Gordon Institute of Business Science
University of Pretoria

Policy and regulation as enablers for early childhood development centres in townships and informal settlements

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A research project submitted to the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration.

11 March 2020

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Abstract

South Africa's integrated policy on early childhood development makes provision for access to and delivery of equitable services to all children in South Africa. In his 2019 State of the Nation Address, President Cyril Ramaphosa emphasised the importance of early childhood development (ECD) in the development of South Africa's human capital. ECD centres in South Africa are faced with various financial and human resources challenges preventing them from registering with the Department of Social Development and accessing the per-child subsidy. Regulations governing ECD centres have been found to be lacking in support of social entrepreneurs operating in resources deprived areas such as informal settlements and townships, areas challenged by poverty and unemployment. Policies and regulations that cater to the social entrepreneurial context of operations have been found to be effective in addressing challenges related to the provisioning of social entrepreneurship related services. This study contributes to literature with respect to challenges facing ECD centres in informal settlements and townships and the literature on how government can use policy and regulation to remedy for challenges experienced by ECD centres operating in informal settlements and townships.

Keywords: early childhood development, social entrepreneurship, informal settlements, townships, policy, regulation

Declaration

I declare that this research project is my own work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University. I further declare that I have obtained the necessary authorisation and consent to carry out this research.

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1 PROBLEM DEFINITION

1.1 Introduction

A 2014 national audit by Department of Social Development (DoSD) revealed an increase in unregistered early childhood development (ECD) centres in South Africa (Department of Social Development, 2014). Forty-four percent of the identified unregistered centres are based in informal settlements and townships, areas challenged by various socio-economic issues including poverty and unemployment (Department of Social Development, 2014; World Bank, 2014). ECD centres in informal settlements and townships serve three roles:

1.They provide daycare facilities for parents who have limited options and resources in terms of daycare for their children,
2. Offer hope to earn an income for the unemployed, and
3. They offer children access to resources that aid in their development

As most of the unregistered ECD centres service disadvantaged communities (Department of Social Development, 2014), resources are scarce and thus facilities at the ECD centres are ill-equipped to meet DoSD's minimum ECD standards (Atmore, 2012).

1.2 Background

South Africa is faced with multiple socio-economic issues. A large proportion of South Africa's youth is without employment and will continue to be excluded from economic opportunities owing to a lack of skills and low-quality education (Statistics South Africa, 2019). According to Business Tech (n.d.), half of South Africa's population resides in townships and informal settlements, and according to World Bank (2014), South Africa's townships and informal settlements are home to many who feel economically and socially marginalised owing to a lack of resources and poor access to facilities.

As at 2016, 34% of South Africa's households with children between the ages of 0 and 6 were dependent on government's social security grant (Statistics South Africa, 2018). Without access to good quality human development opportunities, many will remain trapped in the poverty cycle (Heckman, 2006). Social entrepreneurship has the ability to

overcome socio-economic problems and create environments for developing communities in a sustainable manner (Bozhikin, Macke, & da Costa, 2019).

The 2014 DoSD ECD audit included 17 846 fully registered, conditionally registered and unregistered ECD centres across South Africa. Gauteng's informal settlements and townships recorded the biggest share of unregistered ECD centres at 25% of the 7892 unregistered centres across the country (Department of Social Development, 2014). Registration with DoSD offers ECD centres an opportunity to access DoSD's per child subsidy aimed at ensuring the provisioning of equitable ECD services to children (Atmore, 2012; Department of Social Development, 2014). According to Atmore (2012), ECD centres in South Africa are plagued by a myriad of challenges including poor infrastructure and poor leadership and governance. These challenges prevent ECD centres from meeting DoSD's minimum health and safety standards required for registration with DoSD. Ashley-Cooper and Atmore (2013) and Department of Social Development (2014) credit inadequate financial and human resources for ECD centres' inability to comply with DoSD's ECD regulations. The ECD resources' challenges and, the inability of ECD centres to access financial resources' support from government have an impact on the quality of ECD services provisioned to children (Yelland, 2010).

1.2.1 Early Childhood Development

The World Bank regards ECD as the foundation of human capital development. In his 2019 State of the Nation Address, President Ramaphosa emphasised the importance of ECD for the economic prosperity of our country (Republic of South Africa, n.d.). To promote the importance of ECD, the World Bank runs various programmes that support and invest in the provisioning of ECD services globally (World Bank, 2007). Between 2001 and 2013, the World Bank invested $3.3 billion to support programmes that ensure successful and sustainable ECD programmes (Sayre, Devercelli, Neuman, & Wodon, 2015).

ECD is a holistic focus that cuts across education, health and the social protection of both the child and caregiver (Alderman & Vegas, 2011; Yelland, 2010). The objective of ECD is to equip children with the ability to participate in long-term learning thus improving the earning potential of the resultant adults (Yelland, 2010). The focus of early childhood development varies for countries however it is generally focused on children from zero

ages to pre-school years (Heckman, 2006). ECD in South Africa focuses on children from 0 to 9 years (Department of Social Development, 2015), the responsibility of which is shared among DoSD, Department of Health (DoH) and Department of Basic Education (DoBE). The DoSD, through its National Integrated Early Childhood Policy, provides guidelines and principles to support both mother and child through the developmental stages of the child. The policy seeks to ensure adequate development of the child from a mental, nutritional, social, emotional, physical health and educational perspective by leveraging regulation and state funds (Department of Social Development, 2015). According to Heckman (2011), poor quality ECD services can result in ill-equipped individuals and institutions which can lead to dysfunctional societies, perpetuating cycles of poverty and inequality, as seen in unemployment figures and income inequality figures reported for South Africa.

1.2.2 Human Capital Index and Human Development Index

Statistics South Africa (2019) reported the Q42019 unemployment rate at close to 30%, with the youth (15-34 years) unemployment rate at 58%. This is the highest the unemployment rate has been in over 10 years (Statistics South Africa, 2019). In 2015, South Africa's Gini co-efficient, which is a measure of income inequality, was measured at 0.63 by the World Bank, earning South Africa a spot as the most unequal society in the world. These numbers reflect the challenges faced by South Africa's society and speak volumes about the country's human capital development practices.

According to World Economic Forum (2017, p. 3), "Human capital is a key factor for growth, development and competitiveness". The World Economic Forum (2017) defines human capital as the skills and knowledge that people possess that allow them to make a valuable contribution to the global economic system. The World Economic Forum measures the Human Capital Index (HCI) of 130 countries to measure how well countries develop and leverage their human capital to ensure long term success of individuals, institutions and the country.

South Africa's HCI is ranked 87th out of 130 countries. According to the World Economic Forum (2017), South Africa is only utilising 50% - 60% of its human capital potential versus countries such as Norway, ranked first in the Global HCI, using above 70% of its human capital potential. Norway is well known for high levels of investment in education

and skills (World Economic Forum, 2017). The top ten ranked countries in the HCI are known for commitment to education and training of their current and upcoming workforce, generating economic growth for their countries. According to the World Economic Forum (2017, p. 3), “Learning and working provide people with livelihoods, an opportunity to contribute to their societies…Workers’ skills lead to productivity and innovation in companies… equality of opportunity in education and employment contribute to economic development and positive social and political outcomes”. Investment in quality education is one of the key elements towards a “prosperous and inclusive economy”, (World Economic Forum, 2017, p. 4).

South Africa is ranked 65th, 90th and 86th respectively across capacity, development and know-how pillars of the HCI (World Economic Forum, 2017). These pillars focus on the education levels of the workforce, educational development of the upcoming work force and the depth and breadth of skills of the current work force. The high ranks in these pillars are reflective of South Africa’s low levels of education and unequal quality of education that have failed to develop the requisite skills required to make a positive and valuable contribution to the economy. Norway, a country ranked first in the Global HCI, is ranked 13th, 6th and 6th respectively across the three pillars.

The Human Development Index (HDI) is an integrated measure of a country’s ability to improve the livelihoods of its citizens (UNDP, 2018). According to UNDP (2018, p. 1), HDI measures “ the ability to acquire knowledge, measured by mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling; and the ability to achieve a decent standard of living, measured by gross national income per capita ”. South Africa, with a score of 0.699, is ranked 113th out of 189 countries and is thus considered a “medium development” country,(UNDP, 2018). High development countries such as Norway report an HDI above 0.95. The report also shows a 0.46% deterioration in the HDI index of South Africa between 1990 and 2017 and a 1.06% deterioration between 2010 and 2017 (UNDP, 2018). The United Nations Development Programme also reports an HCI adjusted for inequality (UNDP, 2018). South Africa reports an inequality adjusted HCI of 0.467, classifying South Arica as a low development economy.

The reported indices, together with the high unemployment rate and high-income inequality figures are reflective of South Africa’s failure to adequately develop the country’s human capital. People living in disadvantaged communities are most impacted

by the poor human capital development practices of a country as it is in disadvantaged communities that one finds a high concentration of unskilled and unemployed people who lack the resources to access opportunities for a better life for themselves and their children (World Bank, 2014).

1.2.3 Entrepreneurship

The operation of ECD centres by community members, despite the socio-economic issues and lack of financial and human resources, is reflective of the entrepreneurial nature of the community members. Kritikos (2014) describes entrepreneurs as originators of new business thus generating new and expansionary activity in a country's economy. It is this entrepreneurial nature that should be developed and harnessed for it shows desire and conviction to earn a living outside of the formal employment structures that continue to exclude most.

The formation of ECD centres servicing disadvantaged communities that have been neglected by government and the private sector is a form of social entrepreneurship (Kadir & Sarif, 2016). Social entrepreneurship is a branch of the theory on entrepreneurship and focuses on servicing the needs of others , specifically those that have been excluded from the provision of basic services by government and generally lack the financial resources to acquire them (Warnecke, 2018).

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The problem definition highlighted the various socio-economic issues faced by South Africans. The burden of socio-economic challenges on ECD centres in impoverished communities prevents ECD centres from registering with DoSD thus depriving them of much needed financial resources. The inability of these centres to access funds, owing to non-registration, puts further pressure on the centres' ability to provision equitable ECD services to the communities that they service. It is important that these ECD centres access the appropriate support to provision equitable education that facilitates the development of children, enabling them to make a positive contribution to the economy by providing business with the requisite talent for innovation, growth and competitiveness.

Another issue highlighted is that of high unemployment that can be solved through social entrepreneurship (Pathak & Muralidharan, 2018). ECD practitioners that operate ECD centres with constrained resources show the courage to participate in social entrepreneurial activity, a characteristic that is not present in many. With the right support and resources, these entrepreneurs have the potential to generate new possibilities for those that feel marginalised in society.

Academic and peer -reviewed literature focusing on using policy and regulation to resolve operational challenges faced by ECD centres based in informal settlements and townships is limited. The purpose of this study is to add to literature on operational challenges faced by ECD centres in South Africa and how government can use policy and regulation to remedy the challenges. The study will mainly leverage the theory on social entrepreneurship and how policy and regulation can be used to stimulate and support social entrepreneurial activities. The study also aims to contribute to institutional theory and the theory on social entrepreneurship.

1.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to define the problem to be researched, outline the purpose of the study and highlight the practical and theoretical contributions to be made by the study. The following chapter reviews literature and theory related to the problem defined.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The problem definition highlighted challenges faced by South Africa and ECD centres operating in South Africa. These challenges have resulted in many ECD centres being unable to comply with DoSD's registration criteria, denying centres an opportunity to access funding necessary to provision equitable ECD services to disadvantaged children. The purpose of this chapter is to review literature related to the problem defined, in the context of the theory on social entrepreneurship. The first section will define and focus on literature related to social entrepreneurship and the role of government in social entrepreneurship. The second section will review literature related to ECD to provide context to the ECD landscape in South Africa and, the third section will delve into the literature on informal settlements and townships to give context to the operating environment of ECD centres servicing communities in informal settlements and townships.

2.2 Entrepreneurship Theory

Entrepreneurship is defined as the identification and pursuing of opportunities (McKeever, Anderson, & Jack, 2014), and is a term previously associated with entrepreneurial activities with an objective to generate economic returns for investors (Angelica, 2019; Helm & Andersson, 2010; McKeever et al., 2014). Over the years, the concept of entrepreneurship has stretched to include entrepreneurial activities whose objective is to improve the welfare of communities and societies (Sivathanu & V.Bhise, 2013). According to Kadir & Sarif (2016), the failure of government and the private sector to address socially challenging problems has over the years resulted in rising interest in entrepreneurial activities with a social focus. Entrepreneurship with a social focus is thus regarded as the new economic engine that can be exploited for public benefit (Angelica, 2019; Dobele & Dobele, 2011).

2.3. Social Entrepreneurship Theory

According to Pathak & Muralidharan (2018, p.1152), social entrepreneurship is defined as the “recognition, evaluation,…exploitation of opportunities stemming…basic and long-standing needs of society, which subsequently result in the creation and establishment of social values … involves solving and fulfilling the basic needs of society such as food, shelter, education,...basic health and hygiene services”. According to Driver (2012), Michael Porter refers to social entrepreneurship as the application of market principles and economic value thinking to solve for social problems created by capitalism.

Hervieux and Voltan (2018) define social entrepreneurship as a process that lends innovative solutions to problems regarded as complex by society. The process is driven by individuals with a purpose to empower and transform communities through the development of capabilities and capacities that will have a sustainable impact on the communities (Kadir & Sarif, 2016; Pathak & Muralidharan, 2018; Stephan, Uhlaner, & Stride, 2015). Social entrepreneurship includes activities by both social entrepreneurs and social enterprises, sometimes in partnership with government entities (P. Dacin, Dacin, & Matear, 2010; Sahasranamam & Nandakumar, 2020), and spans various industries across small and large, for-profit and not-for-profit private and public organisations (Austin, Stevenson, & Wei-Skillern, 2006; B. R. Smith & Stevens, 2010). Furthermore, social entrepreneurship is different to corporate social responsibility that exists as a subset of economically driven organisations and serves as a reminder for organisations “to do good” in society (Driver, 2012, p. 423).

2.3.1 The Objective and Role of Social Entrepreneurship Theory

The objective of social entrepreneurship is to create sustainable social value for the benefit of communities and societies unlike that of commercial organisations being to create economic value for shareholders (Austin et al., 2006; Greblikaite, 2012). According to Kadir & Sarif (2016), social entrepreneurial activities operate in a hybrid space of philanthropy and activities purely for economic gain. Angelica (2019) presents a table that illustrates the role and characteristics of social enterprises whose objectives are both socially and economically driven. According to Angelica (2019), social enterprises operate in a hybrid world of philanthropy and commercial gain which is not understood by many.

Table 1: The Theoretical Social Enterprise Spectrum

Descriptors	**Purely Philanthropic**	**(Social Enterprise)**	**Purely Commercial**
Motive	Do good in society Socially driven Not driven by profit	Social and market driven	Market and profit driven
Beneficiaries	Free service/products to customers	Subsidised rates Combination of free service and full payment	Charges market related prices to customers
Capital	Relies on donated capital and grants	Subsidised capital Donations Grants Market related capital	Competes in the market for capital Pays market related prices for capital
Workforces	Volunteers	Combination of paid (generally below market) staff and volunteers	Pays market related wages
Suppliers	Relies on donated supplies	Discounted and donated supplies Combination of free and market related prices	Pays market related prices

Source: Adapted from Angelica (2019, p. 64)

Social entrepreneurship is a function of opportunities created by government's failure to provide communities with much needed goods and services as a result of corruption or a lack of or limited resources and capacity (Bozhikin et al., 2019; Forouharfar, Rowshan, & Salarzehi, 2018; Pathak & Muralidharan, 2018; Santos, 2012). This notion plays into institutional theory that states that institutional actors are a function of external influence exerted on them (Pishdad, Koronios, Reich, & Geursen, 2014). As new rules and norms

are introduced in the market, institutional actors adjust their behaviours to accommodate the new norms and rules, eventually behaving alike. Institutional theory regards these changes as “isomorphism” which is categorised into coercive isomorphism, normative isomorphism and memetic isomorphism (Björkman, 2006).

Coercive isomorphism is a function of legal structures that influence the environment of the institutional actor. As the legal environment changes, the institutional actors adjust their behaviours to accommodate the changes. Normative isomorphism is a function of expectations of society or an industry that an institutional actor is a part of. Institutional actors will adjust their behaviours to suit behavioural expectations of environments they participate in. Memetic isomorphism relates to the imitation of other institutional actors to survive or to also realise perceived success. Leveraging institutional theory Seelos, Mair, Battilana, & Tina Dacin (2011), looked at the influence of embedded structures and norms of communities on social entrepreneurial emergence and development. In this work, it was discovered that the success of social entrepreneurial activities relies on the level of emersion and involvement of the social enterprise in the structures and norms of the communities that they service. According to Ratten & Welpe (2011), community activities are largely impacted by community structures and norms thus community members have an impact on the success of community based entrepreneurial activities. The contribution of this study will thus be at the intersection of social entrepreneurship theory and institutional theory.

Neglected problems in society are allocated resources as a result of social entrepreneurial activities thus empowering and transforming the livelihood of the marginalised (Dobele & Dobele, 2011; Kadir & Sarif, 2016; Pathak & Muralidharan, 2018; Santos, 2012). Social entrepreneurship offers services and employment to marginalised communities and has been credited with the revitalisation and development of new industries and business models (Santos, 2012; Warnecke, 2018). Social entrepreneurial activities have been known to successfully challenge methods previously unsuccessful at addressing societal problems of the world such as hunger, poverty and poor education (Arasti, Zarei, & Didehvar, 2015; Stecker, 2014; Zahra, Gedajlovic, Neubaum, & Shulman, 2009).

Social enterprises often deliver services much more efficiently than government (Dobele & Dobele, 2011). Their practices offer a window into the challenges faced by societies

and the various methods in which they can be solved thus allowing other solutions to societal problems to be borne (Dobele & Dobele, 2011). Engagement in social entrepreneurial activity allows for the development of social capital that communities can leverage for future projects, creating opportunities for sustainability (Estrin, Mickiewicz, & Stephan, 2013; Sahasranamam & Nandakumar, 2020; Sivathanu & V.Bhise, 2013).

2.3.2 The Social Entrepreneur

Individuals involved in social entrepreneurial activities are regarded as innovative, risk-taking and undeterred by a lack of resources in pursuit of their mission to create value in society (Greblikaite, 2012; Helm & Andersson, 2010; Stecker, 2014).When faced with resources' challenges , social entrepreneurs are known for employing creative solutions that include collaborating with others and leveraging social capital (Griffiths, Gundry, & Kickul, 2013).

Social entrepreneurs are regarded as "change agents" with the ability to mobilise communities to effect sustainable solutions to problems neglected by government and the private sector (Sivathanu & V.Bhise, 2013). They are well versed with the social challenges experienced by the communities they are servicing or trying to service thus are better equipped to provide insights and offer cost-effective solutions capable of addressing the social challenges (Dobele & Dobele, 2011; Hervieux & Voltan, 2018; Marshall, 2011; Zahra et al., 2009).

According to Sivathanu & V.Bhise (2013, p. 4), social entrepreneurs exhibit the following behaviours as change agents:

- Driven by the desire to create and sustain social value
- Always looking for opportunities and new and better ways to achieve their social missions
- Relentless pursuit of their social mission
- Always looking for new and better ways to achieve their social mission
- Not limited by available/accessible resources
- Take full responsibility for delivery of their social mission, ensuring desired outcomes for communities

Hervieux and Voltan (2018) posit that these behaviours are responsible for equipping social entrepreneurs with the ability to navigate constantly changing and complex systems. It is for this reason that Davie (2017) is of the view that ideas generated in the social entrepreneurial sector should be leveraged for commercial value.

Three types of social entrepreneurs exist according to Greblikaite (2012). The three types of entrepreneurs are the social bricoleur, the social constructionist and the social engineer. These are distinguishable through the scope and scale of their social mission, resources required to achieve their social mission, degree of legitimacy required to realise their social objectives and the type of community and social relationships that the social entrepreneurs form in their social quests (Greblikaite, 2012; B. R. Smith & Stevens, 2010; Zahra et al., 2009), see Appendix 9.1.

The social bricoleur is motivated by the desire to solve for social problems experienced first-hand (B. R. Smith & Stevens, 2010).The solutions developed by this type of social entrepreneur tend to be narrowly focused and specific to the challenges experienced by a specific community (B. R. Smith & Stevens, 2010; Zahra et al., 2009).The social bricoleur is often challenged by a lack of resources and leverages strong and personal relationships formed with communities and other stakeholders to deliver their social mission (Greblikaite, 2012). For the social bricoleur, making do with the resources at hand and configuring them to suit the context is common practice, a process referred to as social bricolage (Di Domenico, Haugh, & Tracey, 2010).

The social constructionist and engineer are broad in their view of social challenges and look to solution at a wider scale to the social bricoleur (Greblikaite, 2012). The social constructionist services markets both locally and internationally by implementing and operating structures designed to address persistent social issues. The social engineer addresses social needs at an international scale by developing new and efficient methods that serve to challenge existing structures (B. R. Smith & Stevens, 2010; Zahra et al., 2009). It is these differences that determine how the entrepreneurs identify and combine resources to exploit opportunities (Zahra et al., 2009). For the purposes of this study, the social bricoleur and social constructionist in the form of the ECD practitioner and non-government organisations (NGO) are relevant.

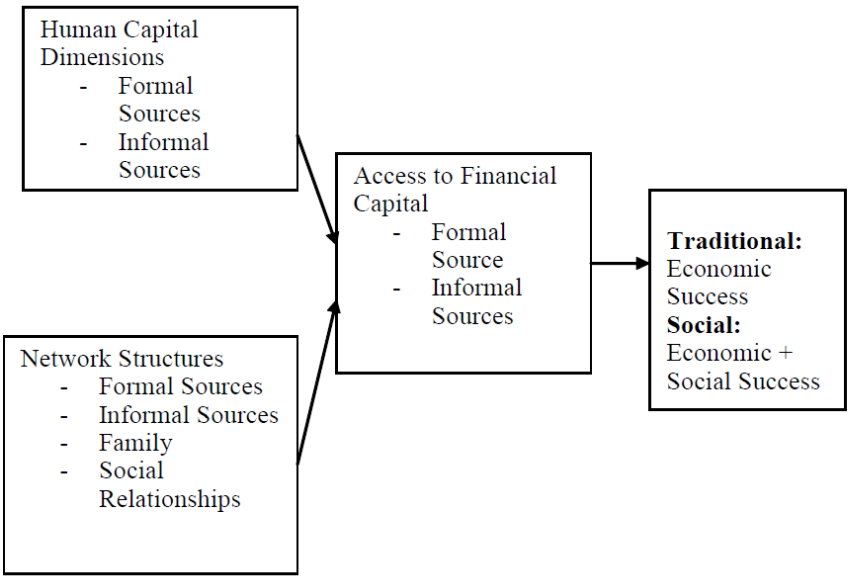
2.3.3 Determinants of Success in Social Entrepreneurship

As the social entrepreneurial model is a hybrid model of philanthropy and commercial gain, social entrepreneurial success is often defined by both economic and social factors (Angelica, 2019; Zahra et al., 2009), even though the objective of social entrepreneurship is not to generate financial rewards for investors (Greblikaite, 2012). Marshall (2011) describes success defined in terms of economic and social factors as a social mission in harmony with financial success.

According to Sahasranamam & Nandakumar (2020), social enterprises are seldom financially self-reliant thus are often dependent on donor funding, sponsorships, grants or subsidies for survival, making them vulnerable to economic instability, economic downturns and sudden withdrawal of funds from donors and sponsors. It is thus important that business models followed by social enterprises offer sustainability and financial independence to the social enterprises thus allowing social entrepreneurs the realisation and sustainability of their social missions (Bozhikin et al., 2019; P. Dacin et al., 2010; Marshall, 2011). The pursuit of financial viability and independence is however often in conflict with the social entrepreneurs' mission to create social value thus leading to operational tensions (P. Dacin et al., 2010; Zahra et al., 2009).

Figure 2, enclosed in the next page, highlights factors upon which entrepreneurial success is dependent. Access to financial capital is critical in determining the success of both social and commercial entrepreneurs. Access to financial capital is in turn dependent on social capital and human capital accessible to the social and commercial entrepreneurs (Greblikaite, 2012; Sahasranamam & Nandakumar, 2020). Success of the social entrepreneur is relevant for this study.

Figure 1: Model of Entrepreneurial Success (Traditional and Social Entrepreneurs)



Source: Greblikaite (2012 , p. 212)

According to Estrin, Mickiewicz, & Stephan (2016), human capital relates to the quality of human resources that are accessible to the social enterprise in terms of both formal and informal education that can be leveraged to realise the social mission of the organisation. Formal education relates to general education that can be acquired through educational institutions in a country and informal education relates to knowledge and skills acquired through employment, experience gained from running a business or other means not related to formal education (Sahasranamam & Nandakumar, 2020).

Social capital is defined as social networks formed with friends, colleagues or family that can be leveraged for support and access to resources (Bloom & Smith, 2010; Sahasranamam & Nandakumar, 2020). It is a product of deeply entrenched societal structures that foster co-operation in societies (Estrin et al., 2013; McKeever et al., 2014). Social entrepreneurial activities help develop and sustain social capital in communities (Estrin et al., 2013).

According to Bloom & Smith (2010), political capital, together with human capital, social capital and financial capital are critical to the scaling of social entrepreneurial impact. Political capital refers to political system influence generated from engagement with

political structures (Bloom & Smith, 2010; Kostovetsky, 2015). Organisations and civilians leverage political capital to access power and resources available in political structures (Booth & Richard, 2012).

As social entrepreneurial activities operate in the hybrid space of philanthropy and commercial gain, social enterprises and social entrepreneurs are often faced with the challenge of competing for resources in an environment where little is understood about the value-add of new and untested business models whose main objective is to facilitate positive social impact (Santos, 2012; Zahra et al., 2009). Other challenges plague the social entrepreneurship industry and are discussed in the section that follows.

2.3.4 Challenges Faced in Social Entrepreneurship

Social entrepreneurs often operate in environments where resources are constrained, and institutional structures are weak (Griffiths et al., 2013). Three types of constraints confront social enterprises according to Angelica (2019). These are market, financial capital and legitimacy related. An additional constraint related to legal frameworks has been added to Angelica (2019)'s model by the researcher. The following table details and describes the different constraints.

Table 2: Constraints Faced by Social Enterprises

Constraint Type	**Description**
Market	Willingness and ability to pay for service/product
Financial	Financial Capital access
Social	Legitimacy- lack of knowledge/understanding and trust
*Regulatory	Legal frameworks not accommodative of social entrepreneurial objectives

*Researcher's contribution to the study

Source: Modified from Angelica (2019, p. 66)

In addition to the three constraints highlighted by Angelica (2019), the theory on social entrepreneurship highlights challenges related to legal frameworks. In many countries, the legal classification of entities is restricted to “for-profit” or “not-for-profit” (Triponel & Agapitova, 2017). According to Yu (2011), traditional legal frameworks often do not cater to objectives with both a social and economic objective thus undermining the efforts and contributions of social entrepreneurs, denying the social entrepreneurs legitimacy in society.

As per Angelica (2019), social enterprises operate in a hybrid environment which is not understood by many. Dacin, Dacin, and Tracey (2011) and Hervieux, Gedajlovic, & Turcotte (2010) highlight legitimacy as an issue that plagues the social entrepreneurship sector, owing to a lack of understanding of the social entrepreneurship business model. According to Hervieux et al., (2010), legitimacy is a function of adherence to symbols, norms and rituals of an operating environment. Social enterprises have the added challenge of competing for funds in a market where financial return is more valued than the creation of social value (Santos, 2012). Social entrepreneurs are often exposed to inadequate funding models that fail to cater for business models with a social value focus and do not fit the mould of portfolios whose objective is to provide investors with financial returns (Hervieux & Voltan, 2018; Sahasranamam & Nandakumar, 2020). Questions regarding legitimacy as a result of new and untested business models rob the social entrepreneurial sector of opportunities to access funding to support its social missions (Zahra et al., 2009). Angelica (2019) advocates for various funding avenues to cater to the social mission business model.

Market constraint refers to the willingness and ability to pay for services rendered by social entrepreneurial activity (Greblikaite, 2012; Santos, 2012). Services and products provided by social entrepreneurs are generally those neglected by both the private and public sectors, owing to constrained public resources and the absence of incentives for private sector participation in provisioning the related services or products (Santos, 2012). Communities rendered services by social entrepreneurial activities are often not able to pay market related rates for services rendered due to affordability (Santos, 2012). At times, communities serviced are unable to pay for services due to a lack of financial resources (Santos, 2012). A gap in the social entrepreneurship literature exists with respect to the impact of a lack of subject matter education and low barriers to entry on the price that social entrepreneurs can set for their services or products.

Social enterprises are often faced with the difficulty of attracting and retaining appropriate human capital for their social missions due to their inability to offer market related salaries to potential employees, a result of challenges related to financial capital access and the general unprofitable nature of provisioning much needed goods and services to marginalised communities (Bloom & Smith, 2010; Estrin et al., 2016; Santos, 2012). Social enterprises rather rely on a sense of fulfilment derived from adding value to the community or job-fulfilment to attract the necessary staff and volunteers (Estrin et al., 2016). The human capital of a country thus the level of education, drives access to and the quality of volunteers and staff willing to accept a salary that is not market related (Bloom & Smith, 2010; Estrin et al., 2016).

Not all social entrepreneurial activity attracts the same amount of attention, support and funding due to a lack of understanding of business models with a social focus, high levels of uncertainty in terms of the outcome of the value to be created and inadequate funding models that are unable to capture the essence and uncertainty of the projects involved (M. T. Dacin et al., 2011). The next section delves into the various tools that governments use to stimulate and support social entrepreneurial activities.

2.3.5 The Role of Government in Social Entrepreneurship

Social entrepreneurship is influenced by the availability of resources and the influence of government and societal structures on the social entrepreneurial activities (Jenkins, 2014; Littlewood & Holt, 2018; Shockley & Frank, 2011). At national level, government is generally responsible for policy formulation and local government is responsible for policy implementation, taking into account the resources available to government (Jenkins, 2014). Government's legislative, executive and judicial institutional environment create entrepreneurial opportunities and generally determine their success (Shockley & Frank, 2011).

Constrained resources are a challenge for governments (Santos, 2012). Governments are often faced with the difficulty of deciding how best to draft and implement national policies to suit the local context and realise positive returns for the economy (Jenkins, 2014). According to Shockley & Frank (2011), the effective implementation of policies is dependent on the structure of government institutions, and resources available to government institutions assigned to support the policies. Governments that have access

to resources are generally better equipped to effectively implement policies (Shockley & Frank, 2011). As governments generally do not have the resources for full implementation of policies at once, some of the responsibilities are left to the private sector and NGOs to fulfil, others are implemented at a later stage when resources are available (Desmond et al., 2019; Levine Daniel & Fyall, 2019). Some of the private sector and NGO activities are funded by government whilst others are left to social entrepreneurial actors to fulfil using own or donated resources.

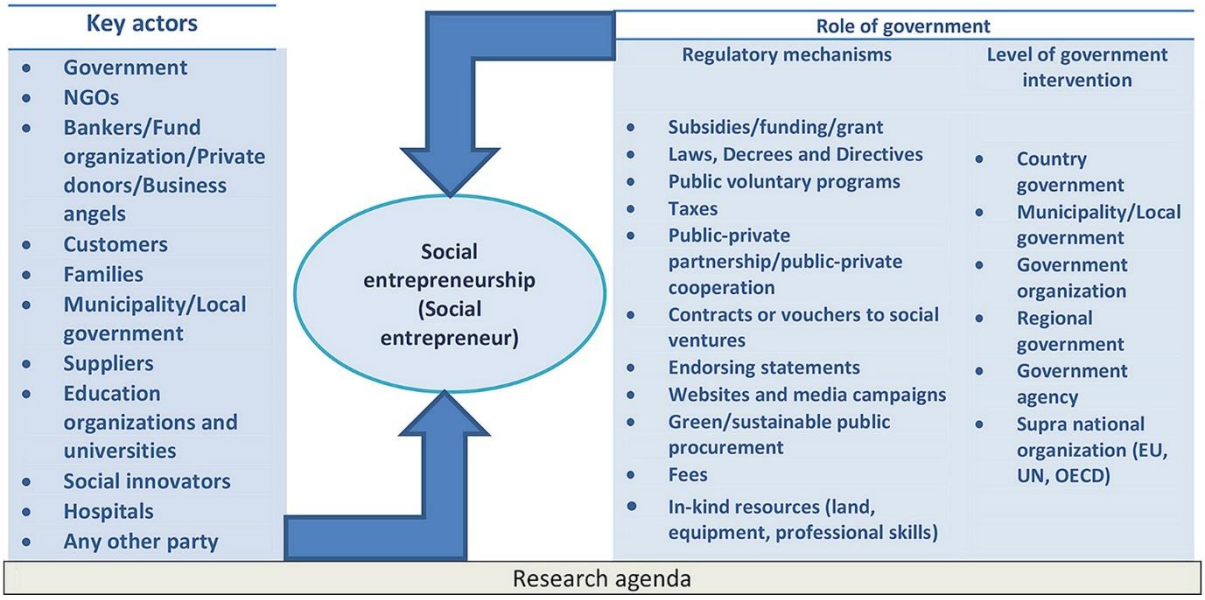
Stephan et al. (2015), leveraging institutional theory, looked at the role that the prevalence of institutional voids and the lack of resources and support in environments play in the stimulation and development of entrepreneurial activity. According to Stephan et al. (2015), the stimulation of social entrepreneurial activity is the responsibility of both government and private entities. Santos (2012) posits that the emergence of social entrepreneurship is the result of government's failure to service the needs of society as such the responsibility then falls on government to create an enabling environment that allows the service gaps to be filled by other stakeholders. The role of government is thus to create an environment that is supportive of the development and sustainability of social entrepreneurial activity. This can be done through various mechanisms at national and local government level, leveraging both private and public tools and institutions (Bozhikin et al., 2019; Jenkins, 2014).The next section focuses on the methods governments generally employ in stimulating and supporting social entrepreneurial activity.

2.3.5.1 Government Support for Social Entrepreneurial Activities

According to Bozhikin et al., (2019), there are four ways in which government can stimulate and support social entrepreneurship activity. The four methods are 1) social entrepreneurship focused policies and regulations, 2) resources support, 3) private-public partnerships with entities and individuals involved in social entrepreneurial activities and 4) public support statements and other support mechanisms (Bozhikin et al., 2019, pp. 740–741). These methods can be applied at various government levels using various government institutions as described in the social entrepreneurial network on the next page.

In a systematic review of literature related to social entrepreneurship and government's involvement in social entrepreneurial activities, Bozhikin et al., (2019) identified 18 role players, 6 government levels and 11 regulatory mechanisms which governments use to stimulate and support social entrepreneurial activity.

Figure 2: The Social Entrepreneurial Network and The Role of Government



Source: Bozhikin et al. (2019 , p. 739)

The section that follows discusses the 11 regulatory mechanism that governments use to stimulate and support social entrepreneurial activities. The 11 regulatory mechanisms will be discussed in the context of the four methods identified as usable in stimulating and supporting social entrepreneurial activity.

2.3.5.1.1 Policy and Regulation

According to Triponel & Agapitova (2017) and Yu (2011), social entrepreneurship focused legal frameworks can help distinguish social entrepreneurial activity from other commercial and NPO activity, providing space for social entrepreneurial activity to function properly. In most countries, a legal framework that focuses on the activities of social entrepreneurs and social enterprises does not exist (Coetzee, n.d.; Triponel & Agapitova, 2017). It is often that social enterprises are restricted to "for-profit" or "not-for-

profit" legal classifications which can miss the objectives of activities with both a social and economic focus (Coetzee, n.d.; Triponel & Agapitova, 2017; Yu, 2011). For a social entrepreneurship focused legal framework to be effective, it must understand and support the objectives of social entrepreneurial activity and must understand and solve for challenges faced by social entrepreneurs and social enterprises (Triponel & Agapitova, 2017).

In drafting policies to promote social entrepreneurship, the context of operating environment is very important as the behaviour of individuals is driven by the characteristics of the environment within which they operate (Arasti et al., 2015; Stephan et al., 2015). Therefore, governments must develop policies that cater to the needs of different businesses as, a one size fits all approach doesn't generate desired outcomes from various businesses (Kim, Yoon, & Kim, 2014; Terjesen, Bosma, & Stam, 2016).

Garrigós Simón, González-Cruz, and Contreras-Pacheco (2017) encourage a comprehensive design of policies to cater for the context of the environment that the policy is geared towards. Policies should be wide in their scope so as not to be stifling and must be clear in their objectives (Garrigós Simón et al., 2017). This notion is supported by Kim et al., (2014) emphasising the importance of non-restrictive government support in stimulating entrepreneurial activity. However, for policies to be effective in their social endeavours, they must be definitive in their areas of focus whilst setting clear objectives and processes that will facilitate achievement of the objective (Arasti et al., 2015; Sabato, Vanhercke, & Verschraegen, 2017).

According to Dobele & Dobele (2011), the implementation of new ideas may at times be crippled by existing legislation. In such instances Dobele & Dobele (2011) and Hervieux & Voltan (2018) advocate for the amendment of such laws in order to stimulate social entrepreneurial activity. This is further echoed by Kim et al., (2014) that state that regulatory burden that restricts the activities of social enterprises should be curbed to stimulate activity. The aim of regulation should be to generate social entrepreneurial activity thus creating opportunities for many to be employed by the social enterprises. According to Terjesen et al., (2016) , social entrepreneurs thrive in supportive environments.

According to Bozhikin et al., (2019) and Sahasranamam & Nandakumar (2020), legal frameworks have the ability to legitimise the social entrepreneurial sector. The legitimacy provided by the various support mechanisms promoted can then be leveraged to access private financial support which is necessary as the social entrepreneurial sector is considered dependent on individual capital, donor funds and subsidies (Garrigós Simón et al., 2017; Sahasranamam & Nandakumar, 2020).

2.3.5.1.2 Resources Support

According to Stephan et al., (2015), relying on a resource based view, it is important that the availability of and access to resources is considered when drafting policies whose objective is to encourage social entrepreneurial activity. Resources can be in the form of grants, subsidies, favourable loans, land, voluntary professional skills and equipment (Bozhikin et al., 2019; Griffiths et al., 2013). Tax incentives are also known to encourage participation in activities with a social entrepreneurship focus (Griffiths et al., 2013).

Stephan et al., (2015) posit that the availability of resources and the active participation of government encourages entrepreneurial activity thus a lack of activity by government has the potential to decrease levels of social entrepreneurial activity as most social enterprises rely on government for funding of their initiatives. An active government is thus indicative of availability of resources to support social initiatives (Stephan et al., 2015). Arasti et al., (2015) offer a contrasting view that states that low levels of public spending spur social entrepreneurial activity. This notion applies to countries where access to resources is not a challenge thus activity in social entrepreneurship is not dependent on government's resources (Terjesen et al., 2016). Hervieux and Voltan (2018) further encourage financial support in the form of private grants, loans and equity funding.

2.3.5.1.3 Public-Private-Partnerships

According to Stephan et al., (2015), the responsibility of social entrepreneurship rests with both the public and private sectors. As such, the drafting of policy to stimulate social entrepreneurial activity should not be limited to individuals and entities that only engage in activities with a social impact (Stecker, 2014). Policies should be supportive of activities from both social entrepreneurs and private sector partners to ensure the

sustainability of social enterprises (Stecker, 2014). In developing policies, government should focus on the ecosystems of entrepreneurial activity (Kim et al., 2014). According to Arasti et al., (2015), policies targeted at promoting social entrepreneurial activities should focus on the development of structures, relationships and institutions that will facilitate social stability and benefit to those that need it the most . Government's policy should be used to stimulate competition and co-operation in the social entrepreneurial network (Kim et al., 2014).

Social entrepreneurial activities resulting from efforts of community members are generally deficient in recognising and fully utilising various government expertise and resources for their own advantage and as such, governments can play a role in integrating various resources and expertise for optimal use in social entrepreneurial activities (Shockley & Frank, 2011). According to Griffiths et al., (2013), social entrepreneurs also rely on collaborations to access resources. As municipalities serve across multiple districts, municipalities can leverage their networks by introducing social entrepreneurs to other persons or groups that may be of interest to the social entrepreneurs (Bozhikin et al., 2019). Local governments and their networks should be leveraged by social entrepreneurs for both tangible and intangible resources (Bozhikin et al., 2019).

NGOs can also be leveraged by social entrepreneurs to support their activities and by government to implement their policies (Levine Daniel & Fyall, 2019; S. R. Smith, 2010). NGOs in their capacity as social entrepreneurs and service providers to marginalised communities offer opportunities to access financial capital, fill government service provision gaps, act as mediators in communities, engage in activities that foster social cohesion and develop skills (Almog-Bar & Schmid, 2014; Levine Daniel & Fyall, 2019; S. R. Smith, 2010). As government doesn't always have the expertise and resources to develop and implement policies, some of the NGO initiatives are government funded, enabling government to access expertise and resources necessary for successful drafting and implementation of policies (Shockley & Frank, 2011; S. R. Smith, 2010; unicef, 2016). NGOs also rely on private forms of financing, donor funding or fees generated from services rendered, to raise capital for their activities (Levine Daniel & Fyall, 2019).

2.3.5.1.4 Public Support Statements and Other Support Mechanism

Social entrepreneurs generally emerge from the same disadvantaged communities that they service (Kim et al., 2014). A focus on bridging gaps in education for social entrepreneurs should form part of the objectives of policies geared towards stimulation of social entrepreneurial activity as education leads to a reduction in reliance from government (Kim et al., 2014). It is important that policies also promote sharing of knowledge and ideas, participation in mentorship and incubation programs and creation of networking opportunities to help social entrepreneurs develop capabilities and competencies that will assist them in surviving the challenging course of entrepreneurship (Arasti et al., 2015; Garrigós Simón et al., 2017; Sabato et al., 2017). Other initiatives that can be explored to support social entrepreneurial activities include public statements of endorsements, skills workshops, media campaigns and websites (Bozhikin et al., 2019).

A gap in literature exists on how governments can use policy and regulation to leverage subject matter knowledge and subject matter appreciation of the community to support social entrepreneurial activities. Another gap exists in how governments can use policy and regulation to educate communities on a subject matter to offer support to the social entrepreneurial sector.

The literature on social entrepreneurship highlighted the definition of social entrepreneurship, its role in society, related challenges and the role that government can play in terms of stimulating and supporting the social entrepreneurial sector. The following section will provide the context of ECD practices in informal settlements and townships.

2.4 Early Childhood Development

In many countries, the responsibility of ECD provisioning is abdicated to the private sector and NPOs (Walker, 2011), as seen with the ownership structure of most ECD centres in South Africa (Department of Social Development, 2014). According to Ashley-Cooper & Atmore (2013), many ECD centres are started by community members with the aim to service the needs of the community. These centres rely on fees charged to

parents to fund their operations. In countries where ECD provisioning is mainly through private and small business entrepreneurs, the quality of ECD service is determined by affordability (Yelland, 2010).

ECD centres that charge low fees due to affordability of communities are generally dependent on donor and government funding, exposing the centres to unstable and unsustainable resources, threatening the centres' ability to continue providing equitable ECD services (Atmore, 2012; Department of Social Development, 2014; Yelland, 2010). In South Africa, low fees charged are often not paid by parents or are not able to cover operating costs including teachers' wages which often go unpaid or are too low (ETDP SETA, 2014). To avoid causing vulnerability in communities as a result of a lack of resources, Rolnick & Grunewald (2003) and Yelland (2010) posit that the provision of ECD services should form part of the state's budget to ensure provision of quality services to all. As government's resources are limited, government's attempt to reach many through various financial support programmes should not come at the cost of quality ECD services as prioritising coverage instead of quality can compromise the quality of ECD services provided, resulting in a disservice to the children receiving the service (Desmond et al., 2019; Jenkins, 2014).

Underprivileged communities are plagued by poverty and unemployment where affordability is critical in parent's decision to enrol their children in ECD centres (Walker, 2011). The result is that children from disadvantaged communities are often exposed to informal and illegal ECD centres with inadequate resources, inadequate nutrition, unskilled teachers and caregivers, overcrowded and small classrooms and other unsafe conditions (Atmore, 2012; Walker, 2011; Yelland, 2010).

2.4.1 Early Childhood Development in South Africa

2.4.1.1 Background

According to Atmore (2012), there are various challenges that plague ECD centres in South Africa. These challenges relate to inadequate infrastructure, inadequate nutrition, unqualified teachers, lack of management skills and proper governance, lack of financial acumen and financial management skills, and a lack of financial resources. According to ETDP SETA (2014), the ECD sector suffers from an insufficient number of ECD training

providers. Other challenges explained include insufficient, unqualified and inexperienced ECD human resourcing in key provincial and local government departments (ETDP SETA, 2014). Much of the ECD expertise and experience resides with NPO organisations and as at 2012, the majority of the accredited training in ECD education was provided by the NPO and private sectors (ETDP SETA, 2014).

ECD provisioning in South Africa is anchored on the National Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy released in 2015 by DoSD. The aim of the policy is to ensure access to and delivery of equitable quality ECD services to children between the ages of 0 and 9, with a special focus on vulnerable children (Department of Social Development, 2015). DoSD is responsible for children aged 0-4 years, Department of Basic Education (DoBE) for children aged 5-6 years (Grade R) and Department of Health (DoH) for children aged 0-9 years (Department of Social Development, 2015; unicef, 2016). ECD related services in South Africa are provisioned through community based ECD centres, public school based centres and family and community playgroups (Department of Social Development, 2015). The public schooling system only provisions for Grade R services through DoBE (Atmore, 2012; Department of Social Development, 2015).

2.4.1.2 Registration of ECD Centres

ECD centres in South Africa are required to register with DoSD as a signal of compliance with DoSD's minimum health and safety standards. The objective of the minimum standards is to ensure a safe and healthy environment that facilitates learning and playing with adequate and age appropriate amenities as per municipal by-laws (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, 2011).

According to Ilifa la Bantwana(n.d.), the following documents must be submitted in accompaniment with the registration application form to the local DoSD offices:

- Business plan and evidence of qualifications for all staff in the centre
- (Proof of application) Clearance certificates for all staff members that indicate fitness to work with children. The clearance certificates are proof that none of the staff appear on the National Protection Register.
- Clearance certificates from the Police Department
- Affidavits from staff that declare no previous involvement in sexual offences

- Certified copies of proof of identification for all staff members
- Copy of the recent attendance register (For the ECD centre)
- Daily centre care plan (includes stimulation tasks and meals to be offered)
- Proof of consent to use premises for the centre, title deed or lease agreement
- Centre's policy on discipline, and constitution (if registering as an NPO)
- Approved or submitted for approval copy of centre's building plans
- Centre's emergency evacuation plan and applicable municipal zoning of the property

Source: Adapted from Ilifa la Bantwana (n.d., p. 4)

Further to this, ECD centres must include parking space for drop off and collection of children by cars (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, 2018).

Components of registration related to ECD centres leverage the South African act on Non-Profit Organisations (NPO). For ECD centres to access DoSD and other government or donor funding, registration as NPO entities is required (Ilifa la Bantwana, n.d.). A centre that does not wish to access donor or government funding can refrain from registering as an NPO entity and opt to register as a commercial business (Coetzee, n.d.; Ilifa la Bantwana, n.d.). Legally, enterprises in South Africa can only be registered as "for profit" or "not for profit", or registered against both classifications as hybrid models (Coetzee, n.d.).

The law pertaining to NPOs is prescriptive and restrictive in terms of ownership and the distribution of property and profits (Council on Foundations, n.d.). According to the law, the NPO registered centre is a legal entity that reports to a governing body. The initiator of an NPO registered centre is an employee of the NPO's governing body and receives a salary from the governing body. An NPO registered centre can only access funding once compliance with DoSD's minimum health and safety standards has been met and registration with DoSD has taken place. Until then, the responsibility of compliance which includes infrastructure development and acquiring of ECD related teaching qualifications solely rests on the shoulders of the originator and staff of the centre (Atmore, 2012).

As per Ilifa la Bantwana (n.d.), registration of ECD centres requires that teachers be adequately qualified. The education sector makes provision for an ECD Education and Training certificate (NQF 4), a National Diploma in ECD and a Bachelor of Education degree specialising in the foundation phase. For ECD centres to be registered, a minimum of NQF 4 is required of teachers. These qualifications are accredited by the Sectoral Education and Training Authority (SETA) and qualifications can only be obtained from SETA accredited service providers. ECD training (NQF 4 and 5) providers include NPOs and public and private Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) Colleges (ETDP SETA, 2014). With most teachers not being paid or offered low salaries, they cannot afford to pay for their own studies and thus rely on funded or subsidised training to obtain the necessary ECD related training or qualification (Department of Social Development, 2014; ETDP SETA, 2014).

2.4.1.3 Resources Support for ECD Centres

DoSD makes provision of a subsidy to registered ECD centres.The subsidy is however subject to an income means test of the parents of the child to ensure that only deserving children access the subsidy (Atmore, 2012; Parliamentary Monitoring Group, n.d.). The DoBE and the Department of Public Works and Infrastructure, through its Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), make available ECD related learnerships and stipends, and Grade R teachers' salaries and stipends (Department of Social Development, 2014; ETDP SETA, 2014). Other forms of financial support are made available through various other government organisations such as the National Lotteries Commission. For centres to continue accessing funds, DoSD requires annual filing of financial statements and various other governance and administrative reports (Atmore, 2012).

DoBE operated ECD facilities in the form of pre-schools that form part of the public schooling system are afforded public schooling resources' support(Atmore, 2012). DoBE ensures minimum standards by requiring that all public and private schools in South Africa be registered with a provincial DoBE before operating. DoBe also requires that curriculums taught in schools be accredited by the relevant regulatory body and that teachers be registered with the South African Council for Educators (Mokoena, 2015). DoBE is thus able to close unregistered schools and schools in contravention with its rules and standards. The ECD policy provides for the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) on ECD which provides guidelines on how to facilitate learning and the

development of children at ECD centres. The NCF is however not prescriptive in what and how it should be delivered unlike curriculums in DoBE (Ebrahim & Irvine, 2015).

According to unicef (2016), R.2.3 Billion of DoSD's 2016/2017 national and provincial government's budget was allocated to ECD, constituting 13% of DoSD's total budget. This however only amounted to just over 25% of what was actually needed to provision ECD services to vulnerable households (unicef, 2016). This is in agreement with Desmond et al., (2019) who mentioned that the current subsidy of R15.00 to R17.00 only covers just over a third of the actual cost of provisioning good quality ECD to children in impoverished communities. Portions of funds allocated towards ECD services are at times returned to National Treasury unutilised (Department of Basic Education, 2018; unicef, 2019), funds that could have been used to resource centres that are unable to register as a result of a lack of resources. A centre's inability to register as a result of a lack of resources is in contravention with the national ECD policy that commits financial and human resource support to help build an equitable ECD provisioning landscape.

2.5 Informal Settlements and Townships

The term "township" in South Africa is synonymous with spatial planning policies introduced by The National Party during its governing years. According to World Bank (2014, p. 4), townships are defined as "a dormitory town built at a distance from economic activity as well as from white residential areas, with rows of uniform houses, historically lacking services and infrastructure such as tarred roads, sanitation, water, or electricity".

Informal settlements are the result of unplanned urban growth (Avis, 2016). In developing countries, a rapid increase in migration often results in a mismatch between housing demand and supply, forcing people to find alternative and sometimes unsafe ways of securing shelter (Wekesa, Steyn, & Otieno, 2011). Unplanned urban migration also puts pressure on already strained municipality resources, resulting in municipalities being unable to maintain and keep up with the demand for services (Wekesa et al., 2011).

Townships and informal settlements are characterised by overcrowding, low levels of skills and education amongst the labour force, isolation from economic hubs, lack of or limited access to resources, infrastructure and services, high unemployment levels, crime, housing and land that is short of ownership papers for various reasons, including illegal occupation of land or property (Department of Human Settlements, 2016; Findley & Ogbu, 2011; SME South Africa, 2017; World Bank, 2014). Many in informal settlements and townships operate small businesses to support their livelihood however according to World Bank (2014), entrepreneurial activity is often hindered by a lack of and poor access to financial resources as many are excluded from financial markets and have low levels of skills and education.

A large population of South Africa's unemployed reside in townships and informal settlements causing vulnerability and perpetuating social inequality and poverty due to restricted access to resources or a lack of resources (Huchzermeyer, Karam, & Maina, 2018; Wekesa et al., 2011; World Bank, 2014). As a result of this, government's social security system forms an important source of income for the livelihoods of many living in informal settlements and townships (World Bank, 2014), a situation that is unsustainable and puts pressure on government's resources. These conditions offer opportunities for social entrepreneurs to participate in an impactful manner.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed literature on social entrepreneurship, early childhood development and informal settlements and townships. ECD centres in informal settlements and townships exist because of institutional voids. The theory on social entrepreneurship also makes provision for the rendering of services as a result of neglect from the public and private sector.

The theory on social entrepreneurship is comprehensive in terms of policy and regulatory mechanisms that can be used to stimulate and support social entrepreneurial activities however gaps exist in how policy and regulation can be leveraged to educate communities on a subject matter so as to support social entrepreneurial efforts. The study will leverage the theory on government's role in stimulating and supporting social entrepreneurial activities to suggest solutions for challenges faced by ECD centres in informal settlements and townships. The study will add to the literature on challenges

faced by ECD centres in South Africa and how policy and regulation can be used to solve for the challenges. The study also aims to contribute to theory at the intersect of social entrepreneurship theory and institutional theory.

3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted literature related to social entrepreneurship, ECD and informal settlements and townships. As mentioned in the previous chapters, there is limited academic and peer-reviewed research on the reasons why ECD centres in South Africa are finding it challenging to comply with DoSD's requirements and how government can use policy and regulation to solve for the challenges. This chapter leverages the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 to explore reasons why ECD centres in informal settlements and townships are finding it challenging to register with DoSD and how government can use policy and regulation to support ECD centres in the provisioning of ECD related services. A main research question and supporting research questions are leveraged for the purposes of this study.

3.2 Research Questions

This section of the chapter details the main research question alongside 6 supporting research questions. The main research question is at the heart of this study. The objective of the supporting research questions is to explore the various factors that contribute to operating ECD centres in informal settlements and townships.

3.2.1 Main Research Question

How can government's policy and regulation assist ECD centres in provisioning ECD related services in informal settlements and townships?

3.2.2 Supporting Research Questions

The supporting questions on the next page were developed to further investigate the main research question.

Supporting Research Question 1: How and why was the ECD started?

The purpose of the question is to gauge if reasons for opening ECD centres are driven by social or economic factors as the study focuses on social entrepreneurial activities.

Supporting Research Question 2: What are the challenges faced by ECD practitioners in their communities?

The objective of this question is to understand the context of operations within communities serviced.

Supporting Research Question 3: How are ECD practitioners impacted by the challenges faced in the communities they operate in?

The question is aimed at understanding the impact of the community related challenges on the operations of ECD centres.

Supporting Research Question 4: How have ECD practitioners been impacted by government policy and regulation on ECD centres?

The question aims to gauge the awareness of the practitioners on policy and regulation and understand the impact that these have had on the non-registration and registration of the centres and general operations of the centres.

Supporting Research Question 5: How do ECD practitioners circumvent challenges related to regulatory compliance and the communities?

The objective of this question is to uncover solutions employed by ECD practitioners with respect to challenges faced.

Supporting Research Question 6: How can government support ECD practitioners in the provisioning of ECD services?

The objective of this question is to explore the degree of support required to solve for challenges experienced by ECD centres operating in townships and informal settlements.

3.3 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide questions used to guide interviews for the study. Questions were provided in the form of the main research question and six supporting research questions. The following chapter discusses the methodological approach adopted for the study.

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The main research question alongside 6 supporting research questions were outlined in the previous chapter. This chapter defends the choice of methodology and details the process that was followed in answering the main research question to the study.

4.2 Philosophy

Saunders and Lewis (2018) refer to the research philosophy as “a system of beliefs and assumptions about the development and nature of knowledge” (p. 106). For the purposes of this research, an interpretivism philosophy was followed as the guiding principle for the study.

The aim of the interpretivism research philosophy is to facilitate in the understanding of the nuances that guide behaviour in a society or organisation. Through the philosophy of interpretivism, researchers appreciate that the naked eye isn’t a good lens through which to understand societal constructs and behaviours. Interpretivists believe that society and reality are a function of the interaction of variables such as perceptions, beliefs and backgrounds of each individual that forms part of a societal construct (Wahyuni, 2012). It therefore facilitates in the understanding of certain behaviours in an organisation or society.

Interpretivism was deemed appropriate for this study because of the complex nature of communities that the study was aimed at. Informal settlements and townships are challenged by poverty, crime and unemployment which have an impact on how communities and individuals in that community behave and ultimately how the ECD practitioners approach the rendering of ECD related services in those communities. The interpretivism approach allowed for an in-depth investigation and appreciation of 1) the context of the ECD practitioners, 2) the operational context of the ECD practitioners, and 3) the various challenges experienced by ECD practitioners as a result of the context of ECD practitioners and the operational context of the ECD practitioners. Interpretivism is ideal in understanding the contextual uniqueness of any situation (Kelliher, 2005).

4.3 Approach

An inductive reasoning approach was followed for the purposes of this research. Inductive reasoning is relied on for theory formulation whereas deductive reasoning is responsible for theory testing (Nicholls, 2009). Inductive reasoning is a process that starts with a small phenomena whose properties are explored and investigated further. The process of discovery is unrestricted and the researcher is guided to the destination (generalisation and theory formulation) through discoveries along the journey (Nicholls, 2009). Saunders and Lewis (2018) describe inductive reasoning as a research approach that seeks to formulate theories or generalisations through observations of "patterns and repeated occurrences of phenomena" (p. 113). The inductive reasoning approach was deemed appropriate for this study to understand the nuances of the operating context of the ECD practitioners thus helping with the development of a context appropriate framework that government can leverage to help support ECD practitioners operating in informal settlements and townships, given the various challenges faced.

4.4 Methodological Choices

A methodological approach communicates the data collection methodology to be undertaken for the purposes of a research study (Saunders & Lewis, 2018). A mono method approach was adopted to facilitate an in-depth understanding of the operating context of the ECD practitioners.

4.5 Purpose of Research Design

An exploratory design was followed for the purposes of this research. The aim of an exploratory design is to "...discover information about a topic that is not understood clearly…", (Saunders & Lewis, 2018, p. 115). For ECD centres to achieve registration with DoSD, they must comply with DoSD's minimum health and safety standards and municipal by-laws. The criticism of the ECD regulations has been that they are operating environment insensitive thus making registration difficult for those operating in environments that do not fit the mould prescribed by the minimum standards and municipal by-laws. An exploratory research design was deemed appropriate to probe difficulties

related to meeting DoSD's minimum standards, given the context of operations. According to Arasti et al., (2015) , policy should be context specific if it is to achieve its objectives of support and promotion.

4.6 Strategy

The case study strategy approach was utilised for the purposes of this research. The case study approach allows for an in-depth investigation of real-life observations (Vasileiou, Barnett, Thorpe, & Young, 2018; Wahyuni, 2012). ECD centres service children and more so communities. Nuances exist to the context of communities and ECD practitioners. It was thus important to understand the context of both communities and ECD practitioners to establish their challenges and needs. These challenges and needs would further be used to develop a framework that would assist government in lending support to the activities of ECD practitioners operating in informal settlements and townships.

4.7 Time Horizon

A cross-sectional approach was followed which involves data collection at a point in time (Bryman et al., 2014). In qualitative research, this approach is generally conducted through unstructured or semi-structured interviews with study participants (Bryman et al., 2014).

4.8 Techniques and Procedures

Semi and unstructured interviews are associated with exploratory studies (Saunders & Lewis, 2018). The aim of the interviews is to prompt a conversation through semi-structured questions and open the space for other data insights through unstructured questions that follow from the conversation with the interviewees. The objective of interviews is for the participants to share their personal views on the topic under study, given their perceptions and experiences (Wahyuni, 2012).

Unstructured interviews allow for general exploration of ideas and topics of study from the perspective of the interviewee whereas semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to guide the conversation along the research questions to be answered yet still allowing the

interviewees to be expressive in their view of the subject matter (Bryman et al., 2014; Jackson, Drummond, & Camara, 2007). This method encourages flexibility (Bryman et al., 2014; Wahyuni, 2012), and was chosen for the this study to investigate and understand the effect of ECD regulations and socio-economic issues on the provisioning of ECD related services in informal settlements and townships.

4.9 Population

A population is defined as a comprehensive set of subjects to be researched (Saunders & Lewis, 2018). The subjects researched for this study are experts in the field of ECD provisioning and policy and, managers and owners of registered or unregistered ECD centres that have been operating for two years or more and are based in informal settlements and townships.

4.10 Unit of Analysis

The units of analysis included 1) owners and managers of ECD centres based in informal settlements and townships in Gauteng and, 2) experts in the field of ECD services provisioning.

The first unit of analysis was deemed appropriate as the owners and managers are either intricately involved in the operations of the ECD centres or are intricately involved in the communities that they service thus are very close to the daily challenges experienced by both the communities and ECD centres. The second unit of analysis was deemed appropriate for the study as, experts in ECD provisioning, owing to research and experience, can offer an opinion on the challenges faced by ECD centres and the effectiveness of regulations in provisioning ECD related services to communities in informal settlements and townships.

4.11 Sampling Method and Size

Purposive and snowballing sampling techniques were used in this study. Purposive and snowballing are both non-probability sampling methods (Saunders & Lewis, 2018). Purposive sampling is suitable in ensuring the relevance of the people to be interviewed for the purposes of the study (Saunders & Lewis, 2018). The snowballing technique is suitable to gain access to other members of the same community where identification of members is difficult (Bryman et al., 2014). Fourteen interviews were conducted with three experts, one ECD centre manager and eleven ECD practitioners operating centres in Gauteng. One of the interviews was conducted with two respondents who are colleagues.

As ECD practitioners operating in informal settlements and townships in Gauteng were the subjects of interest, three contacts (one ECD practitioner, one manager and one expert) were established in articles reporting on the challenges faced by ECD centres in South Africa. Subsequent contacts were established through the ECD practitioner and manager, with further contacts established through the subsequent contacts. Family and friends were also approached for possible interviewees. One of the ECD practitioners interviewed operates from a suburban area servicing communities in townships due to proximity. The decision to include this practitioner in the sample was to assess for a difference in opinion when compared to ECD practitioners operating in townships and informal settlements.

According to Vasileiou et al., (2018), the nature of sample sizes in qualitative research is small to allow for in-depth discussions. According to Saunders & Lewis (2018), interviews should be conducted until a point of saturation in which case as the interviews progress, no new themes or no new information is presented or discovered (Vasileiou et al., 2018). A minimum sample size of twelve is deemed adequate to reach a point of saturation in a qualitative study (Vasileiou et al., 2018). Thus, the sample size of fifteen was deemed adequate for the purposes of this study.

4.12 Measurement Instrument

The measurement instrument was an interview that is both semi-structured and unstructured. Interviews allow for personal, flexible and in-depth interactions that ensure that both parties are clear on the issues being addressed thus answering questions

effectively and enriching the content of the study (Jackson et al., 2007; Saunders & Lewis, 2018). In qualitative research, meaning and interpretation of words are given significance during the research process (Wahyuni, 2012). Meaning and interpretation enrich the interview process and allow for the researcher to investigate and understand the observations from the subjects' point of view (Vasileiou et al., 2018).

4.13 Data Collection

Data was collected using semi-structured and structured interviews. In a semi-structured interview, a researcher will "have a list of topics to be covered and questions to be asked", (Saunders & Lewis, 2018, p. 158).

Unstructured interviews follow an informal conversation style whose aim is to explore a topic in more depth. In unstructured interviews, there are topics to be covered however there aren't any set of questions to be asked (Wahyuni, 2012). The purpose is to encourage dialogue that will provide more insights into the topic the researcher is interested in.

The interviews for the study were conducted over a period of two months. The identified individuals where either sent an email detailing the purpose of the interview (e.g. Appendix 9.2) or were communicated with telephonically to explain the purpose of the study. The participants were presented with a letter to be signed, indicating consent for the interview to take place, consent for the data collected to be used to produce a report and that withdrawal from participation could take place at any time (Appendix 9.3). Ten of the interviews were conducted at the ECD centres of the participants as it is best to interview participants in their most natural setting where they are relaxed and can offer candid responses to the topic at hand (Bryman et al., 2014). One interview was conducted telephonically, and a consent form was emailed to the participant prior to the interview. Two interviews were conducted at a coffee shop and an eatery and another interview at the participants place of work. The interviews only commenced once consent was given and the option of withdrawal at any time during the interview was deemed to be understood.

The interview schedule in Appendix 9.4 was used to guide the interviews. Deviations from the schedule occurred as new and relevant information came to light. Notes were taken

during the interviews as a reminder to further probe interesting insights presented during the interviews. The interviews were conducted in the participant's language of preference. The interviews were conducted in English and Sotho and Nguni group languages. Permission to record the interviews was requested. The shortest interview lasted for twenty-six minutes and the longest lasted just under sixty-nine minutes.

The interviews were recorded using a phone or dictaphone for later analysis and reference. The phone used for the recordings is password protected. Recordings from both the phone and dictaphone were transferred to a password protected laptop after conclusion of each interview and were subsequently deleted from the phone and dictaphone. A folder was created on the laptop to save the recorded interviews. The interviews were saved with identifiers on the laptop.

4.14 Data Analysis

Qualitative data can be analysed both manually and using a software through identification of themes (Saunders & Lewis, 2018). Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data collected for this study. In thematic analysis, data collected is analysed to identify patterns that can be used to standardise and aggregate the content of the information collected into themes that are easier managed and understood (Bryman et al., 2014). As qualitative research is concerned with interpretation and attaching meaning to words (Vasileiou et al., 2018) , thematic analysis is suitable for this study as it is designed to uncover meaning within the context of the words (Bryman et al., 2014). The development of themes is highly dependent on the judgement of the researcher in relation to the research questions trying to be answered. Guidance on how to conduct the thematic analysis was taken from Bryman et al., (2014), Appendix 9.5 .

As per step one of the guidelines, the data collected was transcribed through an external contactor. A non-disclosure-agreement for transcription and translation services was signed with the external contractor to protect the confidentiality of the participants (Appendix 9.6). The data was assigned identifiers and shared with the external contractor using a secure private information sharing platform. The transcription of interviews conducted in English was done verbatim. The transcription of interviews conducted in Sotho and Nguni group languages was translated to English. The transcription was

conducted without identifiers as per the non-disclosure agreement and consent letters signed with the participants.

To commence the analysis process, the interviews were listened to again and compared to the data in the transcribed documents. This was done to ensure robustness in the transcription services contracted, especially with respect to the interviews conducted in Nguni and Sotho group languages. Where context was missed by the external contactors, specifically in the interviews conducted in Nguni and Sotho languages, amendments were made on a separate document. The transcriptions were read and analysed several times in relation to the main research question and supporting research questions detailed in Chapter 3. The patterns that were identified and codes that were assigned to the data were done so at a supporting research question level. From the patterns identified and subsequent codes assigned, themes were developed to aggregate insights extracted from the analysis. Developing themes is a process of identifying insights that capture the essence of the research question (Bryman et al., 2014). The themes developed were captured and used in the production of Chapters 4 and 5 of the study.

4.15 Validity and Reliability

The quality and rigour of research is measured according to its validity and reliability (Bryman et al., 2014). According to Bryman et al., (2014), reliability addresses the replicability and credibility of the study and, validity addresses consistency between observations and theories developed and generalisation of the findings.

According to Cypress (2017), the issue of validity and reliability is a constant topic of contention in qualitative research as it is believed that qualitative research is open to interpretations of the researcher which may not always be a true representation of the facts. The analysis methods applied in qualitative research are considered as lacking credibility as unlike qualitative methods, they are not transparent as there is no audit trail, are not based on robust scientific models and a lot of judgement of the researcher is applied during the analysis and in the reporting of findings (Noble & Smith, 2015).

To deal with concerns related to validity, the interview schedule in Appendix 9.4, was used to structure the conversation during the interview however the conversation and questions were not restricted to the interview schedule. New insights were probed as

they presented themselves and participants were allowed freedom of expression. “Face validity”, relying on the literature review, was used to test the validity of the questions (Saunders & Lewis, 2018). “Peer debriefing”, recording of interviews and transcription of interviews were used to address concerns related to reliability.

4.16 Limitations

A criticisms of qualitative research is the relatively small sample sizes that cannot justify generalisation across a population (Vasileiou et al., 2018). As the study was mainly restricted to ECD practitioners and managers in Gauteng in the context of their operations, the data and results collected may not be used to generalise across all townships and informal settlements or any other locations as the context is likely to be different. The purpose of qualitative research is to understand observation from the perspective of the subjects of study.

Qualitative research is often criticized for its subjective nature (Bryman et al., 2014), thus the researcher’s minimal experience with research and interviews may limit the scope of research.

Qualitative research is highly contextual and as a result, studies can be difficult to replicate (Jackson et al., 2007). The research was conducted in the context of what the ECD practitioners were observing and experiencing at the time of the interviews. As time passes, societies change and adapt to new or changing variables thus changing the context which impacts the replicability of the study (Wahyuni, 2012).

Some of the interviews were conducted in Nguni and Sotho language groups. The subjective nature of qualitative research may have an impact on the interpretation and translation of the languages although effort was made during the interview process to maintain simplicity in the spoken languages and request clarity where interpretation may have been a cause for concern.

4.17 Conclusion

An interpretivism and inductive approach was followed for the purposes of this study. The following chapter will report the findings to the interviews using the outlined research design and methodology.

5 RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

As outlined in the previous chapter, an interpretivist and inductive approach was chosen for the purposes of the study. Interviews were conducted with willing respondents and the purpose of this chapter is to present results of the interviews conducted. The chapter is reported in three sections. The first section provides a description of the sample which includes a description of the respondents. The second section details responses from respondents and the third section is the conclusion which includes a summary of the responses.

5.2 Sample Description

Fourteen interviews were conducted with 15 ECD practitioners, managers and experts in the ECD field. Thirteen of the interviews were conducted in person and 1 was conducted telephonically. Ten of the 13 interviews were conducted at the ECD centres of the practitioners or managers, 2 were conducted at an eatery and 1 at the expert's place of work. Forty-five percent of the ECD centres in the interview sample were not registered with DoSD at the time of the interviews.

On average, the interviews lasted 46 minutes and a few seconds. Prior to the interview commencing, a consent form that detailed the purpose of the interview and that participating was voluntary and could be terminated at any time during the interview was signed by both the researcher and the interviewee.

Table 3 details the demographics of the respondents and location of the respondents. Most of the practitioners are black and female, some with prior work experience and some without. All the respondents have been in their ECD related professions for over 5 years.

Table 3: Demographics of Respondents

Respondent	Occupation	Gender	Race	Years in Operation/Field	ECD Forum	Location
1	Practitioner	Male	Black	9 years	Yes	Johannesburg
2	Practitioner	Female	Black	19 years	Yes	Johannesburg
3	Practitioner	Female	Black	21 years	Yes	Johannesburg
4	Practitioner	Female	Black	20 years	Yes	Johannesburg
5	Practitioner	Female	Black	11 years	Yes	Johannesburg
6a	Manager	Male	Black	10 years	Yes	Johannesburg
6b	Practitioner	Female	Black	5 years		
7	Expert	Male	White	25 years	N/A	Cape Town
8	Practitioner	Female	Black	3 years	Yes	Pretoria
9	Practitioner	Female	Black	17 years	Yes	Johannesburg
10	Practitioner	Female	Black	8 years	Yes	Johannesburg
11	Practitioner	Female	Black	6 years	Yes	Pretoria
12	Expert	Female	Black	>5 years	N/A	Johannesburg
13	Expert	Female	Indian	5 years	N/A	Johannesburg
14	Practitioner	Female	Black	11 years	Yes	Pretoria

Respondent 5,8 and 11 have previously worked in retail as salespersons or cashiers. All three ladies terminated their contracts with their employers to pursue their dreams of starting ECD centres.

Respondent 1 and 14 have prior corporate experience, Respondent 1 in the information technology space and Respondent 14 in financial services. Respondent 1 started children related community work whilst still in employment. As demand in his community work grew, he left his employment to pursue this further. Respondent 14 left corporate employment to join a family member that had decided to start an ECD centre and has always had a passion for education.

Respondent 3 decided to join a family member that was already operating an ECD centre when she couldn't find employment. She has a teaching qualification and another in the arts. Respondent 12, although an expert, owns an ECD centre in the Johannesburg area. She has been operating this centre for less than 5 years, with the

help of a principal. Respondent 12 is also in the employ of an NGO with extensive experience and involvement in the ECD field, especially in disadvantaged communities. Respondent 6a and 6b are in the employ of an NGO that operates an ECD centre. Respondent 6a is the manager of the centre and has vast experience in management and operations. Respondent 6b is a lady that is passionate about her work with children and makes a formidable contribution to the community she services.

Respondent 7 possesses wide experience in the ECD field and often contributes to the discourse on ECD policy in South Africa. Respondent 13 is employed in the health services sector and owns an NPO that offers health related services to disadvantaged communities, sometimes in partnership with other NPOs.

Respondents 2 and 4 are old ladies in the community with limited formal education but have a passion to serve their communities and have been doing so for years. Respondent 2 operates her ECD centre from a donated shipping container in an informal settlement. In her shipping container, she accommodates children between 1 and 6 years of age. Respondent 2 and 4 service communities that largely live amongst corrugated iron dwellings (shacks) where there is overcrowding. The travel to Respondent 4's centre was through narrow streets that were not tarred and lined with various types of structures from corrugated iron structures to shipping-like-containers turned into shops, to brick and mortar houses and low lying and exposed power cables. Along the drive to Respondent 4's centre, the streets were filled with young people that should have either been in school or in employment. When the researcher visited Respondent 2 for the interview, the researcher was asked to wait for the Respondent as she'd gone to fetch water for use at the ECD centre, in a wheelbarrow.

Respondents 9 and 10 have a passion for servicing their communities. Respondent 10 operates her centre with the help of her church. The church assists her centre with various resources. The yard she operates from is very spacious and accommodates a well-equipped play area. Respondent 10 operates her centre from her residential yard where there is no play area for children. The classrooms for the centre are located at the back of the house and the kitchen is shared between the ECD centre and her household.

5.3 Thematic Analysis

The thematic analysis was conducted at supporting research question level as outlined in Chapter 3.

	Themes	Codes
1	How and why was the ECD started?	
	Motivation	Community Need Unemployment Education/Development Children Love Minimal Resources
2	What are the challenges faced by the social entrepreneurs in their communities?	
	Challenges related to the Community	Low Fees Inconsistent Fees Non-Payment of Fees Mushrooming ECD centres Community ECD uneducated
3	How are social entrepreneurs impacted by the challenges faced by the communities they operate in?	
	ECD practitioner challenges related to community challenges	No Qualifications- teachers No/Low Salaries- teachers Can't cover operating expenses Nutrition compromise
4	How have social entrepreneurs been impacted by government policy and regulation on ECD centres?	
	Regulatory Compliance Challenges for ECD Practitioners	Inadequate Regulations Inadequate Personal Resources Lack of NPO understanding Inadequate Government Resources

5	How do practitioners circumvent challenges related to policy and regulation, and the communities?	
	ECD Practitioners' Solutions to Challenges Faced	NGOs ECD Forums Friends and Family No Basic Salary
6	How can government support ECD practitioners in the provisioning of ECD services?	
	Government's Support for ECD Provisioning in Informal Settlements and Townships	ECD regulations ECD education ECD Forums

5.4 Responses

The results of the interview are presented in reference to the supporting questions detailed in Chapter 3. In reporting the responses, no differentiation was made between responses from Respondents 6a and 6b. Responses from Respondent 6a and Respondent 6b will thus be reported under "Respondent 6".

Supporting Research Question 1: How and why was the ECD started and continues to operate?

There were various reasons noted for starting ECD centres. Many respondents cited a love for children as a reason for starting their ECD centres.

> *"…Ke na le passion ya bana…" - Respondent 5*
>
> *English translation - I'm passionate about children.*
>
> *…I didn't open this crèche for monetary gain; I opened it because of the love I have for kids. So, whatever I'm getting from the parents is ok. As long as I can feed the children and my children don't sleep on empty stomachs, then I'm ok… – Respondent 8's English translated response*

Some of the respondents expressed a passion for education and development of children.

> *"…mainly focusing on ensuring that all children zero to six get the right possible start in life you know, through basic education and also stimulation, play groups and also parent support groups…" - Respondent 12*

> *"… we are passionate about young children. We want to see them taken care of cognitively, emotionally, socially and creatively, but not just from a school point of view, but also looking after them from their communities, from their homes. We want to ensure that our input in their early childhood development years sees them through as they grow, and we want to see them excel, we want to see them flourish as they go into their foundation phase as well as their later schooling years. So, we're basically in it because we're passionate about young children." - Respondent 14*

Some of the respondents started their ECD centres after identifying a need in the community they were living in or had previously serviced. Children were either not accessing creche facilities due to unemployment of parents or caregivers or parents that had died, or parents were struggling to look after their children whilst at work. Some children that require remedial education were only able to access facilities once a week and require more stable access to facilities.

> *"…real driver is community need and entrepreneurial women that are seeing the need to meet it…" - Respondent 7*

> *…But then I said you know what, I think the best is to start them when they are very young. Because we started with children who are already twelve years old, and they have learnt a lot of things and it is not easy to remove that from their inner being. So, then I started the ECD centre …- Respondent 1*

> *"… I decided to start [insert NPO name] to try and see how can we transform these spaces so that all kids can access play and learning services…" - Respondent 13*

Most of the respondents said that when they started, they did not have enough resources to do so. As a result, most respondents started operating their ECD centres from personal shack dwellings or government provided housing. They also received assistance from family and friends to access other resources.

> *…I worked hard … the centre is no longer a shack, it's built with bricks… - Respondent 11's English translated response*

> *"…Re thomile ka strateng se sengwe se ka kwa, ene re entse sheke nyana moo..." - Respondent 2*

> *English Translation- We started in another street where we operated from a shack (corrugated iron dwelling).*

> *…We started with shacks and then as time went on, we built one classroom… - Respondent 9's English translated response*

> *…I went to a man, who was a neighbour, and I asked him for paint. I used the paint to draw pictures, numbers and shapes on the walls. My boyfriend came through and gave me two thousand rand. I used the money to buy some tables, chairs, a few blankets. I made the place suitable just to start... - Respondent 11's English translated response*

> *…I still didn't have the money to open my own ECD, I remember I only had R1040 and my 2 room RDP house…I operated the ECD from my house. My bedroom was where the kids slept, and my kitchen was used for cooking. On the 2nd month I got other 6 kids, and now I had 12 kids which I didn't have a place for. I then decided to erect a shack at the back yard where I kept the bigger kids… - Respondent 5's English translated response*

Of the 11 respondents that operate or work in ECD centres, 10 of the ECD centres were registered as pure NPO organisations. The purpose of NPO registration is to access a subsidy from DoSD however this subsidy can only be accessed if DoSD's minimum health and safety standards are complied with. For ECD centres to eventually access

the subsidy, “personal” capital must be invested in the centre to adhere to DoSD’s registration criteria.

As noted in the responses, there are various reasons why ECD practitioners start their ECD centres. Respondents also mentioned resources’ challenges to starting their ECD centres. As a result of the resources’ challenges, many started operating their centres from personal homes to leverage available resources. Further access to resources was provided by friends, family and neighbours. As the study is focused on ECD centres operating in informal settlements and townships, the next question went on to probe the challenges experienced by ECD practitioners in the context of their operating environments.

Supporting Research Question 2: What are the challenges faced by the ECD practitioners in their communities?

The respondents noted various challenges to operating as social entrepreneurs in a township or informal settlement. Respondents noted challenges related to affordability, mushrooming of ECD centres, and a lack of ECD education and appreciation in their communities, impacting fees charged and collected by ECD centres.

> *…I charge R250.00 for kids aged 3 years and upwards. Those who still wear nappies, I charge R300.00 and the ones aged 6 months and below I charge R450… - Respondent 4’s English translated response*

> *“…Most parents are relying on grants and if a grant is four hundred and forty and I’m charging three hundred rands here, they have to buy food, so they find it hard and difficult. So, we end up having to accommodate children that cannot pay, and those children still need to be fed three times a day. And the amount we are charging is just far below…” - Respondent 1*

> *...school fees we charge is not much because our people here don’t have much… - Respondent 2’s English translated response*

As a result of the socio-economic issues, a lack of education in the value of ECD services and the mushrooming of ECD centres that compete on price, ECD practitioner respondents are limited on the price they can set for their services.

> *"…As I'm saying, people started opening up their creches and…ba chaja chelate e ko fase…batswadi…want us to charge the same thing e e chajang ke dicreche tse dingwe…" - Respondent 5*
>
> *English translation- As I'm saying, people started opening up their creches and... they charge low fees…parents… want us to charge the same as other creches.*
>
> *…I mean those that operate around here in extension x and in extension y, we don't work together, we oppress each other. You find one charges R180, you charge R250. Obviously, the children will go where it's cheaper. The parents don't look at the quality of the service, but they will take the children to where it's cheaper… - Respondent 4's English translated response*

Other challenges related to fees include inconsistent payment of fees and non-payment of fees.

> *"…I've seen a situation where parents will move their child from centre A to centre B to save ten rands a month…" - Respondent 7*
>
> *…many people in informal settlements don't have money. They depend on social grants… it is school holidays, parents keep their kids at home and don't pay [school] fees for that period. I am now stressed about teachers' salaries… - Respondent 8's English translated response*
>
> *"…We do have those challenges. Tse e leng go re motho wa jumpisa, then next month a patele double…e thome e be dihalf…" - Respondent 5*
>
> *English translation - We do have those challenges. A person skips a month [of school fees], then next month a person will pay double [the school fees] …then [the payment] is only half [of the monthly fee].*

As community members providing a service to the needs of communities, ECD practitioner respondents also accommodate children whose parents cannot afford to pay school fees.

> *"…ke tladitse creche ka dineedy, batlhoki, dichuana…I have seven kids ba sa pateleng…" - Respondent 4*
>
> *English translation- I've filled my creche with the needy, the have-nots and orphans…I have 7 children that do not pay school fees at the moment*

In Respondent 4's instance, for some children, her centre is their only opportunity at accessing a daily meal. As a result, she often finds herself feeding the children more than she is meant to as per DoH's guidelines thus spending a lot more money on food than is intended with the revenue she receives from charging fees.

> *…there are lots of people who are not working, they don't have money to pay school fees for their children…some of them[children] we do take them in, even though they can't pay…most of the parents don't take care of their children especially the youngsters because they give birth to these kids whilst they are still young themselves…some get a [social]grant, and the money they get they play cards with it… - Respondent 9's translated response*

Respondent 2 mentioned non-payment by parents being due to a lack of affordability. She felt it incorrect to expel children from the centre as a result of their parents' shortcomings. She didn't want to punish children that have a hunger for knowledge. She also mentioned that at times, the centre acted as a place of refuge for the children as their home quality of living is very low, with over-crowded shacks and sometimes a shortage of food. Her centre then offers the children in her community reprieve, hence why she finds it difficult to expel them as a result of non-payment by parents.

A lot of the ECD practitioner respondents expressed frustration with parents who lacked knowledge and appreciation for ECD education. According to the ECD practitioner respondents, a lack of appreciation of ECD education prevented ECD practitioner's from charging adequately for their services and resulted in parents treating their centres like nanny facilities. The respondents mainly attributed this to low levels of education in the

communities they were servicing, and a general lack of appreciation for ECD services being offered. According to the respondents, they'd noticed a dwindling number of children enrolled in their facilities as a result of mushrooming ECD centres.

> *"…I remember one day when the school fees were still two hundred and I was raising it to two fifty rands, the parents were like it's too much, how are we going to afford. I said to them guys is there anyone with… a calculator… I said two hundred and fifty, can you divide that by… twenty-two, and they did. I said give me the amount, I think it was around eleven rand or what. And I said this is eleven rand per day, with that eleven rand, your child have to get two proper meals and breakfast…so, tell me of one restaurant or ….even a take-away shop where you can walk in with your child and buy a full meal for that child with ten rands. On top of that, we have to take care of your child and when I explained that…you could see that they were touched. They said, surely you guys are doing us a lot of favour…" - Respondent 1*

> *"…I'll tackle perceptions which is, I think the biggest cloud that trickles into everything else. From a community perspective, the misconception is that the ECD centre is a glorified nanny. It means that there isn't respect for the money that needs to be paid for the actual service we're offering..." - Respondent 14*

> *"…Batswadi ba mo…I don't understand them. Majority ya bona don't care about education ya bana. They care about how much they pay..."- Respondent 5*

> *English translation- Parents in this area…I don't understand them. Majority of them don't care about their children's education. They care about how much they pay.*

> *"…batsadi ba isa bana fela ko cheleteng e nnyane. Ha ba na taba gore go na le care or ga go na care…" - Respondent 4*

> *English translation -…parents take their children to low fee centres. They don't care about the quality of care given.*

Poverty was also sighted as having dire consequences for not just ECD practitioners, but for children as well.

> *"…in these communities there's a huge problem of poverty and because of poverty and the challenges that arises with poverty and children not receiving the right kind of nutrition and the right kind of play stimulation and also they don't have the right kind of medical care, they don't have access to health care. So even if a child is not born with a disability, due to this environment that they've been living in, they can acquire a disability. So in the ECD centres what we found is that even though we'd like to focus on kids with disabilities we're actually looking at a much broader scope of children who have developmental delays and barriers because they just falling through the cracks because of this environment that they're coming from." - Respondent 13*

The respondents expressed fee challenges related to socio-economic issues, ECD uninformed parents and the mushrooming of centres that compete on price and compromise on the service provided to children. The challenges expressed by the respondents have an impact on the operations of ECD centres. The next question served to understand the operational challenges experienced.

Supporting Research Question 3: How are ECD practitioners impacted by the challenges faced in the communities they operate in?

Respondents expressed challenges related to finding, attracting and retaining qualified teachers.

> *"…some of the ECD practitioners don't have an ECD qualification. So, we are training on inclusion but some of the teachers don't have the background of child development for example, normal development in how to stimulate children. So, at times we have to take a step back to accommodate…all the practitioners…" - Respondent 13*

Challenges related to qualified teachers were attributed to a lack of opportunities for the youth as a result of a lack of financial resources and restricted access to financial resources.

> *…where do you get a qualified teacher, since they can't afford to go and train, because after matric, our kids don't have anywhere to go… - Respondent 9's English translated response*

As financial resources are low in the communities, resulting in the inability to access education facilities and thus low levels of education, Respondent 5 hired and trained her teachers in her centre. Respondent 4 did not have the funds to pay for her teachers to be qualified and they too did not have funds to pay for their studies.

As a result of the fee challenges expressed in supporting research question 2, ECD centres found it challenging to offer teachers compensation commensurate with their efforts. Respondents also mentioned that the low fees charged were not enough to cover all the operating costs, forcing practitioners to prioritise some expenses over others. According to the respondents, teachers often went unpaid and nutrition was at times compromised to stretch resources.

> *…teachers also complain that their salaries are little… - Respondent 9's English translated response*

> *"…many of the ECD centres that we've been at…some of them struggle just to pay salaries at the end of the month."- Respondent 13*

> *"…it's more of a sacrifice because… this is a situation whereby sometimes you have fifteen to twenty children that cannot pay…to buy them food… it comes to a point whereby teachers are getting peanuts, they are not getting paid." - Respondent 1*

Post training her teachers in her centre, Respondent 5 said that she was unable to adequately compensate the in-house skilled teachers for their skills. As a result, they left for better opportunities. In the case of Grade R teachers, she said that government would not compensate the teachers as qualified Grade R teachers as they were not qualified, even though they were skilled.

ECD practitioners often compromised on the quality of nutrition provided to children to cover key operating expenses.

"…Ha o chaja chelate e nnyane, definitely dijo tsa teng never di be right. Di tlo ba jwale ka chelate ya teng…"- Respondent 5

English translation-…When you charge low fees, the nutrition given to the children will suffer. The quality of nutrition will match the fees charged...

"…so, children end up not eating healthy meals because principals cannot afford..." - Respondent 1

"…it means because you don't even have money…you eat… that instant porridge every day… until people are complaining my kid is not liking this because it's the same thing every day but then it's what we had…" - Respondent 3

The inadequate salaries had often resulted in a high staff turnover, exposing children to multiple caregivers in a short space of time.

"…re di chencha ka go bane re se na chelete, re se na maatla…" - Respondent 4

English translation- …we change them[teachers] because we don't money, we don't have the resources…

"…If we are not paying the teachers well, they don't stay for long and it's not nice for a young child… to be rotating teachers… sometimes they leave because the money is not enough …" - Respondent 3

Respondent 10 expressed non-payment challenges that forced her to ask her husband for money to pay the teachers in the months that parents did not pay. She does this to avoid a high staff turnover.

As a result of inadequate revenues from fees, teachers' salaries were often in contravention with the National Minimum Wage.

"…comparing the money that we give them, it's not even fair, sometimes it doesn't even reach…the normal standard of an employment acts payment…" - Respondent 3

"…Because parents' fees are so low, the vast majority of ECD centres cannot meet the minimum of three thousand five hundred per month…"- Respondent 7

"...it's unacceptable that you still find today there are ECD practitioners that are… paid six hundred rands in your poorer…" - Respondent 14

Th financial and human resources' challenges expressed in the responses to supporting research questions 1, 2 and 3 have a direct impact on the centres ability to comply with DoSD's registration criteria. The next question links the financial and human resources challenges expressed to compliance of ECD regulations.

Supporting Research Question 4: How have ECD practitioners been impacted by government policy and regulation on ECD centres?

The respondents listed various challenges, mainly those related to government's failure to deliver on its commitment to support ECD centres, especially those servicing vulnerable children. The respondents expressed frustration with government departments and officials. According to the respondents, government departments tasked with implementation of the ECD policy lacked the co-ordination to effectively implement the policy.

"…the departments don't communicate very well to each other. So often you'd start off with one department and they move you to another department or and then from there they would shift you to another department. Or if you go to them with a solution or something that's holistic that covers Health, Education and Social Developments it's very hard to get everyone on board with that. So that's been the greatest challenge because most of our work that we do is all interrelated so it does need education, it does need health and it needs social development but it's very hard to implement on a bigger scale because there's no one who is really taking charge of collaborating …so that's been the biggest challenge like everything we've had to do thus far had to be done separately we could never really implement our model fully because there's no one who can support that kind of implementation…" - Respondent 13

…There's nothing she [social worker] can do because it's the municipality…- Respondent 11's English translated response

The lack of co-ordination had resulted in an inconsistent implementation of the ECD policy across the different departments, resulting in unnecessary admin between the offices of the different departments and a general lack of accountability from government.

"…wonderful policy but it's not being implemented, or it is being implemented differentially, not only amongst the provinces, but within the provinces…"- Respondent 7

"…the ups and downs to go to their offices, and get to be returned that it's not ready you need to go back for this and this…" - Respondent 3

…inspections are not done by the same person. One inspector came to inspect the place, told me everything was ok, and later a different inspector came and told me he wanted something different… they don't explain some of the documents you have to fill in… I can't continue with the process because there are certain areas I don't understand… - Respondent 8's English translated response

…They tell me I'm not allowed to take more than the number I was given. And these numbers differ. The one on the health permit and from DSD differs. The one says I must take one hundred and twelve and the other permit says two fifty - Respondent 9'S English translated response...

…It's not rezoned, they were giving us letters. But now they have cancelled those letters, and if I don't have that letter, which shows I'm living in an informal settlement I can't obtain the health certificate… I'm worried now, because if I don't have a health certificate, I won't be able to sign the SLA. So, I won't get the money, they will just take my SLA and put it aside... - Respondent 11's English translated response

The lack of co-ordination had also resulted in a lack of accountability from government departments tasked with the responsibility of implementing the ECD policy. To be inspected for compliance, ECD practitioner respondents have had to chase after government officials. The lack of accountability had also led to the absence of enforceability of ECD regulations, resulting in the mushrooming of ECD centres whose proliferation was not being monitored or stopped.

> *…but the crèches and the ECDs, the government that we love so much has left it blur as far as who supervises this one, who doesn't supervise this one. Typical example, if they are not registered, they don't get a social worker coming to check if things are running smooth, they don't get access to any funding from government… - Respondent 6*

> *…And the people that actually oversees such, the monitoring and the evaluation. So, that's an issue. I don't know, in terms of accountability of the social workers, who do they report to in terms of who oversees them and makes sure that they're actually looking after these centres the way that they're supposed to…From the previous year, not even once has a social worker come to see us. Yet, the government is spending money on this particular centre. So, it's worrisome. So, imagine in terms of the gap that creates also for malpractice…- Respondent 14*

> *"…Issue khona le phezulu le [is at the top], you'll never know who's doing what when. And then if you want to find out, this one will say this one, this one will say this one…" - Respondent 9*

Many respondents expressed challenges with unhelpful and inadequately informed and experienced government officials and under-resourced local government offices tasked with implementing the ECD policy. The result, in the respondents' opinion, was over-worked government officials, late spending of ECD allocated budgets and government officials that could not make decisions or offer help to ECD practitioners looking for advice or information on ECD related matters.

> *"…government officials that implement the policy do not have the skills to implement that…they are social workers, they are not education people….there*

isn't political will to implement the policy to the degree that is needed…they don't have the resources to get all the compliance done…"- Respondent 7

"…lot more needs to be done because on the policy level, it's not really filtering down to like municipal level where the municipal staff know that inclusion is a thing that should be happening in ECD centres. So when social workers who work for government on a municipal level are approached by parents of kids with disabilities, they don't refer them to their closest ECD centres because they're not aware of the inclusion policies and when ECD centres go to them asking them for support, they often say this child should be in a special need centre..." - Respondent 13

"…Hathwe re ka se etsetswe hobane re reception area-eng…ke hona ho tletseng bana ba sokolang. Ke hona re hulang ka thata…"- Respondent 2

English translation- …We don't get the help we need because we are in a reception area. This is where children suffer the most. This is where strife is experienced the most…

"…you can't get the help you want from the social workers. They work for a salary and they don't care…they deal with the social issues of the community, not with the creche per se…"-Respondent 5

"…I ended up thinking maybe they [government departments] are doing workshops at the last minute…do their reports…2019 we did this…you can't do a…workshop…organise it on a short notice…"- Respondent 3

"…even though municipalities have budgets for the ECDs, you will hear about the budgets when its year end and they don't know where to put the money…"- Respondent 6

A lack of personal financial resources also prevented many from complying with the regulations related to ECD centres.

"…I was left with a plan, approved plan, but now I've got it, it cost me about sixteen thousand rand. I had to budget a long time for that..."- Respondent 1

…they enforce by-laws that are very difficult to meet… All those things need money, which unfortunately we don't have… – Respondent 8's English translated response

"…these communities are so impoverished…they don't have the resources to get all the compliance done…"- Respondent 7

…Government tells us straight, even Saturday they did. They don't get involved in the infrastructure. If I want to run a crèche, I have to have my own structure, not them to help me- Respondent 9'S English translated response
"It's challenging because they don't fund us until we comply…getting to compliance is very difficult…"- Respondent 5

Respondents also expressed government's general failure to support their journey towards compliance and equitable ECD provisioning. According to the respondents, government had failed to provide support in the context of challenges faced in informal settlements and townships. Government had also failed to commit financial and human resources capable of impactful social change in the provisioning of ECD services in informal settlements and townships. Government had failed to train teachers, especially those teaching in impoverished areas and do not have the means to invest in their ECD studies. According to the respondents, government was preoccupied with enforcing regulations instead of offering support to challenges experienced.

…I'm saying the people who are running centres from informal settlements don't have documentation for the land they are occupying. So for them it's just impossible to get funding, so I'm saying government must consider the fact that there are children in those centres…[various departments] are able to provide water, toilets for the people staying there, let them also consider the fact that there are children in there. Let them forget about asking where is their documents, when other departments bring water they say because there is a house here, they can see the door so they make sure there is water for these people. They make sure that there is all the services that are required for these

people, but why can't they consider the fact that there are children and put aside the issue of documentation. At least on the issue of nutrition, the other things they can say until you comply. But now on the issue of nutrition, the fact is there are children there, they need to eat, they need to get this and that and. When children are eating well, we know we don't have an issue of children flocking to the clinic because they are sick. So, in a way they would be helping themselves by providing nutrition for these children in the informal settlements... - Respondent 1

"…there isn't the political desire to provide support to people working with young children…government contributes four hundred rands to every prisoner, every single day of the year. The ECD subsidy is fifteen rands per child per day…"- Respondent 7

"…The policy is not the problem…the resources that drives the policy, the resources to implement the policy are not available…" – Respondent 7

"…but for you to get an inspector you have to be pushing as well. For me to get them to inspect is because I was taking a taxi every now and calling and saying but you said you are coming…until they get so irritated and say you know what let's just go to this place…" - Respondent 3

…We are currently stuck due to the issue of health certificates. The municipality doesn't want to give squatter camps, rezoning, consent use…- Respondent 11's English translated response

"…instead of having support, we have a stick…" – Respondent 6

…some centres are saying they don't want government funding because when government gives them the funding, they want to dictate, and they are not helpful or supportive. Instead they are making it difficult for them to run… – Respondent 12

"…it's like you are waiting for us to fail so you can come and take over…"- Respondent 3

… I can even show you. We are always promised. The Department of Social Development is always releasing so-called training that are available every year. But not even once have any of them materialised, if I can put it that way. So, we took initiative and took our teachers to … got them qualified... -Respondent 14

"…there is no government strategy or programme to train ECD teachers…" – Respondent 7

Many respondents expressed a lack of understanding of the NPO act and frustration with government's failure to recognise and appreciate the efforts of ECD practitioners that have helped solve for unemployment in their communities. ECD practitioner respondents also expressed frustration with the restrictive NPO directives that did not allow them to reap the benefits of their hard work. According to some ECD practitioner respondents, the registration of their centres as NPO entities had resulted in DoSD meddling in their ECD provisioning affairs. As a result, they said that had they known better, they would have made different decisions.

…The other thing I don't like is, NPO it seems as if you are running someone else's business, it's not yours. So those are the things we need clarity on, the difference between an NPC an NPO. Because when you register, they say NPO is the best, but they don't tell you the disadvantage of it. You know we were not as fortunate as you guys, we never went to university so we just hear people say register NPO, it will help you, but you don't know the good and the bad. It's good when doing something to know the advantages and disadvantages... - Respondent 9's English translated response

…as a principal you also get paid a salary even though you started the center, built it and worked hard to get where you are today…- Respondent 11's English translated response

"…They don't want government involvement in their centres because they feel like government does not recognise the fact that they are trying to solve other economic issues in the country…" – Respondent 12

According to the ECD practitioner respondents, regulations aimed at ECD provisioning fail to accommodate the context of their operations and as such are not supportive and at times are oppressive of ECD practitioners' efforts to provision ECD services. The respondents also said that some of the ECD regulations were irrelevant to operations in informal settlements and townships. They thus wanted the restrictive and irrelevant regulations to be amended to accommodate their operating environment.

> *…And they do need to be reviewed because unfortunately, even us as an industry, there's no 'one-size-fits-all' … - Respondent 14*

> *…policy seems to be very idealistic which it should be but in the same way it's not really addressing the actual social issues of what surrounds the ECD centres which is important for the running of the ECD centres…- Respondent 13*

> *…Most crèches around here can't comply because they are run from their houses… - Respondent 9'S English translated response*

> *…We are surprised how government develop these by-laws without consulting ECD people first. They should inform us they have drafted these by-laws and check if they do accommodate all of us. Because as things stand, they don't accommodate us, we can't work, they are oppressing us… - Respondent 11's English translated response*

> *"…Ya[policy] re gatella [is oppressive] …because it limits…your vision…"- Respondent 9*

> *"…deregulation tsa dicreche di difficult…ga go na go re, e ke township, e ke suburb, di a tshwana. You can imagine go re ko suburb they have all the privilege, all the land, all the money, we don't have that but they expect us to be the same. So that is where our problem lies, go re why must I have a parking ke se na lebala? Ko tlo enka kae parking ya …dikoloi tsa batswadi ba tlisang bana mo?And again,why ke tswanetse ke bane le parking ke runna creche ya mo lekeisheneng whereby every child walks in?It's not ko disurburbpong mo every child a dropiwa ka koloi…tshwanetse di suite the environment where we are,di ska suita want they want…that is where they got it wrong…"-Respondent 5*

Respondent 5's English translation: …Creche regulations are very difficult, they don't differentiate between those in the surburbs and those in the townships, they are all the same. In the suburbs, they have all the priviledge,all the land, all the money,we don't have that but they expect us to be the same….why must I have parking space when I don't have space in my yard.Where will I get space for parents that drop their children off in cars? And again, why must I have parking space when I run my creche from a township where every child walks in? It's not in the suburbs where every child is dropped off in a car…

Positive aspects of regulations were also noted by the respondents. Some of the respondents noted support from regulations in the form of nutrition, skills development and minimum standards of excellence.

"…Re thotse sponsorship from Department of (of) Nutrition. Eya Department of Health, nutrition. Ba tla thoma ho re fa dijo next year, a ke sure…re emetse 2020…"- Respondent 5

Respondent 5's English translation- …We have secured sponsorship from the Department of Health. They'll start giving us food next year, I'm not sure…we are waiting for 2020…

"…compliance it assists us also to measure our excellence…"- Respondent 6

"…But they help in terms of small courses and from time to time ba re bitsa…But o swanetse wena o ipushe go re be qualified…go re ba kgone go go patala…"- Respondent 5

English Translation - …But they help in terms of small courses from time to time, they call us…You must push yourself to be qualified…so they can pay you

For ECD practitioners, the result of these challenges is a difficult, if not impossible journey towards compliance and equitable ECD provisioning to children in their communities. The result of challenges experienced is the inability to register with DoSD thus unable to access the DoSD subsidy and other government offered financial resources.

Supporting Research Question 5: How do ECD practitioners circumvent challenges related to regulatory compliance, and the communities?

To circumvent challenges related to compliance and the communities they operate in, the respondent ECD practitioners rely on ECD forums, NGOs, friends and family members for support. As the revenue received from the low fees that the centres charge does not cover all the operational expenses of the centre, priority is given to the needs of children and paying the teachers, with many of the respondent ECD practitioners not receiving a monthly staple salary.

> *"…Ba bang ke R200.00, ba ba baholo. Ba bannyane ke R250.00…A ke gole…"- Respondent 2*
>
> *English translation – …The older children pay R200.00 and the younger children pay R250.00… I don't draw a salary (from the business).*
>
> *…take from my personal savings and pay the teachers for December…- Respondent 8's English translated response*
>
> *"… I just sacrificed to say…whatever I'm getting as a salary I will be putting some for the children up until I reach a level where the school can sustain itself."- Respondent 1*

Some of the respondents received assistance from friends and family members to compensate for the shortfall in revenue from fees.

> *…I'm running this crèche from my parent's house. So, normally my parents help me with paying the rent, because I don't have a basic salary. With whatever fees I get month end, I start by buying children's food, pay the teachers, and whatever remains I get paid …- Respondent 8's translated response*
>
> *"…I do stokvel…with my friends…"- Respondent 10*
>
> *…a woman who was also bringing her child to my crèche, told me her white bosses in the suburbs where she worked, it was a crèche as well; wanted to*

sponsor a crèche in the township….came to me, adopted my crèche and promised they would build a school for us one day… in 2012 they came back, and told us they secured sponsors and they wanted to build us a proper school and indeed, they built us the school you are seeing today…-Respondent 5

Respondent 10 relies on her husband for assistance with looking after the finances of her business and asks from her husband to pay staff salaries in the months that parents fall short on their school fees. Whilst receiving sponsorship for food from an NGO, Respondent 10 managed to divert the funds towards building an extra 3 classrooms for her centre.

The implementation of ECD regulations has realised the importance of ECD forums in communities. The role of the ECD forums has been to lobby government and municipalities and offer resources' assistance to ECD centres in need. All the respondents recognise the important role that the ECD forums play in provisioning for ECD services. Respondents have expressed obtaining help from the forums for various challenges in relation to lack of assistance or information from social workers, the difficult journey towards compliance and the lack of resources in their centres. ECD forums have further leveraged the private sector to access bread and fruits to give to children.

"…Those forums have become critical in providing information and guiding these ECD centres…" – Respondent 7

…when I need information, I go to the ECD Forum offices…- Respondent 8's English translated response

… [Insert forum member name] is the one who helps us. He gives us bread and lots of other stuff. And that's the only time I started to get free stuff, before then I never got anything… – Respondent 8's English translated response

"…So, I went to find information, and then after getting to find information …that's when I said maybe it will help others, let me try and organise with the committee. We tried to…organized some of the workshops to come. We spoke to our local social worker… she organised some of the workshops to come...they give us the

information and what they expect from you when they come to inspect…"- Respondent 3

"…It all depends on our chairperson. He's very active and he's very, very committed…Ya re thusa because of the leaders…He's got all the time. Rona ra ruta mo sekolong, we can't run around…he does things for us and we learn a lot from him…the forum ka mannete ya thusa. Ya re exposa ko governmenteng.Ya re exposa ko private sekteng…o disha information…he can run around and find things for us,information,where to go…we've been having meetings…President a zame go, go curva some of the regulation to suit us…tshwanetse di suite the environment where we are,di ska suita what they want…that is where they got it wrong…"-Respondent 5

English Translation- …It depends on our chairperson. He's very active and very committed…It (the forum) helps us and it is because of the leader…He's got the time. We are busy teaching and can't run around… he does things for us and we learn a lot from him. The forum truly helps. It exposes us to government. It exposes us to the private sector…he gives information… he can run around and find things for us, information, where to go…we've been having meetings… President must try amend some of the regulation to suit us…they must suit the environment where we are,not suit what they want…that is where they got it wrong…

NGOs have also been cited as very instrumental in the ECD sector. According to the respondents, NGOs have assisted ECD centres with accessing financial resources, human resources development, community building and providing nutrition to children. NGOs have played a critical role in the training of teachers as most NGOs in South Africa are accredited to provide ECD teachers' training. NGOs have also been instrumental in assisting ECD centres realise compliance with DoSD's minimum standards by investing in infrastructure.

"…if you look at who is building the early childhood education sector, it's the entrepreneurial community women, supported by non-profits…"- Respondent 7

"...The bulk of training…probably eighty percent of ECD teacher training happens through the non-profit organisations…"- Respondent 7

"…we are accredited for that, so if there's funding…then we would say these are the number of ECD centres that need to be trained and we do train. In instances where we can't train then we do skills programs, like we do classroom management courses where they will invite the teachers to come through and then we show them how to do classroom management. How to manage their classroom and then we'll teach them on how to make toys out of waste products…so every month they come to a training where they will sit for one day and then we train them on different areas you know the four corners of the class how to arrange that, how to deal with administration in the class and so on. So, we've got different programs that we run with them…" - Respondent 12

"…training is done in partnership with other organisations, so for example this year we had a partnership with the [insert NGO name] where they support ECD practitioners and then we provide the ECD training to their ECD practitioners that they work with and in previous years it's been with [insert NGO name] and [insert NGO name] , and other ECD organisations as well…"- Respondent 13

"… [insert NGO name] e re fa motogo…e thusa dicreche…"- Respondent 4

Respondent 4's English translation-… [insert NGO name] gives us soft porridge...it helps creches…

…through the help of the church we managed to buy this piece of land that we are using now…our sponsor is the church that is helping us to do the infrastructure that you are seeing…- Respondent 9's English translated response

"…They [government department] got the contractor to come here and complete everything, do the roofing they put ceiling in every classroom, revamp the kitchen. I think they spent around one hundred thousand rand. The tiles here and this, they are the ones who put all that stuff…" - Respondent 1

"…non-profits are also under financial strain…whereas before, a non-profit would train…sixty teachers, today, they can't do that…"- Respondent 7

Expert respondents with NGO links went on to further explain their work in ECD centres and how they have helped develop skills of ECD practitioners and teachers and leveraged private and public relationships to assist in the registration of ECD centres.

"…it provides psycho-social support, this is across all programmes where psychologists, social workers are made available for our clients and their families; but our main person that we are looking after is a child. There we talk family preservation whereby we talk the old school parenting skills, family integration and in that space…we add research to inform us on interventions because everything we do, we start at baseline…"- Respondent 6

"… lack of skills…not only are they running a business as in the crèche, they also have to manage people, there's HR issues, there's financial management issues. So that's where the support from NGO's came in where we realised it's just chaos, there is no accountability. Mom has the heart and the life and the passion, but she has no skills, she has no capacity, she has no resources to make sure that this crèche runs effectively and efficiently so that's where NGO's came in…"- Respondent 12

"…part of our intervention as an organization is that we've got [insert number] ECD crèches that we work with. Our goal is to get them registered, so they can get the benefit of having government support…"- Respondent 6

"…when we have our meetings; we talk about those things. I then use the relationship we have with the different departments; we invite them to come together with those ECDs around. In fact, all of them when there is a workshop, we ask them to come and we workshop them with the different inspectors from the different departments. They know which ECDs they are dealing with, in that way they would know what they are supposed to do, they go there and check; help them in fixing all the things that are not in place in their ECD. We make sure that we invite them, they come here, workshop them, teach them and go with them…"- Respondent 6

> *"…I think we've seen ourselves as a mediator because a lot of times when we got into [these] areas, people did not want to work with social workers or government. I think there was a wrong perception on what the social workers are doing…"- Respondent 12*

Some of the ECD practitioners share information and private sector sponsored food amongst themselves thus acting as support structures for each other.

> *…It's only now with the new principal, we are working together. She said she's prepared to help mentor me…- Respondent 9's English translated response*
> *I just visited crèches that were already in existence and gathered the necessary information… - Respondent 8's English translated response*

> *…Like I said we work with [insert name of person] our [ECD forum] chairperson. I work close with him and we find out things. We go and knock, we communicate and talk to other people in other areas. When we find what we need, maybe a Chairperson of [insert township name], they've got workshops of what we need here, we would rather contact them and say can you bring that as well to [insert township/informal settlement name]. So, we just go out and look for information... Respondent 3*

> *… [insert food company name] is giving us some loaves of bread, [insert food company name] is doing the same. We get two hundred loaves of bread every second week, so we share with all the [number] centres. …We share with [insert number] this week, the following week another [insert number], just like that. They get [insert number] loaves each centre...- Respondent 1*

As per the responses, ECD centres are operated with the support of NGOs, ECD forums, colleagues, family members and friends. According to the respondents, many ECD practitioners are still finding it challenging to comply with ECD regulations due to a lack of personal resources, inadequate human and financial resources' support from government, and regulations that do not fit their context of operations. The next question asks the question at the heart of the study which is, given the challenges experienced in informal settlements and townships, how can government assist ECD practitioners in the provisioning of ECD services?

Supporting Research Question 6: How can government support ECD practitioners in the provisioning of ECD services?

Respondents suggested various methods of support from government to assist in the provisioning of ECD services in underprivileged communities.

Respondents emphasised the need for operating environment fit ECD regulations as the current regulations were found to be irrelevant to operating environments in informal settlements and townships and were found to be ignorant of challenges faced in informal settlements and townships. They wanted government to amend regulations aimed at ECD centres operating in informal settlements and townships. They wanted the new regulations to be relevant to the various socio-economic challenges and resources' challenges faced by ECD practitioners in informal settlements and townships. They also wanted the regulations to recognise the entrepreneurial efforts of ECD practitioners servicing underprivileged communities.

> *"…tshwanetse di suite the environment where we are…"- Respondent 5*
>
> *English translation- … (Government and regulation) must suit our operating environment…*
>
> *…change the compliance requirements, because some won't qualify because they run their crèches from their homes…- Respondent 9's English translated response*
>
> *"…people who are running centres from informal settlements don't have documentation for the land they are occupying. So, for them it's just impossible to get funding, so I'm saying government must consider the fact that there are children in those centres…"- Respondent 1*
>
> *"…if government could come and say we don't only want to run workshops, we want to make it affordable for you to comply; people will comply…"-Respondent 6*

> *"…if we adopted an entrepreneurial approach to early childhood development, we could employ thousands of people in the early childhood development sector…two benefits, you are increasing employment and increasing opportunities for young children…"- Respondent 7*

Some of the respondents also suggested that ECD centres be subjected to strict formalisation and governance like that in DoBE. They believed that this would rid their communities of ECD centres started with the intention to fleece parents of their money.

> *"…there are a lot of corrupt creches around and they are pulling us down…if dissocial worker tsa rona di ne di etsa mosebetsi,nkabe ho sa mushroomeha dicreche tse di mushroomileng tse di nkang bana,tse di sa ruting bana,tse di jang chelate ya batswadi fela…If government a ka thoma mo motseng,a monitara dicreche tse di seng right,tse di leng a danger to the community,a di roote out…re be fully fledge creche like fully fledged school. Ska ba ntho ya ka like mo ntlung ya ka…e be le weight ko governmenteng…e be sekolo, e be ntho e e leng mo molaong, re registariwe le government like a etsa ko dikolong. A qualifye batho. A bane le college ya go ruta batho, a ba qualifye. A tlise ko dicrecheng tse di qualifying. Dicreche tse ka o fela tsa mekhukhu nyana, diroomu nyana…ba di kwale…"- Respondent 5*
>
> *English translation- …There are a lot of corrupt creches that are pulling us down. If our social workers actually focused on providing a service to us, there wouldn't be creches mushrooming everywhere, creches that just take parents' money without teaching the kids. Government should monitor creches and root out all creches that are inadequate and are a danger to the community, and form fully fledged creches like it is done with schools. The centres should be formalised, recognised by and registered with government. Government should open teacher training colleges, qualify and place teachers in recognised and registered centres. Government should close all creches operating from shacks and single rooms…*

Respondent 10 believes that the mushrooming of ECD centres can be curbed by enforcing ECD regulations. She further asserted that only those that meet the minimum

health and safety standards should be allowed to open ECD centres. Respondent 4 supported the use of inspectors to ensure facilities were operating optimally.
In respect to the integration of ECD into DoBE, there were differing voices to the intentions made public by President Ramaphosa. Some of the respondents were in favour of the suggestion as they believed it would afford ECD centres similar structures and resources available to pre-schools operating as part of the public schooling system. Some highlighted challenges already present in the public schooling system and rather suggested that DoSD be afforded similar structures and support that could be used to resource existing ECD provisioning efforts.

> *"I am hopeful actually because the Department of Education they do focus on education and they also have a full-service model within their schools which could then possibly be transferred into the ECD space as well."- Respondent 13*
> *"…We need structure that is available in education. Make it available to the Department of Social Development and let them continue with their work because the same personnel that is overworked in the educational department, you're just giving them more work. That does not mean that they are going to be any more effective in the ECD space…"-Respondent 14*

Respondent 5 challenged the suggestion to bring ECD centres into the national schooling system. She believes this would result in the closure of their centres. According to Respondent 5, the objective with including ECD centres into the national education system should be to remove opportunistic business activities by those looking to extract money from parents without consideration to the health and safety of children. She suggested that government rather include currently registered ECD centres into the system and not leave them to cease to operate as a result of the suggested change. She said that shouldn't be left unemployed as a result of the change as she currently complies with government regulations. If there is a gap in her skill set, she said that government should then support her to fill that gap.

An expert respondent encouraged government to leverage ECD forums in implementing the ECD policy. In his 25 years of practice across various informal settlements and townships in South Africa, he has observed ECD practitioners draw various forms of support from participating in ECD forums. He went on further to explain that the Western Cape province was leveraging the networks and expertise of ECD forums in the

registration of ECD centres. The Western Cape is the only province currently doing this. He went on to suggest that the expertise of ECD forums be leveraged by setting up district forums utilising the DoBE district model.

> *"…Formerly recognise these forums and work with them…forums will be supportive of government initiatives to improve the quality…of ECD development…"- Respondent 7*

All the respondents emphasised the need for financial and human resources support from government to deal with the resources' challenges expressed earlier. The expert respondent also suggested persistent public statements of support from the president.

> *"…President…makes a public statement that his officials will focus on early childhood development…"- Respondent 7*

> *Respondent 4 mentioned that she needs sponsorship to pay her staff and help her with her infrastructure development. She feels this would give her creche credibility.*

> *"…We already have enough issues in the educational space. Whether it's the curriculum itself, whether it's issues of…discipline issues, whether it's parental, we have enough issues in education. Shifting a social problem to education is not going to solve it. What you need to do is give what is needed in the social problem so that it can be effective…" - Respondent 14*
> *"…So, if you look at like government budgets if you look at where most of the money goes and its definitely not in ECD... You know it goes into other sectors and other priorities which they think is important and I think that's where the gap is…" – Respondent 12*

As mentioned earlier, ECD practitioner respondents expressed frustration with parents and government officials that lacked knowledge on ECD education and the value it adds. To deal with these challenges, respondents suggested that communities and government officials responsible for the implementation of ECD policy in Gauteng be adequately informed about ECD and the value it adds to a society. They also suggested that government officials responsible for ECD be adequately experienced in the field of

ECD. This, the respondents believe, would alleviate some of the challenges experienced from a government officials' and community perspective.

> *…Obviously the other big challenge is the parents…they lack the knowledge of how an ECD works, what should they expect from it, what should they gain and what the ECD expects from them. They are not cooperating as much…- Respondent 3*

> *"…And also, even our government agencies need education. Even our social workers. They may be social workers, but what we don't take into cognisance is that a social worker does also need a specialisation because the mistake that they make sometimes… Take a social worker who might have been working in say, a hospice…or a social worker that deals with your prisoners, they take the same social worker and put them in the ECD office, totally unrelated…"- Respondent 14*

> *"…government officials that implement the policy do not have the skills to implement that…they are social workers, they are not education people…"- Respondent 7*

As per the text in supporting research question 6, the respondents believe that existing government and community structures can be leveraged for ECD provisioning. As per supporting research question 4, respondents emphasise a need for support from government in the form of recognition and appreciation of the efforts of ECD practitioners as entrepreneurs solving for socio-economic challenges in their communities, equitable ECD specific human and financial resources, education of local communities in the subject of ECD, and ECD regulations that are accommodative of the operating environments of ECD practitioners.

5.5 Conclusion

Fourteen interviews with 15 respondents were conducted for the purposes of this study, the findings of which have been reported in this chapter and set out in a table on the next page.

Table 4: Summary of Responses

	Supporting Research Questions and Responses
1	How and why was the ECD started?
	The respondents expressed a love for children, a desire to see children develop, a desire to see children develop in a good environment, unemployment and identifying a need in the community as reasons to starting ECD centres. Many started their ECD centres from personal residential shacks or government supplied homes. Ninety-one percent of ECD centres operate as NPO registered entities, allowing them an opportunity to access donor and government funds. Forty-five percent of the ECD centres interviewed were not registered with DoSD at the time of the interview.
2	What are the challenges faced by the social entrepreneurs in their communities?
	Many of the respondents are reliant on fees for funding. Challenges cited by respondents include inconsistent payment of fees, non-payment of fees and low fees charged as a result of unemployment and poverty, mushrooming of other ECD centres, a lack of value attached to ECD education and a lack of knowledge about ECD education.
3	How are social entrepreneurs impacted by the challenges faced by the communities they operate in?
	The result of the low fees and inconsistent and non-payment of fees by parents is the inability to cover operating expenses resulting in non-payment of teachers, inadequate salaries offered to teachers and a compromise on the quality of nutrition offered to children. Finding, attracting and retaining qualified teachers were also expressed as challenges. This was attributed to inadequate salaries offered and the low levels of education found in community members.
4	How have social entrepreneurs been impacted by government policy and regulation on ECD centres?
	The respondents expressed a general lack of support from government towards the operating of their ECD centres. This lack of support presents itself in the form of unhelpful and ill-informed government officials, inconsistent application of the policy and regulations across departments and cities in Gauteng and the implementation of regulations that do not cater to challenges experienced from operating in informal settlements and townships. The result is the inability to register with DoSD and thus inability to access financial support.

5	How do practitioners circumvent challenges related to policy and regulation, and the communities?
	Friends, family members, NGOs and ECD forums are recognised as resource support systems for ECD practitioners. Some practitioners refrained from drawing basic salaries from their centres to deal with the revenue challenges.
6	How can government support ECD practitioners in the provisioning of ECD services?
	The practitioners emphasised support from government in the form of regulations that considered the context of operations, financial and human resources commitment, education of local communities in the subject of ECD and strict formalisation and governance of ECD centres.

The next chapter discusses the findings of the study in relation to the literature reviewed.

6 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

The study specifically focused on practitioners and managers of ECD centres operating in informal settlements and townships in Gauteng and experts with knowledge and experience in the provisioning of ECD related services. The study engaged 15 respondents with varying experience in the ECD profession totalling over 50 years. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the findings of the study, as reported in Chapter 5, in conjunction with the literature reviewed as per Chapter 2. The discussion will follow the themes identified in Chapter 5.

6.2 Motivation

The motivation theme defined in Chapter 5 sought to understand the reasons why practitioners started ECD centres. As described in Chapter 5, the practitioners that were interviewed are mainly women and members of communities. The ECD practitioner respondents listed various reasons as being responsible for starting their ECD centres. Some of the ECD practitioner respondents started ECD centres with the desire to help children reach their full potential. They started their centres with the objective to provide a service to children and parents in their communities, a service that would see children develop and prepare them for learning in their future years. Some of the practitioners resigned from full-time employment to start the centres. Some did not have the funds to start their centres, yet they took the responsibility to start operations, driven by a passion for children's development. These behaviours can be associated with risk taking and innovation, characteristics associated with social entrepreneurs in pursuit of their social missions to effect change and value in their communities (Greblikaite, 2012; Helm & Andersson, 2010; Stecker, 2014).

Some of the respondents noticed a need in their communities and communities that they used to service and decided to start provisioning ECD related services. According to some of the respondents, children were not accessing ECD facilities due to a lack of financial resources. Some parents required child-care facilities for their children whilst they were at work. An expert respondent started providing services after noticing that

children in disadvantaged communities were only accessing remedial services once a week. The theory on social entrepreneurship recognises the establishment of operations by community members to service needs neglected by government as a result of insufficient resources or corruption (Bozhikin et al., 2019; Forouharfar et al., 2018; Pathak & Muralidharan, 2018; Santos, 2012). The provisioning of services as a result of neglect by government is also in line with the literature reviewed on informal settlements and townships that says that informal settlements and townships are deprived of basic services and are often exposed to poor health and education facilities (Department of Human Settlements, 2016; World Bank, 2014).

According to the respondents, community members in informal settlements and townships that decide to start ECD operations often do so with very minimal resources, as observed in Chapter 5 where most of the respondents started their ECD operations from their residential dwellings in the form of government supplied houses or shacks. This was done to leverage the available resources. This behaviour is synonymous with descriptions of social bricoleurs who employ collaborative and innovative methods to their problem solving (Griffiths et al., 2013; B. R. Smith & Stevens, 2010).

The theory on social bricoleurs highlights the narrow focus with which social entrepreneurs generally approach their social impact missions (Zahra et al., 2009). Social bricoleurs are generally community members focused on solving for a need in their community (Zahra et al., 2009). They generally start with what they have and often struggle to access resources (B. R. Smith & Stevens, 2010; Zahra et al., 2009). With the resources that they have, they configure them to suit their needs which is a form of social bricolage (Di Domenico et al., 2010; B. R. Smith & Stevens, 2010).This is synonymous with the behaviours observed from respondent ECD practitioners that started their centres with what they had and could access.

According to the respondents, ECD practitioners operating in informal settlements and townships often leveraged their social capital to access resources to start their operations, as mentioned by Greblikaite (2012) who emphasises social capital as being important to the success of social entrepreneurial activity. ECD practitioner respondents leveraged friends and family to access various forms of resources that could assist in starting their operations. The ECD practitioners interviewed for this study can be regarded as change agents as they were undeterred by their limited resources in their

drive to start their ECD centres, agreeing with Sivathanu & V.Bhise (2013) on the concept of change agents. They started their centres without the help of government, used the little resources they had and sought assistance from their family and friends.

Social entrepreneurs generally service disadvantaged communities which largely suffer from low levels of education and skills, as seen with descriptions of inhabitants of informal settlements and townships (Department of Human Settlements, 2016; Findley & Ogbu, 2011; Huchzermeyer et al., 2018; Kim et al., 2014; SME South Africa, 2017; World Bank, 2014). Social entrepreneurs often emerge from the same communities that they are servicing thus are also challenged by low levels of education and skills (Kim et al., 2014). The recognition of a need in their communities was however enough drive to start their ECD centres despite the lack of skills and education. Pathak and Muralidharan (2018) define social entrepreneurship as the recognition, evaluation and exploitation of opportunities to service the neglected needs of societies. The respondent ECD practitioners recognised an opportunity in their communities and went after it. For NGOs/NPOs participating in the ECD space in informal settlements and townships, the drive to broaden access to good quality ECD services is the motivator, in line with meeting needs recognised in communities they seek to service (Almog-Bar & Schmid, 2014; Levine Daniel & Fyall, 2019; S. R. Smith, 2010).

The NPO act in South Africa provides donor and government funding opportunities to entities registered as NPOs. Ninety-one percent of the ECD centres included in the study are registered as NPO entities, giving them an opportunity to access the DoSD subsidy once registered with DoSD. Until then, the onus is on operators of ECD centres to invest in the infrastructure and human capital of their centres to meet the registration criteria, also as confirmed by (Atmore, 2012). DoSD's ECD subsidy is specifically targeted at ensuring equitable ECD services to underprivileged children (Atmore, 2012; Parliamentary Monitoring Group, n.d.). According to the theory on social entrepreneurship, governments use subsidies and other financial forms of support to incentivise participation in the social entrepreneurial sector (Bozhikin et al., 2019), as seen with the proportion of ECD centres in the study that are registered as NPO entities. The behaviour recognised in the ECD practitioner respondents that registered their operations as NPO entities is also associated with coercive isomorphism in institutional theory (Björkman, 2006).

In summary, ECD practitioners started their operations to offer services to their communities that would assist children in their development. They started their operations by leveraging the resources at hand and leveraged assistance from friends and family. Over 90% of ECD centres in this study are registered as pure NPO entities, giving them opportunities to access donor and government funds, subject to registration with DoSD. The following section will deal specifically with challenges experienced by the ECD practitioner respondents as a result of challenges faced by communities in informal settlements and townships.

6.3 Challenges Related to the Community

The respondents interviewed expressed various challenges faced by ECD practitioners operating in informal settlements and townships. According to the respondents, communities in informal settlements and townships are challenged by unemployment, poverty, reliance of government's social security grant and low levels of education among community members. The impact of these challenges is low fees charged, inconsistent payment of fees and non-payment of fees by parents to ECD centres.

Many of the respondents rely on fees from parents to fund their operations as mentioned by (Walker, 2011) and (Yelland, 2010). According to Yelland (2010), ECD fees paid by parents of children in disadvantaged communities were often low due to affordability. This was corroborated by ECD practitioner respondents who said that fees charged in their centres were too low. Furthermore, payments by parents were often inconsistent as a result of poverty and unemployment in the communities serviced and the mushrooming of other ECD centres. ECD centres often accommodate children whose parents or caregivers cannot afford the centre fees. This highlights market constrains referred to by Angelica (2019) and Santos (2012) that describe market constrains as the willingness and ability to pay market related rates for services. This further attests to literature that states that constituencies serviced by social entrepreneurs are often unprofitable (Santos, 2012).

According to the respondents, low fees and the inconsistent payment of fees by parents were not only a factor of affordability but a factor of knowledge and appreciation by parents and ill-enforced ECD regulations. The ECD practitioner respondents expressed frustration with parents' lack of understanding of the ECD profession and the value ECD

adds to children's lives. According to the ECD practitioner respondents, parents treated their centres like baby-sitting facilities and failed to understand that their children were not only being looked after for the day but were being stimulated and fed over two meals per day, whilst in their care. The respondents attributed parents' failure to appreciate their services and adequately compensate them for their efforts to lack of education about ECD due to low levels of education.

According to the literature on social entrepreneurship, social entrepreneurial activities are the result of public and private sectors' neglect to provision services to marginalised communities (Bozhikin et al., 2019; Forouharfar et al., 2018; Pathak & Muralidharan, 2018; Santos, 2012; Warnecke, 2018). The neglect is due to constrained government resources or low economic value being offered to the private sector through participation in the provisioning of services (Santos, 2012). People benefiting from social entrepreneurially provided services were often not able to or willing to pay market related prices for the services due to affordability (Santos, 2012).In this study's instance, the challenges with fees is the result of a lack of appreciation for ECD related services, owing to a lack of knowledge about the value of ECD in society, and a lack of resources, impacting the financial viability of ECD centres (Santos, 2012). The nature of informal settlements and townships is low levels of education and poverty and unemployment as confirmed by the literature on informal settlements and townships (Department of Human Settlements, 2016; Findley & Ogbu, 2011; Huchzermeyer et al., 2018; SME South Africa, 2017; World Bank, 2014).

Some of the ECD practitioner respondents however expressed that some parents could afford an acceptable price point for the environment they operate in but because of a lack of education on the value of ECD and mushrooming ECD centres, parents rather preferred to enrol their children at cheaper centres. ECD practitioner respondents said that the mushrooming of centres that charge lower fees had resulted in a decrease in enrolments in their centres. A gap in the social entrepreneurship literature exists with respect to the impact of subject matter education and low barriers to entry on the operations of social entrepreneurial activities.

A further challenge to the fees was identified as the mushrooming of ECD centres. This is the result of low barriers to entry due to the ownership structure of ECD centres in South Africa, a lack of strict governance structures to support ECD provisioning and a

lack of enforceability of DoSD's registration requirements (Atmore, 2012; Department of Social Development, 2014).This is in line with institutional theory in terms of coercive isomorphism and memetic isomorphism (Björkman, 2006; Pishdad et al., 2014). The legal permission for anyone in South Africa to open an ECD centre and absence of enforcement of ECD regulations result in opportunistic practices. According to literature on social entrepreneurship, governments at times design policies to stimulate competition and co-operation in the social entrepreneurial market (Kim et al., 2014), ensuring that those with the right intentions survive. In markets challenged by poverty and the absence of enforcement of regulations geared at protecting children from harmful practices, the result can be unfavourable practices as seen with mushrooming ECD centres that compromise on the service provided to children by competing on price.

According to the respondents, some parents just did not have the funds to pay for their children's foundation phase education. As expressed in the Motivations' section, most of the respondents expressed a desire to see children developing to their full potential. Understanding the challenges facing their community members, in line with the theory on social bricoleurs (B. R. Smith & Stevens, 2010; Zahra et al., 2009), some of the respondents accommodate children that do not pay fees, whilst also not receiving a subsidy from government. The aim of the practitioners is to be inclusive in their ECD provisioning thus understanding the social impact of their actions. This is aligned with the theory on social entrepreneurship whose objective is to effect social change.

As per the respondents, the inability or unwilling nature of parents to adequately compensate ECD centres for ECD services is a big challenge for ECD practitioners operating in informal settlements and townships as fees are their main source of funding. This funding challenge impacts the operations of the ECD centres and quality of service provisioned to children.

6.4 ECD Practitioner Challenges Related to Community Challenges

The result of the low and inconsistent fees is low and inconsistent revenues that result in centres not being able to cover their operational expenses, threatening the sustainability and viability of the centres, in line with (Greblikaite, 2012; Santos, 2012).

Securing and retaining talent to serve as teachers in ECD centres in informal settlements and townships was expressed as a challenge by the respondents. This is supportive of the literature by Atmore (2012) on challenges facing ECD centres in South Africa. The respondents attributed challenges related to finding and retaining teachers to a general lack of resources in the communities. The general lack of resources was listed as follows:

- ECD practitioners' inability to pay market related salaries as a result of low fees charged, inconsistent payment and non-payment by parents, and the infiltration of unregistered centres that charge even lower fees,
- The inability of practising unqualified teachers to fund their own studies due to inadequate salaries received,
- The inability of ECD owners to fund qualifications of practising unqualified teachers due to low and inconsistent revenues, and
- The lack of opportunities available to the youth post matric as a result of a lack of financial resources to pay for own fees

According to the social entrepreneurship literature, social entrepreneurs often found it difficult to secure the appropriate human talent to realise their objectives (Bloom & Smith, 2010; Estrin et al., 2016; Santos, 2012). This was linked to the inability to pay market related salaries for the talent as a result of the unprofitable nature of constituencies serviced (Estrin et al., 2016; Santos, 2012). Furthermore, according to Sahasranamam & Nandakumar (2020) and Santos (2012), the social enterprises were themselves often not financially independent due to the constituencies serviced and the reliance of social entrepreneurs on donors, subsidies and grants. This literature explains the ECD centres' inability to secure and retain teachers and corroborates responses from the respondents.

As per World Bank (2014), many of the inhabitants of informal settlements and townships are excluded from financial participation and thus cannot access financial resources through formal channels. Financial capital access is a determining factor for success in social entrepreneurship (Greblikaite, 2012). The lack of financial capital access and low and inconsistent revenues collected by ECD practitioner respondents have an impact on their ability to meet DoSD's minimum standards thus achieving registration with DoSD.

Due to the unprofitable nature of social entrepreneurial activity, Estrin et al., (2016) and Santos (2012) assert that to deliver on their social impact objectives, social enterprises often rely on volunteers and those willing to accept sub-market salaries. The quality of human capital is regarded as a determining factor for social enterprises' ability to attract volunteers and citizens willing to accept inadequate salaries in exchange for fulfilment attained from making a positive contribution to society (Bloom & Smith, 2010; Estrin et al., 2016). This agrees with low levels of education among the youth in informal settlements and townships owing to a lack of resources and the disapproval of inadequate salaries by teachers despite the high levels of employment found in informal settlements and townships. As many of the community members are challenged by poverty and unemployment, an opportunity for employment should result in an improvement of their livelihood.

To deal with challenges related to low and inconsistent revenues, practitioners focused on paying key operating expenses such as staff salaries and water and lights. Often, teachers went unpaid for their services. This is in line with the theory on social bricolage that asserts that social entrepreneurs make do with what they have in pursuit of their social objectives (Di Domenico et al., 2010). Further to dealing with challenges related to operational expenses, many of the ECD practitioner respondents said that they compromised on the quality of food given to the children in their centres. Nutrition is one of the important elements of ECD provisioning (Sayre et al., 2015), especially for children living in disadvantaged communities where children are prone to malnutrition (Atmore, 2012; Statistics South Africa, 2018). ECD focuses on the well-being of both mother and child and is concerned with the emotional, spiritual, physical and mental development of children thus by compromising on the quality of nutrition, the development of the child is also compromised which impacts the development of human capital that is necessary for the economic and social prosperity of the country. Therefore, compromising on the nutrition given to children has lasting detrimental developmental and economical challenges.

As mentioned in responses related to supporting research question 1, many respondents started their ECD centres with the objective to help children realise their potential by giving them access to opportunities for education and other ECD related services. As with the literature on social bricoleurs, their circumstances force them to make do with what they have, driven by their desire to effect positive social change in

marginalised communities (Dobele & Dobele, 2011; Kadir & Sarif, 2016; Pathak & Muralidharan, 2018; Santos, 2012; Sivathanu & V.Bhise, 2013). Respondents stretch the resources available to them to provision a service to the children in their centres and their communities. This is in agreement with Griffiths et al., (2013) and Hervieux & Voltan (2018) who say that social entrepreneurs are innovative in how they solution for challenges they encounter in their operations. It can be argued though that this can be to the detriment of children, especially when the quality of nutrition is compromised in favour of other operational expenses. This is noted by Desmond et al., (2019) and Jenkins (2014) in that ECD services coverage should not be at a cost to the quality of services provisioned.

As mentioned by the respondents, there are various community specific challenges to operating ECD centres in informal settlements and townships. These challenges were highlighted in responses to supporting research questions 1 and 2.These challenges make it difficult for ECD practitioners in informal settlements and townships to access the financial and human resources necessary to effectively operate their centres, as corroborated by Griffiths et al., (2013) in that social entrepreneurs often operate in environments with constrained resources thus the ECD practitioners are forced to configure resources to suit their needs, as per the literature on social bricolage (Di Domenico et al., 2010). The next section specifically focuses on challenges related to the ECD policy and regulations.

6.5 Regulatory Compliance Challenges for ECD Practitioners

The respondents expressed frustration with what seems to be a general lack of support from government across financial and human resource and regulations that do not support the working environments of the respondent ECD practitioners. The result of this is the inability to meet DoSD's registration criteria. The inability to register with DoSD as a result of a lack of resources' support from government is in line with Terjesen et al., (2016) that assert that social entrepreneurs thrive in supportive environments.

6.5.1 Challenges with Resources

Respondents commented that the local and provincial government departments and officials they had been in contact with and believed were responsible for ECD

provisioning in Gauteng, were found to be lacking in co-ordination of their responsibilities and accountabilities, inconsistent in their implementation of policy and often failed to provide adequate support and guidance along their journey to compliance. According to the respondents, these experiences were a result of ECD inexperienced and unqualified government officials and a lack of accountability in the structures of government. The lack of expertise and experience in ECD of government officials is corroborated by ETDP SETA (2014). According to ETDP SETA (2014), ECD expertise in South Africa sit in the NGO sector. The theory on social entrepreneurship states that the structure of government institutions and the resources provided to government institutions have a direct impact on how well government policies are implemented (Shockley & Frank, 2011), as seen with the various implementation challenges experienced by the ECD practitioner respondents.

According to ECD practitioner respondents, challenges related to government officials exert pressure on their already constrained financial resources. The lack of co-ordination and inconsistencies in policy implementation had resulted in the ECD practitioner respondents travelling across various offices, located in different areas whilst relying on public transport, in search of the correct information to comply with ECD regulations. The persistent nature of these ECD respondents is associated with characteristics of change agents as per the social entrepreneurship theory (Sivathanu & V.Bhise, 2013). Social entrepreneurs are regarded as change agents as they are driven and relentless in the realisation of their social objectives (Sivathanu & V.Bhise, 2013), as observed with the respondent ECD practitioners' drive to search for information and assistance to be able to register with DoSD.

Another factor at the heart of challenges experienced by the ECD practitioner respondents is a government with constrained resources, as seen with the ECD practitioner respondents provisioning for needs that have largely been neglected by government. The literature on informal settlements states that the unplanned migration of people puts pressure on already constrained resources of government (Wekesa et al., 2011). According to Jenkins (2014) and Santos (2012), as governments' resources are limited, governments are challenged with deciding on the most efficient and effective way to deploy the limited funds to realise positive economic returns. The result of constrained resources is social entrepreneurial activities servicing the needs of communities deprived of basic services. This is in line with the theory on social

entrepreneurship which states that social entrepreneurial activities are mainly focused at provisioning services to marginalised communities whose needs have been neglected by both the private and public sectors (Pathak & Muralidharan, 2018; Santos, 2012; Warnecke, 2018).

Although the ECD practitioner respondents are undeterred by the various resources' challenges experienced, the resources' challenges hinder the progress of the ECD practitioner respondents, as seen with the respondent ECD practitioners' inability to meet DoSD's minimum health and safety standards owing to a lack of resources. This is in line with the literature on informal settlements and townships that states that entrepreneurial activity in informal settlements and townships is often hindered by a lack of resources (World Bank, 2014).

As mentioned previously, the result of inadequate personal and government resources to support ECD practitioners' initiatives is the inability to register with DoSD. This is in line with the financial and human resources' challenges faced by social entrepreneurs (Bloom & Smith, 2010; Griffiths et al., 2013), and the theory on social bricoleurs who often do not have the resources to realise their objectives (B. R. Smith & Stevens, 2010). The inability to register with DoSD as a result of challenges with resources is also in line with the social entrepreneurship theory that states that the success of social entrepreneurial activities is dependent on human capital, social capital and financial capital and, in countries where resources capacity is scarce, government's participation in social entrepreneurial activities is key to stimulating and supporting the social entrepreneurial sector (Greblikaite, 2012; Stephan et al., 2015). The inefficiencies created by inadequate resources in government impacts the social entrepreneurs' ability to access government funding. Furthermore, as per the literature on social entrepreneurship, governments with resources and expertise are generally better equipped to efficiently and effectively deliver on their policies (Shockley & Frank, 2011).

The provision of a subsidy that only covers a fraction of the actual cost of ECD provisioning, as per Desmond et al., (2019) and unicef (2016), is a reflection of constrained government resources or the absence of government resources that are capable of impactful decisions or both. As mentioned by ETDP SETA (2014), ECD expertise in South Africa reside in the NGO sector. This is in line with the literature in social entrepreneurship that states that governments are challenged with limited

resources and often leverage resources and expertise from NGOs and the private sector (Desmond et al., 2019; Levine Daniel & Fyall, 2019; Santos, 2012; S. R. Smith, 2010). Thus, the quality of decisions made government impacts the quality of service provisioned to children to children in informal settlements and townships.

6.5.2 Challenges with Regulations

6.5.2.1 Challenges with the Legal Framework

Respondents expressed challenges with ECD registration criteria that failed to consider the context of operations of ECD practitioners in informal settlements and townships and failed to appreciate the impactful nature of the efforts of ECD practitioners in providing a neglected service to communities challenged by various socio-economic issues. This is in contravention with the theory on social entrepreneurship that asserts that legislation related to social entrepreneurial activities must take into context the operating environment as human behaviour is a function of the environment they are exposed to (Arasti et al., 2015; Stephan et al., 2015). According to Triponel & Agapitova (2017), legal frameworks related to social entrepreneurial activity can only be effective if they understand and accommodate the challenges experienced in the various operating environments. As mentioned by an expert interviewed, government lacks the ECD knowledge and expertise and, according to Shockley & Frank (2011) effective implementation of policies is dependent on the human and financial resources available to government.

For ECD centres to access DoSD's subsidy and other government funding, registration as NPO entities is required (Ilifa la Bantwana, n.d.). According to the theory on social entrepreneurship, many countries restrict the classification of entities to "for-profit" or "not-for-profit" (Coetzee, n.d.; Triponel & Agapitova, 2017; Yu, 2011). This traditional approach to entity classification often misses the value of social entrepreneurial activities and relegates them to non-profit activities (Coetzee, n.d.; Triponel & Agapitova, 2017; Yu, 2011). This is in line with the literature on social entrepreneurship that states that traditional business models often fail to capture the value added by business activities with a social focus (Hervieux & Voltan, 2018; Sahasranamam & Nandakumar, 2020). Accordingly, the ECD practitioner respondents commented that registration of ECD

centres as NPOs had resulted in a meddling and oppressive DoSD that failed to play a supportive role to centres that were receiving a subsidy from them.

As mentioned by the respondents, social entrepreneurs operating ECD centres in informal settlements and townships start their centres with the little resources that they have and invest in the infrastructure and training to realise compliance, in line with the theory on social bricoleurs and social bricolage (Di Domenico et al., 2010; B. R. Smith & Stevens, 2010). According to Atmore (2012), the responsibility of investing and operating ECD centres in South Africa is abdicated to owners, as confirmed by ECD practitioner respondents. As the NPO act restricts distribution of profits (Council on Foundations, n.d.), the initial investment efforts of ECD centre owners are not recognised. The absence of a social entrepreneurship dedicated framework and profit distribution restrictions related to the NPO act deny ECD practitioner respondents legitimacy as business owners and as people that engage in socially impactful activities, in line with Michael Porter's perception on social entrepreneurship (Driver, 2012).

Legitimacy is one of the constrains faced by social entrepreneurs and can be solved through social entrepreneurship specific legal frameworks (Greblikaite, 2012; Hervieux et al., 2010; Triponel & Agapitova, 2017). Legitimacy in the social entrepreneurial setting is important as social enterprises operate in a hybrid environment not understood by many (Angelica, 2019), thus deviating from community structures and norms that define the communities being serviced, deviating from community structures and norms that are difficult to shift and are important to the success of community based entrepreneurial efforts (Ratten & Welpe, 2011; Seelos et al., 2011).

According to the ECD practitioner respondents, had they known the implications of registering their centres as NPO entities, they would have made different decisions. They attributed the lack of knowledge to a lack of education and a lack of support and information from government officials. According to Kim et al., (2014), social entrepreneurs generally emerge from the same marginalised communities that they are servicing or looking to service, where education levels are generally poor. Thus, government policy must include ways to bridge the education and skills deficiencies (Arasti et al., 2015; Garrigós Simón et al., 2017; Kim et al., 2014; Sabato et al., 2017). However, this can be challenging when the government officials themselves lack the requisite knowledge and skills to assist those who need to be provided the correct

information to make informed decisions, as experienced by the respondents. As mentioned by Shockley & Frank (2011) in relation to government's role in social entrepreneurship, government's implementation of policy is as good as its resources and institutional structures.

6.5.2.2 Challenges with DoSD's Registration Criteria

According to the NPO act, property registered under NPO belongs to the public as it is for public benefit (Coetzee, n.d.). Municipal by-laws related to ECD centres require that the land on which the ECD centre is erected be zoned to provision ECD related services (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, 2011). Municipal by-laws also require that there be space for children to play and that there be enough parking space for cars that drop children off at school (City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, 2018). ECD practitioner respondents mentioned how many of them, and their colleagues, operated their centres from their residential yards as they did not have the resources to erect structures elsewhere. Townships and informal settlements equally suffer from overcrowding thus land space is an issue (Department of Human Settlements, 2016; World Bank, 2014).Thus, the yard space and zoning requirements of municipal by-laws ignore the context of informal settlements and townships, making it difficult for ECD practitioners to register with DoSD. This is in line with assertions in the social entrepreneurship literature that for regulations to be effective at delivery of policy, they must be accommodative of challenges faced in the operating environment (Garrigós Simón et al., 2017; Triponel & Agapitova, 2017).

According to the respondents, many of the ECD practitioners operating in informal settlements and townships would never be able to register with DoSD due to the circumstances of their operations, especially from a land space, land use permission and land zoning perspective. The needs and challenges of communities in informal settlements and townships and circumstances of ECD practitioners dictate business models applied by ECD practitioners in operating their ECD centres. These business models are often in contravention with the business model prescribed by ECD regulations. As mentioned in the literature of social entrepreneurship, traditional legal frameworks and business models often fail to capture the context of the operating environment of social entrepreneurs and the risks and rewards of social entrepreneurial activities (Hervieux & Voltan, 2018; Sahasranamam & Nandakumar, 2020; Triponel &

Agapitova, 2017). As such, ECD practitioner respondents said that some of their colleagues would never be able to access the financial capital (government subsidy) that would assist in making their businesses viable which according to (Greblikaite, 2012), is key in the sustainability of socially impactful initiatives. The viability of ECD centres in informal settlements and townships has the potential to improve the quality of service offered to children as according to Yelland (2010),the issue of affordability often exposes disadvantaged communities to inadequate services, as seen with the compromise of nutrition quality by some ECD practitioner respondents to stretch available financial resources.

Further to the respondents and Ilifa la Bantwana (n.d.), registration with DoSD requires that title deeds or proof of lease of land or property be produced. According to UN-Habitat (2015), Wekesa et al., (2011) and World Bank (2014), letters of ownership are a challenge in informal settlements and townships owing to land being illegally occupied, homes being rented or the absence of title deeds for government supplied homes. Some respondent ECD practitioners operating in informal settlements had been given “letters of use” by their municipalities, signalling permission to use land for the purposes of an ECD structure. The ECD practitioner respondents had then been able to use the letters of permission to register their ECD centres and access funding, attesting to the literature that asserts that legislation that restricts social entrepreneurial activities must be amended (Dobele & Dobele, 2011; Hervieux & Voltan, 2018), and that policies should accommodate the needs of different business models (Kim et al., 2014). The municipality has subsequently decided to withdraw their letters of permission, threatening the compliance status of ECD centres thus access to funding. The threat to the compliance status of ECD centres is a threat to legitimacy. Legitimacy is regarded a constraint in the social entrepreneurship sector and impacts access to resources (Angelica, 2019; Hervieux et al., 2010).

Respondents also expressed challenges due to government officials that were preoccupied with enforcement of ECD registration requirements. Some of the respondents expressed that it was as though government was waiting for them to fail and that the ECD regulations’ determined business model was designed for those with access to resources so they could exploit the opportunities available. They attributed their opinions to ECD regulations requiring infrastructure upgrades that are costly, for which government does not provide any financial assistance and, municipal by-laws that

require parking space for cars with no consideration for the different locations that the ECD centres can be operated from. Some of the respondents said that the registration criteria were onerous for ECD practitioners operating in informal settlements and townships. According to the respondents, government officials had failed to provide adequate support and guidance to help with compliance thus denying them opportunities to access funding to service the needs of their communities. According to Angelica (2019), Hervieux & Voltan (2018) and Sahasranamam & Nandakumar (2020) conventional business models often failed to accommodate activities of entrepreneurial activities with a social focus. Kim et al., (2014) and Terjesen et al., (2016) advocate for legislation that caters for the needs of different operating environments.

In summary to supporting research question 4, respondents expressed various issues related to a general lack of support from government in terms of regulations and financial and human resources, especially given the operating environment of the ECD practitioner respondents. The literature on social entrepreneurship states that legal frameworks and operating models should be operating environment sensitive and that in environments where resources are scarce, resources support from government is key in enabling the social entrepreneurial environment. The result of the regulatory challenges and resources' challenges experienced by the respondent ECD practitioners is the inability to access the DoSD subsidy. For many operating ECD centres in informal settlements and townships, due to the unemployment and poverty challenges experienced in their communities, a subsidy assists in ensuring that all children are afforded an opportunity to access equitable ECD services. The following chapter looks at the ways in which challenges experienced by ECD practitioners are solutioned for.

6.6 ECD Practitioners' Solutions to Challenges Faced

Respondents mentioned various challenges related to regulatory compliance, the communities that they service and government's human and financial resources responsible for ECD provisioning in Gauteng. According to the literature on social entrepreneurship, social entrepreneurs are innovative in how they solution for challenges faced (Greblikaite, 2012; Griffiths et al., 2013; Helm & Andersson, 2010; Stecker, 2014), as seen with respondent ECD practitioners employing various means to challenges related to inconsistent and low levels of revenue.

According to the respondents, social capital is often leveraged in solutioning for challenges experienced by ECD practitioners servicing marginalised communities. According to Estrin et al., (2013) and Sahasranamam & Nandakumar (2020), social entrepreneurial activities often result in the development of social capital which communities leverage for future activities, as observed with relationships between NGOs, ECD forums and ECD practitioners in the study.

According to Sahasranamam & Nandakumar (2020), social capital is the networks formed among friends and family where support for financial and human resources can be leveraged. According to Greblikaite (2012), social and human capital are key in the social entrepreneurs ability to access financial capital. As mentioned by Atmore (2012), in his research on challenges faced by ECDs in South Africa and as mentioned by ECD practitioners interviewed for the purposes of this study, financial resources are a key challenge for ECD centres, especially those operating in impoverished communities and reliant on fees for funding. Some respondents mentioned how they at times compensated for the shortage in their revenue by asking from their spouses or parents. One respondent relied on fund raising social clubs to raise capital for the infrastructure upgrades required for her centre. The respondents also mentioned that they relied on each other as ECD practitioners to access information regarding registration as well as to teach each other on how to operate their centres. The behaviour observed in these social bricoleurs corresponds with Greblikaite (2012). According to Greblikaite (2012), social bricoleurs leverage their personal relationships with community members and stakeholders when solving for challenges related to lack of resources.

The ECD forum is another form of social capital that has been leveraged by ECD practitioners. An ECD forum is a group formed by ECD practitioners in an area. It is used as a support system for matters related to ECD centres in that area. All the ECD practitioner respondents interviewed belong to a forum in their area. These forums have been used to lobby government and municipalities and to share information and other resources. ECD practitioner respondents mentioned that through their forums, they've been able to access better information, saving them time and money to travel from one government office to the next in search of information, giving them more time to focus on management and teaching in their centres. Through the forums, they've had access to government officials that they wouldn't otherwise have had access to in their personal capacity and have learned from one another. The ECD forums have helped them access

bread and fruits from the private sector thus supporting social entrepreneurship literature that encourages governments to design policies that encompass the social entrepreneurial ecosystem (Arasti et al., 2015; Kim et al., 2014).

NGOs that are also part of the forums have leveraged their relationships with government to assist ECD centres operating in informal settlements and townships thus leveraging their political capital (Bloom & Smith, 2010). Where ECD centres have struggled, the NGOs have stepped in to assist with accessing the correct government officials and have often acted as mediators in communities as mentioned in the social entrepreneurial theory related to NGOs (Almog-Bar & Schmid, 2014; Levine Daniel & Fyall, 2019; S. R. Smith, 2010). The NGO respondents interviewed can be defined as social constructionists as they operate across multiple jurisdictions in South Africa, implementing and operating similar models across various centres to solve for persistent social issues that they have observed (B. R. Smith & Stevens, 2010; Zahra et al., 2009).

Social entrepreneurs are said to be drivers of change in the communities that they service as they attend to needs that have been neglected by the public and private sectors. The result being a transformation of the welfare of communities (Dobele & Dobele, 2011; Kadir & Sarif, 2016; Pathak & Muralidharan, 2018; Santos, 2012). According to Sivathanu & V.Bhise (2013), change agents are described as taking full responsibility to ensuring the delivery of their social missions thus relentless in pursuit of their objectives. This is evident in how the ECD practitioner respondents deal with challenges related to inadequate revenue from fees charged. To deal with challenges related to revenue, many respondents mentioned that they did not draw a salary from the centres. For them, the well-being of children and teachers' wages are more of a priority than their personal livelihoods, in line with the theory on social bricoleurs who configure the resources available to them to accommodate their needs (Di Domenico et al., 2010).

As mentioned by ETDP SETA (2014) and expert respondents, the ECD expertise in South Africa can be found in the NGO sector. According to the respondents, many government officials responsible for ECD provisioning lack the ECD knowledge and experience thus NGOs are often leveraged by governments when developing and implementing policies due to resources' challenges (Desmond et al., 2019; Levine Daniel & Fyall, 2019; Shockley & Frank, 2011; S. R. Smith, 2010; unicef, 2016). As

revealed by the respondents, NGOs have been instrumental in ECD operations, especially in disadvantaged communities. In their capacity as social enterprises, NGOs offer solutions to financial and human resources lacking in the communities they service (Almog-Bar & Schmid, 2014; Levine Daniel & Fyall, 2019; S. R. Smith, 2010). According to the respondents, NGOs have assisted ECD centres with infrastructure upgrades, nutrition for children, improvement of parent-child relationships, skills development and have acted as mediators in various communities. Some of the respondents, whilst receiving nutrition assistance from NGOs, have managed to save funds to upgrade their infrastructure, helping them towards infrastructure compliance which according to Atmore (2012) and as observed by the researcher, is a challenge for ECD centres in South Africa. According to an expert respondent, the ECD sector in South Africa has largely been built on the efforts of (social) entrepreneurs and the NGO sector. According to expert respondents, various NGOs in South Africa are accredited to qualify ECD teachers and are responsible for a considerable amount of ECD teachers' training in South Africa. NGOs have also helped many ECD centres register with DoSD thus accessing the child subsidy to assist in the provisioning of equitable ECD services to underprivileged children. NGOs have been impactful in their activities across South Africa through the use of their political capital and social capital, factors that are important to the success and scaling of social entrepreneurial activities (Bloom & Smith, 2010).

Responses to supporting research question 5 have revealed the significance of ECD forums, NGOs, family members and friends in the provisioning of ECD services. The next question asked the respondents to suggest remedies for challenges experienced by ECD practitioners servicing disadvantaged communities.

6.7 Government's Support for ECD Provisioning in Informal Settlements and Townships

The purpose of supporting research question 6 was to encourage the respondents to offer solutions to the challenges experienced by ECD practitioners operating in underprivileged communities. The respondents suggested education of communities and government officials in the field of ECD, strict regulations to govern the provision of ECD education in South Africa (like those employed in by DoBE) as well as the commitment of adequate human and financial resources by government. The ECD

practitioner respondents also suggested ECD related regulations that are accommodative of their operating environments.

As highlighted in the literature and interviews with the respondents, 5 actors were identified in the provisioning of ECD services in South Africa. These are namely government, NGOs, the private sector, ECD forums and ECD practitioners. These actors leverage various skills and expertise to deliver on the ECD policy whose objective is to provide children with access to equitable ECD education and ECD related services.

Figure 3: ECD Sector Actors

ECD Sector Actors					
Government	**Private Sector**	**NGO**	**ECD Forum**	**ECD Practitioner**	**Community**
ECD Contribution					
Legislation National and Local Governance Structures National and Local Governance Systems Human Resources Financial Resources Networks Other resources	Experience Knowledge Financial Resources Networks Other resources Skills Development Teachers' Training		Community Knowledge Community Understanding Community Relationships Community Networks		Support

Source: Researcher's Own from interviews conducted

As noted by the respondents, for the contribution factors from the five actors to be leveraged, gaps related to resources, regulations and education need to be addressed. Four methods that governments can use to support and stimulate social entrepreneurial activities were identified in the social entrepreneurship theory. These methods include the use of legal frameworks, resources' support, public-private partnerships and, public support statements and various other support mechanisms. The four methods will be discussed in relation to the challenges expressed by respondents and the literature on social entrepreneurship.

6.7.1 Legal Frameworks

According to the ECD practitioner respondents, the ECD regulations fail to take into cognisance their operating environment. As a result, ECD practitioners are finding it challenging to comply with the ECD registration criteria thus denied an opportunity to access DoSD's subsidy. The respondents asserted that the regulations served to stifle them and not support their objectives. In their opinion, the regulations and government officials tasked with implementing policy were more concerned with compliance than with offering support to their efforts. According to the respondents, regulations that service the context of operations would assist ECD centres operate better. This is in line with the literature on social entrepreneurship that states that the role of government is to create an environment that enables and is supportive of efforts to service neglected needs of communities and societies (Santos, 2012). Governments use policies to promote and support various activities in the market (Department of Social Development, 2015; Jenkins, 2014). For the policies to be effective, they must be direct and deliberate in what it is that they want to achieve yet broad enough not to be stifling (Arasti et al., 2015; Garrigós Simón et al., 2017; Kim et al., 2014; Sabato et al., 2017), thus concurring with the respondents.

According to an expert respondent and also as confirmed by the interviews conducted for the purposes of this study, the ECD sector in South Africa is built on the efforts of the NGOs and community members that recognised a need in their communities and took the opportunity to service the need. The ECD practitioner respondents also told of how they started with very little resources, many from shacks and government supplied homes and relied on the goodwill of family and friends to make their centres operational. The respondents thus want the efforts of ECD practitioners, as social entrepreneurs, to be recognised and legitimised and want ECD practitioners to be provided the necessary support as social entrepreneurs solving for various socio-economic challenges in their communities. As per the literature in social entrepreneurship, legitimacy offers credibility in the market and an opportunity to access resources (Angelica, 2019; Hervieux et al., 2010; Zahra et al., 2009).

According to the literature on social entrepreneurship, legitimacy is an issue that challenges the social entrepreneurial sector as many do not understand how it functions(Angelica, 2019; Hervieux et al., 2010; Zahra et al., 2009). Triponel and

Agapitova (2017) and Yu (2011) posit that social entrepreneurial activities can be legitimised using social entrepreneurship specific legal frameworks. The social entrepreneurial focused legal framework can assist in recognising and legitimising the activities and objectives of the social entrepreneurial sector, distinguishing it from NPO and NGO activities (Coetzee, n.d.; Triponel & Agapitova, 2017; Yu, 2011). This would provide the sector the ability to access various financial and human resources, making ECD centres financially viable and sustainable (Angelica, 2019; Zahra et al., 2009). The effectiveness of the legal framework is however dependent on how well it understands and addresses the challenges faced by social entrepreneurs and how well is supports the objectives of social entrepreneurs, given their context of operations (Triponel & Agapitova, 2017). Thus, legal frameworks can provide ECD practitioner respondents legitimacy in their profession, increasing their chances of accessing resources and adequately pricing for their services, improving the financial viability of their ECD centres.

The structure of government's legal, executive and judicial institutions plays a significant role in the delivery of policy objectives (Shockley & Frank, 2011). Accordingly, the resources provided to the government structures tasked with delivering policy objectives are also key in the implementation of policies (Shockley & Frank, 2011). As mentioned by the respondents, enforcement of regulations pertaining to ECD centres is lacking in the ECD sector as can be seen in the mushrooming of unregistered centres (Department of Social Development, 2014). According to the respondents, the mushrooming of unsafe ECD centres can be stopped through strict governance and monitoring of the ECD sector by government. This would include utilising systems similar to or available to DoBE where there are strict processes and rules to be followed towards opening and operating a school, giving DoBE the right to close any schools that do not follow the rules and guidelines as prescribed by DoBE (Mokoena, 2015).

The respondents also suggested leveraging DoBE's system with regards to governance and the delivery of ECD education. According to Atmore (2012), the governance and quality of reporting found in government operated ECD centres that form part of the public schooling system were better than those found in privately operated ECD centres. This is due to the support offered by government to schools in the form of infrastructure and human and financial resources (Mokoena, 2015).The ECD practitioner respondents want clear curriculums to be set for ECD, in line with those in DoBE. They want to be

instructed on the delivery of the curriculums as many that operate ECD centres do not have experience with delivering curriculums and at present, a set curriculum for ECD education does not exist, only a framework does (Ebrahim & Irvine, 2015).

The researcher noticed minimal participation of the private sector in areas that interviews were conducted. This could be related to legitimacy however only 45% of the centres included in the sample were not registered with DoSD at the time of the interviews. As mentioned, legitimacy can be solved through social entrepreneurship and operating environment specific legal frameworks. As mentioned by Kim et al., (2014) and Stecker (2014), designs of social entrepreneurship specific policies should encompass the entire social entrepreneurial ecosystem to leverage resources available in other actors of the social entrepreneurial network and to ensure sustainability of social enterprises. Private organisations are governed by their own structures and norms, much like communities thus government should make an effort to accommodate these structures and norms to encourage them to participate in the social entrepreneurial sector (Kim et al., 2014; Ratten & Welpe, 2011; Seelos et al., 2011).

6.7.2 Resources Support

The respondents highlighted an issue of financial and human resources in relation to ECD centres servicing disadvantaged communities. According to the respondents and Atmore (2012), challenges related to financial and human resources were especially responsible for the centres inability to meet the DoSD's registration criteria thus preventing them from accessing DoSD's subsidy and other government financial support programmes. In drafting policies for social entrepreneurial activities, governments are encouraged to take into consideration the operating context of the social entrepreneurs (Arasti et al., 2015; Stephan et al., 2015). This includes ensuring that the social entrepreneurs have the skills, knowledge and support to realise and sustain their objectives (Arasti et al., 2015; Kim et al., 2014).

In environments where resources are scarce, resources support and active participation by government is paramount to the success of social entrepreneurial activities (Stephan et al., 2015; Terjesen et al., 2016).As per Greblikaite (2012), the success of social entrepreneurs is dependent on social capital, human capital and financial capital. As per the ECD practitioner respondents, gaps exist in the financial and human capital areas of

the success model from both an ECD practitioner view and a government view. Government should make better efforts to assist the centres or provide legitimacy to the sector such that other players can fill the gaps. It can start by understanding the actual cost of provisioning equitable ECD services, as per Desmond et al., (2019) and unicef (2016), and then ensuring that adequate resources are committed to the ECD cause through subsidies or grants. Where resources are constrained as per the literature on social entrepreneurship, government must create an environment for other actors to participate in the provisioning of ECD related services (Santos, 2012).

As highlighted by the respondents, government departments responsible for ECD provisioning in South Africa lack the ECD related expertise and experience. According to the respondents, there's a need for ECD related education and information sharing in government. The respondents highlighted challenges related to inadequately experienced and informed staff in relation to the subject and value of ECD and the objectives of the ECD policy. These challenges have made the ECD practitioner respondents' journey towards compliance complicated and strenuous. According to Shockley & Frank (2011), the realisation of the objectives of policies is dependent on financial and human resources support provided to government departments responsible for the implementation of policies. Governments with access to resources are better equipped to deliver on the objectives of policies (Shockley & Frank, 2011). Government should thus adequately skill their staff and capacitate ECD specific roles with knowledgeable and experienced staff. If government is unable to adequately resource its staff, through legislation, it can create an environment for other actors to participate in the ECD sector, in line with the literature on legitimacy in social entrepreneurship (Santos, 2012). It can achieve this by creating policies that take into consideration the ECD social entrepreneurial ecosystem in South Africa (Kim et al., 2014).

In relation to moving ECD to DoBE, some respondents were sceptical of this suggestion as in their opinion, it had the potential to undermine the efforts of ECD practitioners in disadvantaged communities and to further strain resources already strained in DoBE. The actions of ECD practitioners in disadvantaged communities have resulted in employment opportunities for those previously marginalised, in line with the theory on social entrepreneurship that social entrepreneurial activities can service and employ those previously marginalised (Santos, 2012; Warnecke, 2018). The ECD practitioner

respondents rather wanted DoSD to be capacitated with resources like DoBE thus providing DoSD with the resources to skill and empower ECD practitioners to carry out their duties with professionalism. This is in support of Rolnick & Grunewald (2003) and Yelland (2010) that suggest that financial vulnerabilities of ECD centres that are faced with financial resources' challenges can be removed by incorporating ECD provisioning into the national budget. This however should not be achieved at the cost of quality of service provisioned (Desmond et al., 2019; Jenkins, 2014).

6.7.3 Private-Public Partnerships

The respondents also highlighted the active role of ECD forums in the operations of ECD centres. In the absence of government support, the ECD forums have assisted ECD practitioners access information and resources, saving them travel money and time to government offices, allowing them to focus on managing and operating their centres. The ECD forums consist of ECD practitioners that have emerged from the communities they service and are well versed in the challenges and needs of their communities. This is in line with the theory on social entrepreneurship that states that social entrepreneurs are often better equipped to provision for the neglected needs of societies as they are intricately involved in the needs and challenges of the communities they are servicing (Dobele & Dobele, 2011; Hervieux & Voltan, 2018; Marshall, 2011; Zahra et al., 2009) thus government should leverage their expertise to assist in provisioning ECD services.

As governments have limited resources Kim et al., (2014), Santos (2012) and Stecker (2014) encourage partnerships within the social entrepreneurial ecosystem to leverage the different expertise and resources available in the ecosystem. They also encourage government policies to acknowledge and leverage the actors and the roles that the actors play in the social entrepreneurial ecosystem as according to (Santos, 2012) and (Zahra et al., 2009), there is very little understanding about the activities, value and objectives of social entrepreneurial activities in the world thus collaborations can result in education and leveraging of expertise. As mentioned by ETDP SETA (2014) and the respondents, the NGO sector in South Africa possesses the experience and knowledge in ECD education and plays a significant role in the provisioning of ECD services. Through NGOs, ECD practitioners and forums have developed skills and accessed financial and human resources to assist in the registration of ECD centres. The literature on social entrepreneurship encourages government to leverage its vast network across

national and local government to connect social entrepreneurial actors and to expose social entrepreneurs to various government resources and expertise that may be of use to the social entrepreneurial actors (Bozhikin et al., 2019; Shockley & Frank, 2011). Furthermore, governments should encourage mentorship and networking opportunities to share ideas and resources among social entrepreneurial actors in the ecosystem, with a focus to equip the social entrepreneur with the skills and resources to build a sustainable business (Arasti et al., 2015; Garrigós Simón et al., 2017; Sabato et al., 2017).

6.7.4 Public Statements and Other Supporting Mechanisms

According to the literature on social entrepreneurship, public statements of support and media campaigns pledging support to a cause are effective methods that government can use to stimulate and support social entrepreneurial activity (Bozhikin et al., 2019). An expert respondent called for support from the President of the country in proclaiming the importance of ECD and providing it with the necessary resources at a national and ringfenced level. In his 2019 State of the Nation Address, the President of South Africa talked about the importance of ECD and talked about moving ECD services to DoBE. These messages do not seem to have reached the ears of parents in informal settlements and townships, as expressed by the respondents. This could be the result of the announcement being made at SONA which is presented in English. Most inhabitants of townships and informal settlements are black and don't have English as their first language. Therefore, target market specific messaging should be developed.

According to the respondents, parents being serviced by ECD centres in disadvantaged communities lacked education on the purpose and value of ECD. This, coupled with mushrooming ECD centres that charge even lower fees to those mentioned by the ECD practitioner respondents, had resulted in parents setting a very low price for ECD related services. Parents were more concerned with securing as a low a fee as possible for the ECD services provisioned and were treating ECD centres like nanny facilities. Respondents called for government to assist in the education of communities on the value and importance of ECD education as according to them, the low fees and inconsistent payments could partly be attributed to an uninformed community. Government can leverage its networks and resources to educate communities on the

importance of ECD and enforce ECD regulations to curb the mushrooming of unsafe centres (Bozhikin et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2014; Shockley & Frank, 2011).

6.8 Conclusion

As highlighted in the text, the ECD space in South Africa is predominantly serviced by ECD practitioners, largely with the assistance of NGOs and ECD forums. The respondents interviewed for the study highlighted a few challenges related to operating ECD centres in informal settlements and townships. The challenges expressed were mainly in the form of inadequate human and financial resources and regulations that failed to recognise the operating environment of the ECD practitioners. The literature on social entrepreneurship is comprehensive in addressing issues related to these challenges.

The discussions in this chapter further highlighted the importance of ECD subject matter education from a community's perspective and, enforcement of ECD regulations to curb the mushrooming of ECD centres that engage in unsafe and ECD value eroding practices. As revealed in the study, a community's lack of education in ECD, low barriers to entry in the ECD provisioning sector and lack of enforcement of ECD regulations have an impact on the price that community members are willing to pay for ECD related services. A gap exists in the social entrepreneurship literature with respect to the impact of a lack of subject matter education and low barriers to entry on the operations of social entrepreneurial activities.

The contribution to theory is that success of social entrepreneurial activities is impacted by the subject matter education of communities being serviced and low barriers to entry. Thus, subject matter education together with coercive isomorphism and memetic isomorphism have an impact on the price set by parents on ECD services, impacting the revenue generating ability of the social entrepreneurs operating in informal settlements and townships. In supporting social entrepreneurial activities in disadvantaged communities, ECD subject matter education of communities and enforcement of ECD regulations are key. As per Stephan et al., (2015), in areas where resources are scarce, government's participation is key in supporting the social entrepreneurial sector. Thus, government can leverage networks and regulatory mechanisms to educate communities

on the importance of ECD in building prosperous societies and enforcing ECD regulations. Platforms used to educate communities on ECD must also be relevant to the target audience. Further studies however need to be considered to explore the subject further. The next chapter will conclude the findings of the study and recommend areas for further research.

7 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to understand how government can leverage policy and regulation in the provisioning of equitable ECD services in South Africa. The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the main discoveries of the study whilst taking into cognisance the limitations of the study. This chapter will further discuss the implications for management and put forward suggestions for future research.

7.2 Principal Findings

The study was centred around ECD centres operating in informal settlements and townships thus servicing communities with very little resources. The participants of the study included practitioners and experts with various experiences in the field of ECD. Through understanding the operating context of the ECD practitioners, the researcher was able to understand the role that government can play in the provisioning of equitable ECD services in disadvantaged communities. The principal findings of the study are presented below, guided by the supporting research questions detailed in Chapter 3.

Main Research Question: How can government's policy and regulations assist ECD centres in provisioning ECD related services in informal settlements and townships?

Supporting Research Question 1: How and why was the ECD started?

ECD centres are generally started in communities by community members that notice a need to provide children with access to ECD services. As residents of townships and informal settlements are challenged by various socio-economic issues, many have very little resources available to them. ECD centres are often started from residential yards of ECD practitioners to leverage available resources. The ECD operations are generally started from shacks or government supplied homes of ECD practitioners. Resources are also sought from friends and family to compensate for the shortfall in resources.

Supporting Research Question 2: What are the challenges faced by the ECD practitioners in their communities?

The communities in informal settlements and townships are challenged with socio-economic issues such as unemployment, poverty and crime. Townships and informal settlements act as reception areas for migrants in search of economic opportunities in urban areas. These migrants are generally unable to afford formal housing structures and thus informal settlements and townships offer low cost accommodation opportunities. The result is overcrowded areas occupied by people with low skills and low levels of education, challenged by poverty and unemployment, with some dependent to the state's social security system. Those that are employed generally earn low incomes. The impact on the ECD practitioners is the inability to charge fees that adequately compensate them for the services that they render. As many ECD centres in South Africa are dependent on fees for income, the result of this landscape is a low-price set by the community as a result of affordability, a lack of understanding of the value of ECD and the mushrooming of opportunistic ECD centres. Other challenges related to fees include an inconsistent payment of fees and a non-payment of fees by parents and caregivers, also owing to socio-economic challenges.

Supporting Research Question 3: How are ECD practitioners impacted by the challenges faced in the communities they operate in?

As the communities that the ECD practitioners service are challenged by unemployment, low levels of income and low levels of education, the ECD practitioners find it challenging to source and retain qualified teachers for their ECD centres. Further to challenges related to low levels of income, inconsistent payment of fees and non-payment of fees, ECD practitioners are finding it challenging to cover costs related to the operations of the centre and are thus unable to adequately compensate teachers for their efforts. Under these circumstances, ECD practitioners find it challenging to provision adequate ECD services to the children.

Supporting Research Question 4: How have ECD practitioners been impacted by government policy and regulation on ECD centres?

Registration of ECD centres with DoSD is a requirement guided by strict rules and guidelines that are enforceable by the provincial and local departments of DoSD, DoBE

and DoH. In their quest to comply with DoSD's registration criteria, the ECD practitioners have experienced challenges with respect to government officials and the ECD regulations, making the registration journey cumbersome and difficult.

In their attempts to achieve compliance with DoSD, the ECD practitioners are faced with 1) inconsistent applications of policy and regulations across the different departments, 2) inadequately informed, ineffective and unhelpful government officials and 3) the application of ECD regulations that fail to take into consideration the operating context of the practitioners. Aspects of the registration criteria of ECDs are regarded as 1) unaffordable owing to resources' challenges, 2) unattainable owing to the nature of the operating environment or 3) irrelevant to centres operating in informal settlements and townships. The result of this is ECD practitioners being unable to comply with the ECD regulations thus unable to register with DoSD. In an environment challenged by the inability to cover operating expenses and adequately compensate teachers for their efforts due to fee challenges, the inability to register with DoSD deprives ECD practitioners the opportunity to access DoSD funding and other forms of government funding that can assist in the operational expenses of centres servicing children in disadvantaged communities. This further denies children an opportunity to be provisioned equitable ECD services, negatively impacting the current and future learning prospects of children and ultimately the quality of human capital produced in the country.

Supporting Research Question 5: How do ECD practitioners circumvent challenges related to regulatory compliance, and the communities?

ECD practitioners servicing disadvantaged communities have had to employ innovative methods to deal with the various challenges experienced. ECD forums, relationships with family and friends and NGOs are often leveraged in the provisioning of ECD services to children and communities.

ECD forums have served as hubs for resources, lobbying, networking and mentoring hubs. These ECD forums have enabled access to resources and have given ECD practitioners an opportunity to have their voices heard by peers, community members and government officials. Relationships with family and friends are also leveraged for resources to assist in the operations of the ECD centres. To further compensate for budgetary challenges, ECD practitioners forgo basic salaries, giving priority to expenses critical to the provisioning of services to children.

NGOs have played and continue to play a critical role in the ECD sector in South Africa. In their role as social enterprises, NGOs have extended resources and expertise to ECD centres in the form of skills development, infrastructure upgrades and teachers' training thus assisting ECD centres along their registration path. Active participation in the ECD sector by NGOs has resulted in the successful registration of many ECD centres, giving the centres an opportunity to access DoSD's funding and other government and donor funds. NGOs have acted as mediators between government and ECD practitioners and between members of communities. They've also acted as industry connectors and community builders.

Supporting Research Question 6: How can the government support ECD practitioners in the provisioning of ECD services?

The study revealed that at the heart of the ECD sector in South Africa is community members practising as ECD principals, largely supported by ECD forums in their communities and NGOs. For ECD practitioners, ECD forums and NGOs to be effective in the delivery of quality ECD services to their communities, they require a community that is educated on the value of ECD, legislation that recognises and is supportive of their efforts, given the context of their operations, and adequate human and financial resources support from government.

The results of the study also concluded that the low-price set for ECD services in the community is the result of a lack of resources and a lack of education on the importance and value of ECD provisioning. Furthermore, government officials were more concerned with enforcement of regulations pertaining to ECD centres, missing an opportunity to provide proper guidance and support thus setting ECD practitioners up for registration failure. The study also revealed that 1) the financial resources committed by government fell very short of the cost of equitable ECD provisioning in disadvantaged communities, 2) ECD related regulations failed to take into consideration the operating context of the ECD practitioners, 3) legislation had failed to recognise the efforts of ECD practitioners in solutioning for some of the socio-economic challenges experienced in communities, 4) legislation had failed to recognise the value add of the ECD practitioners and, 5) the lack of experience and expertise in ECD, in the departments tasked with the responsibility of ensuring access to ECD services, hampered the effective implementation of the country's policy on ECD.

According to the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, the role of government is to create an enabling environment for different types of business activities to thrive. The literature on government's role in social entrepreneurship emphasised the importance of broadly taking into consideration the operational context of social entrepreneurs when looking to stimulate and support social entrepreneurial activity. The researcher's contribution to the literature on social entrepreneurship is that regulation is a constraint for social entrepreneurial activities, as seen with the inclusion of a regulatory constraint to three other constrains contributed by Angelica (2019).

The literature review also revealed a social entrepreneurial network with various actors and regulatory levers that can be leveraged for stimulation and support of the social entrepreneurial sector. The literature further encouraged partnerships among actors in the social entrepreneurial network and emphasised the importance of human capital, financial capital and social capital in the success of social entrepreneurial activities. The literature on social entrepreneurship is however thin on how educating communities on the importance and value of a subject matter, in this case ECD, can be leveraged to stimulate and support social entrepreneurial activity by government.

As stated earlier, at the heart of the ECD sector is community members supported by NGOs. The government can support ECD practitioners by educating the community and nation on the importance of ECD and drafting legislation that is operating context and social entrepreneurship specific. Government can also make an effort to 1) capacitate their human resources with adequate ECD and ECD policy knowledge, 2) formally recognise, support and leverage the efforts, relationships and expertise of ECD practitioners, ECD forums, NGOs and other stakeholders, 3) put in place institutional structures and systems to legitimise and support ECD provisioning in South Africa, especially actors at the heart of ECD provisioning and 4) provide impactful financial resources to the provisioning of ECD.

7.3 Implications for Management and Other Relevant Stakeholders

The results of the interviews have various implications for management and other stakeholders.

The importance of ECD as being key in the prosperity of society must be acknowledged and emphasised in the country. The study has revealed that regulation is another constraint to the social entrepreneurship sector. Therefore, social entrepreneurship sector specific regulations and operating context specific regulations are paramount in legitimising the sector and efforts of ECD practitioners across the country. Understanding of the various operating environments of ECD practitioners is key when drafting regulations for implementation of policies related to ECD. Communities are vast and are challenged by different factors. Understanding these various challenges and drafting legislation and operating models that are accommodative of the challenges will guide and assist ECD practitioners in delivering their services better. The government can use its networks, structures and platforms to implement and enforce social entrepreneurship sector appropriate and operating environment specific regulations.

Secondly, the study also revealed that very little is understood and appreciated about the role of ECD in society and by those responsible for implementing the national policy on ECD in South Africa. Thus, the education and awareness of ECD education across communities and private and public sector participants is important in the provisioning of ECD services. Education and awareness can help society make appropriate and informed decisions with respect to ECD and encourage society to rally behind the ECD cause. The government can use its networks, structures and platforms to educate communities and the nation on the importance of ECD as seen with Chile's ECD program JUNJI, specifically aimed at provisioning ECD services to children from disadvantaged communities (Vargas-Barón, 2009). JUNJI is Chile's public sector administered ECD program. JUNJI not only focuses on provisioning services to children but also focuses on educating and supporting parents on the importance of ECD. JUNJI has been given power through its own law, is integrated into government plans, policies and processes and forms part of Chile's constitution. This program has been instrumental in improving the learning abilities of at-risk children in Chile.

Thirdly, the role of ECD practitioners in disadvantaged communities is grossly undermined and strides to recognise, promote, support and incentivise the efforts and contribution to society of ECD practitioners must be made. The ECD sector has the potential to solve for unemployment challenges in communities if legitimised through the drafting and enforcement of operating context specific legal frameworks.

Finally, as there are varying levels of resources and education amongst ECD practitioners, ECD forums, alongside NGOs, have proven to play an important role in disseminating information, connecting ECD participants with each other and offering resources and moral support in the provisioning of ECD services. ECD forums can be leveraged by the government for knowledge and relationships in the community, acting as a point of stakeholder management and ECD policy implementation in communities, as is currently done in the Western Cape.

7.4 Limitations of the Research

Limitations to the study are outlined as follows:

Sample Size

In qualitative research, the sample size is generally small and raises questions with respect to adequacy. 15 respondents were interviewed through 14 interviews. The sample size was deemed adequate as the minimum size for a qualitative study is 12 and information saturation had been reached at the sample of 15.

Subjectivity and Interview bias

Qualitative study is often criticised for its highly subjective and interpretive nature. As the researcher is a novice researcher, efforts to extract enough meaningful information from the respondents may have yielded partial results. Efforts to correct for this were however taken through the length of the conversations, in ensuring that the respondents had the time to express themselves fully and comfortably and that the researcher was provided an opportunity to seek clarity were confusion was of concern.

The interviews were conducted in Nguni and Sotho languages. Effort was made to ensure correct understanding and translation of the language and words used however some words may have been lost in translation as qualitative research is considered highly subjective.

The interviews did not include respondents from government as such, a biased view may have been presented.

Generalisation

The purpose of qualitative research is to understand a phenomenon observed in a specific context thus results from a specific phenomenon in a specific context cannot be used to generalise across other contexts.

7.5 Suggestions for Future Research

Suggestions for future research are as follows:

The importance of ECD forums in connecting ECD practitioners to other stakeholders was highlighted. It is suggested that future research explore the role that ECD forums play and can play in the provisioning of ECD services.

As the study was restricted to informal settlements and townships in Gauteng, a second suggestion is to interview practitioners located in other townships and informal settlements in South Africa with different characteristics.

The third suggestion is to interview ECD practitioners not operating as NPOs and not reliant on government's subsidy for survival. These practitioners would generally be in sub-urban areas and may have higher levels of education than those operating in informal settlements and townships thus responses may be different as communities they are servicing are different. The support required for ECD provisioning may be different.

As the study did not include respondents from government departments, a fourth suggestion is to replicate the study inclusive of government officials key in the implementation of the national ECD policy in Gauteng.

Finally, as mentioned in the literature, the context of operations plays an important role in social entrepreneurship. According to Bozhikin et al., (2019) and Littlewood & Holt (2018), there is very little research on social entrepreneurship and the influence of the context of its operations. The study revealed that the low-price set by community members was a function of the absence of ECD education and appreciation and, a lack of enforcement of ECD regulations that has resulted in the mushrooming of ECD centres

that compete on price. It is suggested that future research be conducted on the impact of uninformed communities and low barriers to entry on the activities of the social entrepreneurial sector. Research can also look at how governments can leverage subject matter education to local communities and the enforcement of regulations to support social entrepreneurial activities.

7.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to present the findings of the study, discuss the implications for management and stakeholders, highlight the limitations related to the study and present suggestions for further research.

ECD is critical in ensuring a prosperous future for communities and societies. Community members and NGOs have proven to be significant players in the provisioning of ECD related services in South Africa. It is thus important that government creates an environment that enables and supports those that have taken the initiative to provide ECD related services. ECD is the foundation of human capital development and efforts should be made by all to support providers and receivers of ECD related services.

The study hopes to contribute towards improving the provision of ECD services in informal settlements and townships. The study further hopes to contribute to the literature on challenges facing ECD centres in informal settlements and townships, the literature on how governments can use policy and regulation to stimulate and support social entrepreneurship efforts and the literature on the influence of operating environments on social entrepreneurial activities.

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9 APPENDIXES

9.1 Typology of Social Entrepreneurs

Source: Zahra et al. (2009 , p. 523)

Type	Social Bricoleur	Social Constructionist	Social Engineer
Theoretical Inspiration	Hayek	Kirzner	Schumpeter
What do they do?	Perceive and act upon opportunities to address local, social needs they are motivated and have the expertise and resources to address.	Build and operate alternative structures to provide goods and services addressing social needs that governments, agencies, and businesses cannot.	Creation of newer, more effective social systems designed to replace existing ones when they are ill-suited to address significant social needs.
Scale, scope and timing	Small scale, local in scope—often episodic in nature.	Small to large scale, local to international in scope, designed to be institutionalized to address an ongoing social need.	Very large scale that is national to international in scope and which seeks to build lasting structures that will challenge existing order.
Why they are necessary?	Knowledge about social needs and the abilities to address them are widely scattered. Many social needs are non-discernible or easily misunderstood from afar, requiring local agents to detect and address them.	Laws, regulation, political acceptability, inefficiencies and/or lack of will prevent existing governmental and business organizations from addressing many important social needs effectively.	Some social needs are not amenable to amelioration within existing social structures. Entrenched incumbents can thwart actions to address social needs that undermine their own interests and source of power.

Social Significance	Collectively, their actions help maintain social harmony in the face of social problems	They mend the social fabric where it is torn, address acute social needs within existing broader social structures, and help maintain social harmony.	They seek to rip apart existing social structures and replace them with new ones. They represent an important force for social change in the face of entrenched incumbents.
Effect on Social Equilibrium	Atomistic actions by local social entrepreneurs move us closer to a theoretical "social equilibrium."	Addressing gaps in the provision of socially significant goods and service creates new "social equilibriums."	Fractures existing social equilibrium and seeks to replace it with a more socially efficient one
Source of Discretion	Being on the spot with the skills to address local problems not on others' "radars." Local scope means they have limited resource requirements and are fairly autonomous. Small scale and local scope allow for quick response times.	They address needs left un- addressed and have limited/no competition. They may even be welcomed and be seen as a "release valve" preventing negative publicity/social problems that may adversely affect existing governmental and business organizations.	Popular support to the extent that existing social structures and incumbents are incapable of addressing important social needs.
Limits to Discretion	Not much aside from local laws and	Need to acquire financial and human	Seen as fundamentally illegitimate by

	regulations. However, the limited resources and expertise they possess limit their ability to address other needs or expand geographically.	resources necessary to fulfil mission and institutionalize as a going concern. Funder demands oversight. Professional volunteers and employees are needed to operate organization.	established parties that see them as a threat, which brings scrutiny and attempts to undermine the ability of the social engineers to bring about change. The perceived illegitimacy will inhibit the ability to raise financial and human resources from traditional sources. As a consequence, they may become captive of the parties that supply it with needed resources.

9.2 Communication Requesting Participation in an interview

Good day

My name is Boitumelo Thoka and I'm a student at the Gordon Institute of Business Science (GIBS). I'm currently busy with research related to various challenges that ECD centres, especially those located in townships and informal settlements, are faced with.

I have heard and read about the amazing work your organisation is involved with at xxx. I'm interested in interviewing Mr. xxx for my paper as I believe that his experience with the centre and especially in xxx, will add valuable contribution to my paper. I have however tried, without success, to obtain his contact details.

If it is possible, would you kindly communicate my wish to interview him and forward my contact details to him? I'd really appreciate it.

Thanks, and Regards
Boitumelo Thoka
0823746310

9.3 Consent Form

I am currently a student at the University of Pretoria's Gordon Institute of Business Science and completing my research in partial fulfilment of an MBA.

I am conducting research on how policy and regulation plays a role in enabling the success of owner managed under-resourced early childhood development (ECD) centres in townships and informal settlements. The objective of the study is to understand how current policy and regulation is impacting the operations of ECD centres. Our interview is expected to last no more than sixty minutes. Your participation is voluntary, and you can withdraw at any time without penalty. Your confidentiality will be ensured through identifiers, reporting data without identifiers and reporting data in aggregated format. If you have any concerns, please contact my supervisor or me. Our details are provided below.

Researcher:	Research Supervisor:
Moeagabo Boitumelo Thoka	Prof.Caren Scheepers
22185560@mygibs.co.za	scheepersc@gibs.co.za
+27823746310	+27 82 922 7072

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date

9.4 Interview Schedule

9.4.1 How and why was the ECD started?

Why, when and how was the ECD started?

9.4.2 What are the challenges faced by the ECD practitioners in their communities?

How do people in the community earn a living?
How much and how do entrepreneurs charge for their services in the community?
How do parents make payment?

9.4.3 How are ECD practitioners impacted by the challenges faced in the communities they operate in?

What are the day to day challenges faced by ECD owners and practitioners?
How do ECD centres operate with the little resources that they have?
What would it take to comply with the DoSD's list of requirements for registration?
What type of support are you receiving from government to deal with internal management and operational issues?
Do they make it on time and if not, what are the reasons for delayed or non-payment?

9.4.4 How have ECD practitioners been impacted by government policy and regulation on ECD centres?

Are you aware of policy/legislation related to the provisioning of ECD services?
Is your ECD centre registered?
What are the challenges faced with regards to compliance?

9.4.5 How do ECD practitioners circumvent challenges related to regulatory compliance, and the communities?

What type of support has government offered in terms to help with compliance?
Is the support enough?

How have some ECD centres managed to comply with DoSD's criteria?
How do practitioners make ends balance the books?
Is government currently doing enough to support ECD provisioning?

9.4.6 How can government support ECD practitioners in the provisioning of ECD services?

What type of skills training do social entrepreneurs in these communities require from government?
What networks do the entrepreneurs have in their communities?
What type of support is required from government to help the centres become viable?

9.5 Guidelines for Thematic Analysis

Source : Bryman et al., (2014)

Process	Criteria
Transcription	1. The data have been transcribed to an appropriate level of detail, and the transcripts have been checked against the tapes for "accuracy".
Coding	2. Each data item has been given equal attention in the coding process. 3. Themes have not been generated from a few vivid examples (an anecdotal approach), but instead the coding process has been thorough, inclusive and comprehensive. 4. All relevant extracts for each theme have been collated. 5. Themes have been checked against each other and back to the original data set. 6. Themes are internally coherent, consistent and distinctive.
Analysis	7. Data have been analysed – interpreted, made sense of – rather than just paraphrased or described. 8. Analysis and data match each other – the extracts illustrate the analytic claims. 9. Analysis tells a convincing and well-organized story about the data and topic. 10. A good balance between analytic narrative and illustrative extracts is provided.
Overall	11. Enough time has been allocated to complete all phases of the analysis adequately, without rushing a phase or giving it a once-over-lightly.
Written report	12. The assumptions about, and specific approach to, thematic analysis are clearly explicated.

	13. There is a good fit between what you claim you do, and what you show you have done – i.e., described method and reported analysis are consistent. 14. The language and concepts used in the report are consistent with the epistemological position of the analysis. 15. The researcher is positioned as active in the research process; themes do not just 'emerge'.

9.6 Non-Disclosure Agreement for Transcription and Translation Services

You have been hired to transcribe and translate for Moeagabo Boitumelo Dipuo Thoka, on the research project Policy and Regulation as an Enabler for Under-Resourced Early Childhood Development Centres in Townships and Informal Settlements.

The ethical guidelines of this study require that you read and sign this form, signifying that you are willing to enter into a confidentiality agreement with respect to the data collected in this study.

The audio recordings you will receive will likely contain identifying markers of the respondents as well as names of third parties (for instance colleagues, family members and/or acquaintances of participants). In order to protect confidentiality, you are to remove all identifiers of third parties and of respondents. You will ensure that all records, transcripts and recordings are always kept confidential (i.e., materials are never left unattended and are secured when not being used). By signing below, you agree not to reveal any information about what is contained on the audio recordings or in the written transcripts. Furthermore, you agree not to discuss anything regarding the respondents, or the data collected in this study with anyone other than Moeagabo Boitumelo Dipuo Thoka.

By signing this document, you are indicating that you have read and understood the above agreement and that you will follow all the specified conditions.

Full Names: _____
Contact Telephone: _____
Contact E-mail: _____
Signature: _____
Date: _____

Adapted from Memorial University (n.d.)