Children's access to education

Katharine Hall (Children's Institute, University of Cape Town)

Section 29(1)(a) of the South African Constitution states that "everyone has the right to a basic education", and section 29(1)(b) says that "everyone has the right to further education", and that the state must make such education "progressively available and accessible".¹

Article 11(3)(a) of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child says "States Parties to the present Charter shall take all appropriate measures with a view to achieving the full realization of this right and shall in particular ... provide free and compulsory basic education".²

Article 28 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child recognises "the right of the child to education" and also obliges the state to "make primary education compulsory and available free to all".³

Children attending an educational institution

This indicator shows the number and percentage of children aged 7 – 17 who are reported to be attending a school or educational facility. It is different from "enrolment rate", which reflects the number of children enrolled in educational institutions, as reported by schools to the national Department of Basic Education (DBE) early in the school year.

Education is a central socio-economic right that provides the foundation for lifelong learning and economic opportunities. Children have a right to basic education and are admitted into grade 1 in the year they turn seven. Basic education is compulsory in grades 1 - 9, or for children aged 7 - 15. Children who have completed basic education also have a right to further education (grades 10 - 12), which the government must take reasonable measures to make available.

South Africa has high levels of school enrolment and attendance. Amongst children of school-going age (7 – 17 years), the vast majority (98%, or 11.3 million children) attended some form of educational facility in 2018. This is a small but significant increase from 2002, when the reported attendance rate was 95%.

The overall increase is mainly due to a small but real growth in reported attendance rates for African and Coloured children over the 17-year period. In 2018, for the first time since this indicator was tracked, there are no significant differences in attendance rates across race groups. Of a total of 11.6 million children aged 7 – 17 years, 232,000 were reported as not attending school in 2018.

At a provincial level, the Northern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal have seen the most significant increases in attendance rates between 2002 and 2018. In the Northern Cape, attendance increased from 91% to 95% while in KwaZulu-Natal attendance increased from 93% to 98%.

Overall attendance rates tend to mask drop-out among older children. Analysis of attendance among discrete age groups shows a significant drop in attendance amongst children older than 15. This also coincides with the end of compulsory schooling. Whereas around 99% of children in each age year from seven to 14 are reported to be attending an educational institution, the attendance rate drops to 98% for 15-year-olds, 96% for 16-yearolds, 92% for 17-year-olds, and 83% of 18-year-olds are reported



Figure 5a: School-age children (7 – 17-year-olds) attending an educational institution, by province, 2002 & 2018

Source: Statistics South Africa (2003, 2019) General Household Survey 2002; General Household Survey 2018. Pretoria: Stats SA. Analysis by Katharine Hall & Winnie Sambu, Children's Institute, UCT.

to be attending school (based on those who have not completed grade 12). Differences in reported school attendance rates between boys and girls are not statistically significant.

Amongst children of school-going age who are not attending school the main set of reasons for non-attendance relate to the quality of education or the learners ability to progress: "Education is useless or not interesting" is the reason given for 10% of those not attending school. Another 9% are "unable to perform at school" while 5% dropped out because they failed the exams. These signals of failures in the education system account for a quarter of all reported non-attendance. A further 7% of children not attending school are excluded because they were not accepted for enrolment.

The second main barrier to education is financial constraints. These include the cost of schooling (the reason given for 13% of children not attending schools) – which would also include related costs such as uniform and transport – and the opportunity costs of education where children have family commitments such as child minding (4%) or are needed to work in a family business or elsewhere to support household income (2%).

Disability is also an important reason, accounting for 15% of non-attendance, while illness accounts for an additional 5% of the non-attendance rate.

The main reasons for non-attendance can therefore be divided into three main categories: system failures (including exclusions and quality problems); financial barriers; and illness or disability. Together, these account for over 70% of non-attendance.

Pregnancy accounts for around 7% of drop-out amongst teenage girls not attending school, and only 3% of all non-attendance.⁴

Although the costs of education are cited as a barrier to attendance, the overall attendance rate for children in the lower income quintiles is not significantly lower than those in the wealthier quintiles.

Attendance rates alone do not capture the regularity of children's school attendance or their progress through school. Research has shown that children from more disadvantaged backgrounds – with limited economic resources, lower levels of parental education, or who have lost their mother – are more prone to dropping out or progressing more slowly than their more advantaged peers. Racial inequalities in school advancement remain strong.⁵ Similarly, school attendance rates tell us nothing about the quality of teaching and learning.⁶ Inequalities in learning outcomes are explored through standardised tests such as those used in the international SAQMEC,⁷ TIMMS and PIRLS⁸ studies. The DBE's Annual National Assessments[°] have been discontinued.

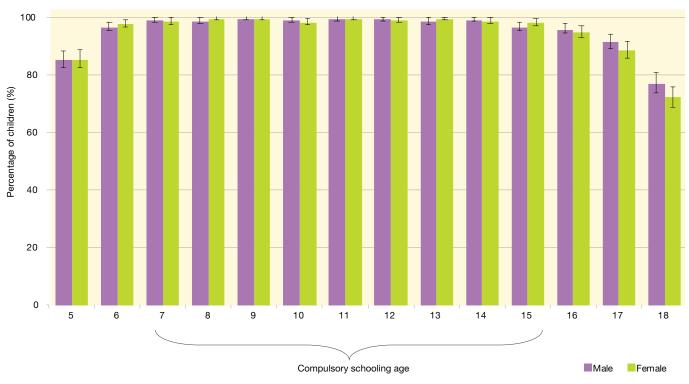


Figure 5b: Reported attendance at an educational institution, by age and sex, 2017

Source: Statistics South Africa (2019) General Household Survey 2018. Pretoria: Stats SA. Analysis by Katharine Hall & Winnie Sambu, Children's Institute, UCT.

Access to early childhood learning programmes

This indicator shows the number and percentage of children aged 5 – 6 who are reported to be attending an early childhood development (ECD) programme or educational institution – in other words, those attending out-of-home group care and learning centres including ECD centres, pre-grade R, grade R or grade 1 in ordinary schools. While all these facilities provide care and stimulation for early learning for young children, the emphasis on providing learning opportunities through structured learning programmes differs by facility type.

Educational inequalities are strongly associated with structural socio-economic (and therefore also racial) inequalities in South Africa.¹⁰ These inequalities are evident from the early years, even before entry into primary school.¹¹ They are exacerbated by an unequal schooling system,¹² and are difficult to reverse. But early inequalities can be reduced through preschool exposure to developmentally appropriate activities and programmes that stimulate cognitive development.¹³ Provided that they are of good quality, early learning programmes are an important mechanism to interrupt the cycle of inequality by reducing socio-economic differences in learning potential between children before they enter the foundation phase of schooling.

The Five-year Strategic Plan¹⁴ of the DBE includes a broad goal to improve the quality of ECD provisioning and specifically to improve access to grade R through the supply of learning materials and improving the quality of grade R educators. Evidence suggests that quality group learning programmes are beneficial for cognitive development from about three years of age¹⁵ and the National Development Plan (NDP) priorities, cited in the DBE's strategic plan, include universal access to two years of early childhood development programmes. The DBE funds and monitors thousands of community-based grade R centres in addition to the school-based grade R classes. The NDP proposes the introduction of a second year of preschool education, and that both years be made universally accessible to children.¹⁶ It therefore makes sense to monitor enrolment in early learning programmes of children in the 5 – 6-year pre-school age group.

In 2015, there were 288,212 learners attending 4,058 ECD centres in South Africa, according to the DBE's administrative data.¹⁷ Preliminary results from DBE, based on data from the Learner Unit Record Information and Tracking System (LURITS) and other provincial data sources show that, in addition to children in ECD centres, 824,000 learners were attending grade R or pre-grade R at ordinary primary schools in 2018, of whom 94% were at public (government schools) while 6%, or 46,000 learners, were at independent schools.¹⁸

In 2018, 92% of children (2.1 million) in the preschool age group (5 – 6-year-olds) were reported to be attending some kind of educational institution, mostly in grade R or grade 1. This was double the 2002 level, when slightly fewer than 1.1 million children in the same age group were reported to be attending an educational institution. Nearly 200,000 children in this age group are not attending any kind of educational facility.

Attendance rates are high across all provinces. The highest attendance rates in 2018 were in the Free State and Limpopo (both at 98%), the Eastern Cape (93%) and Gauteng (92%). The lowest rates were in the Western Cape (85%) and Northern Cape (88%). This pattern differs from many other indicators, where the Western Cape often outperforms poorer and more rural provinces like the Eastern Cape and Limpopo. Similar patterns were found in analyses of the 2007 Community Survey and the 2008 National Income Dynamics Study.¹⁹

Given the inequities in South Africa, it is pleasing to see that there are no substantial racial differences in access to educational institutions by African and White children of preschool age,



Figure 5c: Children aged 5 – 6 years attending school or ECD facility, by province, 2002 & 2018

Source: Statistics South Africa (2003; 2019) General Household Survey 2002; General Household Survey 2018. Pretoria: StatsSA. Analysis by Katharine Hall and Winnie Sambu, Children's Institute, UCT.

Note: Prior to 2009, enrolment in crèches, playgroups and ECD centres would have been under-reported as the survey only asked about attendance at "educational institutions". More specific questions about ECD facilities were introduced in the 2009 survey and are likely to have resulted in higher response rates. (For a more detailed technical explanation, see www.childrencount.uct.ac.za).

although levels of attendance among Coloured children remain below the national average, at 83%. It is also encouraging that, as with formal school attendance, there are no strong differences in pre-school enrolment across the income quintiles. There are also no significant gender differences in access to preschool.

As with the indicator that monitors school attendance, it should be remembered that this indicator tells us nothing about

Children living far from school

This indicator reflects the distance from a child's household to the school s/he attends. Distance is measured as the length of time travelled to reach school. The school the child attends is defined as "far" if a child has to travel more than 30 minutes to reach it, irrespective of mode of transport. Children aged 7 - 13are defined as primary school age, and children aged 14 - 17 are defined as secondary school age.

Access to schools and other educational facilities is a necessary condition for achieving the right to education. A school's location and distance from home can pose a barrier to education. Access to schools is also hampered by poor roads, transport that is unavailable or unaffordable, and danger along the way. Risks may be different for young children, for girls and boys, and are likely to be greater when children travel alone.

For children who do not have schools near to their homes, the cost, risk and effort of getting to school can influence decisions about regular attendance, as well as participation in extramural activities and after-school events. Those who travel long distances to reach school may wake very early and risk arriving late or physically exhausted, which may affect their ability to learn. Walking long distances to school may also lead to learners being excluded from class or make it difficult to attend school regularly.

Two-thirds (67%) of South Africa's learners walk to school, while 12% travel in vehicles hired by a group of parents, 8% travel in private cars and 8% use public transport. Only 3% report using school buses or school transport provided by the government. The majority (74%) of White children are driven to school in private cars, compared with only 17% of African children.²⁰ These

the quality of care and education that young children receive at educational facilities or the resources available at those facilities. High rates of attendance provide a unique opportunity because almost all children in an age cohort can be reached at a particularly important developmental stage; but this is a lost opportunity if the service is of poor quality.

figures illustrate pronounced disparity in child mobility and means of access to school.

Assuming that schools primarily serve the children living in communities around them, the ideal indicator to measure physical access to school would be the distance from the child's household to the nearest school. This analysis is no longer possible due to question changes in the General Household Survey. Instead, the indicator shows the number and percentage of children who travel far (more than 30 minutes) to reach the actual school that they attend, even if it is not the closest school. Eighty-four percent of school-going children attend their nearest school. School-age children not attending school are therefore excluded from the analysis.

Overall, the vast majority (84%) of the 11.3 million children who attend school travel less than 30 minutes to reach school. Children of secondary school age are more likely than primary school learners to travel far to reach school. In 2018 there were nearly 7.9 million children of primary school age (7 – 13 years) in South Africa. More than a million of these children (13%) travel more than 30 minutes to and from school every day. In KwaZulu-Natal this percentage is significantly higher than the national average, at 21%. Of the 3.7 million children of secondary school age (14 – 17 years), 19% travel more than 30 minutes to reach school, and again it is children in KwaZulu-Natal who are most likely to travel far (30%). The majority of these children live in rural areas: 25% of secondary school-age children in the former homelands travel far to school, compared to 14% of children living in urban areas.

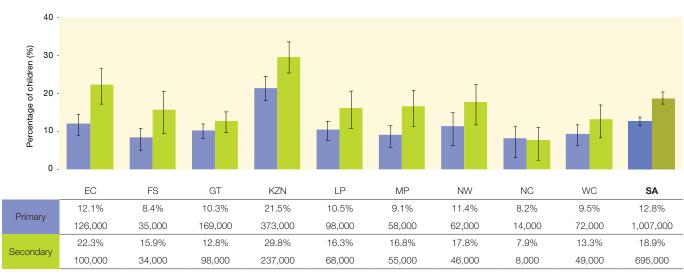


Figure 5d: School-aged children living far from school, by province, 2018

Source: Statistics South Africa (2019) General Household Survey 2018. Pretoria: Stats SA. Analysis by Katharine Hall, Children's Institute, UCT.

Physical access to school remains a problem for many children in South Africa, particularly those living in more remote areas where public transport to schools is lacking or inadequate and where households are unable to afford private transport for children to get to school. There are 25,000 schools in South Africa, of which just over 23,000 are public and nearly 2,000 are independent.²¹ Over 3,000 government schools have closed since 2002 as the department consolidates smaller schools and closes state-funded farm schools. The Eastern Cape has lost nearly a thousand public

Children's progress through school

We have already seen that school attendance rates are very high during the compulsory schooling phase (grades 1 - 9). However, attendance tells us little about the quality of education that children receive, or their progress through the education system.

Systemic evaluations by the Department of Education have recorded very low pass rates in numeracy and literacy among both grade 3 and grade 6 learners²³ and internationally comparative studies have repeatedly found South Africa's performance to be poor even when compared with other countries in the region. In the international PIRLS study, which assessed literacy amongst grade 4 learners, South Africa was placed last out of 50 participating countries. Four out of five grade 4 children in South Africa could not read for meaning in any language.²⁴ In the International TIMMS study, which assessed numeracy among grade 5 learners, South Africa was placed second last out of 49 countries. Three out of five learners could not do basic arithmetic calculations like addition and subtraction.²⁵ Despite measures to address the inherited inequities in the education system through revisions to the legislative and policy frameworks and the school funding norms, continued disparities in the quality of education offered by schools reinforce existing socio-economic inequalities, limiting the future work opportunities and life chances of children who are born into poor households.²⁶

High rates of grade repetition have been recorded in numerous studies. For example, a study of children's progress at school found that only about 44% of young adults (aged 21 - 29)

schools, while the Free State has lost over a thousand. Other provinces with substantial reductions in the number of schools are the North West and Limpopo. While the concentration of more children into fewer schools may be an advantage from a school management perspective, it may mean that children in remote areas have more difficulty in accessing school. Over the same period, the number of independent schools in the country has increased by 61% (an increase of over 700 schools).²²

had matriculated, and of these less than half had matriculated "on time".²⁷ This was based on 2008 data from the National Income Dynamics Study. In 2016, only 51% of young people aged 20 – 24 had completed a matric or matric equivalent.²⁸ In South Africa, the labour market returns to education only start kicking in on successful completion of matric, not before. However it is important to monitor progress and grade repetition in the earlier grades as slow progress at school is a strong determinant of school drop-out.²⁹

Assuming that children are enrolled in primary school at the prescribed age (by the year in which they turn seven) and assuming that they do not repeat a grade or drop out of school, they would be expected to have completed the foundation phase (grade 3) by the year that they turn nine, and the general education phase (grade 9) by the year they turn 15.

This indicator allows a little more leeway: it measures the number and percentage of children aged 10 and 11 who have completed a minimum of grade 3, and the percentage of those aged 16 and 17 who have completed a minimum of grade 9. In other words, it allows for the older cohort in each group to have repeated one grade.

In 2018, 88% of all children aged 10 and 11 were reported to have completed grade 3. This was up from 78% in 2002. An improvement in progress through the foundation phase was evident across most of the provinces, with significant advances in the Eastern Cape (from 64% in 2002 to 85% in 2018), North West

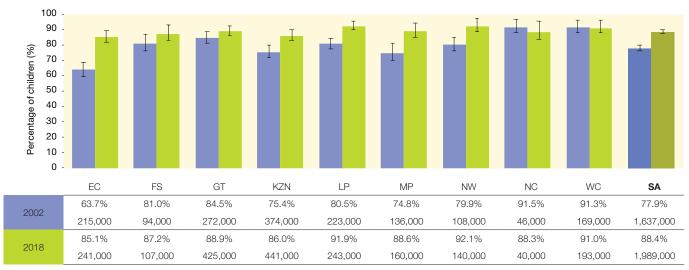


Figure 5e: Children aged 10 – 11 years who passed grade 3, by province, 2002 & 2018

Source: Statistics South Africa (2003; 2019) General Household Survey 2002; General Household Survey 2018. Pretoria: Stats SA. Analysis by Katharine Hall & Winnie Sambu, Children's Institute, UCT.

(from 80% to 92%), Mpumalanga (75% to 89%), Limpopo (80% to 92%) and KwaZulu-Natal (75% to 86%). These improvements have narrowed the gap between provinces.

As would be expected, the rate of progression through the entire general education and training band (grades 1 - 9) is lower, as there is more time for children to have repeated or dropped out by grade 9. Seventy percent of children aged 16 - 17 years had completed grade 9 in 2018. This represents an overall improvement of 20 percentage points over the 17-year period, from 50% in 2002. Provincial variation is slightly more pronounced than for progress through the foundation phase: Gauteng had the highest rate of grade 9 progression (82%), followed by the Western Cape (76%). Progress was poorest in the North West and Free State, where just over half (54% and 56% respectively) of children had completed grade 9 by the expected age.

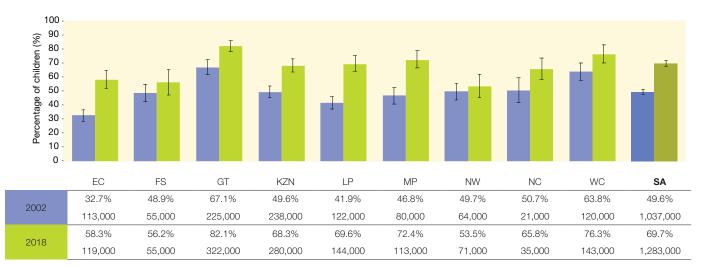
As found in other analyses of transitions through school,³⁰ educational attainment (measured by progress through school) varies along socio-economic and racial lines. These differences become more pronounced as children advance through the grades. Gender differences in school progression, on the other hand, have remained consistent and even widened over the years: girls are more likely than boys to progress through school at the expected rate and the difference becomes more pronounced in the higher grades. In 2018, 91% of girls aged 10 - 11 had completed grade 3, compared with 86% of boys; in the same year, 75% of 16 - 17-year-old girls had completed grade 9, compared with only 64% of boys in the same age cohort. This finding is consistent with analyses elsewhere.³¹

There are significant differences in grade completion across income quintiles, especially amongst children who have completed grade 9: in 2018, 64% of 16 – 17-year-olds in the poorest 20% of households had completed grade 9, compared to 84% in the richest 20% of households.

The most striking improvements in grade progression, at both grade 3 and grade 9 level, occurred through the years between 2002 and 2010. The rate of improvement has slowed and in some years remained stable since then.

Of course, grade progression and grade repetition are not easy to interpret. Prior to grade 12, the promotion of a child to the next grade is based mainly on assessment by teachers, and the measure may be confounded by the teacher's competence to assess the performance of the child, as well as pressure on teachers and/or schools to promote children through the system. Analyses of the determinants of school progress and drop-out point to a range of factors, many of which are interrelated: there is huge variation in the quality of education offered by schools. These differences largely reflect the historic organisation of schools into racially defined and inequitably resourced education departments. Household-level characteristics and family background also account for some of the variation in grade progression. For example, the level of education achieved by a child's mother explains some of the difference in whether children are enrolled at an appropriate age and whether they go on to complete matric successfully.³² This in turn suggests that improved educational outcomes for children will have a cumulative positive effect for each subsequent generation.





Source: Statistics South Africa (2003; 2019) General Household Survey 2002; General Household Survey 2018. Pretoria: Stats SA. Analysis by Katharine Hall & Winnie Sambu, Children's Institute, UCT.

Youth not in employment, education or training (NEETs)

"NEETs" is a term used to describe young people who are not in employment, education or training. The definition used here includes youth aged 15 – 24 who are not attending any educational institution and who are not employed or selfemployed.³³

Widespread concerns about the large numbers of youth in this situation centre on two main issues: the perpetuation of poverty and inequality, including intergenerational poverty; and the possible implications of a large "idle" youth population for risk behaviour, social cohesion and the safety of communities.

Little is known about what NEETs actually do with their time. Young people who are neither learning nor engaged in incomegenerating activities may neverthless be "productive" within their households, for example by helping to maintain the home or looking after children and others in need of care. However, in the absence of income, NEETs remain dependent on the earnings of other household members, and on grants that are directed to children and the elderly. The Old Age Pension in particular has been found to support job-seeking activities for young people³⁴ and it has been argued that this unenvisaged expenditure of the grant could be addressed by extending social security to unemployed youth³⁵.

The large number of NEETs in South Africa is linked to underlying problems in the education system and the labour market. Young people in South Africa have very high participation rates in education, including at secondary level. Enrolment rates for grades 11 and 12 have increased in recent years and more young people attain grade 12 (and at an earlier age).³⁶ But there is still a sharp drop-off in enrolment numbers after grade 10 and only about half of young people in their early twenties have successfully completed grade 12.³⁷ This reduces prospects for further study or employment.³⁸ Low quality and incomplete education represent what are termed the "supply-side" drivers of youth unemployment, where young people do not have the appropriate skills or work-related capabilities to be employable or to set up successful enterprises of their own, and so struggle to make the transition from education to work.³⁹ The "demandside" driver relates to a shortage of jobs or self-employment opportunities for those who are available to work.

In 2018 there were 9.5 million young people aged 15 – 24 in South Africa. Of these, 34% (3.2 million) were neither working nor enrolled in any education institution such as a school, university or college. The number of young people nationally who are not in education, training or employment has remained remarkably consistent over the last decade, but has increased over the two decades since 1996 when only two million NEETs were recorded.⁴⁰ South Africa has made no progress towards what is now an explicit target of the Sustainable Development Goals, namely to substantially reduce the proportion of youth not in employment, education or training by 2020.⁴¹ If anything, the number of NEETs has increased marginally.

The NEET rates are fairly even across the provinces. This is hard to interpret without further analysis. Limpopo, for example, is a very poor and largely rural province. It is possible that the slightly lower-than-average percentage of NEETs in that province is partly the result of many young people migrating to cities in search of work and they are therefore counted among the NEETs in more urban provinces. It is possible that young people who are not employed in the labour market may nevertheless be employed in small-scale agriculture if their household has access to land, and this could also help to smooth the provincial inequalities that are characteristic of many other indicators.

There is enormous variation within the broad youth group of 15 - 24 years. Only 5% of children aged 15 - 17 are classified as NEET because the majority are attending school. Within the 18 - 20 age band, 34% are NEETs, and more than half (53%) of those in the 21 - 24 age band are neither working nor in education or training.

While education attendance rates are fairly even for males and females, the gender disparity among NEETs is more pronounced. Thirty-seven percent of young women are not in employment, education or training – compared with 31% of young men.

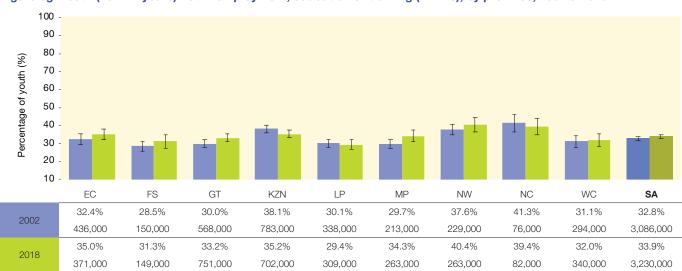


Figure 5g: Youth (15 – 24 years) not in employment, education or training (NEETs), by province, 2002 & 2018

Source: Statistics South Africa (2003; 2019) General Household Survey 2002; General Household Survey 2018. Pretoria: Stats SA. Analysis by Katharine Hall & Winnie Sambu, Children's Institute, UCT.

References

- 1 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996.
- 2 Secretary General of the Organisation of the African Union (1990) African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, OAU Resolution 21.8/49. Addis Ababa: OAU.
- 3 Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (1989) *Convention on the Rights of the Child, UN General Assembly Resolution 44/25.* Geneva: United Nations.
- 4 Statistics South Africa (2019) General Household Survey 2018. Pretoria: Stats SA. Analysis by Katharine Hall, Children's Institute, UCT. For more information on school drop-out, see also: Branson N, Hofmeyer C & Lam D (2014) Progress through school and the determinants of school dropout in South Africa. Development Southern Africa, 31(1):106-126; Gustafsson M (2011) The When and How of Leaving School: The

policy implications of new evidence on secondary school in South Africa. Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers 09/11. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.

5 Crouch L (2005) Disappearing Schoolchildren or Data Misunderstanding? Dropout Phenomena in South Africa. North Carolina: RTI International; Lam D & Seekings J (2005) Transitions to Adulthood in Urban South Africa: Evidence from a panel survey. Prepared for the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) general conference, 18 – 23 July 2005, Tours, France;

Lam D, Ardington A & Leibbrandt M (2011) Schooling as a lottery: Racial differences in school advancement in urban South Africa. *Journal of Development Economics*, 95:121-136.

- 6 Spaull N & Taylor S (2015) Access to what? Creating a composite measure of educational quantity and educational quality for 11 African countries. *Comparative Education Review*, 59(1): 133-165.
- 7 The Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Education Quality. Viewed 3 November 2019: www.sacmeq.org/?q=sacmeqmembers/south-africa/sacmeq-reports.
- 8 International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement: TIMSS & PIRLS International Study Center (2019) Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study & Progress in International Reading Literacy Study. See http://www.pirls.org/.
- 9 Department of Education (2018) Annual National Assessments. Viewed 20 September 2018: https://www.education.gov.za/Curriculum/ AnnualNationalAssessments.aspx. Note: the ANAs have not been conducted since 2014.
- 10 See for example: Van der Berg S, Burger C, Burger R, De Vos M, Gustafsson M, Moses E, Shepherd D, Spaull N, Taylor S, Van Broekhuizen H & Von Fintel D (2011) Low Quality Education as a Poverty Trap. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University; Also see no. 5 above (Lam et al, 2011).
- 11 Hall K, Sambu W, Almeleh C, Mabaso K, Giese S & Proudlock P (2019) South African Early Childhood Review 2019. Cape Town: Children's Institute, UCT & Ilifa Labantwana.
- 12 Spaull N (2013) Poverty & privilege: Primary school inequality in South Africa. International Journal of Educational Development, 33(54): 436-447; South African Human Rights Commission & UNICEF (2014) Poverty Traps and Social Exclusion among Children in South Africa 2014. Pretoria: SAHRC & UNICEF.
- 13 Heckman J (2006) Skill formation and the economics of investing in disadvantaged children. Science, 312: 1900-1902; Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Education Quality (2011) Learner Preschool Exposure and Achievement in South Africa. SACMEQ Policy Brief No. 4, April 2011. Pretoria: Ministry of Education.
- 14 Department of Basic Education (2016) Five-year Strategic Plan (2015/16 2019/20). Pretoria: DBE.
- 15 Engel P, Black M, Behrman JR, De Mello MC, Gertler PJ, Kapiriri L, Martorell R, Young ME & International Child Development Steering Group (2007) Strategies to avoid the loss of developmental potential in more than 200 million children in the developing world. *The Lancet*, 369(9557): 229-242.
- National Planning Commission (2012) National Development Plan Vision for 2030. Pretoria: The Presidency.
- 17 Administrative data supplied on special request by the Department of Basic Education from their Education Management Information System (EMIS).

- 18 Department of Basic Education (2019) School Realities 2018. Pretoria: DBE.
- 19 Gustafsson M (2010) Policy Note on Pre-primary Schooling: An Empirical Contribution to the 2009 Medium Term Strategic Framework. Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers 05/10. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.
- 20 See no. 4 (Statistics South Africa, 2019) above.
- 21 See no. 18 above.
- 22 Department of Basic Education (2004 2019) Education Statistics series, and School Realities series. Pretoria: DBE. Analysis by Katharine Hall, Children's Institute, UCT.
- 23 Department of Basic Education (2014) Report on the Annual National Assessments of 2014. Pretoria: DBE.
- 24 Howie SJ, Combrinck C, Tshele M, Roux K, McLeod Palane N & Mokoena GM (2017) PIRLS 2016 Progress in International Reading Literacy Study 2016 Grade 5 Benchmark Participation: South African children's reading literacy achievement. Pretoria: Centre for Evaluation and Assessment.
- 25 Reddy V, Visser M, Winnaar L, Arends F, Juan A, Prinsloo CH & Isdale K (2016) TIMSS 2015: Highlights of Mathematics and Science Achievement of Grade 9 South African Learners. Human Sciences Research Council.
- 26 Zoch A (2013) Life Chances and Class: Estimating inequality of opportunity in South Africa for various life stages. Stellenbosch Economic Working Papers 08/13. Stellenbosch University; See also no. 12 (South African Human Rights Commission et al, 2014); Spaull N (2015) Schooling in South Africa: How low quality education becomes a poverty trap. In: De Lannoy A, Swartz S, Lake L & Smith C (eds) South African Child Gauge 2015. Children's Institute, UCT.
- 27 Timæus I, Simelane S & Letsoalo T (2013) Poverty, race and children's progress at school in South Africa. The Journal of Development Studies, 49(2): 270-284.
- 28 Poverty & Inequality Initiative, University of Cape Town (2018) Youth Explorer. Viewed 20 September 2018: https://youthexplorer.org.za/ profiles/country-ZA-south-africa/#education
- 29 See no. 4 (Branson et al, 2014) above.
- 30 Branson N & Lam D (2010) Educational inequality in South Africa: Evidence from the National Income Dynamics Study. Studies in Economics and Econometrics, 34(3): 85-105;
- See no. 5 (Lam et al, 2011) and no. 10 (Van der Berg et al, 2011) above.
 See, for example: Fleisch B & Shindler J (2009) Gender repetition: school access, transitions and equity in the 'Birth-to-Twenty' cohort panel study in urban South Africa. Comparative Education, 45(2): 265-279; See no. 4 (Branson et al, 2014) above.
- 32 See no. 27 above.
- 33 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2017) Youth Not in Employment, Education or Training (NEET) (indicator). Viewed 6 June 2017: https://data.oecd.org/youthinac/youth-not-in-employmenteducation-or-training-neet.htm.
- 34 Ardington C, Bärninghausen A, Case A & Menendez A (2013) Social Protection and Labour Market Outcomes of Youth in South Africa. Working Paper 96. Cape Town: Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, UCT.
- 35 Altman M, Mokomane Z & Wright G (2014) Social security for young people amidst high poverty and unemployment: Some policy options for South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, 31(2): 347-362.
- 36 Department of Basic Education (2016) Report on Progress in the Schooling Sector against Key Learner Performance and Attainment Indicators. Pretoria: DBE.
- 37 See no. 36 and no. 28 above.
- 38 Timaeus I & Moultrie T (2015) Teenage childbearing and educational attainment in South Africa. Studies in Family Planning, 46(2): 143-160.
- 39 Smith J (2011) Connecting Young South Africans to Opportunity: Literature review and strategy. Cape Town: DG Murray Trust; Lam D, Leibbrandt M & Mlatsheni C (2008) Education and Youth Unemployment in South Africa. Working Paper 22. Cape Town: Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit, UCT.
- 40 Department of Higher Education and Training (2013) Fact Sheet on NEETs: An analysis of the 2011 South African Census. Pretoria: DHET.
- 41 United Nations Development Programme (2017) Sustainable Development Goals. Viewed 14 July 2017: www.undp.org/content/undp/ en/home/sustainable-development-goals.html.