Children@20years: An overview of child-related policy development in the Twenty Year Review

PAN: Children Dialogue Series

Report

May 2014
On the 16 May 2014 PAN: Children invited Mastoera Sadan from the Presidency to discuss the development of child related policy through a 20-year lens, elaborating on how far we have come and commenting on the future of child policy in South Africa. Ms. Sadan was involved in the development of the Twenty Year Review. The Review reflects on how South Africa has progressed since the dawn of democracy in 1994, the challenges it still faces and how these can best be addressed. It provides an evaluation of the policies instituted by government since the advent of democracy. While highlighting achievements, it also addresses shortcomings and looks at initiatives and operational plans for the future.

The purpose of this dialogue was to look at how far South Africa has come in terms of policy development in the child rights sector as well as to see what has worked in furthering children’s rights and what needs to be addressed. In addition, PAN: Children sought to flesh out policy issues that were touched on in the Twenty Year Review as well as to see what kind of research fed into the Review.

The objectives the dialogue were to:

- Generate discussion of how best we can move on after 20 years and protect and further children’s rights in the future.
- To disseminate more detailed child related policy information highlighted in
Children@20years

- Create a space for interested persons (stakeholders) to interact and engage with one of the key developers of the section on children.
- To interrogate and understand the research process behind the child related evidence provided in the Twenty Year Review.
- To get a better understanding of how and why certain things were left out of the Review

The Dialogue

Word of Welcome (Alejandro Grinspun)- Chief of Social Policy in South Africa, UNICEF

Mr Grinspun welcomed the guests and introduced the policy dialogue. In his opening remarks he noted that on the 7 May 2014 South Africans took to the polls, marking the 20th anniversary since the advent of democracy. What was special on this day was the chance that was now afforded to children born in 1994 to cast their first vote and choose a government of their choice. This period was almost a coming-of-age. Although 20 years is not a long time in terms of democracy, he noted that this was a good period to reflect on how far South Africa had come, and in which direction the country was heading or should be heading. He highlighted that commitments to children are reflected in instruments such as the Constitution and the National Development Plan. The efforts of the past 20 years, he said, provided a good and solid foundation on which to build on as South Africa moves forward. The dialogue is one of the many dialogues sponsored by PAN: Children.

Mr Grinspun introduced Mastoera Sadan, the speaker for the morning.

Presentation by Mastoera Sadan - An overview of child related policy development in the 20 year review.

Ms. Sadan indicated she was going to speak to a background document for the Twenty Year Review. The analogy of the child born in 1994 used by Mr Grinspun is a good one she notes. The questions to ask at this time would be, to what extent have we made progress since 1994 and how far do we still have to go? There has already been a ten and fifteen year review process, the National Development Plan and
other processes, these are attempts to look at lessons learnt and how to move forward. The question to ask at this point is ‘To what extent have we helped the child born in 1994 and what will we do from 2014 going forward for children?’

The Twenty Year Review consisted of lead authors being appointed for papers on specific topics. The process leading to the production of this document had 21 papers in total. The objective was to look at the outcomes of interventions by government and to also have an idea of the story behind the numbers.

The presentation examined work done in producing the Twenty Year Review:

- Demographics
- Household characteristics and living arrangements
- Child poverty
- Basic services
- Child support grant
- Early childhood development

Some of the work was done at high level. Looking at the interventions of government, some examined the outcomes of the work done, and how they contributed to improvement of the rights of children. Ms Sadan noted that the challenge now was to look at what kind of research is needed to fill in the gaps as much as possible.

**In terms of data sources the Presidency was interested in:**

- Trends in respect of children between 1993 and 2011
- Large-scale national household surveys
- NIDS National Income Dynamics Study (2008)
- October Household Survey (1995)
- GHS General Household Survey (2011)

**The Journey since 1994**
The advent of democracy in 1994 presented the government with an opportunity to change the trajectory of children’s rights in South Africa. The Bill of Rights in the Constitution signalled the primacy of children’s rights in section 28. The South African government ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of The Child in 1995 and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child in 2000. This initial phase of law reform was a key feature of policy processes. There were numerous policy and programme interventions i.e. Children’s Act 2005, child support grant, free health care, School Fee Exemption Policy, Grade R and so forth. But for children the two significant interventions that come to the fore are the Child Support Grant and Early Childhood Development. Ms. Sadan noted that the question to ask at this stage perhaps would be “To what extent have we managed the progressive realisation of rights”?

**Demographics**

The number of children in 1994 was 16.2 million and this increased to 18.5 million by 2011. The share of child population decreased from 42.5% to 36.8% over the period of 1993-2011. Limpopo has the highest share of the child population, followed by Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. In contrast, Gauteng and Western Cape have the lowest child share of the population.

**Child share of the population by province, 1993-2011 (%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1993</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free State</td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauteng</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KwaZulu-Natal</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limpopo</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpumalanga</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Cape</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Cape</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>42.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>41.2</strong></td>
<td><strong>37.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>36.8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The speaker highlighted that, if one looks at what the story is over the past 20 years, the children living in the Western Cape and Gauteng start off on a better footing than
other provinces. Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal are among the poorest and remain quite far behind. Government has tried to mitigate this discrepancy but equity is still an issue.

**Household characteristics and living arrangements**

In terms of household characteristics and living arrangements there has been an increase in migration. Part of what we need to do is understand what this means for families and in particular for children. This is an area in which not much work has been done. If one looks at the distribution of children by household type, there has been a reduction in the nuclear-type family and an increase in the complex/extended household type. We need to understand the effects of these changes on children.

**Distribution of children by household type, 1993-2011 (%)**

![Distribution of children by household type, 1993-2011 (%)](image)

Source: PSLSD, OHS, NIDS, GHS

**Child and adult distribution by area type**

From 1993-2011 as can be seen in the table below, if one looks at child and adult distribution by area type, it is evident that in tribal authority areas, children make up the majority of the population. This is in contrast to urban areas where the difference between the number of children and parents is not that stark.
It is clear that children are disproportionally represented relative to adults in rural and non-metropolitan areas. This raises some concerns because many of these areas have poor municipal infrastructure and poor levels of services delivery. This is of course also the case for children in urban informal settlements.

**Child and adult distribution by area type**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area Type</th>
<th>Total pop</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RURAL FORMAL</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRIBAL AUTHORITY AREA</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN FORMAL</td>
<td>48.6%</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>41.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN INFORMAL</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NIDS 2008

If one looks at the incidence of parental co-residence with children, one notices that the number of children living with neither parent has increased and children living with both parents has decreased. We need to look at what is going on, what choices are people making and what are their effects? People make choices based on a number of factors. What are these factors? We need to understand these dynamics a lot better. What does it mean for children not to live with their parents?

**Parental co-residence with children, 1993-2011**
Child poverty rates in general have fallen. However, child poverty rates are higher than those of adults. Over the 1993-2011 period, we see that there is a decline in both poverty rates of adults and children, but rates for children remain higher than that of adults. The decline has not been that significant. If one looks at the poverty rates by province, some provinces are much poorer than others. In general, as with the above, Gauteng and the Western Cape exceed provinces like the Eastern Cape and Limpopo significantly. It is also important to note that poverty is not just about income. We need to understand what this means for children.

**Child poverty rates by province, 1993-2011 (Using Stats SA lower bound line)**
Basic services

Children’s living environment is vital for their well-being and basic services are essential for hygiene. Health and survival, access to water and sanitation in particular are all essential.

With regard to basic services (access to water, sanitation and electricity) over the period, there has been an increase in access to piped water. The aggregate figure, however, hides huge contrasts between the provinces. When one looks at where we started off, we need to understand what it is we inherited from apartheid. We also need to understand what are the institutional issues, capacity issues and political will? Why has progress not been more substantial? Though there have been improvements, the outcomes are still troubling.

Provinces where the former homelands were located started off with a double-disadvantage. On sanitation, the statistics are very mixed. We start off with only 33% of children having access to a flush toilet, and end in 2011 with 47%. Limpopo starts off at 6% and moves up to 16%. There are obvious areas where we have not made the progress we should be making.

Child Support Grant (CSG)
The Child Support Grant was introduced in 1998. What is significant is that it is paid to the caregiver and not the biological parents. This is because of the changing structure of families. The CSG is intended to supplement income in caring for children. Since its inception, it has been the subject of considerable policy reform. We started off in 1998 targeting children aged 0-6. Ultimately, introducing the CSG incrementally has contributed to its success. One could have the most progressive policy, but if you do not have the means to implement it, it will not make any substantial change. The significant growth in grants owes thanks to infrastructure and administrative delivery. While we have done very well, challenges remain:

- Challenges in take-up rate for children aged 0-2 as well as for older children; it has been proven that early receipt has positive impact on children’s education, health and so on.
- The need to examine the implementation process of the CSG and learn the lessons from its successful implementation we need to look at what has worked and why it has worked.

Early Childhood Development (ECD)

Early childhood development is an area where we have seen an increase in coverage off a low base. The same can be said for the amount of subsidies. The current model has serious limitations. Why do we have generally the same system as we had during apartheid for provision of these services? There is a new policy document on the table, and there is the National Integrated Plan, but movement is slow. The middle classes are able to buy services, but for poor children, their parents are not able to do that. You need resources to be able to set up and maintain an ECD Centre. Then there is the whole registration process which needs to be considered. While things have improved in the last few years, what we are asking is for is the provision of services to other poor people. There is also not a match between where services are available and where poor children reside. The question is, what capacity actually exists for us to roll out the suite of interventions?

Challenges include:

- Policy reform is required to reconfigure the delivery model, the current model focuses on older children 3-5 years;
- We need to develop options for interventions in the early years;
- We need to develop a human resources strategy;
• Additional resources are required.

Among children in households with a monthly expenditure of R200 or less, only 22 per cent are enrolled, in comparison to 56 per cent of children in households with monthly expenditure of R10 000 or more. 41 per cent of children in households with expenditure between R1800-R2499 attend some form of ECD service. What this illustrates is that the higher the household expenditure, the more likely young children are to be enrolled in ECD services.

Attendance at ECD service of children under six years by monthly household expenditure, 2011 (%)

In conclusion:
• There has been significant progress, but challenges remain.
• There is need for improved intersectoral collaboration across programmes.
• There is need for improved integrated service provision.
• There is need for improved collaboration across spheres of government.
• There is need for improved collaboration with civil society.
• A research strategy that focuses on children across sectors should be undertaken.
Discussion

Q: On fiscal sustainability of increasing the ECD allocation, what is government’s stance on that?

A: This is a question of trade-offs. Of course there is a limited fiscal envelope with austerity measures and so on. We need to ask ourselves the hard questions. We are allocating significant amounts of money to the CSG. We need to ask if this has crowded out other interventions. We need to think about the effect of our policy choices.

Q: When you showed the number of children in rural and urban areas, why is there almost an equal amount, what does this mean? Also, around the profile of children, it seems to still take the pre-1994 profile i.e. black children are still being failed. How should interventions be made in this regard? What does it mean in terms of interventions? Around ECD, there has been talk about making this a public good so as to address it better?

A: In terms of the number of children living in rural and urban areas, these are some of the issues we need to explore in the research. The rate of migration over the period has also slowed down. Does this mean people are settling more in urban areas? While race was not really addressed in the presentation, it is mostly poor black children whose rights are not being realised. The “one size fits all approach” does not seem to have worked very well. We need to look at what we need to do in order to customise interventions. In terms of making ECD a public good, this is a fundamental question. It is a “state and private delivery” issue. This, however, has not worked very well in this particular instance.

Q: What is the “skip generation”? One of the proposals in the National Development Plan is that DWCPD and DSD are going to be rejoined, what is the implication for children?

A: The Skip Generation represents instances where children are living with their grandparents where the parent is away or no longer alive. As to the joining of the Ministries, we will have to wait and see, but in the view of the
speaker, this is probably a good thing.

Q: In terms of shifting trends in family patterns what is a nuclear family (how is it constructed-male, female, 3.2 children)

A: Because survey data is being used, there is a very clear definition of biological parents, one or more child, parents need not be married. In trying to understand complex families, it should be about how well the children are looked after e.g. evidence shows that often if the mother is not with the child, the chance of the child getting access to a CSG diminishes.

Q: Linked to the situation around children in correctional centres. What is the status around these issues and are these not a part of the issues we are discussing now, why?

A: This has not been covered in the background section. Initially there was going to be a section on children and violence but time did not permit. The 2014 child gauge is looking at children and violence.

A: Because there were youth and safety papers, these probably dealt with children in conflict with the law. The issues are thus there, but just addressed in different ways. It just may not be elevated to the extent of the actual report.

Q: In terms of the need for intersectoral collaboration, is this realistic? It seems to be a huge challenge in government?

A: This is a challenge we will always have, but we must try and address it creatively.

Q: In terms of child mothers and child fathers, we are on the increase with such issues. How can policy start addressing these issues? In terms of migration, there is also migration that is regional. This is an issue we should start looking at in policy. In the demographics, it would be interesting to see the gender distribution thereof.

A: Unfortunately with these big surveys, you do not pick up on the finer details about how children have migrated. Also, research is not the answer to all of our questions.
Q: Around 50% of our children are not living with their parents; there is a definite link between child migration and child abandonment. We have no reliable statistics on child migration. Also, it is important to look at it from a gender perspective.

C: We need to start looking at integrated services i.e. if a child grows up in an informal settlement; they are rendered more vulnerable to other human rights violations. Many children have children while they are in high school and end up leaving their children at home with their parents or extended families to work or to go to university.

A: Research needs to be collated and integrated. We need to have a point that is accessible for people to read this information. There are different options and possibilities.

Q: Where is government at in terms of the post-2015 agenda and child rights? The CSG only benefits children who actually derive benefit from it i.e. if the money is spent correctly. What is being done to address this?

A: Question here is really, who is the champion for children in government.

Q: Did child participation play a role in the constitution of this report?

A: No, there was no consultation with children in the formulation of the Twenty Year Review. This is a criticism which has been levied against government. We see children as passive recipients of services. This is thus a question and a challenge to all of us to do out work differently.

Q: If one relates improvements in households to data that is available, we haven't really done very much in achieving change in, say stunting. Stunting actually has increased over the period in question. Thus the question is, are we doing enough? When are we going to get serious, particularly with regard to childhood development?

A: There is a new policy document on the table and there is quite a lot of political will around ECD. There is a moment here where we should grasp the nettle and really push the issue of ECD. Ultimately this isn’t about a few people in a room making a decision; it is about what forces can be employed in order to bring about systemic change. There are very few resources and
Q: ECD is a very complex scenario because of all the different roleplayers and stakeholders. In all fairness, the ANC government is really committed to ECD and serious about ECD. ECD in this country is from birth until 9 years. The grade R initiative of DBE, has this been included in the study? Also, as to the comment that we are a little stuck with centre-based ECD - the provisions of the 2010 Children’s Amendment Act came into effect in 2010, and it provides for non-centre based ECD as well. This is not taking place as fast as we would like, but the concept is not only centre based anymore. It is very much in the new draft policy to look at making ECD a public good. Stunting is a very prominent aspect of this policy, in terms of the nutritional needs of young children.

A: In terms of coverage of ECD, this is dealt with in the report.

Q: The arts are a good way to improve education. Does the report address this? Poverty is not always just physical, but can also be emotional and cultural.

A: This is an excellent point and often something that is overlooked. Children must have whole lives, not just about hard infrastructure.

C: Drew attention to the situation analysis of children with disabilities. We also need to look at the Care Dependency Grant. When you look at statistics of children with disabilities, there is no synergy with these and the number of children receiving CDG’s. We need to understand why such children are not accessing the grant. This is a considerable grey area. There is not a lot of reflection in this regard in the study. This is an issue of diversity, and understanding thereof which needs to be unpacked. The imperative to deinstitutionalise people with disabilities needs to be understood and implemented.

A: This was not covered in the review due to time constraints. There is, however, a background paper on the issues.

Q: In terms of the tensions between government and civil society, how can these relationships be improved?

A: This varies across the sector. What we have found is that through building of networks of people, it helps with the lack of trust between role-players. This
is really where one gets things done.

A: There was also a paper on the role of civil society in consolidating democracy. Civil society has also changed and the roles shifted, with there now being consultation across the board in multiple sectors. There is, still unevenness with some sectors still struggling.