This paper explores the realities of provision of services to the youngest children of South Africa. Where early childhood programs do exist they are neglected and of poor quality. Strong arguments exist for early childhood development (ECD) intervention programs. The effects of existing programs provide evidence for expanding the range of affordable services. The lack of financial resources and an unwillingness by the previous government to take responsibility for ECD services are the major causes of the very limited overall access. Fewer than 11 percent of the "under-fives" in South Africa have access to provisions. Funding for ECD must be located within the framework of a comprehensive national strategy for reconstruction and development and should address needs and inequality, with emphasis on the principles of redress, equity, and quality service rendering. The paper asserts that the society cannot afford to provide essential early childhood development services for its youngest children. (EH)
Affordable early childhood development provision for preschool children in South Africa

Eric Atmore
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The Co-operative Research Programme: Affordable Social Provision is one of several that emphasize affordability, effectiveness and efficiency in different fields of social policy. This report deals with the costs, benefits and affordability of different options of early childhood development services available in South Africa.

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ABSTRACT

Whilst it is universally recognized that the first six years of life are of vital importance in the development of the young child, reality tells us that the provision of services to our youngest children is sadly neglected and programme quality is often poor. One result of this is the disturbing data concerning failure and dropout rates for primary school children and the resultant numbers of children leaving school prior to achieving functional literacy. Arguments for early childhood development (ECD) intervention programmes are strong and the effects of existing programmes provide evidence for expansion of a range of affordable services. The lack of financial resources, and an unwillingness by the previous government to take responsibility for ECD services are the major causes of the very limited overall access resulting in provision for fewer than 11% of under-fives. Funding for ECD needs to be located within the framework of a comprehensive national strategy for reconstruction and development and has to address needs and inequality, with emphasis on the principles of redress, equity and quality service rendering. Modest state support would enable programmes to offer adequate quality services. The question to be considered is not “Can we afford to provide services for our youngest children?” but “Can we afford not to provide essential early childhood development services for our youngest children?”

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ABSTRACT

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Chapter 1:  Introduction

The shortage of affordable quality early childhood development services in South Africa is an issue which can no longer be ignored. Children, families, communities and the country all pay a price for the continued neglect of young children’s development during the early years. It is clear that, in the long run, the consequences of a poorly run and underdeveloped early childhood provision system will manifest itself in educational underachievement, early school leaving and dropout, increased costs in the prevention of crimes committed by young people, and high rates of illiteracy and unemployment in adulthood. The facts are well known.

- South Africa has a low overall early childhood services provision rate and where services are provided certain sections of the population are adequately catered for while other sections are not.
- The quality of early childhood services is also extremely poor in many cases, not because of lack of interest but because of a total lack of resources and infrastructure.
- There are more than one million children in the age range 6-12 who are not attending school.
- Some 25 % of all black (see Endnote 1) children who start Sub A fail to complete the first year successfully.

In the light of these factors, many parents are forced to make arrangements for their children that are less than satisfactory. The most detrimental to young children is where parents leave their children alone at home while they go to work.

Single parents and poor families are in the worst position of all. However much they wish for quality and affordable services, these are not available.

The children of unemployed parents need access to early childhood development services too but because of a lack of availability and/or because of financial circumstances they are not able to obtain such services.

Young children must have the best quality care and education during this critical period. Parents leaving their children in the care of others, in order to work, have the right to expect that their children will be safe and secure and will have a good quality educational start.

1.1  Current concerns

Services in South Africa have a number of strengths on which to build:
- the community-based approach
- the existing non-formal training and support infrastructure
- low cost and affordable provision models and options
- policy initiatives relating to early childhood development

Despite these features, there is one overriding area of concern, namely the shortage of high quality programmes at a price that parents can afford.

Surveys during the last decade have shown that the lack of acceptable and affordable childcare has been given as one of the main reasons why women with young children who would like to take up paid employment do not do so.
This report deals with the costs, benefits and affordability of the various early childhood development provision options available to preschool children in South Africa and attempts to provide detailed quantitative answers to three questions:

- What would it cost to improve the quality of existing services?
- What degree of expansion of the levels of service of daycare and early education would satisfy parental demand and how much will this cost?
- How might the cost be shared between parents, employers and the state?

1.2 The first six years

The first six years of life are of vital importance in the development of the young child. During these years the foundation is laid for the child's development. It is a period of the most intense physical and intellectual development. Development is also more rapid than during any other period of life and deprivation has lasting effects. Recognition of the importance of these early years and the benefits of access to programmes coupled with changes in the patterns of employment of women have resulted in the development of early childhood programmes and facilities throughout the world.

Early childhood development is an umbrella term used for the processes by which children grow from birth and develop physically, mentally, emotionally and socially. A variety of programmes provide opportunities for young children to develop fully and are aimed at giving the young child the best possible preparation for the future.

The foundation of a child's ability to learn and succeed in life is laid during this phase. It is the result of appropriate care which addresses the mental, physical, social and emotional needs of the child. Interventions which provide such care and help strengthen the contexts in which children live, including strengthening the family, the community, and the physical, social and economic environment are necessary for children living in difficult circumstances.

Bowman writes that "In just a few short years, a child goes from being a helpless infant to being an active, independent, competent six year old. In no other six years of life must human beings learn so much so fast or will so much of the future depend on what has been learned in the past" (Bowman, 1987:3).

Investment in early childhood development has been shown to modify inequalities rooted in poverty and social discrimination by giving children from disadvantaged backgrounds a fair start in school and life. Effective early childhood development programmes can bring about cost savings in areas other than education. Health care costs can be cut through preventive measures found in programmes which help reduce disease and accidents. The social costs of delinquency, adolescent pregnancy and related problems are cut as children stay in school longer; and absenteeism is reduced when parents, assured of proper care for their children, can devote time to their jobs. The links between community development and early childhood development programmes through the empowerment and skill acquisition of parents and community members are well known. In early childhood, children are responsive to learning the values of mutual respect and tolerance essential for a democratic society and it is the best place to begin to develop a culture of learning.

1.3 Preschool demographics in South Africa

The population of South Africa is approximately 40 million. Of this total some 5.84 million are children of preschool age. Table 1 provides the estimates of the 1995 population of children aged 0-5 years:
TABLE 1: Numbers of children in South Africa aged 0-5 years: 1995 (provincial distribution)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Nr of children 0-5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>402 325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>995 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>365 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Cape</td>
<td>94 895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu-Natal</td>
<td>1 288 300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpumalanga</td>
<td>470 475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>988 850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-West</td>
<td>550 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauteng</td>
<td>681 020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>5 836 600</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Lategan, 1994a; Whiteford et al., 1995.

In attempting to meet the need for services there is general agreement that the basic developmental needs of very many young children cannot be met from the resources available in their communities. Frequently they have to contend with multiple disadvantages that place them seriously at risk, e.g. violence in the community, family breakdown, inadequate primary health care, undernutrition and hunger, inadequate preparation for school, problems for parents in accessing information and resources due to low literacy levels and a lack of services.

1.4 Survival rates, failure and dropout rates in the junior primary years

The educational implications of the context in which the black child develops are largely negative. Owing to inadequate nutrition and health care the child's physical condition is often poor, thus limiting energy and vitality. The child also lacks the experiences necessary for optimal cognitive development. Language development in turn is negatively affected. The result is a child who is not school ready and is therefore unable to keep up with the pace at school. This leads to school failure and early dropout.

While there are disturbing data illustrating the plight of African children in South Africa, the educational implications of this context are most explicitly manifested in the high failure and dropout rates for black primary school children and the number of children who leave school without gaining functional literacy. In a major research study, Taylor (1989) records the high dropout rate and failure rate for black children at the end of their first year at primary school. Almost one-quarter of black African children who enter the first grade (Substandard A - SSA) do not reach the second grade (Substandard B - SSB) the following year. Many of these children disappear from the formal schooling system altogether at this stage. Table 2 indicates the primary school survival rates for African children who entered school in 1960, 1970 and 1980.
TABLE 2: Survival rates as a percentage of SSA enrolment for the groups who entered SSA in 1960, 1970 and 1980 (all African children)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year group entered SSA</th>
<th>SSA</th>
<th>SSB</th>
<th>STD 1</th>
<th>STD 2</th>
<th>STD 3</th>
<th>STD 4</th>
<th>STD 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


From Table 2 it can be seen that the transition from the first to the second grade (SSA to SSB) exhibits the lowest survival rate between any two successive grades in the primary phase. A number of factors contribute to the high failure and dropout rates. Lategan (1990:3) writes that “Some of these factors relate to conditions internal to the education system (such as access to schools, teacher/pupil ratios, teacher qualifications, etc.) and some to socio-economic conditions external to the education system (such as the education and income levels of their families)”.

A consequence of this dropout rate is the high rate of functional illiteracy for black South Africans. Taylor estimates that something in the order of 25% of African children grow up to be illiterate. He (Taylor, 1989:12) comments that “Within the school system, the low survival rate at first grade level is the largest single factor which both retards student flow through the system and feeds the vast pool of illiterates in South Africa”.

The provision of preschool educare services before school entry, among other strategies, is advocated as a means of combating primary school dropout and failure.

1.5 Arguments for early childhood development intervention programmes for children

In contextualizing the situation for the young black preschool child in South Africa a grim picture emerges. The question to be asked then is what role early childhood educare in its broadest developmental sense can play in redressing the situation.

The general goal of preschool educare is defined (Van Leer Foundation, 1981:2) as being

... to enrich the lives of individual children whose development would otherwise be adversely affected by detrimental socio-economic and cultural circumstances, and to show parents and communities how, besides giving love and devotion, they can best help their children to be successful in school and, ultimately, in their adult lives. As an ideal, community-based early childhood education programmes offer the hope that ignorance, poverty and disease can be reduced and the promise that even the most disadvantaged child can be helped to lead a fulfilling and worthwhile life. Thus, early childhood education, especially in developing countries, is much more than an end in itself. It is also a means for social development and improvement.

The objectives of preschool educare lie in the growth and development of children in four main areas: the cognitive, social, emotional and physical.
Cognitively preschool educare provides opportunities for optimal intellectual functioning through looking, listening and doing. The child’s individual potential is focused upon so that he/she may become “competent in body and mind — competent in doing, making and thinking skills, appropriate to his stage of development” (Boyes & Gadd, 1982). Curiosity is encouraged, and the foundation of sensory and perceptual learning, leading to conceptualization, is the most ideal form of learning in early childhood. School readiness, particularly the adjustment to formal schooling, is enhanced.

Emotionally preschool educare offers opportunities for children to develop their individuality, a positive self-concept and independence, and feelings of security and freedom. Self-confidence, self-control and self-discipline are established.

Socially preschool educare provides opportunities for children to develop relationships and to learn how to relate to other children and adults; to develop self-esteem and a sense of worth; and the capacity to share and to co-operate.

Physically preschool educare offers opportunities for becoming aware of and controlling the body, for activities designed to develop fine and gross motor movements, physical co-ordination, and good attitudes towards health care and safety. The opportunity for the child to be adequately nourished exists through meeting the child's nutritional needs.

Despite the overwhelming evidence that early childhood intervention is beneficial to the development of disadvantaged children there is sadly still a need to provide additional arguments for investment in the early years. Compelling social and economic arguments in favour of early intervention programmes exist and have been advocated by noted educationists (Myers, 1991; Barker, 1985). These include:

- **The human rights argument**: Children have a right to develop to their full potential by growing up in a healthy and safe environment. Conditions that prevent optimal development violate basic human rights.

- **The moral argument**: Early childhood development programmes can help in transmitting moral and social values and can reverse the erosion of traditional values by providing environments where parents and communities can reinforce these cultural values.

- **The social equity argument**: Disadvantaged environments cause poor children to lag behind their more advantaged counterparts. Gender-linked disparities in many cultures also work against girls’ development and educational opportunities. Early childhood development programmes have the potential to help correct such inequalities.

- **The economic argument**: Preventive programmes are found to be cost effective in the long run. These can reduce the need for expensive curative programmes. Preventive programmes also reduce low academic achievement, dropping out of school, the need for remedial intervention, juvenile delinquency, drug and alcohol abuse and other forms of antisocial behaviour. Children who attend preschool facilities have also been found to be more likely to find employment and to be less dependent on state aid than non-attenders. Barker (1985) argues that the rate of return on the education and care of preschool children is higher than at any other level of education. Further economic advantages follow from increased family stability and the reassurance of parents who know their children are being well looked after.

- **The programmatic argument**: The effectiveness of health, nutrition, education and income-generating programmes can be improved through integration with programmes of early child-
hood intervention. These programmes are often an important entry point for community development activities as well as extension for primary health care.

- **The psychological development argument**: This argument is inspired by the idea that early childhood is the best time to break the cycle of poverty. Because the child’s early years are vital for the formation of personality structure, intelligence and social behaviour, reaching the disadvantaged child at this early stage can have a positive, formative effect on the child’s future. Through early intervention, it should be possible to prepare the young child physically and mentally for effective learning in primary school and to strengthen the supporting and feeding task of the family. When this is so, the chance of more complete development and higher productivity increases, breaking the poverty cycle.

These arguments are further strengthened by the negative effects of economic recession all over the world, changing social conditions, increased female participation in the labour force, combined with sociocultural changes in the family pattern, resulting in non-availability of family support to take care of young children. Collectively, these factors provide sufficient basis for investment in early childhood development services.

### 1.6 Effects of early childhood development programmes on children

Several research studies have reported the positive effects of preschool education provision. The best known of these has been the High/Scope Educational Research Foundation Perry Preschool Project in the United States, which found that young children who were living in disadvantaged circumstances but had attended a good preschool programme at ages 3 and 4 outperformed similar children who had not attended such a programme, on intelligence and school achievement tests, primary school success, commitment to schooling, and high school success (Schweinhart & Weikart, 1989). In a longitudinal experimental study in which children living in poverty were randomly assigned to either a preschool group or a no-preschool group it was found that by age 19, the preschool group achieved a higher employment rate and lower rates of criminal arrests, teenage pregnancy, and need for welfare assistance than the no-preschool group.

In addition to the Perry Preschool study, other long-term studies have found evidence that good programmes for young children living in poverty produce statistically significant long-term benefits. Studies from developing countries have followed children from the preprimary into at least the early primary school experience and some have followed children into the secondary schools. Myers (1992) reviewed a set of these studies from Colombia (four studies), Guatemala, Mexico, Turkey, India, Morocco, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Brazil, and Peru. All the programmes included, at least, a one-year preschool programme for children prior to entry into the primary school. Some of the programmes also had a nutritional component and some included home visiting. Myers (1992:3) concluded:

> In a review of longitudinal studies examining the effect of early interventions on school progress and performance in primary school, 10 of 14 studies showed less repetition among primary school children who participated in early childhood programmes, as compared with similar children who had not participated. (One of the four cases where no effect was found followed an automatic promotion system.)
Myers (1992:251) summarized the review by stating:

Early intervention programmes, more often than not, have a positive effect on the probability of enrolment, on school progress (as represented by repetition and dropout rates, and by grades), and on achievement in the early years of primary school. The effect can be very large.

A series of evaluation studies by Short and Biersteker (1984) on South African children in the Athlone community in the Western Cape, examined the scholastic progress of children who had participated in the Early Learning Centre (ELC) nursery school programme between 1972 and 1974.

The three evaluation studies looked at
- the extent to which the ELC programme prepared disadvantaged children for school;
- the effects of the ELC programme on various aspects of psycho-social behaviour, including adjustment to primary school and language ability at the end of the children’s first quarter in primary school;
- the follow-through data on the scholastic progress of these children during their primary school years until the end of 1980.

Results of the study indicate that
- children from middle-class homes obtain higher scores on intelligence and language tests than children from lower-class homes. The inference is that middle-class children are better prepared for school;
- mean scores and the percentage of children scoring above the median increased with length of time in the programme, while the number of ELC children obtaining very low scores decreased with longer periods in the programme;
- the ELC programme had the effect of compensating for social class differences in school readiness;
- there was some support for the hypothesis that the ELC programme had an effect on preparing children for school.

In summary, the findings of this study indicate that lower-class children who had participated in the ELC programme for two and a half years obtained mean scores equal to their middle-class peers attending a traditional nursery school programme, and greater than the “unschooled” lower-class group and the lower-class children attending a traditional nursery school. This suggests that the ELC programme helped to overcome the effects of disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds (Short & Biersteker, 1984).

Chapter 2 describes a developmental approach to early childhood development services in South Africa. Chapter 3 focuses on the need for early childhood development services. Chapter 4 looks at the financial aspects of early childhood development, focusing on current funding available, as well as costings and affordability. Chapter 5 summarizes the report and draws conclusions that need to be taken into account in policy development.
Chapter 2: A developmental approach to early childhood development services in South Africa

Local and international evidence shows that individual children, families and society in general can benefit greatly from well-planned, integrated community services directed at the developmental needs of young children, especially those in greatest need. Through ECD programmes children are able to receive better nutrition, love and care, mental and social stimulation, moral guidance and constructive socialization, both in and out of the home. Thus individual children's physical, mental, moral and social development and happiness can be enhanced, with significant benefits for both child and family. ECD services can enable parents to learn about and respond to their children's developmental needs, and/or can free parents, especially mothers, to take up work or further education. An adequate ECD infrastructure enables women in poor families to break out of the cycle of illiteracy, too many children and economic dependence.

These direct benefits to children and families bring many indirect gains to the community and the wider society, including healthier and safer neighbourhoods, increased economic activity and productivity, a reduced need for costly remedial health, education, welfare and police services, lower birth rates, less child abuse and more efficient progress through the school system.

As such, early childhood development programmes have an important role to play in community development and in improving the quality of life for young disadvantaged children and their families who are at risk.

2.1 Definition of the developmental approach

The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI, 1992) was the first to record an approach to early childhood development service provision which has emerged in recent years and which has been termed the developmental approach. In the development approach the care, education and social development of young children is integrated with health, housing, welfare, schooling, and economic development. Early childhood development is seen within the context of community development and recognizes the important roles played by parents and community members in the care and education of young children. Advantages put forward are that the developmental approach favours continuity and sustainability in programmes, children's needs can be met in an integrated way, and whole communities benefit, not just children, through gaining knowledge and skills and the possibility of jobs. Women gain the opportunity to become involved in community affairs and to develop the organizational capacity to solve other community problems.

2.2 Educare provision options for parents and children

Within the developmental approach a wide range of programmes have been developed to meet the varied ECD needs of families. Programmes differ according to the following factors:

- **Location:** Programmes can either be centre based or home based. Centre-based programmes operate from either single-purpose buildings (which could include those that are custom built) or from multipurpose buildings such as community halls and churches.

- **Degree of family involvement:** Programmes can focus on children only — child orientated; on parents only — parent orientated; or on parents and children — dual orientation.

- **Age of the target children:** Programmes meet the developmental needs of children at particular stages in their growth and development.
**Duration:** Programmes can be of differing hours, the usual being either full-day (8-10 hours) or half-day (4-5 hours). Programmes can also be provided each day of the week, two or three days a week or a few hours on one day of the week only.

**Numbers:** Programmes can involve single children, mother and child, parents and child(ren), or children in a group setting.

These different types of options are described in Appendix 1.

### 2.3 The supply of early childhood development programmes

Statistics on white children in educare provision are not available although Short (1992) estimates that some 160,000 white children (0-6 years) have access to some form of educare provision. This represents 33% of the age cohort.

The availability of programmes for black children is summarized in Table 3. The number of programmes was calculated by Biersteker as part of the Early Childhood Development input to the White Paper on Welfare and Population Development (see ECD Working Group, 1995), from actual listings of educare projects and does not include estimates for unknown programmes. In her opinion the estimate is therefore likely to be conservative. The quality of many programmes is not indicated in these figures and in many cases is poor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total nr of children 0-5</th>
<th>Programmes</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>% in provision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>342,000</td>
<td>1,322</td>
<td>62,714</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>979,200</td>
<td>2,594</td>
<td>137,812</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>332,000</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>21,418</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Cape</td>
<td>84,000</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>6,119</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu-Natal</td>
<td>1,245,300</td>
<td>2,130</td>
<td>94,325</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpumalanga</td>
<td>441,000</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>14,836</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>977,500</td>
<td>1,207</td>
<td>106,168</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-West</td>
<td>506,500</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>41,675</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauteng</td>
<td>499,000</td>
<td>1,834</td>
<td>90,407</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,406,500</strong></td>
<td><strong>10,766</strong></td>
<td><strong>575,474</strong></td>
<td><strong>10.6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Overall access to ECD services is very limited with just over one in ten children having access to services of any kind. Such access as there is, is in inverse proportion to need: white children have significantly greater access to services than black children, children in poverty-stricken rural areas
have fewer ECD services than children in urban areas, children on farms being worst off; middle-class children benefit from more highly subsidized preprimary education programmes while working-class children often attend full-day centres which do not have the funds to provide an adequate service. Educare programmes are focused on the 3-6 age group and there is a general neglect of under-threes who are in a particularly vulnerable period of life. The needs of children with disabilities are largely unprovided for.
Chapter 3: Need for early childhood development services

Research has shown that good quality daycare and early education is highly beneficial for children. Parents seek services out of concern

- for the social development of their children through the company of other children and adults;
- for their children to make a good start in education;
- for their children to be well cared for while they work or study, or for whatever other reason they wish to have a break from the demands of full-time childcare.

The key question for this exercise:

- What is the level of demand for daycare and early education?

While the need for daycare depends on a whole complex set of personal factors, the extent to which this need is translated into demand depends on the employment of women and also on the price that parents have to pay for these services.

3.1 Working mothers

The majority of women in both the developing and the developed worlds confront the need to combine economically productive work with the care and nurturing of their children. The burden of these responsibilities and limited options falls most heavily on low-income women in the Third World. Factors such as increased urbanization, industrialization, and migration have given rise to greater numbers of women working away from home. The persistent rise in female-headed households has tremendous implications.

Few low-income women have the option of devoting themselves full time to childcare in their child’s critical first year of life. A high proportion of women work long hours in the informal sector in low-paying jobs that provide no security. In addition, increased communication systems (reaching into remote, isolated areas), expanded education opportunities, changing family structures, extensive migration, and the explosion of urban environments have, as Anderson (1988:XX) describes, been sufficient to upset a tenuous balance that women seemed to have achieved among their many roles and obligations. For women in numerous occupations, the distancing of the workplace from the home and the insoluble transportation problems of sprawling Third World cities have eliminated the possibility of combining work and childcare.... Family systems have changed and so have the local communities on which families depend for helping networks and social participation. A sharp rise in the number of female-headed households in very diverse cultural settings has perhaps been the most dramatic expression of this shift. Entirely new communities have been created such as the shanty communities that ring most major Third World cities. These changes... affect men’s and women’s relations with their immediate human environment, their relations with each other, and their relation to their children.

In simplistic terms, working mothers have three options addressing their need for childcare. The first option entails “doing it yourself”, or personal direct care by the mother. The second involves the delegation of tasks to siblings, grandparents, or other extended kin, much of it unpaid care. The third alternative, and the subject of this report, refers to the delegation of responsibility to a formally or informally organized system of childcare which has to be paid for. These organized
Programmes may take many forms, ranging from mammoth, highly organized preschool facilities to informal home daycare arrangements where caregivers attend to six or more neighbourhood children. Programmes may be located within co-operatives, factories, or communities, with varying degrees of participation and cost to working mothers. While reliance on organized childcare programmes is increasing, in reality the care of a single child at any given point in his or her development reflects a complex combination of these three options.

3.2 The number of children needing early childhood development services

Many factors influence the demand for daycare. This section concentrates first on that part of the demand for daycare that stems from parents' need or desire to take up paid employment.

Female employment figures by age group are available for 1988. From Diagram 1 it can be seen that employment of females in the age group 20-39 ranges between 26% and 42% for the different population groups. Extrapolating from this, Lategan (1990) estimated the number of children in the age range 0-6 years with working mothers to be between 15% and 30%. This translates to between 875 000 and 1,75 million children. These figures are two to three times greater than the current levels of service provision. Projections from 1995 to 2000 show an increase of 2.6% p.a. in the number of children aged 0-5, meaning that by the year 2000 there will be an additional 792 000 children in the 0-6 age cohort of whom between 120 000 and 240 000 will need full-day care.

However, a number of other factors mean that the provision of services for full-day care does not have to be so extensive:

- some contribution can be made by employers allowing more flexible working hours and more part-time work
- some contribution to the care of 5-year olds will result from the introduction of the reception year;
- there may also be a further rise in the use of unpaid care by friends and relatives, as attitudes towards working women with children continue to grow more positive.

But a number of other factors on the demand side mean that the provision of daycare services may need to be greater: with paid childcare services more readily available and affordable, an additional demand might come from

- parents whose children are at present cared for by friends or relatives (especially as more grandmothers will be going out to work);
- parents who at present leave their children unsupervised at home;
- women who increase their hours of job market work;
- parents who seek daycare while they train, or for other reasons;
- families experiencing temporary difficulties who need short-term flexible placements.

These additional supply and demand factors are all difficult to quantify. To some extent they will cancel each other out, but it is extremely difficult to determine where the final balance will lie. Only experience will reveal this.
3.3 Provision targets

At this stage the difficult question of the mix of types of provision of daycare needs to be addressed. There are no surveys of parents of young children which could throw light on the question of preferences. Not all families and children require the same early childhood services. This report focuses on “high risk” groups across the whole age range. The calculations are done on the basis of an incremental increase in a range of services across the age range as depicted in Tables 4 and 5.

Based on present experience however national target levels for each provision type for the years 1995 to 1999 have been established as part of the South African Study on Early Childhood Development (CEPD, 1994). These numbers reflect all the points discussed in the previous sections. In view of the many uncertainties surrounding them they would be treated as illustrative of a feasible future state of affairs rather than predictive.

In line with the targeting proposed by the South African Study on Early Childhood Development (CEPD, 1994), and illustrated in Tables 4 and 5, two costings are provided. One is related to the costs of implementing a “reception year” for 5-year olds as a part of the compulsory education system now in place. The other costing has been done in relation to programmes for children across the early childhood age spectrum outside the formal education system (i.e. ages 0-4).
TABLE 4: Percentage provision targets by 1999, by age group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Full day Centre</th>
<th>Full day Home</th>
<th>Part day Home visit</th>
<th>Family Parent-child</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7,5</td>
<td>7,5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4 Implementation

These targets have the capability of eliminating the current shortage of childcare and early education, and of doing so in ways that are consistent with the fundamental principles and criteria set out in the Education and Welfare White Papers. They imply very high rates of growth for daycare services which may not be organizationally sustainable, so they may need to be scaled down to achievable levels over a longer period of time. In view of the uncertainties surrounding all the figure work, the targets will need to be reviewed and updated after a period of monitoring and evaluation. At local level the targets will need to be amended to fit local circumstances and local preferences.

A practicable way forward would involve a number of steps:
- implementation of all measures needed to stimulate supply and demand;
- establishment of national and provincial targets;
- monitoring of progress towards targets with regular reviews, followed by establishment of new targets.

* Home based = Childminders/daymothers providing care for up to six young children in their homes, and home-based crèches which provide care for 12 or more children in informal backyard structures or garages.

Centre based = Crèches providing full-day care for children from infancy to three years of age. These provide custodial care, generally with untrained staff.

Home visiting = Programmes where a trained ECD provider visits a home once a week to provide child development information and support to a parent with young children.

Full-day CB = ECD centres which have full-day childcare for children (3-6 years of age), offered by non-formally trained staff, and operating in community facilities (community based (CB));
Part-day CB = The preprimary class offering a part-day programme for 3 to 6-year olds. These are generally attached to primary schools and staffed by professionally trained teachers. Also included are playgroups, playschools and preschools which tend to be more informal. While the programmes may have educational inputs, the staff may not have formal training;

Parent-child groups = Informal neighbourhood parent education groups, led by ECD staff. Weekly meetings consists of groups for information sharing and discussion of ECD issues.

TABLE 5: Percentage of age group in ECD provision across five-year plan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Type of provision*</th>
<th>Year 1 1995</th>
<th>Year 2 1996</th>
<th>Year 3 1997</th>
<th>Year 4 1998</th>
<th>Year 5 1999</th>
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<tr>
<td>Under 1 year</td>
<td>Home based</td>
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<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Centre based</td>
<td>0,01</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home visiting</td>
<td>0,01</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Home based</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,05</td>
<td>0,06</td>
<td>0,08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Centre based</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,05</td>
<td>0,06</td>
<td>0,08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home visiting</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,06</td>
<td>0,08</td>
<td>0,10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Home based</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,06</td>
<td>0,08</td>
<td>0,10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Centre based</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,06</td>
<td>0,08</td>
<td>0,10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home visiting</td>
<td>0,01</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parent-child gp</td>
<td>0,01</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full-day CB</td>
<td>0,05</td>
<td>0,10</td>
<td>0,15</td>
<td>0,20</td>
<td>0,25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part-day CB</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,06</td>
<td>0,09</td>
<td>0,12</td>
<td>0,15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home visiting</td>
<td>0,01</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parent-child gp</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,06</td>
<td>0,08</td>
<td>0,10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Full-day HB</td>
<td>0,01</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full-day CB</td>
<td>0,05</td>
<td>0,10</td>
<td>0,15</td>
<td>0,20</td>
<td>0,25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part-day CB</td>
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<td>0,06</td>
<td>0,09</td>
<td>0,12</td>
<td>0,15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Home visiting</td>
<td>0,01</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,03</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parent-child gp</td>
<td>0,02</td>
<td>0,04</td>
<td>0,06</td>
<td>0,08</td>
<td>0,10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Full-day CB</td>
<td>0,06</td>
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<td>0,18</td>
<td>0,24</td>
<td>0,30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part-day CB</td>
<td>0,14</td>
<td>0,28</td>
<td>0,42</td>
<td>0,56</td>
<td>0,70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4: Financing early childhood development in South Africa

The lack of financial resources in the field and an unwillingness by the previous government to take responsibility for ECD services are the major causes for the very limited overall access. Poor resource allocation to ECD services is evident in all sectors including government, corporate, social investment, foundations, development agencies and foreign aid; the result being provision for fewer than 11% of children. Where funding has been available it has been from the state, parents, the corporate sector, philanthropic organizations and foreign aid.

4.1 Existing funding

Government sources of funds have been mainly the departments of education, and of health services and welfare. Donaldson (1992:298) gives the total for government spending on preprimary education in 1990 as R130 million, or 0.8% of total education spending, 69% of which was spent on white preprimary education (Biersteker, 1993:15). The state contribution has been in the form of subsidies for children between 3-6 years of age, welfare subsidies for children needing full-day services and the funding of preprimary training courses.

In 1991, as a response to initiatives from within the early childhood community, the Independent Development Trust (IDT) channelled R70 million into ECD, with 85% of this allocation going directly to children described as the poorest of the poor.

Government and the IDT have not been the only funders of early childhood programmes. The private sector, foundations and international donor agencies have been supportive of ECD programmes. The private sector has provided a limited amount of assistance to community early childhood projects through their social responsibility programmes. The NEPI (1992) report estimates that R35 million was contributed by the corporate sector to ECD during 1990, constituting 6% of their total contribution to education.

Foundations and donor agencies have contributed both to the direct operation of programmes and to the development of support systems that provide training and materials to community-based early childhood programmes. In so far as foreign government aid is concerned, of the R580 million spent on education during 1992 only 2% (R11.6 million) has benefited ECD (NEPI, 1992). Foreign government aid has been targeted specifically at training and development work, while international non-governmental aid has been aimed at innovative experimental programmes and non-governmental training and resource organizations.

In the absence of funds from elsewhere, the major source of funding for early childhood services, especially in black African communities, is the fees that parents pay. It has been estimated that parents pay about 80% of the ongoing operational expenses of community-based educare services. The NEPI (1992) report estimates that this totalled at least R120 million in the case of black parents and some R320 million in the case of white parents. Parents’ willingness to pay is an indication of their commitment to providing early childhood services for their children.

In summary, children in South Africa have not had equal access to early childhood programmes. Government expenditure has favoured early childhood provision for white families, mainly in high cost, high quality preschools. Furthermore, more services are available in the urban areas than in the more populated rural areas. Access rates are lowest in the more heavily populated rural areas, with the children living on farms being worst off. There is an almost total lack of provision of preschool opportunities for African children with disabilities (Biersteker, 1993:9).
What is clear is that the state has failed to make a significant contribution to services for very young children. This has resulted in low levels of provision, generally of inferior quality, particularly in communities unable to provide resources themselves.

To increase access to ECD services for children under the age of six (or under the age of five when the reception year is introduced), affordability needs to be assessed and consideration needs to be given to expanded state subsidization of the range of programme options.

4.2 Principles for funding early childhood development

Funding for ECD needs to be located within the framework of a comprehensive national strategy for reconstruction and development and needs to especially address aspects of demand, inequality, redress, equity and quality. Some principles for funding early childhood development in South Africa which are generally accepted include:

- Funding of ECD services involves a partnership of the national, provincial and local governments, the private sector, organized labour, community organizations, parents and donor agencies.
- A wide range of programmes and services must be eligible for state financial support.
- Funding allocations should be based on present and projected needs and must address the needs of children and families not presently reached.
- Employers have a direct responsibility to contribute to meeting the needs of their employees' young children's development.
- Parents should contribute according to their means.
- No child must be denied access to early childhood development services on the grounds of parents' inability to pay.
- State subsidization must be sufficient to ensure a good quality service.

Specifically, state funding for early childhood development must be substantially increased if the need is to be met; it must be distributed on a more equitable basis, and some measure of redress needs to be built into any subsidy formula developed in order to eradicate the imbalances of the past.

Subsidization of operating costs on a per capita basis is generally regarded as the best means of improving and extending educare provision and supporting community control, because subsidies can provide for choice and real decision making about programme options, while the state can also exercise control through accountability procedures.

4.3 Costings

The costs of various kinds of ECD provision, including those programmes directly serving children and those focused on family members involved in the care and education of young children, were developed as part of the South African Study on ECD. Programmes were costed using an adapted version of the Lotus spreadsheet designed for the background costing study for the Early Childhood Educare Commission of the National Education Policy Investigation in 1992 (NEPI, 1992). Linda Biersteker (1994) updated the costs using a modified spreadsheet which included capital and training costs. These are used in the sample programme costings which follow.
These costings at 1995 rand values were done for two levels of provision — a *minimum* level (a programme representing the basics required for quality care) and an *adequate level*. Given the country’s limited resources (financial and in terms of trained staff), the costings used in this report are at the *minimum* standard of provision only.

The calculated costs are based on several givens or assumptions made by Biersteker. For example:

**Monthly salaries.** Calculation based on salary recommendations as in Appendix 2.

**Staff qualifications.** In order to increase access to services, using available staffing and persons who could be trained relatively quickly, less highly qualified staff than would be desirable is being projected. This reduces the costs. The costs of providing these staff members with technical support and the training of specialist workers have been included in the calculations.

**Teacher-driven costs.** Including staff benefits and ongoing in-service training.

**Food costs.** Food costs in rands were derived from Savage and Vena (1990) and updated for inflation. In 1993, based on an 11-month year, this was R28,80 a month. This is only costed into the full-day options.

**Rental.** This takes into account the capital costs of providing a structure over a period of 20 years for buildings, wood and iron structures, prefabs and adapted shipping containers. The assumption is that this will cover replacement and/or maintenance costs which will become necessary over that period.

**Administration.** Including transport, stationery, postage, cleaning materials, etc.

**Services.** Including electricity or other fuel, water, rates and telephone.

**Equipment.** This figure refers to consumable supplies such as art materials as well as the replacement of material as it wears out. The capital outlay of equipping a facility or programme from scratch is not included except in the projections for the programme for 5-year olds.

**Costings of different programme options.** The 1995 *per capita* costs for each type of provision are provided in Table 6.

**TABLE 6:**  *Per capita* costs per annum, by quality of ECD provision for 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of programme</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Minimum (R)</th>
<th>Adequate (R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-year olds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reception class</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 669</td>
<td>4 035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 to 5-year olds</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FULL DAY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre based</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>1 826</td>
<td>3 487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>2 397</td>
<td>4 645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>3 642</td>
<td>6 008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3 207</td>
<td>4 015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Part day</td>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>1 801</td>
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<td>Family education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Home visiting</td>
<td>0-2</td>
<td>670</td>
<td>1 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent-child</td>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4 Whose responsibility?

The funding of ECD services will of necessity be borne by a partnership between the national, provincial and local governments, the private sector, labour, community-based organizations, parents and donor and philanthropic organizations.

4.4.1 National government responsibility

In terms of the interim constitution and the draft constitution, the national government has decided that its role with regard to education and welfare will be limited mainly to policy formulation, national legislation, setting guidelines and standards, and treasury allocation. The responsibility for direct service provision will lie with the provincial governments. As such, government at national level is relieved of direct provision obligations for early childhood development services. The focus on provision for young children must therefore move to the provincial governments and they will have to take responsibility for the subsidization of early childhood development services for all 5-year olds (through the education department) as well as 0 to 4-year olds (through the welfare department).

4.4.2 Provincial responsibility

Provincial government subsidization of operating costs of ECD services would be the basis for improved and extended ECD provision. Per capita subsidies are regarded as the best means for supporting community control, because they can provide for choice and real decision-making about programme options. They can also be structured in such a way as to meet the demands of bringing about equity and redress existing resource imbalances.

ECD programmes for 5-year olds. The basic costs of the programme for 5-year olds — the reception year — form part of the provincial education department’s responsibility. This follows on the policy reflected in the White Paper on Education.

ECD programmes for 0 to 4-year olds. Programmes for 0 to 4-year olds are the responsibility of provincial welfare departments that subsidize ECD services for this age group. The subsidy would cover the costs incurred by the programme in relation to the physical, emotional, educational and nutritional needs of the child. Children in full-day programmes would qualify for a higher subsidy than would children under the age of three.

To meet the principle of redress, a sliding scale could be created, with the maximum subsidy being provided for communities that cannot contribute sufficiently towards providing a service of minimum acceptable standards.

Some generally accepted principles for subsidization are:

- Any bona fide community committee running or starting an ECD programme should be eligible for subsidization, provided that reasonable standards are met. Such standards would refer, inter alia to health, care and education.
- All types of early childhood care and education programmes previously described and which comply with minimum standards, are eligible for subsidy.
- Programmes applying for funding would need to indicate their capacity to deliver and the basis on which they are offering services.
Subsidies would be paid over to the controlling body of the programme.

Privately owned early childhood development programmes and centres do not qualify for state support.

Greater assistance should be given to poorer communities and to children with special needs.

**Infrastructural costs**: Provision also needs to be made for financing essential support costs needed to promote community development, to build institutional capacity, and to strengthen demand and awareness. This could include the following:

- The employment of community educare/health workers to motivate and empower their own communities to set up community-controlled services for children.
- Administrative costs, which might include support for the functioning of community-elected councils and accreditation programmes.
- Training and support services — both formal ones and the network of resource and non-formal training centres — which would provide general training and support services to all educare programmes and specifically employ support workers to train and guide the motivators.
- Radio and television programmes and print media to develop parent awareness and support informal education in the home.

4.4.3. **Local government responsibility**

Under the draft constitution, local authorities would have no responsibility for providing or supporting ECD services. Functions which they could perform within their local area of authority include:

- The provision of (annual) grants-in-aid, to the governing bodies of ECD projects in their jurisdiction.
- Assisting with the development of the land earmarked for the building of centres, by providing the necessary tools free of charge — as well as plants, etc.
- Providing professional advice (e.g. architectural and engineering) free of charge to struggling communities.

4.4.4. **Community/Parent responsibility**

The major responsibility for financing the operational costs of early childhood development services and programmes will have to remain the responsibility of parents. Parental contribution through fees would be required to supplement any provincial subsidy which is available and obtained. In cases where parents cannot pay, no child should be denied access to services. In such cases the controlling board of the programme should be able to seek additional state support.

4.5 **Affordability**

We turn now to consideration of ways in which the expansion of ECD services discussed previously will be financed. This section considers options for subsidy which will determine the relative share for parents and government in bearing these costs. One of the main considerations is to see that families at all income levels would be equally able to afford ECD services. This means
that charges will need to be related to income, and probably on a progressive scale so that low-income parents pay a lower proportion of their income than high-income parents.

**Sharing the cost of programmes**

It is assumed that an operational subsidy at a flat rate will be introduced. It is suggested that an average parental contribution of one half of the overall costs would achieve the aim of making ECD services equally affordable to all parents regardless of their financial circumstances. Provincial governments would be responsible for the other one half through a per capita subsidy for qualifying families.

To ensure redress, a means test above which families do not receive a subsidy should be introduced. These families would be responsible for the full costs of the service with no operational subsidy. The rate of operational subsidy and the structure of the scale rate for fees have to be chosen.

The shares suggested above are put forward on pragmatic grounds. Other shares would be feasible, but if the parents' share was to be higher it would be difficult to ensure that a high enough percentage of poor parents have access to services, and a lower share would probably make the public expenditure cost appear unacceptably high to a broad spectrum of opinion.

An example best illustrates this. Under this scheme, if the costs of an educare centre placement for a 3 to 5-year old is R1 826 (at the minimum standard) per year, the parents would pay an average of R76 a month if the centre qualifies for a 50 % operational subsidy. If the centre does not qualify for the operational subsidy the fee to parents would be the full cost of the service of R152 a month. Under this scheme the provincial government would subsidize each qualifying family to an amount of R3,45 a day which is approximately one half of the present rate for a Level III centre that receives R6,37 per child per day. At the adequate standard, parents would pay R145 a month if the centre qualifies for the 50 % operational subsidy. If the centre does not qualify for the operational subsidy the fee to parents would be the full cost of the service of R290 a month. In this case, the provincial government would subsidize each qualifying family to an amount of R6,60 a day which is slightly above the present rate for a Level III centre which receives R6,37 per child per day.

Subsidization at this rate would enable programmes to offer adequate quality services. Programmes wishing better quality would need to find funds for this purpose out of their own resources.

**Cost to the provincial governments**

Total expenditure on ECD services coming within the scope of a provincial department subsidy of R3,50 per qualifying child per day, under this formula will be R1,03 billion in 1996 escalating to R3,49 billion by the year 1999. Of this total, parents will be paying an equal amount to the provincial government subsidy contribution. Take-up (utilization) of the provincial subsidy would, however, be less than 100 %. If it were only 75 %, subsidies required would be R775 million in 1996, escalating to R2,62 billion in 1999. The effective cost to the provincial governments will be much lower than these figures suggest because of flowbacks to the state through increased tax from parents who enter employment as a result of the availability of services and reduced social benefit payments.

The expansion of ECD services will have a significant effect on the ability of women to enter employment. Moreover, with the growth in the economy, employment rates are rising and there
will be many new entrants to employment. This will necessitate substantial government investment in ECD services.

The additional entrants to employment will, apart from paying income tax, also pay (more) taxes on purchases made (VAT) from their income. The net cost to government will therefore be less that the gross cost of increased subsidization. Moreover, the children who have benefited from ECD services will later add value to the economy — which will also benefit state coffers.

Under the provision targets, and with government subsidization at the levels suggested, the numbers of children who can be reached over the period 1996-1999 are given in Table 8(a), with the approximate costs given in Table 8(b).

TABLE 8 (a): Children to be provided for

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total nr of children 0-5</th>
<th>Year</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>402 325</td>
<td>81 372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>995 230</td>
<td>201 290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>365 105</td>
<td>73 844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Cape</td>
<td>94 895</td>
<td>19 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu Natal</td>
<td>1 288 300</td>
<td>260 565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpumalanga</td>
<td>470 475</td>
<td>95 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>988 850</td>
<td>200 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-West</td>
<td>550 400</td>
<td>111 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauteng</td>
<td>681 020</td>
<td>137 740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>5 836 600</td>
<td>1 180 480</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


TABLE 8 (b): Approximate cost to provincial government at 50 % per capita subsidy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>71 200 500</td>
<td>118 813 650</td>
<td>175 136 625</td>
<td>240 902 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>176 128 750</td>
<td>293 909 100</td>
<td>433 233 675</td>
<td>595 918 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>64 613 500</td>
<td>107 821 200</td>
<td>158 933 425</td>
<td>218 616 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Cape</td>
<td>16 793 875</td>
<td>28 025 000</td>
<td>41 308 525</td>
<td>56 820 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu-Natal</td>
<td>227 994 375</td>
<td>380 457 900</td>
<td>560 809 275</td>
<td>771 401 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpumalanga</td>
<td>83 261 500</td>
<td>138 939 400</td>
<td>204 802 175</td>
<td>281 708 900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Province</td>
<td>175 000 000</td>
<td>292 025 250</td>
<td>430 455 925</td>
<td>592 098 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-West</td>
<td>97 405 000</td>
<td>162 543 100</td>
<td>239 594 775</td>
<td>329 566 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauteng</td>
<td>120 522 500</td>
<td>201 116 900</td>
<td>296 454 600</td>
<td>407 777 700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1 032 920 000</td>
<td>1 723 651 500</td>
<td>2 540 729 000</td>
<td>3 494 810 000</td>
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</table>
Chapter 5: Summary and conclusions

Despite the wish for an environment which facilitates the full social, emotional, cognitive and physical development of the young preschool child, and notwithstanding the positive changes which we have experienced and the political will of the new government to serve children, the situation of children of preschool age is still less than desirable. Environments characterized by insufficient food, a lack of safe and adequate supplies of drinking water, and of basic sanitation and refuse removal, inadequate housing, facilities and services, and poverty and continuous violence, do not enhance child development. The young black child faces this situation daily.

The effects of this context is most clearly seen in the primary school dropout rate in which only 49 out of every 100 pupils who begin grade 1 (SSA) eventually pass grade 7 (Standard 5). The result is an increasing number of black South Africans who are illiterate. This is currently estimated at well over 60 %. Development and progress are not possible without eliminating or ending illiteracy. Literacy has a bearing on economic well-being, life expectancy of people and (a decrease) in population growth.

One intervention strategy, which goes to the root of the problem, is the provision of early childhood educare opportunities of varying kinds to our youngest children. Research shows the benefits of a developmental approach which takes into account the educational, welfare, health, housing and social needs of the child and his/her family. Educare, as has been stated, is located within a socio-economic political context that is hostile to its advancement. For young children to thrive, political change which levels the playing fields, needs to be made.

Improvement of the social conditions under which children live — especially housing, health, welfare, amenities and basic infrastructure — is conducive to improving the quality of life for children and will contribute towards school readiness. This, of course must be linked to enhancing the quality of life of parents, particularly through economic upliftment. Providing educare services in a conducive environment will lay the foundation for a secure and productive future not only for the individual child but also for the family, the community and the nation.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing analysis and are put forward for debate:

- The need for preschool services currently greatly exceeds the supply of services, and this need will increase significantly in the next decade.
- The current allocation of public resources is very limited and evidently inequitable in that it mostly benefits the least disadvantaged households.
- Even with policies favouring a more equitable allocation of public resources to ECD services, government’s financial resources will be strained to meet the demand.
- The balance that policies of the state should strike between the responsibilities of the family, the state and the private sector (including both organized business and labour) for preschool care and education, must be clarified.
- Public and private providers of preschool services should aim at increasing the cost-effectiveness of such services.
- Non-governmental and community-based organizations that have historically provided services need substantial state support to improve quality and increase access.
The amounts required to serve the target numbers are modest when viewed against expenditure for the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors, and when compared to other departments of government.

The question to be considered is not “Can we afford to provide for our youngest children?” but “Can we afford not to provide essential early childhood development services for our youngest children?”

ENDNOTES

1. “Black” is an umbrella term including African, Indian and coloured children. This study was focused on the most needy children and did not include a survey of programmes serving predominantly white children. This is noted as a gap in available information. However, given that black children are in the majority, particularly in those communities which are at risk, Table 3 provides a basis for discussion.

2. Cost for the years 1997-1999 is escalated at 8 % per annum. Number of subsidy days per year = 250.
REFERENCES


Savage, M. & Vena, N. 1990. *Planning and costing an adequate nutritious diet for young children (infants to six years) and the caregivers.* Early Learning Resource Unit, Cape Town.


Appendix 1: ECD services

1. The 5-year old (reception class) programme

A compulsory year for all 5-year olds (known as the reception year) has been included in the basic education system to which all children are entitled. The principle is that this year should be offered both in community-based and school-based settings provided that the former meet required standards. It makes sense to offer a reception class for 5-year olds in community-based full-day centres rather than providing aftercare for them as a separate service. The implementation plan provides for a maximum of 30% of 5-year olds requiring full-day services by 1999.

For the majority of 5-year olds, provision will most easily be made in the form of preprimary classes attached to primary schools. In costing this, provision is made for the capital costs of building and equipping classrooms. Classrooms are costed at R80 000 in accordance with the APEX model used for NEPI costings. A setup cost for equipment of R8 000 per classroom is budgeted. These costs will be incurred in the year prior to programme implementation, and although it could be argued that they are part of the per capita cost, they are given separately.

These reception classes will have an average of 30 children per class and will be staffed by Level 2 teachers (formally or non-formally trained) supported by Level 3 advisors. These teachers would upgrade their qualifications through in-service training either to Level 3 or with an extension course at Level 2 focused on the junior primary phase. Costings do not make provision for a shift system but such a system should be considered, particularly in the phasing-in stages where there is likely to be a shortage of classrooms and equipment.

In determining the teacher/child ratio and training levels of staff, the balance was in favour of keeping costs down in order to allow significant numbers of children access to the programme.

2. ECD services for 0 to 4-year olds

The following options are costed for 0 to 4-year olds:

a. Full-day educare services

There are two options for full-day services which provide for the care and education of children of working parents for at least eight hours a day. This service includes full feeding.

- Educare centres

Most of these cater for 3 to 5-year olds. Infant units for children aged 0-1 and 2 years old are generally attached to centres caring for the older age group. However, their costs are presented separately to indicate the higher costs of caring for under-threes because of the greater number of adults required for this age group — one caregiver to every six children under the age of two, and one to every twelve 2-year olds. For 3 to 5-year olds, the adult child ratio is 1:30. Support is built in the form of one advisor for every 20 centres which use staff with a basic Level 1 qualification and a Level 2 supervisor.

- Home-based educare

In this option a small group of children (up to six according to the Childcare Act, No. 74 of 1983 but less under some municipal by-laws) is cared for by a home mother/childminder in her own home. The option costed here is on an organized basis with support services to ensure that
standards are met and maintained. This is achieved either by linking the home with an ECD centre, under the auspices of a local authority, community or civic organization or an association of not less than ten homes. Because of the small scale and favourable adult/child ratio this model is particularly suitable for under-threes. It is widely used across the whole 0-5 age range because of lack of alternative services and because it is a service that can be flexible to parents with long working hours, shift work, etc.

The implementation plan assumes that in comparison with mothers of children under the age of three, more mothers of 3 to 5-year olds will be working outside the home, to a maximum of 30% of all children in this age range. These children are served through home and centre-based provision.

b. Part-day child-oriented services

This option focuses on the need for some form of educational programme for young children who do not need a full-day programme. Variations in the provision of this service range from informal playgroups to more formal preschool centres. Since the differences in these programmes relate mostly to staffing levels, only a basic option is costed here. The option costed is based on one Level 1 teacher for every 30 children.

c. Family education programmes

These programmes are aimed at helping the child’s caregiver to provide better quality stimulation and care in the home. Options costed here include working with individual caregiver and child pairs in the home and group work which includes parents and children. A block grant is costed for general parent education programmes. In addition, the mass media could be used in conjunction with face-to-face methods which already operate through existing infrastructures such as clinics, schools and community organizations. Nutritional support becomes extremely important in these programmes. These are likely to be appropriate where parents are not able to find employment and/or when families are living below the poverty level.

When examining costings it is important to note that the parent is the recipient of services and that over time they will reach an average of three or more children. However, costings done on an annual basis cannot take this into account and reflect only the child in the target year.

• Educational home visiting

This is costed on the basis of a weekly visit by a trained Level 1 home visitor who assists the primary caregiver to provide better learning opportunities in the home.

Parent and child groups

These combine a playgroup for children aged 2-4 years with a weekly group training and support session for parents. Meeting together also provides opportunities for children to become accustomed to group activities, an important learning experience.
Appendix 2: Monthly salaries, used as the basis for calculating ECD programme costs

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