 1: ...(speaks in isiZulu)... lambourghini....

R: A lambourghini? (Children laugh)

(Some whispering, children mostly drawing quietly)

R: ...that's a good poor person... all the ripped clothes...

(Children drawing quietly, some shuffling)

(Coughing)

R: Are you sick (child's name)?

Child 8: Yes miss, I have a bad cough.

R: Oh dear... in winter everyone is getting sick hey.

Child 9: Except for me Ma'm.

R: except for you? You healthy.

Child 9: Yes.

Child 8: I'm drawing the rich.

R: That's very good, well done.

Child 8: I asked (child's name) to help me with the car cos I can't draw the car.

R: You struggle with the car? Cars are quite hard to draw.

(Children drawing quietly)

R: Ok guys 5 minutes left.

(Children drawing quietly, some shuffling)

R: Is school closing tomorrow for holidays? (Children: yes)...

Child 9: For 3 weeks!

R: Oh that's lucky hey!

Child 7: But I wish they could make it 4 weeks!

R: You wish they could make it 4 weeks? Mmm ja that would be lovely! Last year with the world cup it was a nice long holiday, then this year we have a short holiday again.

Children: Yes...

(Children drawing quietly)

R: Ok 2 minutes guys...it's fine if you don't get to finish, you can jst say you wanted to add this.

Children: Oh...

Child 7: ...(inaudible)... your woman, with the nice dress... (speaking in isisZulu)...

(Inaudible whispering, children mostly quiet)

R: ok... guys lets finish up... and go sit back in the circle with your pictures.

(Shuffling and children chattering quietly)

R: ok... let's sit....

Focus group:

R: Ok, so now I am going to ask you some questions about rich and poor people and I want you to chat about it. Whatever comes to your mind when I ask these questions, let's talk about. You can use your pictures as well. At the end I will ask you a bit about your pictures. For now, let's put them on the floor in front of you, so they don't make a noise. But you can... if you want to use your pictures in explaining what you are saying, you welcome to say 'in my picture I drew this...' or anything like that. So let's just get started... what does it mean to be rich? What do you guys think?

Child 8: I think it means to be rich that you can have anything you want, like because the poor people can't have all the nice things, but the rich people can have the nice things.

R: mm, so its having whatever you want...

Child 8: Like a three storey house, like I drew in my picture.

R: mm, yes. Who else had their hand up?

Child 10: I think...(inaudible)

R: Talk a little bit louder please...

Child 10: I think, um, being rich means that you are wealthy, other than the other people. And that you can also get a better job if you succeed, and then the... the poor people can't get everything that they want. And some of them can run out of food, and you can eat anything you want.

R: So you can eat anything you want... get anything you want...

Child 10: yes...

R: mmm... yes (child's name)?

Child 9: Um, you can like have lots of cars... and a job. But the poor people they can't ahve any jobs and have to sit on the road and beg for money.

R: Mm... What do the rest of you think? What does it mean to be rich?

Child 2: Um... I think it means that you have... um, you have a better job and then you get more money... And a poor person don't have that much money and don't have like... ah... like clothes, new clothes...they have torn clothes.

R: Mm Mm... yes?

Child 7: Ma'm I think rich people when they were still young they learn very hard and poor people didn't care about learning, so when they grew up they didn't know what to do... poor people, because they didn't know language stuff that... and didn't learn maths stuff... and they needed to find a good job that has all those things. So they couldn't find it and the rich people did because they learnt very very hard when they were still young.

R: Mm, so it's learning hard? (child 7: yes.)... Did you have your hand up?

Child 8: And when you rich it means that... you past the needing and you, you go to the want because you have the money to buy.

R: Mm, that's a very clever thing you said there... its past the *need* and going into the *want*... You can just have whatever you want?.... I saw a hand? Who had their hand up?

Child 2: I had my hand up.... (R: yes?) I was going to say the same thing as (child's name).

R: Mm, the same thing as (child's name)... and what does it mean to be poor?

Child 1: You have no money... can't do like... can't have education....

R: ...you can't have education?

Child 1: And you can't get the better things in life.

Child 6: Because when... maybe when your parents don't work, and then maybe you can also die of malnutrition. Yes because they also can't find jobs because... um being poor is not achieving everything that you wanted and then... you not gonna, you not gonna have a very bright future for yourself.

R: mm... (child's name)?

Child 8: and you can't get new clothes, they will be torn... and you have to dig in the dustbins for leftover food and... you sometimes have to shelter... under trees and sleep on the pavement.

R: mm... (child's name)?

Child 9: Poor people, they... they have to um bath in the rivers and take a bucket of water every day.

R: Mm, they have to get water from the rivers...

Child 5: And they have to build houses like... rich people.... (inaudible)....

R: ... and they don't have good jobs?..

Child 5: mm.

Child 8: And the rich people can also land up to be poor because maybe a child can run away from home maybe because of their parents... or something happens and then they can run away... and then they land up in the road and not knowing what to do.

R: mmm..... and can you tell me, can you describe rich people... who are the rich people? And what are they like?

Child 8: Rich people are... are greedy they just want more money, while poor people are... they can't be greedy, they just have to try and make money by begging.

R: mm... yes?

Child 7: Miss, I think poor or rich, maybe like medium size... it will be better, or fine that being rich because rich, you be greedy and poor you be nice. And maybe in medium size you nice and *little bit* greedy... so I think it will be better if you medium size.

Child 5: Some people don't know what to do with their money. Like I heard... when I was watching Oprah, they just use drugs... the rich people because they don't know what to do with their money.

R: mmm.... I saw another hand?

Child 8: Rich people can own lo... lounges where they can hire musicians and they can go away for a year... overseas... they can go to Spars nearly everyday... they can have huge birthday parties where they will have a big big cake... and they can have, hire people to make a fake cake where people sit in... where it will be cardboard then the icing outside, then people will hide in it and then jump out.

R: mmm, I know what you talking about...

Child 9: The poor people, the rich people can have the tvs and nice baths every night... where the poor people they, don't do anything and they have to bath in the cold river.

Child 7: Ma'm, rich people usually *show* that they are rich. And poor people, they try to hide that they are poor... and they try to show that they are ok, they are fine. Like maybe if you need to pay... need really to pay, like maybe if you have children and you take them to a school... and you want to take them to a better school... and then the people that are in the office, they see that you cant pay for that so they try their best to show it. And usually the poor people, are usually the people that pay the money from the office, the school fees... but the rich people they usually don't want to pay because they just are greedy.

R: Mm ja... what do the rest of you think?

.....

R: ... who are the rich people?

Child 3: The people with the, with the ... cars and the nice clothes... and the..

Child 8: The princes.... all the families that are royal are rich because they doing that and... I saw on tv that the prince of Monocco is going to marry on the 2nd of July... and they showing it at 3:30.

Child 5: And the rich people are sometimes rich just because they are famous, sometimes they don't work... they just sing on stage and just get money for that.

Child 4: The rich people are the president, the ministers... the MECs... and the ones who are also working in the government.

Child 7: Some of the rich people get rich in a bad way... like maybe stealing cars and selling drugs... um... stealing things from shops... and they get rich like that.

Child 2: Um... rich people... are mostly just like actors and singers and stuff.

R: ... mmm... and describe poor people... who are the poor people?

Child 10: The poor people are the people who try do best for their family... like if your parents died and you off on your own and you have little brothers and sisters, you try the best to ... have food on the table for them because they do go hungry...

R: mmm..... yes?

Child 8: Sometimes the poor people have to steal food to just be...to get... to have the food on the table, and have to beg for food... and then once my mother told me about her brother that didn't want to give person money, they were saying they were poor and then he said that he's probably hiding food somewhere and then... her sister's husband saw that same person taking food out of a bag, and he had more bags of it in the gutter... so that person, wasn't poor... wasn't really poor and they were lying.

R: mmm they were lying...

Child 1: And poor doesn't always mean that you living on the streets, it also means that when you have no ways of life. Like when you live in a little house, without water running out your tap... and you just do lots of jobs to just get enough money. Like being a security guard or a car guard...

R: Mmm, so you don't have to live on the streets? (Children: yes...)

Child 7: Ma'm some other poor people didn't get poor because they didn't learn when they were still children. It's just that maybe they like learned and were really clever, but they just didn't show that they were clever and they didn't get good jobs.

Child 8: people who look after cars in the parking lot, they sometimes they only get small tips and they get paid small... while people who are security guards will get more than the car guards... and people who are police will get *much* more.

R: Mm...

Child 1: And the poor people who is car guards on the streets, and they look after cars... when the rich people come they will pay them small money because they greedy of the money.

Child 6: Poor people are also the people who sell things on the streets.

R: Mm they sell food on the streets?... And what are poor people like?

Child 8: They are much kinder than rich people. And they will try to help you in all the ways they can, even though they will have to suffer, they will try and help you... while rich people if you fell... poor people will come run and help you, while rich people will just say ‚its none of my business’.

R: mmm... yes?

Child 7: And miss, usually the poor people go to church but rich people don't have time to even think about church!

Child 2: And poor people are all happier, and rich people aren't that happy.

R: Poor people are happier? ... why do you think that is?

Child 8: Because people who are poor, they will try and help you and people who are rich will not... the people who see that the poor people are really trying to help you they will try help you.

Child 9: poor people will help people because they can see like, that you are needing help, but the rich people see that they got the money and they got whatever... and then they can see that they just say that they only care about themselves.

R: They only care about themselves.... yes?

Child 3: Also rich people are different from poor people because they may also be bragging that... that the poor people doesn't have a house and then they don't have parents, and then the rich people um.. have everything that they want.

Child 5: Miss can I go to the toilet? (R: yes).

Child 7: Miss, I think rich people don't have true friends because they only have friends that want money from them, and poor people have true friends.

R: mmm... they have true friends...

Child 8: Some rich people, they... they will give money to charity and then set up shelters for the poor, because some rich people might have been poor and then they suddenly got rich by like winning the Lotto, and then they will try and help the other poor people... so that they wont have to be poor anymore. Maybe they would give them R1 000 for food every month, and they would pay for their children's school fees... and they would try and be nice to them because... and then they would tell... because they were once poor as well. And they will try that to rich people as well.

R: mm....And, how are rich people different from poor people?

Child 8: They... won't want to help people, but the poor people want to help people.

R: ...rich people don't want to help, but poor people do...

Child 2: Rich people have money, and poor people don't.

R: Ja, rich people have money and poor people don't...

Child 7: And you can see poor people from miles away and you can see rich people.

R: mm, how can you see them from miles away?

Child 7: (laughs) Like, poor people sometimes they have clothes that you gave waya to your sister long time ago, and they still... they try their best to make it fit on them cos they don't have more clothes. And then rich people have sooo much clothes that sometimes they juts change every single... like change 3 times a day!

Child 3: Um, and I'm not saying this in a bad way, but you can also see poor people because they stink... and that's why they don't have water. And rich people um smell very nice from perfumes.

R: mmm..... you had your hand up...

Child 2: Miss I was about to say the same thing.

Child 5: And miss, the...when the poor have money they go spend it on beer and all that stuff, nut the rich people they go and take their money and waste it on other stuff...

Child 8: The poor people, well... they go to every house and try to ask for clothes. And the rich people wouldn't. And the rich people who are nice would sometimes try and go to every house to ask for clothing and food and everything for charity.

Child 1: Sometimes when the poor people go ask for the rich people, they never give them... they jst say 'oh we don't have money' but they lying.

R: mmm, but they do actually?..... Did anyone else have their hand up?..... And how are rich people the *same* as poor people?

Child 7: Miss, I think rich people are the same as poor people because both of them, they are made from God and not like... one made from God and the other made from the devil.

R: mm?

Child 2: I was going to say the same thing.

Child 8:... They are the same inside and outside, except that rich people are more greedy than poor people.

Child 3: If the rich people were like poor people they could understand what they going through cos they would feel the same way.

R: ...if they were like them they would understand what they are going through...

Child 7: The rich people might help poor and then the poor might help the rich.

R: ... yes... what else do you guys think?...how are they the same?...

Child 9: They both went to school and got an education, but the poor people they didn't care.

R: They didn't care about their education?...

Child 5: Poor people might have a future, but some of them don't go out there and use their future. Some of them might even not have good luck because they didn't use what they had when it was that time.

R:... Mmmm... they didn't use the opportunities they had?...

Child 7: Miss, like, maybe poor people is poor, but they used to go to the same schools and see each other, but they had the same grade... but they just didn't have... didn't show the same... they like had the same marks, like they just equal... but then when they grew up maybe the other one showed his talent and the other one didn't...

R: ...mmm... some of them used it but some didn't yes?

Child 8: Some of the poor would also show... gratitude and health... and they would also get themselves in the right direction.

Child 3: And sometimes the people, they used to be friends... the poor and the rich... and after that the rich can see that the poor had just been poor... maybe because he got rich friends, and maybe the rich he will see him with the poor and then maybe they will just say 'no they don't want to be friends anymore'.

Child 2: Rich people aren't as perfect as... nor are poor people. Mostly all of them have done something wrong Ma'm

R: ja... they all aren't perfect.... And how come do we have... why do you guys think we have rich people and poor people?

Child 3: Miss, um... because rich people succeed in what they do and some poor people don't.

R: ...some poor people don't...

Child 7: Some like maybe... because they have, we them... maybe because God wanted us to see these rich people and make them be our role models. Maybe us kids say we want to be rich like him.

R: ... another hand?..... And, um why are some people rich while others are poor? We spoke about a little about them, like not using their education... why else do you think?

Child 8: ummm... poor people might not have money to buy lots of things, but the rich can buy many and the poor can only buy one. And then the rich, they have a much better chance of winning the Lotto, and sometimes the rich they do... and the poor people only stand 1 in 1 billion...

R: mmm...

Child 5: The rich people can go to school, and sometimes the rich people's mom cant afford their education.

Child 9: Ah... the poor people they are.... miss they had a education, and then when the rich people came they got beat up and all that... then they were too scared to go to school and they didn't go to school, miss.

R: They were too scared to go to school?... (Children: yes...)

Child 10: Um, rich people have um much better jobs and sometimes some poor people don't even have jobs.

Child 7: Miss, like, maybe the... those rich people used to bully the poor people and tell them they have to do their homework or else they'll be beaten up.

Child 2: Um, last time I saw on... this other channel, and there was a rich man and he killed another poor person because he stole only like a loaf of bread.

R: ...because he stole a loaf of bread?

Child 5: Mm ja!

Child 8: Some... I once heard of, my mother's friend she used to be a vet, and she didn't get enough money as vets should get and now she quit her job... she only has little money and now she's gone to learn by... she's going to work by her son and she... he'll pay her more than she got by the people she used to work for... and she does know about computers... and she is going to be trained up to be a secretary.

Child 3: some of them, just don't have enough jobs and the machines... and the people build a machine and then it takes the job of like 10 people, and then the others don't have job.

R:... mmm... so the machines take the jobs because now everything is done by machines?

Child 9: yes, and um... the poor people they... they don't stay awake... they sleep when they work. They don't have houses and then they cant have a nice warm bed.

Child 8: Rich people decide things to help the economy, but sometimes they will have to take poor people out of their jobs... and poor people can also design but they would have to design by scratching a sharp object on a rock.

R: mm they have to design like that?..... What else do you guys think about the differences between rich and poor people?..... Do you think its fair?

Children: No.

Child 7: Miss, rich people have these fancy, this fancy house... like they got 19 rooms or 9 rooms and its really huge, but he or she is the only one in that house. And then poor people has these small houses and there are so many that need to live in... with their family.

Child 2: Um... rich people get... by all those cars but poor people cant even afford one car.

Child 3: When you have like, a hige family when you poor the house that you are living in can have one bedroom and one bathroom and one kitchen, but... so all of you sleep there and some of you sleep on the floor. But when you rich, as (child's name) said... you can have so much space and live alone. But you can't do anything about that.

Child 1: I don't get it! As(child's name) said, why kill for just1 loaf of bread when they know they can buy another one?

Children: Yes!

R: mmm, its true...

Child 4: And miss the poor people they will do anything for some money, and the rich people don't have to do anything.

Child 3: Some of the rich people they just don't get that the poor people need some... they can just buy like a normal house and can leave... can buy one for a poor person.

R: mmm they waste their money...

Child 8: The poor people and rich people should be equal, and they should be treated the same always... so the rich would try and be nicer to the poor.

Child 7: Usually poor people have like, toilets outside because like the cant afford money so like.... and rich people have the nice toilets that is inside the house. They have just like, a big home and then some things that make like a toilet.

Child 2: Some poor people live in front of rich people's houses, and when they get beaten up by gangsters and gangs and stuff... and take whatever they got the rich people don't do anything.

R: ...they don't do anything...?..... do you think that people treat rich people and poor people the same or different?

Children: Different!

R: How do they treat them different?

Child 1: Because when they see you poor they think that you just... you just nothing. And then to the rich people they shoot you in the eyes because they want your money and can... (inaudible).

R: mmm..... did you have your hand up (child's name)?

Child 5: They treat rich people more kindly...

Child 9: The poor people are... to the rich people calling them ,sir sir' and ,can I do this for you or this for you'

R: mmm the poor people call them sir and ma'm..... do you think that's fair?....

Children: No!

Child 5: Some rich people when they see poor people they tease them.

Child 8: The rich people call the poor people names, as well as the rich people's friends... but the poor people's friends will try and help that person. And the rich people would only say that they can come to his side if he would pay them money and... I once saw in (inaudible) that the head of the ... the wrsteler was going to buy... he wasn't a wrestler but he was going to buy the wrestler, and he gave cheques to that wrestler's family, but then they turned against him. And they already put the money in the bank... so he wouldn't, so then he had nobody.

Child 1: I think that the rich person would... if you put the rich person and the poor person next door to each other... the rich 1 would say ,come and see my house' and he would brag. And the other poor person wouldn't feel comfortable and welcome.

Child 7: Um miss, sometimes like poor people they would do anything for money. So maybe like a rich person says something bad to that poor person, and she says nothing about it... or he... and then the rich person he will tell him something really bad that hes going to do to him, but that he's going to pay him for that. And then maybe the poor people they like sell their bodies, and then rich people pay for them. Yes...

R: ...mmm...

Child 2: And, miss, some rich people they go to poor people and they, they ask them to kill someone for just like R25 000 or something.

R: .. for money? ...ja...

Child 10: Ma'm if you like, if let's just say you and me were friends... best friends... since preschool, then maybe we always say we gonna be doctors one day and have money and all that. Then maybe when we old enough to have

children and live alone.. I become rich and you become poor, and then I just say „no we no more friends because you are poor’.

R: mmm

Child 1: And the rich people are bad because when I read on the bible there was one poor guy and a rich guy, and he went to ask him for food... and the rich guy just chased him away, then when they both died the poor guy went to heaven and the rich one went to hell. And then Jesus appeared to them and said ... say you talking to him... „I know that guy, that’s the guy that came to beg at my house’, and then the poor guy said „I never knew you’.

Child 8: I read in the bible that there was a woman that put her last money in the holders, and then the rich people chased her away. Then Jesus called her back and then his disciples said that he’s wrong, but then he said that „we shall judge people as we would like to be judged’.

Child 7: Um Ma’m, I read in the bible that another woman that said that... she was expecting Jesus to come ma’m. And then Jesus came, but he came like a poor person, with dirty clothes and stuff. And she was busy cleaning, and he came and said „please can you give me food’ and then the woman said „just go go go! I’m waiting for Jesus, what is Jesus going to say when you here? You dirty and I am clean, so please just go!’. But then by the next day... then the woman saw Jesus and asked Jesus „why didn’t you come at my house yesterday, because you told me that you gonna come?’ And then Jesus said „I did come’, and then she said „I didn’t see you!’ And then Jesus said „I was the boy that was looking dirty and needing food, but you didn’t welcome me.’

R: ... mmm..... ok guys, I want us to now talk about the pictures. I think, lets just go around and tell me about your pictures.

Child 8: I drew a 3 storey house with the Mercedes benz in it. And a road. Then I also drew clothing, a gown and nightdress and... dress and shoes and handbag... tracksuit; shoes and tackies... and hats and...a shirt, which are pj’s.

Child 10: I drew a poor person asking on the road for bread... and there’s his house, its really broken down and if its about to rain there is a hole in the roof. And his family is here, the wife and the child. And the rich person is passing by with the car, but he didn’t give him anything.

Child 6: I drew here, showing people who are poor. They don’t have money and get water from the rivers, and make fire.... ja...

Child 9: I drew a poor guys, he was living in a mud house and then his roof came off. Now he has to live outside. And his bathroom is over here.

Child 5: I drew ah rich person, who has his own private jet, and his children has their own private jet. They live in a big house with a lamborghini... ja.

Child 2: I drew a rich person who lives in a big house and who has a boat, a car, security and everything in his house. (R: wow.... mmm...).

Child 1: I drew a rich person with a 2 storey house and DSTV here, and his own helicopter.

Child 7: I drew a person who has torn clothes, and a small house that ... is like behind a big field... because most of the poor people are in sand places there where there is no grass.

Child 3: I drew a poor person that has torn clothes, and lives inside a shack. And he... she... or he... doesn’t have a stove and cooks outside.

Child 4: I drew a house that... eh... um ... that he or she lived all alone, and it was a double storey.

R: Ok guys, thank you very much, lets switch this off.

Data Collection Session Two

Younger Session 2

R: so you remember the last time we spoke about rich and poor and what it means to be rich and poor. And the first question I asked was what it means to be rich, and some of you spoke about being rich means having lots of money and to be poor means having a little bit of money. And some of you spoke about Cribs and tv shows, and people you

see on tv shows that are rich. We spoke about that, do you remember? Do any of you have anything else you want to say about what it means to be rich?

Child 1: Umm, rich people can buy a lot of things in one month and then come back with like 10 plastics of groceries and whatever, and bla bla bla and nappies and wipes. You know all that stuff?

R: Ja, rich people can buy a lot of things in a month.

Child 7: And poor people live on the streets, then they don't get food and nothing...

R: Mm, they have to live on the streets. We spoke about that last time quite a bit. And we spoke about how sometimes you see the children in town with the white on their faces (children: Yes!) and you see the poor people in town. Can you tell me a little bit more about that? About the poor people we see in town and the street people...

Child 3: Eish!

Child 1: They are always wearing the brown dirty things, with holes on the „mkhwapas' (isiZulu word meaning „under the arms') (children laugh) and they shows are... and they don't wear shoes, and they have a „imbobo' (isiZulu word meaning hole) right here (children laugh). And then they are always black, and they put like white dots down here on their... they go like this (gestures to face)... and they shoes, some of their shoes have a big bobo here (Children: a hole!). Then they just ask, please give me money, money please money please money please, please 50c 2c R2 please money...

R: And where do you see these people?

Child 1: On the streets!

Child 5: yes, and they sits there. And there is a bobo here (child 3: a hole!), and they take their shoes off and they put cardboard in and then they walk like that.... They put the they put the cardboard there

R: They put cardboard in their shoes?... And you said they paint their...

Child 1: They paint the dotty things on their face. And then they find cans on the ground and they pull off the can, and they ask people for money. They go „tddd tddd tddd tddd tddd' money please money please (imitates shaking can with coins in).

R: And you said they paint their faces....

(Inaudible, children chattering)

Child 2: My teacher told me about those people who wants money, she said we mustn't give them because they will spend that money not buying good food but buying cigarettes, smokes, drugs..

Child 8: they will buy like glue... (Children: yes!)

R: mmm, and you also spoke about that rich people are people on cribs and on tv.... mmm... is that where you see the rich people? and things like that...

Child 6: Like Oprah is rich! She has like 340 billion!

Children: no she (inaudible, many children chattering)...

Child 2: ... and she put like lots of money in one big huge school!

Child 1: And it wasn't even a Zulu school, it was an English school! And she said, you not going to spank these kids are you? Then they said no, never, never! Ja Oprah is right don't spank them, we BEAT them!! We BEAT them! (children laugh)

Child 6: Ja! Trevor Noah!

Child 7: You don't spank, you spank a monkey, spanky spanky...

Children (laughing): ...spanky spanky money spanky spanky...

R: mmm so Oprah is the rich people? And who else do you think are the rich people?

Child 9: Chris Brown...

Child 8: Rihanna...

(Children chattering together)

Child 10: And Beyonce!

Child 1: and Hannah Montana!

Child 2: And Selena Gomez!

(inaudible, many children chattering)

R: Ok, one at a time, remember we must talk one at a time for the recorder to hear us.

R: And we also said sometimes we also hear about rich people in the newspapers... can you think of what kind of rich people you hear about in the newspapers?

Child 5: Jub Jub!.... Ja he crashed the car there...

R: Mmm, is he a rich person?

Child 10: And Jacob Zuma miss!

R: Jacob Zuma, our president?

Children: Yes, yes!

Child 1: And also Nelson Mandela...

Child 6: No!

Child 1: He is rich!

R: He is rich? Jacob Zuma?

Child 5: No, Nelson Mandela.

R: Mmm all the presidents are rich... what were you going to say?

Child 1: I was going to say that Nelson Mandela...

Child 5: And the teachers, miss!

R: ... and the teachers are rich?

Child 8: Some of them!

Child 5: The teachers are rich, I seen them!

Child 2: ... yes some of the teachers are rich...

Child 1: ... the president of the United states lives in the White House!....

Child 6: ... and Suite Life on Deck!...

Child 1: ... and He's got a little girl, I think her name is Sophie or something...

R:... Mmm... president Obama's girls?

Child 1: No! The *white* president! Of the United States!

(inaudible chatter)

R: Mmm, what were you going to say?..... shh guys k don't talk while other people are talking because otherwise the recorders cant hear ok?

Child 3: ... I said my mom's dad is very rich....

R: mmm, your mom's dad is very rich?... And we also spoke about, the other question I asked you was what does it mean to be poor.... and some of you mentioned that poor people live in shacks, they live in mud huts.... can you tell me a little bit more about that?

Child 10: ... there is like poor people....

R: mmm, oh there on the pictures on the wall?

Child 10:... like Moses...

R: the pictures of the.... (Child 3: The people from the bible stories...)

Child 5: Those people I know they not poor...

R: they not poor?

Child 6: Then why they, look they giving them money... the granny...

Child 5: They in church!

Child 1: She is a witch!

Child 7: No she is an old lady!

R: Mmm, you said the people who are poor live in shacks and live in huts, can you tell me a bit more about that?

Child 2: When I went to, when I went to the shop we saw 5 poor people, they asked for money to help them and mommy said no because you wont use that money to buy food, you just going to buy drugs and junk food.

Child 1: And some people have houses that are made of plastics, and then when it rains their houses go pshhht on the grounds. And then some of them don't have windows, they are broken and some of them have... the poor people have been robbed by the other poor people, that have been robbed by other poor people.

R: oh they robbing each other?... yes?

Child 3: Some poor people have houses that are made of straw...

R: mmm they made of straw and grass?

Child 6: And sticks!

R: Mmm..... and where do we see these poor people houses?

Child 10: By farms....

Child 1: And by the „makhayas' (lay isiZulu term referring to the rural areas)... I don't know what its called in Zulu, in English.

Child 5: ...In France, in France there outside town...

R: In France there outside Pietermaritzburg? (Child 5: yes)

Child 9: ...and like Imbali there...

Child 3: ... and Swartkop!

R: mmm, in Imbali... and Swartkop...

Child 2: And some of them, we see them next to the old shops...

Child 8: And some people they put the white thing on their face and they dance in the roads.

R: Mmm yes sometimes we see them in the road...

Child 7: There by Hayfields!

Child 4: Its like, its like when you go to Durban by there, by there.... they paint their faces white then they dance so they can give the money.

Child 7: And some people that are poor they go to the roads and the sell newspapers, and they get money.

Child 1: Some of them they take cardboards then they write, please help please give me money. Then they hold them like this, and some of them give them money and some of them don't.

Child 10: Sometimes they bath in rivers...

R: Yes...

Child 3: And sometimes they try to go in the shops and try to steal food cos they donts have money. They try to steak food, like the garage that is here by Alexandra road, they go there and try to steal food but they cant because there is a security camera...

Child 7: And I think if they, if they try steal food then they gonna get robbed.

R: mmm..... And who else do you think the poor people are?

Child 1: I don't know their names, but I know an old man who is always wearing the same trousers... (Children: Yes!)...

Child 3:... and they have holes everywhere... (child 7: ... and the shirt!)

Child 1:... And they always, they always holding that stick... maybe to hit other people... (Children: Ja! The man with the stick...)

R: oh yes, I know which man you are talking about. That man with the stick? And he stands there....

Child 8: Oh yes! There the other side! And he always talks to himself.... (Children: Ja! There!)... and he just walks around...

(inaudible children chattering)

R: ... there by...

Child 2: ... and he is always holding the stick and hits the other people... then if he sees this is the rich people, then he just hold the stick, then he hits the black people.... then then they keep digging in her bag, and find her money...

Child 1: ... dig in the wallet...

Child 8: Last time my cousin was going to school and she saw the same man, and after that my cousins friends were laughing at him cos he was...

R: ... mmm cos he was dancing.... Ok now for the next question I am going to get some paper and then we can all think of something, and then we can write our ideas on the paper. Do you think we can do that?..... We going to all work together on it.....

R: Now, for this question i will ask you the question and we going to write down your ideas on here. Ok, so last time I asked you to describe rich people, what are rich people like? So lets all think about that, and we can write down the words that describe rich people on here. Who wants to be our writer? ok you can. At the top please write rich people here... Ok while she is writing can you think, can you describe rich people... what are rich people like?

Child 8: They like... very nasty to poor people. If they come to their house and ask for money, they say no and just go.

R: mmm... ok lets write down here.... they very nasty...

Child 9: Rich people, they are mean and nasty...

Child 6: Some of them!

R:... some of them are mean and nasty...

Child 10: Some poor people don't shower and they smell...

R: ... they smelly... ok we will put that down when we write for poor people. And what else can you think of for rich people?

Child 1: Rich people are always pretty, and always wearing the sxebez (? Presumed spelling, isisZulu word used)...the short skirt..... and they go like this (imitates sexy walk) „leave me alooonee”

R: ... mm they pretty...

Child 2:... (inaudible)...

R: they have a lot of money?....

Child 7: They also... some of them are nice and some of them are kind and give money...

Child 8: They have a lot of money and clothes and cars....

R: Mmm... write down a lot of money and clothes and cars...

Child 3: ... and jewellery...

R: ... mmm... ok lets talk a little bit slower to give her a chance to write down, otherwise we going too fast for her..... Ok what else describes rich people, what are rich people like?

Child 1: They don't have....they don't have pimples... and they never get hurt, and they always lovely...

R: Oh! They don't ever get hurt, and don't have pimples or anything like that?.... Ok what can we write here?

Child 1: They... are... beautiful....

Child 3: ... and they shake their hair around...

R: mm, they shake their hair around?

Child 9: ...they never finish eating their bubble gums...

R: ...they eat their bubble gums for long?

Child 6: Like every night they to like Kentucky, KFC, and....

Child 7: And pizza...

(inaudible many children chattering)

Child 4: ... Must I write every night they get KFC?

R: mmm..... and who are the rich people?

Child 8: Oprah...

Child 5: and they.... those that go to Cribbs, but he goes to parties... and get KFC...

Child 1: And those that get sweet 16 birthdays... with a lot of friends...

Child 7: And also the... all celebrities...

Child 5: ... and they go to big parties!

R: Mmm, do you know how to spell it?... C... e...l...e...b...r...i...t...y... good girl!..... And who else are the rich people?
... shhh talk one at a time...

Child 5:... they eating hot wings!

Child 10: ...um... Jacob Zuma..

R: Jacob Zuma, do you want to write that down... why do you think that Jacob Zuma is rich?

Child 8: Because he is the president.

R: ja... and if you think about South Africa... who are the rich people and what are they like?

Child 1: Its Trevor Noah...

Child 5: Nelson Mandela...

Child 4: (inaudible)...

R: Cant hear...

Children: ... It's Lil Wayne!

Child 9: Tshabalala!

R: Tshabalala, the soccer player?

Child 5: Tseko Modise...

Child 6: Bafana Bafana!

R: ... mmm..... ok is that all?... ok lets make a line across the page. Who wants to write now for poor people?... Um...

Child 5: (Child's name) is a good writer miss.

Child 10: I am an artist miss!

R: ok.... thank you for writing. Now write poor people here for us.... ok can you guys now describe poor people, what are poor people like?

Child 5: They have smelly teeth and.... (inaudible, children laughing)

R: Ok... one at a time, and let her write...

Child 1: They wearing the mkwapa (? isiZulu word)...

Child 8: They don't bath!

Child 7:... and they don't brush their teeth...

Child 1: and they always... their teeth are (inaudible isiZulu)... they are black...

R: they are rotten and black?

Child 5: ... and they wear socks that have bobogile (? isiZulu word) here... the bobo goes out...

R: mmm, they have holes in their socks?

Child 7:.... (inaudible)...

R: they don't have homes to stay in?

Child 1: And they don't bath, and when they they just go to the rivers to bath, and maybe they don't know what's inside of the rivers...

R: ...mm, ok lets go a little bit slower for her to write. They bath in the rivers..... Ok and what else are rich people like?

Child 1: Rich people?

R: Oh I mean poor people!

Child 8: They don't have houses to stay in.

Child 9: and they stay in the bushes...

Child 5: They have rotten hair, its all falling down...

Child 7; And some of them, they live on the roads and if they have a blanket, they put it up there on the walls there. And then they get a cardboard and they sleep on it...

Child 3: Sometimes at Durban they, miss, they first be poor then become tsotsis, then they start to steal the money...

R: the poor people are the tsotsis? Mm...

Child 4: ... and they can't afford a car...

Child 1: Ja, sometimes they bring the others... then they gcegeza (? isiZulu word, spelling unsure) the cars and they...

R: ... they steal the cars? (Children: yes!)

Child 1: and sometimes when it rains they always get wet, and they get the flu and always rains and rains, and then they get the worser flu and then they die because no one can take them to the doctor...

Child 7:... cos they don't have money.

R: they can't go to the doctor cos they don't have money?...

Child 5: And TB!

Child 4: and the poor people rob the rich people..

R: They rob the rich people...

Child 6: ... and they poor people don't have any electricity.

Child 8: And also... some poor people become rich and then they lose all their money and become poor again.

Child 10: Poor people's steal cars... my grandfather um the poor people stole his car and stabbed him and he died.

R: oh dear, that's very sad. They steal the cars and stab people...

Child 5: Yes miss.

R: Mm..... and can you tell me who are the poor people?

Child 1: Its that man with the stick!

R: That man with the stick in town?

Children: Yes!

Child 3: Sometimes my cousin, my old cousin, when he went out and then he saw the man with the stick and that man holding the stick wanted to hit him, but he ran very fast.

R: mm, and if you think about South Africa, who else are the poor people and what are they like?

Child 7: The people that wear those hats that are made out of straw like that.

R: oh, the people who wear those hats made of straw?... mmm...

Child 1: poor people, they have... their pants are always torn and have holes in them. And they get very cold cos they don't have jerseys and jackets with sleeves, they always have ones like that...

R: mmm...

Child 2: Like also the people who always go to the rich people's house and they take a stick and bang the window, and fiit through the window... then they steal the wallets and the handbags and take all their most valuable things... and take the car keys and drive away very fast.

R:... they stealing stuff from the rich people?

Child 4: Um... poor people um, can they steal many things from rich people...

R: mm..... and can you tell me, how are rich people different from poor people?

Child 2: cos they have lots and lots and lots of money, and poor people don't have any money.

Child 5: Sometimes they go to parties, and call a limousine!

Child 2: sometimes, rich girls they always have fancy clothes and makeup... and the high heels...

Child 8: Miss, rich people are different to poor people because rich people have nice houses and poor people don't have houses or anything.

Child 5: The rich people give the poor kids, give the money, and they buy cigarettes and the money is for school fees.

R: mmm, they spend their money on cigarettes instead of school fees?

Child 1: And sometimes rich people have Jacuzzis and swimming pools, and the security sytem and security camera, and they always have the thingy to open the garage. And they always have the code to open the gates...

Child 5: Mm and sometimes they have pools in their house!

Child 7: They have big houses.

Child 2: They buy big houses in Johannesburg, in Sandton..... (inaudible)....

R: You said they buy big houses in Johannesburg, in Sandton?.... where else are rich people from?

Child 5: Here, miss! From Maritzburg.

R: from Maritzburg as well?

Child 5: And Durban!

(Inaudible, many children talking)

R:... mmm... New York.... and London.... and in Durban... cant hear?

Child 6: Italy miss!

Child 3: Even Cape Town!

R: Mmm.... and if you think, how are rich people different from poor people in where they live?

Child 5: ... They have 11 bathrooms. In their house.

Child 1: The poor people, they don't have a lot of things, little houses. And the rich people have a lot of things, they have 6 bedrooms and 8 bathtubs and all that stuff...

R: mm..... and if you think about South Africa, how are rich people different to poor people in South Africa?

Child 7: Rich people, they stairs that go round and round their big houses....

Child 1: And some of them have 200 each house, a house that is like this library but better and higher!

R:... mmm.... (inaudible, children moving chairs).... they have many houses..... And can you tell me, how are rich people the same as poor people?

Child 7: When they spend all their money.....

R: Shhh, one at a time please.... When they spend their money they become poor and then rich again?

R: ... the last time you mentioned some of your neighbours, and how they are rich or poor.... and how rich people sometimes are the same as rich people... can you think how else rich people are the same as poor people?

Child 1: They are the same outside, some of them are beautiful... and some of them are black or brown, but they are all God's children. They are different, but inside they are all the same.

Child 2: Sometimes rich people wears high heels....

R: mmmm..... And, can you tell me how come do we have rich people and poor people? Why do we have rich and poor?

Child 8: cos people have to be different from each other.

R: cos people have to be different from each other?

Child 10: some of the poor people have broken high heels, and if they walk they walk like that (imitates a lop-sided walk)...

Child 1: and then they always acting like they niggers, like... yo yo whatsup maaaaan... (children laughing)

R: ... the rich or poor people?

Child 1: Yes the poor! They act like cool gangsters!

(Inaudible, children laughing and chattering)

R: they act like gangsters?

Child 7: And some people, like rappers they got like lots of money and then they like to the poor people „you don't have money, I have money'...

R: they tease the poor people..... can you think a little bit, lets think a bit, why do you think.... if you think even of South Africa... why do you think we have rich and poor people?

Child 5: God made them..... And God gave them money, but they spend it for no reason.

Child : And sometimes the rich people they are really selfish and only think of themselves... and then when they are poor, the poor people who are rich, and then when the poor people who are now rich they will always be like „Ja I am stabbing you back, because you stabbed me and never gave me money'!

Child 2: Sometimes the poor people dig in the dustbins...

R: they dig in the dustbins...

Child 5: sometimes they steal chickens on the road.

R: they steal chickens on the road? (Children: Yes!)... oh where did you see that?

Child 5: There by my house! The poor man comes and walking like they rich people, then when the chicken comes they standing there... and when the chicken comes they just grab it and run away!

Child 6: They act like they minding their own business, meantime they take the chicken right there!

R: mmm.... and last time, some of you when you spoke about rich and poor people, you spoke about street kids (Child 2: And street adults!), and street adults.... and all of that... do any of you have any more ideas about that that you want to say?

Children:... No...

Child 1: Miss, you see by my house there is this big place where you take all your rubbish, and your dirty nappies, napkins, over there.... there is this poor man by my house, and he went to this dump and bought a can of peanut butter and took a half a apple that was half eaten, and then when... there is a lake by our house... and then he took the apple and dipped it in the lake and ate it, and took a stick and dipped it in the peanut butter and then he take a lot of it... and kept scooping it, and ate a lot of it...

R: oh, and he got the food from the rubbish dump by your house?

Child 2: When my mother, when my mother buys apples then she buys the apples that are rotten... and then she throws it away, and then the poor man that took that thing can eat it.

R: mmm ja,.... sometimes we see and we hear about poor people and rich people from tv, sometimes we see them in our own lives, sometimes when we in town we see them... and can you tell me about what you think they say about rich people and poor people on tv?

Child 3: Some people, that are rich they always talk about the poor people. They say you must not waste and you must be nice to the poor people, you must not waste your food, and you must go to a place and give the poor people food and not money. Because they just going to buy drugs and all that... and then they buy sweets and open the sweets and put drugs in, and then they take their spit and close it and then they say „here is a sweet, its a special treat for you' but its a sweet that has drugs inside.

R: And... last time we spoke... yes?

Child 8: Miss sometimes when small children get robbed, people say there is a sucker for you and then the person holding the sucker grabs the child.

R: mmm... where did you hear about that?

Child 8: There by Pelham.

R: ... There by Pelham, they were doing that?

Child 7: And some rich people they just take a bite of cupcake and throw it in the bin... because they can afford anything...

Child 1:... and they say the first bite is the best bite... the tastiest, they bite once then throw it away.

Child 2: My dad stays in Jo'burg, in Sandton and he is always rich. When he plays Lotto he is always just winning.

Child 8: And my mother said that one man's trash is another man's treasure.

Child 1: Sometime the rich people, they can tell them what the Lotto numbers is and they just cheat and win it..... my granny also just entered the Lotto and won R6000 without getting anyone to cheat for her.

R: mmm... ok, one last thing...

Child 2: My dad, when we went in the holidays to Johannesburg to visit him, my dad was shopping and he buy for us something that we like.

R: mm, ok guys we have spoken a lot about rich and poor people, and you have lots of ideas. Ok if you have just one last thing to say about rich and poor people, think carefully... anybody have any last ideas that they want to say?

Child 7: Me i want to say something, but it's not part of rich and poor... last time my cousin put cake in my face...

R:... Mm, any last ideas about rich and poor?... No, ok let's put this off.

Data Collection Session Two

Older Session 2

R: Ok guys, so you remember the last time I came to hear your ideas about rich and poor. And while I was listening to the recording I thought of some things I wanted to ask you again and wanted to talk a bit more about some of your ideas.....(introductory blab).

R: Ok so the first question we spoke about what it means to be rich. We spoke about how it's about going beyond the needing and into the wanting, and some of you spoke about being rich means having lots of money and having more than what you need. Do any of you have anything else you want to say about what it means to be rich?

Child 1: Rich people, like, can put lots of money into charity and make their own charity organization, and they can build houses. Houses that the rich people can live in.

R: Mmmm..... what do any of the rest of you think? Last time you mentioned cribs and rich people on tv...

Child 2: Cribs!

Child 3: Mm, cos those people are rich!

Child 2: And miss, the rich people go and spend their money on their children and then when they grow up they just expect, expect, expect!

Child 4: Mostly the poor people are more clever than the rich, because the rich are thinking they have money... and when they grow up they just have a future for themselves.

R: mm, and they can get that because they have money?

Child 4: Yes.

Child 2: They can bribe!

Child 1: Rich people can say to the poor that they are nothing, that the rich people are everything. But actually the poor people can use money more clever than the rich. Cos the rich people they just spend money on things, they cant budget, but the poor people can.

Child 5: Miss, and some rich people think that they are better than the poor people.

(R: mmm, they think they better than the poor people?..... Yes?)

Child 6: I was going to say the same thing.

R: and if you think of South Africa, what does it mean to be rich in SA?

Child 4: They can rob you.

R: ... they can rob you? (Child 4: mm)

(silence)

R:..... we also spoke about what it means to be poor. You spoke about street children, not having an education..... what else have you thought of about what it means to be poor?

Child 1: The poor children, they get big heads and grow so thin, and they hunt in rubbish bins for some food.... it isn't nice to see those children...

R: mm, it is very sad...

Child 7: But some of the children just run away from their homes!... like if they abused or something... and then its their fault because, because they are the ones that are just running away and going to the streets....

....

Child 5: Some of the poor people can be like a little bit needing and whatever with the house, but its just that their parents work harder. But if their parents didn't work harder they would just be like poor because they thinking they rich, but they actually poor because their parents are trying all their best to get an education for their children.

Child 8: Poor people are... they know how to use their money.

(R: mmm, they know how to use their money...)

Child 3: Some rich people that become poor they just spend their money on, the little bit of money they got, on beer and stuff.

Child 5: Some poor people, like the children, they don't have enough to be able to go to schools.

Child 7: When the poor people get rich, they will still know how to spend their money but they will... they will put them into bank accounts and give some to other poor people because they know how it was.

Child 4: Miss, and poor children on the streets they sometimes go buy glue and they sniff it.

Child 9: Some of the rich people buy some things that they, that tastes bad and they just going to throw it away. But the poor they know what they can buy.

R: Mm.... you mentioned the people on the street, in town that you see, being the poor people.... who else are the poor people?

Child 9: People that cant live in houses, miss.

Child 3: Um... people that, um, live in shacks that don't have proper houses.

R: They live in shacks...?

Child 1: ...people who sleep on the pavements.

R: mmm....

Child 6: People who can just just afford to put a meal on the table.

Child 5: People who have no jobs.

R:.... mmm, no jobs..... and what kind of jobs are jobs poor people may have?

Child 5: Sweeping the roads...

Child 2: ... car guards...

Child 7: gardening....

A few children in unison: maids!

Child 8: garden boy.

Child 2: ... taking the rubbish!

R: mmm...

Child 3: Um, some people just prostitute themselves just to get money.

Child 6: Miss, and when I went to the hospital the last time, there was a poor person sleeping by the hospital there...

Child 2: Miss, some poor people they struggling for money and just work small jobs.

Child 1: Some of the poor people, they think they have had enough and just go and kill themselves.

R:.... mmm..... its very sad..... And if you think about SA, who are the poor people in SA?

Child 1: The people who, have to send their children to school's like Grange, and who live like in the Grange area where the houses cost little.

Child 6: Miss, and some poor people live in Oribi.

Child 8: People that lives in huts and in the village.

Child 3: ... and some people that live in the rural areas...

Child 4: ... and some schools where they don't pay school fees so they just send their children there. And because they don't have money, some of their children wear their clothes.... that they wear at home, because they don't have money for school uniforms.

Child 1: Poor people, they can only afford what they can afford. So if they have to pay for trips and things, they will ask other people for loans, but they wont be able to pay them back.

R: mmm..... And if you think about SA and poor people in SA, what do you think they are like?

Child 1: They are likely to go into other people's houses and just try... just try and persuade them to just help them.

Child 8: And miss, they go around asking for jobs by people.

Child 3: Some of them just steal and are thieves... (R:... they are thieves..?)

Child 5: If they can afford newspapers, then they just look for jobs in newspapers.

Child 6: But some of them ask for money and then just use it for drugs.

R: mm..... and in SA who are the poor people?

Child 1: people who have to go and get grants for their children, the pensioners, the... people who have to live in shacks, and on the road.... and work in other people's houses.... and go sleep in a dog's kennel perhaps.

Child 9: people who didn't like their parents and ran away.

R: mm, like the street children? And like last time you spoke about the children who paint their faces white and dance in the street (children: mmm yes!)....

Child 5: And some of them just go and buy glue!

Child 1: And, when i went to Durban last year with my cousin and my aunt and my uncle, my father gave us each R100 and then there were 2 black men that were dancing, and when we put the money in... my mother told me there were other black men that put in and then some of them ran away because they were scared!

Child 8: Some of them, as (Child 1) said, they just put the money and then take the other money and run with it!

R: ... They steal the other money from the people that are dancing?

Child 6: And also time when I went to the shop by Pelham, miss, there were these guys sitting there and they were winging the song. And when we put the money in, they stopped the song and said thank you to everyone who put the money.

R: mmm.... and if you think, who are the rich people?

Child 1: The people who are, who can afford big cars and nice cars and big jobs like big manager and are able to live in mansion, with the lots of cars.... and get all the things he wants.

Child 2: Some of them are working for the government and some of them are... the president is also rich because he has a lot of money for being the president from all the taxes. And also the people who own stuff, like a hospital... then they can get money...

R: Mm mm, last time we also spoke about people in the government, the MECs and the president...

Child 8: The rich people they have a lot of money and can buy anything they want.

Child 3: Miss, the rich people they don't send their children to school, they do home school.

Child 9: Some rich people will only care about themselves.

Child 2: Some rich people buy, like, they might have a mansion and put a bowling alley in and they don't even do bowling.

Child 5: Some rich people get big houses and they, and have big parties with a million dollars and stuff.

Child 6: Rich people are people who get whatever they want.

Child 4: ... rich people are often greedy and they also go over the limits to get what they need, what they want.

Child 3: And when they see other rich people have three storey buildings then they want to have more, they just want big houses to brag.

R:... mmm.... you mentioned the last time I was here that rich people are like Oprah and people in the government... what do you think about that, who else are rich people/

Child 1: The people who work in Oprah, because they go see the actors, singers and all of those kinds of things...

Child 7: people who have like many jobs, big jobs.

Child 4: people who run animation stores. (R: who run...?) ...who run animation studios.

R: who make big movies and stuff?... and in SA , who do you think are the rich people?

Child 1: The presenters like on Expresso. Because they in Cape Town and Johannesburg, because that's where they shoot their shows.

R: ... the rich people are from Cape Town and Johannesburg? (children: mm, yes!)

Child 3: Like in Durban, Ushaka Marine, the person who made it just get a lot of money because of that.

Child 5: And highover miss! The people who made highover!

Child 4: And archaeologists miss.

R: mm, and where do the rich people come from, where do they live?

Child 1: They come from like, big places, but when they were poor, but then they turned rich and started to get more and more greedy.

Child 2: I just wanted to say the same thing.

Child 7: Oh..... um I can't remember....

R: and if you think.... we will write down here now. Who wants to write for us?.... Ok.... thank you... Ok if you have to think, first we will write at the top here rich people and all of us are going to think of words that describe rich people, and then (child's name) will write them down for us.....

Child 2: Greedy...

Child 7:...they have money...

Child 4: Miss, some of them they don't care about family...

Child 6: (Inaudible)

R:... they mean...

Child 4: They don't care about their school work.

Child 8: They selfish!

Child 9: They hire people to kill.

R:... they hire people to kill? ... what people can you think of in the newspapers and stuff that you have heard of that hire people to kill?

Child 3: Some of the rich people ask, they hire people to work for them and then they just say ,go and kidnap like this kid', and then they kidnap some of the kids cos they... cos their family is also rich and they can get more money if they kidnap kids.

Child 7: Some rich people, they kidnap richer people's kids for ransoms.

R:... mm... what else can you think of that describes rich people, and who rich people are and what rich people are like?

Child 2: Also, some rich people have really good hearts.

R: ... some of they are kind and have really good hearts? Mm...

Child 5: like Oprah!

Child 8: And they live near lakes and in lodges...

Child 1: And the rich people have fancy cars, they have brand new cars that they can buy for themselves.

R: mmm..... they can buy fancy cars.....And we spoke about who are the rich people, why don't we think and write down who are the rich people...

Child 5: Jacob Zuma!

Child 2: The presidents!

Child 3: Singers...

Child 6: Designers...

Child 1: mm, actors!

Child 8: Ministers.

Child 2: Archaeologists.

Child 1: Presenters.

Child 8: Runners of youth clubs.

R: mmm... if you think of specific people, who do you think of people's names that are rich people?

Child 3: Lady Gaga!

Child 5: Messi... the soccer player... (Children: *Messi!*)

Child 4: Oprah...

Child 2: Whitney Housten.... but she doesn't know how to use her money miss.

Child 9: Prince William.

Child 1: And the couple Beyonce and Jay-Z.

R: Mm, and in SA?

Child 1: The president...

Child 6: Nelson Mandela.

Child 7: Some Chiefs!

Child 8: Soccer managers...

Child 3: ...soccer players too... (Child 5: Tshabalala!)

R: mmm, ok can you draw a line here...who will write about poor people here?... Thanks... ok now rite poor people at the bottom here... and lets describe poor people.

Child 1: People who have to make other people's dresses for them..... like my mother had to make my dress bigger because it didn't fit me.

R:... like dress-makers?

Child 6: people who have no clothes.

Child 9: beggars.

R: mm, yes... we have quite a lot of beggars in town...

Child 3: maids.

Child 1: Makers of home-made bookmarks and cards.

R: mm...

Child 2: Gardeners.

Child 6: People who sell small things...

Child 8: Vendors on the streets!

R: mm, were you also going to say that?

Child 2: Rubbish collectors.

Child 1: Car guards.

Child 5: people who work in rubbish dumps.

Child 6: people who sleeps like in a shop, like cleaners in the shops.

Child 1: the people who have to sell their homes and al their things just to get money for food.

Child 7: And some poor people sell drugs.

R: yes.....mm.... And what are poor people like?

Child 3: Some poor people are... ah... nice...

Child 2: But some are mean...

Child 6: ...some are kind.

Child 5: Some of them just want money to buy drugs, because some of them if you give them money for food they will just buy drugs.

Child1: Some are sad and some are happy.

Child 7: ... alcohol-addicted...

R: ... mm, some of them are alcohol-addicted?

Child 4: They are for other people.

Child 1: They are not... some of them are not stealers, like the rich people.

R: The rich people are the stealers, and the poor people... some of them are not? (Child 1: Yes).

Child 7: And people who dream of winning the Lotto and giving other poor people.

R: mm.... And who are the poor people?.. yes?

Child 1: the people who live in shacks and on the streets..... And people who have to beg.

R: Beggars on the street?... And some of you also mentioned children who have no parents, like child-headed houses, where their parents have died.

Child 1: Orphanages, because children have to go to the Salvation Army.

R: The Salvation Army... mm?

Child 6: Some poor people tell their children to do work.

Child 5: Some poor people tell their children to go and beg!

R:mm, yes?

Child 1: Some poor children want to get jobs, like 14 year olds can sweep out shops, they can help behind the counters...

R:.. So their children have jobs?... (Child 1: yes...)

Child 2: Most of them are farmers, that work just a bit to earn money.

Child 8: But I don't get it, why do the parents say the children must go work and they just sit at home?

R: mm, it is sad... the parent say the children must work but they don't work themselves...

Child 3: Some poor people cant do lots of jobs like sweeping and stuff.

Child 1: Some of the children have to go through the neighbourhood and into town and do things like sweep the houses, cut the lawn or wash the cars just to get money.

Child 7: Miss, when the poor people send their children out to go work or dance on the streets for money, when the rich people go past they start laughing at them.

R:... they laugh at the poor kids?..... Where, if you think of SA and Pietermaritzburg, where do the poor people come from?

Child 2: Rural areas.

Child 4: farms.

Child 1: people who have no jobs.... and people who live by poor school and have to hire houses because they don't have their own.

Child 6: People who lives in huts.

Child 4: People who live in shacks.

Child 3: Also, I saw on this other house this rich guy who had a huge house with 53 bedrooms, and the poor people were in the last bedroom

R: He gave them one bedroom... that's very kind. Mm...

Child 7: People who sleep anywhere.. (R: people who sleep anywhere, who sleep in the street?) yes.

Child 1; People who have to go bath dogs and cats, anything to just get money.

R: mm, yes..... any last ideas on poor people and who they are, or where they are from?.....ok, thank you for writing for us.

R: ok, so last time I also asked about how rich people are different from poor people. What do you think, how are they different?

Child 1: Rich people can have anything they want and poor people can't, as well as rich people can't budget.

R: mm, rich people can't budget and poor people can? mm..... You mentioned last time that rich people, poor people are kinder than rich people; they want to help....yes?

Child 3: Miss, I saw this show at my cousin's house, and it was all about how rich people give money away.

R: mm..... on TV we see a lot about rich people and poor people... yes?

Child 1: Rich people can afford the best lawyers when they o to court, but poor people can't. They just have to ask their friends who are lawyers to come and help them, and sometimes the rich people's lawyers are no good but the poor people's lawyers go are very good.

Child 4: Most poor people dies, because they can't afford their hospital bills. But rich people can just hire their own rooms to stay in.

Child 9: Rich people have many clothes and poor people don't.

Child 6: And rich people do, they do these things to their faces...

R: mm, the plastic surgery and stuff? (Children: yes...)

Child 1: poor people if they have Frank Life Cover they can afford a private nurse, but rich people can hire a private hospitals and everything- they can get the best medicine and doctors, and just get the best of everything.

Child 2: Some rich people, like who are ladies, they buy shoes... and they can just buy so many and have a closet of many shoes. And poor people don't have that, they just need the shoes.

Child 3: And this other guy in Europe he just buys R200 000 watches and just sells them for R300 000.

Child 5: Some rich people, if they have like a scratch on their leg they just go to private hospitals and pay money for that.

R: ...they just pay money for a little scratch?

Child 8: Some rich people they buy so many high heels, they can buy and then next year they don't even get to wear them.

R: mm, then they don't even wear them! Yes?

Child 1: The poor people, they have to, like my grandmother passed her high heels onto me because she hates high heels and I love high heels, and I only have two pairs of high heels that she gave me.

Child 7: The rich people don't always wear the clothes that they are buying because there are just too many.

R: yes, they don't even get to wear them because there are too many clothes.

Child 6: Some rich people's daughters when they reach 16 they buying skimpy stuff, like short skirts.

R: mm, they buying skimpy stuff and all that... like on My Super Sweet 16th?

Children: Oh ja! Yess!

Child 6; Some rich people, like I was watching on Teen Cribz, they have like 20 to 30 cars, and only one person lives in the house but they have like mansions and all of that.

R: mm, yes..

Child 1: In one of my books at home, its called 'the world's greatest fairytales', there is an emperor who is very rich and then he is tricked by some men who pretend to make him some clothes that are unseeable by the people that hate him, but they are actually... they weren't making the clothes and they stole all his money and then he went naked out in the streets.

R: I know that story, the emperor who had no clothes....

Child 3: And some rich people they get cheated.

R: mm, they get cheated. And how are rich people the same as poor people? ... yes?

Child 1: Some rich people can be kind like poor people, and some poor people can be mean like rich people.

Child 4: I was going to say the same thing.

Child 2: Some poor people can like afford stuff, and the rich people can also afford. But the rich is just different because they can afford many.

Child 3: Rich people they buy buses, they only ride themselves. But poor people they have only small cars.

Child 1: the rich people can own a big tuck-shop, while the poor people can own a small tuck-shop.

Child 5: Rich people sometimes just want to buy things that they need, and some poor people just want to buy the things that they don't need.

Child 4: And miss the poor people, when they get money to buy a car, miss they could buy a combi and start transporting people and they tell... they tell people to get their money.

R: They buy a combi, and transport people?

Child 1: Some of the poor people can only afford things that they need, and if their children want something, like a slide, they will tell their children to save up for it. And rich people, they can give away nearly all the money and keep only as much as the poor people have, and then they will tell their children the same thing.

Child 8: And miss, like we said, they can buy a combi... people who buy combis they can't actually transport people in the town because they have to have a... that thingy... a licence...

R: ...a licence... and they don't always have it?

Child 6: Some of the poor people just make their licence because they can't afford to go there...

R: they can't afford to get one?

Child 7: Poor people have low jobs and rich people have high jobs, and then they.... can hire them...

R: mmm..... what kinds of jobs do you think rich people and poor people have?... Let's ask first about rich people.

Child 1: it can be the president, actors, singers, all of those... doctors.... because they can get high jobs because they have all the needed beneficiaries... because even pharmacists, the one who..... well, he knows more than a doctor!

Child 4: Businessmen and women.

Child 2: Chartered accountants.

R: mm, you earn a lot of money as a chartered accountant...

Child 2: Managers of cars and companies.

Child 4: You can be people who invent things.

R: oh, you were also going to say that?

Child 1: The singers, which I watched on TV he bought a car for his own child but the child was only 3 years old (Children laugh).

R: Oh dear!... and jobs of the poor people?

Child 1: Street sweepers, rubbish cleaners, and lots of other things because that's the only jobs they can afford. And their children can't even go to school, like in the Grange. It's a low school- like my neighbour went there but she had to come to this school, she was in Grade 4, and then she landed up in Mrs S's class because she can't read, because they told her mother to take her out of that school. And then last year she finished here and then she went to Carter High.

Child 2: I saw on TV, that some of the poor people collect... like in the rural areas where people uh, they collect the poo and stuff in the people's buckets and then they get new ones.

Child 5: And some poor people, they take bicycles and they take the chain and the pedals and then they make these things and put clay on and make pots for themselves.

R:... yes....

Child 3: the postman!

Child 6: The poor people, when they find something on the streets they just pick it up and make something with it.

Child 1: Even when they have to try and like make things to sell... like cards or bookmarks... clay pots... like one of them said. And they can also try and find, and make old clothes right to try and sell them. And or... they can just buy seeds of vegetables and grow them and sell them.

Child 3: the poor people can do laundry for the other rich people.

Child 5: And some poor people like.... what's this place called.... um Russia I think, if they buy bibles they get killed.

Child 7: Um, some poor people make stuff out of wire..

Child 9: ... and beads!

R: They make things from wire and beads... like the people next to the road, the vendors?... ok last 2 and then the next question.

Child 1: Some of the poor people have to go to do things for other people so that they can earn some money, so that they can... have to ask their children to come and work with them, or just go and ask for someone to come and help them with all of their lives, like washing the laundry and ironing. But then they can also be a cab-man... I have got this book where there is a cab-man, and it's a very good book and it's an old book as well.

Child 3: And some of the people paint art.... but they not that rich because they sell it on the side of the street and they make their own things, like chairs made out of cane or stuff..

R: mm, yes.... And why are some people rich while others are poor?

Child 1: the rich people can have high jobs and the poor people can't, that's why they have lots of money. And the rich people can take on any type of high job because they have the education, but the poor people they must have more than one job just to afford all the things they need.

Child 3: Rich people, they are rich because some of them did well and they followed their dreams.

R: mm...

Child 7: And some rich people, they had new kinds of thoughts and then they sold them for lots of money... like this other guy sold for 1.3 million pounds.

Child 5: Some rich people, like, carry on with school while poor people don't, they just give up.

Child 9: Some poor people sell drugs, and then become rich.

Child 2: And miss, the poor people they tell their children they must go to school and then they say they must push hard and learn to get a good education, and not to land up like their parents.

Child 6: Some are, the poor people can become rich because of their education and they follow on.... and some of the rich people are just rich because of their father, they give them a job in their offices.

Child 7: Some people like rich, they went to school and when they about to go to a job, they sell drugs and then they became poor.

Child 9: Um, some rich people do bad things like have um... like selling houses that they haven't even bought.

R: mm

Child 3: I wanted to say, some of the poor people are like, they did well at school and they even did their matric but they didn't have money and couldn't get nice jobs.

Child 2: And miss, sometimes the rich people they steal stuff and go and sell it. And when the cops come they go and arrest the people who bought it from them.

Child 4: I saw on the newspaper the other day, in JHB you can't get yourself a car if you don't have a matric.

R: um, we running out of time... but any last ideas you have about rich and poor people, just a few last ideas.

Child 1: The poor people have, can make popcorn or bake things just to have money, and the rich people can also but they will be able to have a bakery where the poor people can only bake from their houses . Also the poor people can like buy things and make other things from those things, like recycle them...

Child 5: Rich people, like if you really wealthy you can do other things like do homemade stuff... some of the rich people do it because they just cant get enough.

Child 2: Rich people own flats and have big houses and have theatres in their houses.

Child 9: Poor people sometimes get ideas, and then the rich people says it's fantastic and then takes it.

Child 8: Some rich people buy malls and then spend their money on things there and become poor.

Child 5: I watched a movie, there was a man there he was very poor and the a rich lady took him in and now he is becoming a famous soccer player.

R: mm, ok thank you guys... (ends focus group).