MIDDLE-CLASS SCHOOL CHOICE: A CASE STUDY OF SELECTED PRIVATE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS, JOHANNESBURG

by

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ABSTRACT

Tracking the size and shape of the black middle class post the advent of democracy in 1994 is essential to determine if South Africa is becoming a more racially equal society. In this regard, exploring access to quality education is important. As is well known, apartheid education was sub-standard for people of colour, so improving quality was the goal for which the post-apartheid government needed to strive. However, even if every child in every former white school is a person of colour, there would be many unaccommodated learners due to increased population growth. Thus, demand for basic education in South Africa outstrips supply. Additionally, quality education has been commodified: only available to those who can pay for it.

School choice in South Africa has accorded the majority of middle-class black African parents an exit option away from historically black African schools. Consequently, tracking enrolments in former white schools by race will, essentially (with some exceptions), be tracking the black middle class' access to quality basic education. This study therefore examined parental school choice with respect to selected private Catholic schools in Johannesburg. The study was based on interviews with parents, learners, educators and school management of these schools.

The study reveals an emerging trend of the flight from traditionally black African schools to private education by the black African middle class. This study thus sets out to engage with that segment of the black middle class who have used the right of school choice to enrol their children in private Catholic schools.

The study reveals that educators interviewed felt that religion and ethos attracted parents to Catholic schools, whereas parents focused strongly on academic quality. Interesting too, are the skewed language and geographical profiles of the learners. The geographical profile, in particular, highlights just how important commuting is in terms of accessing quality education. However, the commute presents additional challenges. By capturing the voices of educators and learners the study found unreported personal safety and bullying issues linked to the school commute. Educators drew a direct link between discipline and the commute and learners raised issues of the early rise related to commuting and the safety of commuting, school management did not think that discipline issues related to the commute nor did parents report commuting safety as an issue for learners. Thus, while black middle-class learners can access quality education, it comes at significant financial and personal costs as cited above. Accordingly, and in the long term, the root causes of the commute and commodification of education must be addressed if access to quality education in South Africa

is to be achieved. This study thus sets out to engage with that segment of the black middle class who have used the right of school choice to enrol their children in private Catholic schools.

Key words: Exit; school choice; school commute; private schooling; black African middle-class

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
COVID 19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
EFA	Education for All
GDE	Gauteng Department of Education
GEPF	Government Employee Pension Fund
GHS	General Household Survey
ISASA	Independent Schools Association of South Africa
LMS	Living Standards Measure
NICD	National Institute of Communicable Diseases
SABC	South African Broadcasting Service
SES	Social Economic Status
SD	Standard Deviation Analysis
SGB	School Governing Body
SASA	South African Schools Act, No. 84 of 1996
NEPA	National Education Policy Act, No. 27 of 1996
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
WASPS	A child with Northern European – especially British – ancestry and of a Protestant background
WRSETA	Wholesale and Retail Sector Education and Training Authority

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1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

There is a special emphasis, in South Africa, on the rise of the black middle class since the advent of democracy in 1994. This is, in part, because the growth of the black middle class is a sign of progress that democratic South Africa is making towards achieving a racially equal society. Crankshaw (2022), for example, argues that black upward mobility, or middle-class growth, boosted racial residential desegregation of formerly whites-only neighbourhoods. Furthermore, there are other indicators used to track racial equality post-1994, such as earnings and the racial composition of occupations. It is, therefore, argued that the growth of black representation in professions and the public service are linked to improved living standards and wealth accumulation, such as property ownership (Southall, 2016).

Legislation post-1994 enabled the African National Congress (ANC) government to claim near-universal primary school enrolment [see the South African Constitution No. 108 of 1996, the South African Schools Act No. 84 of 1996 (known as SASA), and the National Education Policy Act No. 27 of 1996 (known as NEPA)]. In this regard, policies such as compulsory attendance until the age of 15 years, school feeding schemes, the promulgation of no-fee schools, and even uniform packs for especially impoverished children, have met with success. Less successful is high school enrolment, however, with an estimated half a million children not in school (McKay, 2019), this number may be worse “post Covid-19”.

Quality education is also a key indicator in achieving racial equality. Apartheid education was sub-standard; hence it is an imperative to determine the degree to which black people have been able to access quality education post-1994. On that point, measuring education quality has mainly taken the form of tracking matriculation results, as well as tracking literacy and numeracy levels (Spaull, 2013; Pienaar & McKay, 2014). While these metrics may not be the only way to measure quality provisioning of basic education, these metrics are the best way to measure quality, nevertheless, they are widely used.

Tracking racial change, in terms of enrolment in former white schools, is another indicator of access to quality education (Lemon, 2004; Msila, 2005, 2011; Lombard, 2007; Fataar, 2008, 2009; De Kadt, Norris, Fleisch, Richter & Alvanides,2014; McKay, 2015). Given that that former white schools are in formerly designated white residential areas, access of black learners limited to those who can either move home or those who can commute (Wiener, 2017; De Kadt et al., 2014). Tracking the school commute is, thus, an intertwined indicator of access to quality education in South Africa. Lemon and Battersby-Lennard (2009) noted, however, that most of this research tended to focus on the schools themselves, rather than on the wider spatial processes shaping the travelling-to-school experience. That said, there is some research on the lived understanding of these new geographies (Fataar 2008, 2009; Lancaster 2011).

The demand for quality education in South Africa outstrips supply (Ball, 1997; Fataar, 2007). Under apartheid, the white population estimated at 12.6% of the total nationwide population of 43,9 million people (inclusive of all ten homelands). Other population groups were 76.4% black, 8.5% coloured, and 2.5% Asian (McKay, et al., 2018). The South African population, post-1994, has increased by an estimate 20 million people making the total population size of the country 60 million in 2021[1]. Thus, the number of places in these former white schools was never going to be sufficient to accommodate larger numbers of learners (Todes, 2012). In that regard, if massive overcrowding of existing schools were avoided, the ANC government would have to increase the building of schools to accommodate a growing number of learners. Additionally, the apartheid infrastructure backlog would have to be rectified (Fataar, 2009). Although steps were taken towards building schools and providing them with resources in the post-1994 period, both the resource backlog and overcrowding in black schools still exist to a large degree, today (Byrnes, 1996; Sayed & Carrim, 1997; Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009; Soudien, 2010; McKay, Mafanya & Horn, 2018).

Unfortunately, due to various decisions taken by both the Nationalist Party majority government during the latter years of apartheid (namely the introduction of school choice and school fees) and the ANC - led government (namely to endorse both school choice and retain commodification by the promulgation of NEPA) quality education is only available to those who can pay for it (Bisschoff & Koebe, 2005; Bell & McKay, 2011). Msila (2011:1) writes: “School choice in South Africa has accorded the majority of middle-class black African parents an exit option away from historically black African schools”. Therefore, tracking enrolments in former white schools by race,

[1] https://www.gov.za/about-sa/south-africas-people#people, accessed June 2022

will essentially (with some exceptions) be tracking the access to quality education on the part of selected members of the black middle class black (Mnguni & McKay, 2022).

Importantly, the number of children who can be accommodated in former white public schools was never going to be sufficient. Black middle-class parents, who want quality education for their children often turn to private schools. However, not much research has been undertaken regarding issues pertaining to private schools (Hofmeyr, 2000; Machard & McKay, 2014). This study thus sets out to engage with that segment of the black middle class who have used the right of school choice to enrol their children in private Catholic schools.

1.2 Background

In South Africa, prior to 1994, several racially and economically exclusive pieces of legislation influenced education (Soudien, 2007). For example, in 1953, the Bantu Education Act (No. 47 of 1953) heralded an apartheid education system whereby white children went to white schools in white residential areas, which, relative to schools for people of colour, were well-resourced and generally provided quality education. black African children could only enrol in designated black African schools which were in designated dusty, poor, and poorly serviced black African townships (Southall, 2016).

Racial segregation was only half the problem because it came with racial discrimination. Black African schools were severely under-resourced, understaffed and many educators un-or-under-qualified (Msila, 2005; McKay, 2015). Black educators were also paid less (Fataar, 2008)[2]. Black African schools suffered extensive overcrowding, with extremely high teacher-to-learner ratios (Carrim, 1992). The quality of the education provided was therefore significantly inferior to that for white children, worsened by a deliberately weak curriculum (Christie & Collins, 1982; Lemon, 2004).

[2] It has been said, "In 1971, a graduate Black African teacher with a postgraduate education diploma (e.g., the current P.G.C.E.) earned R41.00 for every R100.00 that a white teacher with the same entry level qualifications earned. For coloureds and Indian teachers (educators), their salary was R57.50 for every R100.00 that the white teacher (with comparable qualifications) earned. (Consider the impact on pensions of these educators on retirement).

Resource allocation for education in South Africa was highly disproportionate based on racial lines, and this created a giant resource backlog in black schools, as government spending focused on education for white children relative to the amounts spent on education for black children. Over generations, a disproportionate share of funds and resources was spent on white children. In this way, the machinery of the apartheid state embedded education inequality (Fleisch, 2008a; Bell & McKay, 2011; Pienaar & McKay, 2014). The result was significant underdevelopment of human resources in South Africa, with severe long-term economic and development costs (Lemon, 2004; Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2011). Although the Bantu Education Act of 1953 massively increased the enrolment of black African children in school in the black African townships and Bantustans[3], this piece of legislation clearly demonstrated that physical access to education alone was insufficient. Education is noticeably inseparable from other social influences that decide or sway the distribution and quality of educational opportunities (Kallaway, 1997; Sayed & Soudien, 2005).

1.3 Problem statement

In South Africa, there is consensus that the post-1994 the ANC-led national government, has failed to deliver quality public education (Msila, 2005). For decades (1940's – 1990's), regardless of which community, most South African parents had little, if any, school choice. The apartheid government determined access to state schools based on immutable racial and geographical zoning policies which were also closely linked to socioeconomic and linguistic factors (Blake & Mestry, 2021). Parents could opt for private education, but private schooling was both expensive and primarily religion based (Ndimande, 2006; Booyse, et al., 2011). Once the legal situation changed, since 1994, there has been a consistent migration of black learners have moved from overcrowded, poorly resourced schools to the former white schools (Bell & McKay, 2011). This launched a new era in South African school education, with a pronounced, abnormally long, costly school commute (Lancaster, 2011; Lucas, 2011; Machard & McKay, 2014; Motala, 2014).

This study considers who is enrolling in private Catholic schools, their reasons for doing so, and the impact of thereof. The rise in popularity of fee-charging private schools highlights the commodification of education post-1990 when quality education became melded with cost recovery. Additionally, this flight from the public schooling system needs to be examined in terms

[3] A Bantustan or homeland was a territory set aside for black inhabitants of South Africa and South-West Africa (now Namibia), as part of the policy of spatial apartheid.

of who, why, how, and the ensuing consequences. The choice of private Catholic schools as a research grouping, within the private education sector was carefully considered. The following was taken into consideration in the choice of private Catholic schools, the history of the Catholic church in education in South Africa during apartheid and post-apartheid years (1940s to 2020s), accessibility of the researcher to the schools and support from the Catholic Institute of Education (CIE).

1.4 Theoretical underpinning to the study

The theoretical underpinning to this study is based on the work of Hirschman (1970) who maintained that there are three kinds of responses to a decline of service/s and/or inadequate service delivery, either at work, within organisations, in urban areas, countries, or educational quality. Hirschman's study is a useful theoretical lens, as the study investigates why parents responded by "exiting" public schooling, rather than "voicing" their displeasure or remaining "loyal" to public schools. It has also underpinned several international studies on school choice (1970). Hirschman (1970) argues that the voice, exit and loyalty theoretical lenses are relevant as they highlight the differences in response by different socio-economic groups. For example, a more affluent group might respond differently to a lack of service delivery than to a less empowered demographic group who perceives their influence to be less.

Of the three responses "exit," is usually considered – that is, departure without attempting to resolve the problem. According to Gofen, exit can also be viewed as the replacement of one service provider with another. This, of course, presupposes alternative modes of service delivery. A second response is "voice," which involves the follower/s speaking up to correct the situation. However, the success of the outcome is often dependent on the action of the service provider (Hirschman, 1970), that is, how well the service provider responds to customer complaints and demands. The availability (or lack thereof) of alternatives frequently influences the use of voice. (Gofen, 2012). If the service provider is aware that the customer has no other options, that is, the service provider has a monopoly, there is little incentive to respond positively via "voice." Such 'stuck' customers are perceived as 'loyal'. That said, businesses have an easier time if their stroppy customers find another store (Metcalf, 2012).

Both voice and exit are active responses to dissatisfaction. They both aim to improve levels of service by expressing concerns either collectively or, individually or getting the service provider to improve due to their concern over losing clients (Gofen, 2012). Hirschman (1970) contends that in

the absence of trust and/or low levels of satisfaction, customers will choose to exit over voice if possible. Leaving is a faster, easier, and less emotionally draining choice. The act of exiting is a personal choice. It is inherently selfish because it is typically one in which the individual "wins" (that is, gains) but the community from which he or she disassociates "loses". Hirschman, therefore, expresses concern that even a small to moderate number of people exiting an area or system could have dire consequences for those remaining. Hirschman raised some concerns with 'exit' as it can entrench the status quo. For example, bad governments may stay in power if their critics flee abroad. The last option, "loyalty", is viewed as a passive response in which the customer is dissatisfied but does nothing (neither exits nor expresses their opinions) this customer remains in the system (Hirschman, 1970).

Applying Hirschman's theory of voice, exit and loyalty to schooling in South Africa, Msila (2005) argued that parents exercise the 'exit' option when they exercise their right of school choice to withdraw their children from weak public schools. That is, parents vote with their feet and move their children to former Model C schools or private ones. However, the migration of children out of public schools may very well reinforce the cycle of decline in weak schools. Home schooling is also an example of exit.

Although 'exit' is a possibility, there is the counter-option of 'voice'. Voice is the active protest of those who stay. They "kick up a fuss". Voice when parents decide that their children will remain in their current schools, and the parents decide to change them from within. They may call the school or teacher, visit in person, or email the school. They may even caucus with other parents. Petitions may be circulated or, the local district office or provincial department engaged. Some may even enlist the media, both mainstream and social media (Knowles, et al.,1994; Ebrahim, 2020). Voice is therefore an attempt to change practices, policies, and outputs from within (Hirschman, 1970). On the other hand, Dahl (1962) felt that voice is only effective if citizens have an avenue to ensure that they are heard. If this is weak, then the voice option makes little sense. Furthermore, thresholds such as time, exist for example, how long must a community wait for schools to improve (Machard & McKay, 2014). Hirschman (1970) also noted that voice is more likely to arise if the disaffected cannot exit, such as being stuck in a developing country. Voice, therefore, might be perceived as subordinate to exit. While voice has been noted in the South African media, it has usually been

associated with perceived racial issues such as hairstyles or the skin colour of an appointed school principal, rather than around matters of academic quality (Francis, 2020)[4].

Loyalty may only be due to parents not being able to remove their children (Mncube, 2007; Msila, 2009). That is, they are unhappy but remain. Some will remain loyal until the deterioration is such that exit or to raise one's voice (protest) is no longer optional. Others may be loyal as they have resigned themselves to the fact that they cannot change the status quo (Msila, 2005; Mncube, 2007). For example, Bell & McKay (2011) found that most children living in Alexandra attended local schools, so effectively self-excluding themselves from better-quality schools due to a lack of household finances. Hence, poorer families have no way of avoiding the poor quality of education offered to their children, but on the surface appear to be loyal to their local school (McKay, 2015; Mnguni & McKay, 2022). Phillips, (1979), review of *Education by choice: The case for family control* by J. E. Coons & S. D. Sugarman, founded a similar observation internationally: the poorer the family, the more difficult it is for them to escape an underfinanced or mismanaged public schooling system.

1.5 Aim and objectives of the study

The purpose of the study was to develop an understanding of the impacts of school choice with respect to private Catholic school enrolment in Johannesburg. The five (5) specific objectives for this study were as follows:

1. To explain the demographic and socioeconomic profile of the learner community at the selected private Catholic schools, in Johannesburg.
2. To explore the views of teachers in these Catholic schools regarding parents and educators on the reasons for school choice and the impact of the school commute on parents and learners at the selected private Catholic schools in Johannesburg.
3. To evaluate the voices and opinions of the learners in terms of the school commute in the selected private Catholic schools in Johannesburg.
4. To discuss the decision-making drivers in support of private Catholic school choice, in Johannesburg.
5. To analyse the associated costs for parents associated with the private Catholic school choice, in Johannesburg.

[4] Should black hair be policed by schools in SA? https://www.citizen.co.za/lifestyle/family/2231187/should-black-hair-be-policed-by-schools-in-sa/ Accessed 27 March 2021

Following on from these objectives were the following study questions:

1. Research Question 1: What is the demographic and socioeconomic profile of private Catholic school learners in Johannesburg?
2. Research Question 2: What are the impacts and consequences of private school enrolment on learners and parents?
3. Research Question 3: What is the nature of the school commute of learners enrolled in private Catholic schools in Johannesburg?
4. Research Question 4: What 'push' and 'pull' factors are driving enrolment in private Catholic schools in Johannesburg?

1.6 Study design and methodology

1.6.1 Underpinning theory to the study

It is argued that a theoretical framework strengthens a study, as it explicitly states the theoretical assumptions of a researcher. A theoretical framework also guides the researcher with respect to the hypothesis and choice of research method (Saunders, et al.,2019). When examining the theoretical assumption(s) linked to this research, it is with the intention to contribute to the debate on school choice, school commuting, school segregation and private education provision. About school choice, for example, people must work within certain structures (such as SASA), but also have agency to make different choices for their children, such as exiting the public education system.

1.6.2 Design of the study

A case study approach was selected for this study, as it enables an in-depth examination of a phenomenon (Stake, 1994). It is also a dynamic process enabling engagement with issues. Stake (1994, p. 244) suggested that a case study enables an "opportunity to learn [what] is of primary importance". In this case, not much is known about the choice of Catholic schools in Johannesburg. Additionally, Yin (2003, 2014) noted that a case study helps one to understand complex social phenomena as it provides an opportunity to engage with real people in real situations, thereby giving the context for understanding and clarity. This includes relationships between people, their circumstances and how those circumstances affect their choices (Yin, 2003). Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2002,) also support the use of case studies as a research activity that interrogates reality 'close up'. A recent publication on research methods states that, "The purpose of a case study is to

understand the dynamics of the topic, which is the interrelationship between the subject(s) of the case and its context and to be descriptive and/or exploratory and/or explanatory and/or evaluative (Saunders., et al, 2019, p.18)".

1.6.3 Methodological approach, ethics, and data collection instruments

In terms of methodologies, a mixed method was used, consisting of both qualitative and quantitative research and data collection (Farquhar, 2012; Cresswell, 2014; Saunders., et al, 2019). It has become increasingly common to use mixed methods, even though a historical tendency was to view them as paradigmatically different (Morgan, 2007). The quantitative data analysed using the Statistical Package for the Survey Social Sciences (SPSS). All quantitative data converted to percentages, with these percentages being rounded to the nearest 10. The support and assistance of a professional statistician was acquired. Cartographic work based on some of the quantitative results, undertaken by an independent cartographer. The qualitative data was analysed thematically.

This study involved three private Catholic schools in the Johannesburg metropolitan area, namely the Dominican Convent School (DCS), Holy Family Convent (HFC) and McAuley House (McH). Table 1.1 outlines the biographical information of these schools.

Table 1.1: Biographical information of schools involved in the study, 2018-2021

School Name	Location	Distance/time from Park Station	2021 School fees[5]
Dominican Convent School (DCS)	64 Boom St, Jeppestown, Belgravia, Johannesburg, 2043	4.3 km. Approx. 12 min	Grade 1: R34,200 Grade 7: R51,800 Grade 12: R56,000
Holy Family Convent (HFC)	40 Oxford Rd, Parktown, Johannesburg, 2193	3.9 km. Approx. 9 min	Grade 1: R36,872 Grade 7: R49,924 Grade 12: R59,844
McAuley House (MCH)	1 Sans Souci Rd, Parktown, Johannesburg, 2193	3.8 km. Approx. 8,5 min	Grade 1: R28,500 Grade 7: R28,500 Grade 12: R36,200

Note: Schools charge additional fees for subjects such as Advanced programme in Mathematics (AP Mathematics). These schools also include administration fees and development levies. Furthermore, fees are likely to increase year-on-year. In some cases, schools allow for a sibling discount. Grade 12 fees are usually paid in tranches: 50% by end January and the rest by end June.

The study commenced in 2017 with the UNISA College of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences Health Research Ethics committee granting an ethics clearance for this study (Ethics Number: 2017/CAES/022) (see Appendix 1). The South African Catholic Institute of Education (CIE) also issued a letter of support for the study in early 2018 (refer to Letter from CIE, 10 January 2018, Appendix 2).

During the same period (2017/2018), discussions were held with the following schools to ascertain their willingness to participate in the study, namely: De la Salle, Maryvale College, Sacred Heart College, Brescia House Ursuline College, Marist Brother Linmeyer, Mayfair Convent, McAuley House school, Dominican Convent school, Holy Family Convent and St. Benedict's College. Of these, only McAuley House school, Dominican Convent school, Holy Family Convent agreed to participate. The other schools declined to participate in the study and, bound by ethical consideration of respecting the decision of the school and that the research was based on voluntary participation, matters with these schools were not further pursued.

[5] Sources: https://holyfamily.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Fee-structure-2021.pdf; http://www.mcauleyhouse.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/2021FEES.pdf and https://www.dominican.co.za/boarding/fees_and_uniform/ All accessed 8 Feb 2022

The research instruments were self-completion questionnaires for parents and learners from the three private Catholic schools, namely: McAuley House school (McH), Dominican Convent school (DCS) and Holy Family Convent (HFC). The questionnaires are contained in the Appendices.

Each of the prospective participants[6] received an introductory letter, outlining the aims, objectives and process of the study, and a request to participate in the study. Before the commencement of the study, a letter of consent was emailed to prospective participants, requesting participation and guaranteeing their anonymity by the selected school. Thereafter, only those who elected to participate were engaged with. All participating respondents, parents, learners, and teachers were able to opt out of the study at any time. Triangulation occurred by ensuring that the various stakeholders were engaged: educators, school management, learners and parents.

As the study was conducted just before and during the advent of the corona virus pandemic, the approach had to be adjusted to accommodate the consequent lockdowns during which in-person meetings were severely curtailed. Questionnaires were distributed in hard copy via the principals of the participating schools to parents/guardians of grade 10, grade 11 and grade 12 learners during 2019-2020 between March and May 2019. A focus group discussion was held with a group of eight (8) teachers from McAuley House during the early months of 2020. Once the restrictions had been lifted and learners were able to return to school, a self-completion electronic survey directed to learners, with permission of the principal, was conducted online[7] with grade 11 and grade 12 learners at McAuley House during 2021. Also, during 2021, an in-depth interview was held with the principal from McAuley House.

It is suggested when gathering information that the "a minimum of several subjects is 100 for a descriptive study, 50 for a correlation study, and 30 for an experimental and comparative causal study" (Fraenkel, et al., 2011, p. 18). In this study, the returned parent questionnaires numbered 73, and learner surveys answered numbered 33. There were eight (8) educator participants in the focus group activity, and one (1) school principal who participated in an in-depth interview. The principal was selected from a participating school in the research study and agreed to take part and further elaborate on findings of the parent survey results, from a management perspective. The interview took place during April of 2021. A total of 115 people participated in the study undertaking and the various methods of information and data collection.

[6] Participant and Respondent are used interchangeably throughout this case study.
[7] SurveyMonkey® was used for the online survey

The hard-copy self-completed survey questionnaires were returned to the school via the learners. Instructions were simple and in English. Anticipated time for completion of the survey was 30 minutes. Most of the questions required only tick-box answers, in a format that was familiar to most respondents – that is, parents/caregivers (see Appendix 6). The first set of questions sought to determine the demographic profiling of parents, their socioeconomic status, their reasons for choosing a private Catholic school, the value they placed on education for their children, and the willingness to incur greater costs for the attendance of their children at these schools; the learner self-completion electronic survey was completed by the Grade 11-12 learners of McAuley House in May, 2021, the only school to grant permission for a learner survey (see Appendix 5). Notably, all learners had to be over 18 years of age to participate, and it was on a voluntary basis. A total of 33 learners from grade 11 and grade 12 (McH), took part.

The in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with staff and school management took place at McAuley House, again the only school willing to do so (see Appendix 7). Some sessions were conducted face-to-face before the COVID-19 pandemic. During the pandemic over the period, 2020–2021, the researcher, where applicable, used Microsoft 365 Teams, email, and WhatsApp to remain in contact and for follow-up questions relating to the study. All face-to-face in-depth interview and focus group discussions were electronically recorded. On each occasion permission was requested from the participant/s and granted by the participants, on each occasion for the recording, and an audio recording saved electronically.

1.6.4 Limitations

Simon & Goes (2013) and Marshall & Rossman (2011) indicate that when locating the study often occurs in the process of determining the problem, choosing the setting, the geographic location, the participants, and type of evidence that should be collected without bias. Simon (2011, p. 2) supports the declaration of limitations, with that the following limitation for this study is declared.

The COVID-19 pandemic and associated lockdown in South Africa had a sizeable impact on data collection processes, from 26 March 2020 national lockdowns commenced, with in various forms of restrictions, until June 2021. The parent survey was completed at the end of December 2019, with the rest of the data to be collected in 2020. The closure of schools, however, and then restrictions on movement of learners and school staff, as well as limited access to schools, delayed the collection of data until mid- to- late 2021, with the lifting of severe lockdown restrictions.

1.7 Description of the study sites

1.7.1 An overview of private Catholic schools in South Africa

Nationally, the Catholic schools employed 7, 804 educators and 3, 165 non-teaching staff in 2016, with a ratio of 22.33 learners to one educator (CIE, 2016). There are two categories of Catholic schools in terms of the South African Schools Act No. 84 of 1996. Category A comprises public schools on private property (notably, church-owned property). These schools were formerly state-aided, as described in Section 14 of the South African Schools Act No. 84 of 1996. Under the agreements signed with the Provincial Education Departments, these schools have the right to promote and preserve their special religious character. Category B comprises Independent Schools under the ownership of the dioceses and religious congregations. It must be noted that some schools have rigid requirements regarding religious affiliation (such as insisting that learners must be raised in the Catholic faith), while other schools do not have this restriction. Learners from other faiths are accepted at these Catholic schools. Additionally, not all have a majority black learner body, as shown in Table 1.2 where an illustrative sample of schools is presented, and which shows schools which had a white enrolment of 82% between the years 1996 and 2015. The significance of this point is to reflect the change in the socio-economic profile at private Catholic schools over the past twenty years after 1994.

Table 1.2: Private Catholic Schools in Johannesburg with a majority white learner body, 1996-2015

	BRESCIA HOUSE CONVENT, BRYANSTON					
YEAR	BLACK	COLOURED	INDIAN	WHITE	OTHER	TOTAL
1996	12	0	7	581 (97%)	0	600
2001	27	8	11	632 (93%)	0	678
2007	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
2011	148	14	30	589 (74%)	12	793
2015	168	10	35	627 (73%)	22	862
	DE LA SALLE HOLY CROSS COLLEGE, VICTORY PARK					
YEAR	BLACK	COLOURED	INDIAN	WHITE	OTHER	TOTAL
1996	65	13	1	674 (90%)	0	753
2001	41	15	10	677 (91%)	0	743
2007	33	23	25	817 (91%)	2	900
2011	32	18	19	836 (92%)	7	912
2015	63	31	32	806 (86%)	8	940
	MARIST BROTHERS, LINMEYER					
YEAR	BLACK	COLOURED	INDIAN	WHITE	OTHER	TOTAL
1996	88	30	32	582 (80%)	0	732
2001	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
2007	76	36	100	890 (78%)	34	1136
2011	133	43	135	773 (70%)	26	1110
2015	187	48	211	637 (57%)	25	1108
	ST BENEDICT'S COLLEGE, BEDFORDVIEW					
YEAR	BLACK	COLOURED	INDIAN	WHITE	OTHER	TOTAL
1996	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
2001	33	12	9	915 (94%)	0	969
2007	74	8	24	1120 (89%)	32	1258
2011	122	24	47	1030 (80%)	62	1285
2015	113	39	43	418 (68%)	5	618

(Source: Gauteng Department of Education, 2015).

The three participating Catholic schools, MCH, HFC and DCS, today show a different learner population as described in chapter four and chapter five of this study. In 2022, there were 341 Catholic schools in South Africa (13 of which were in Johannesburg). Enrolled in these schools

were 174,270 learners, of whom 46.5% were female and 53.5% were male, 92% were black and 25% were Catholic[8].

1.7.2 Dominican Convent School

The Dominican Convent School, established in 1908, is in Jeppestown/Belgravia. It has around 583 learners and 42 educators (2021), that is, a ratio of 14 learners to one teacher, although that varies per grade. The school accommodates learners from toddlers to Grade 12 and is co-educational. In terms of the mission and vision of Dominican Covent School, aims to provide an education that is accessible to as many children as possible, irrespective of their background. The school faces many challenges, finance being the most important. The school has a clearly defined moral code, where learners are expected to deal with a complex and diverse society. Thus, social skills are paramount: learners are expected to interact with all people in society. The school is infused with a true sense of spiritual reality within a Christian foundation. Figure 1.2 photograph of the school, which is situated in the old area of Belgravia, Johannesburg.

Figure 1.1: The Dominican Convent School (Source: Facebook, 2019)

[8] https://www.cie.org.za/pages/schools-overview (accessed 14 August 2022)

1.7.3 Holy Family Convent

The Holy Family Convent School was established in 1899, and is in Parktown, Johannesburg. It has approximately 542 learners and 29 educators (2021), a learner-to-teacher ratio of 19:1. The School accommodates learners from Grade R to Grade 12 and is coeducational. Staff, both administrative and academic, exude kindness and positivity. Over the years during COVID-19 the school switched to a blended learning approach, allowing for teaching to continue during this difficult period. The school strives to meet the needs of learners, and enable them to grow into independent, curious, and confident young people. Holy Family Convent is a profoundly Christian school, such that a community outreach programme is part of the curriculum. All learners must undertake community service. Holy Family Convent offers a comprehensive sports and extracurricular programme, example, hockey, debates/debating, theatre (drama or acting) and chess. Figure 1.3. photograph of the school, which is situated in the old area of Saxonwold, Johannesburg.

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Figure 1.2: Holy Family Convent (Source: Facebook, 2019)

1.7.4 McAuley House Catholic School

McAuley House was established in 1907 and is in Parktown West, Johannesburg. It has 800 learners and 21 high school educators (2021). The high school is a girls-only school, but the primary school (Grade R – 7) is coeducational. McAuley House follows Christian values and is part of the Catholic Diocese of Pretoria. It is considered one of the top performing schools nationally (McKay, 2019), and with the odd exception, has a consistent 100% matriculation

bachelor's degree pass rate. The educators have created an interactive and caring space for learners. There is an active management team in the school, where excellence is encouraged. Figure 1.4. photograph of the school, which is situated in the old area of Auckland Park, Johannesburg.

Figure 1.3: McAuley House (McH) (Source: Facebook, 2019)

1.8 Overview of the chapters

Chapter 1: Introduces and sets the background to the study. Included in this chapter is the problem statement which identifies and outlines the purpose of the study, and the aims and objectives of the study. Also included in this chapter is the study design and methodology, with the theoretical framework and related matters. The theoretical framework is foregrounded in the work of Hirschman's "voice, exit and loyalty". Related matters include a description of the study sites and a brief profile of each site, with maps of the location of each of the schools within a broader geographical area.

Chapter 2: Is a review of international literature which brings to the fore the setting of the study from an international perspective. Emphasis is placed on the concept of school choice with a distinction drawn between Developed and Developing countries. This chapter reviews home schooling, school governance and private schooling across developed and developing countries.

Chapter 3: Outlines the South African literature associated with the study and draws on relevant literature in support of the topic covering essential themes that paint the historical context of our education past to the present. Critical to this chapter is an overview of the dawn of democracy and

the change this brought about to the South African educational landscape and its influence on parent choice. Also critical in this chapter are the concepts of ‘exit’, ‘voice’ and ‘loyalty’, and the links to parent school choice and learners daily experience of the school commute. This chapter highlights Private schooling with a focus on Private Catholic schools.

Chapter 4: Presents the data results of the survey among participating parents from private Catholic Schools. The chapter focuses on the emerging results and is both a quantitative and qualitative representation of the data from parents.

Chapter 5: This chapter sets out a wonderful interview with a group of educators from McAuley House. The chapter is based on the responses from these educators to the questions which produced several themes that such as educators the impact of the school commute on learner performance, behaviour and discipline, learner nutrition, and extra-curricular activities.

Chapter 6: This chapter reflects the results of the survey conducted with Grade 11 and Grade 12 learners at McAuley House. The resultant data from the learner survey is presented in graphic and tabulated format.

Chapter 7: Links the themes emerging from chapters four, five and six with the demographic, geographic and socio-economic profiles of the participants in the survey. Importantly in this chapter is the cost of schooling, highlighting both direct and indirect costs for parents, and the implications of the school commute on parents, learners, and educators.

Chapter 8: Concludes the study by aligning the purpose of the study and the questions with a summary of the responses, findings, and emerging trends. The chapter references the limitations experienced during the study and highlights the emerging trends that suggest a need for further study, especially in the light of the changing world of education.

1.9 Conclusion

In this chapter a brief introduction to this study was given. The theoretical framework of Voice, Exit and Loyalty sets the tone for the study as well as a description of the study sites and an overview of private Catholic schools in South Africa. The chapter includes a section on limitations which were identified throughout the study period and a short overview of all eight chapters. The next two chapters will set the study both within an international and South African context.

2 CHAPTER TWO: INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Within the context of voice, exit and loyalty, it is argued here that exit is given great credence in much of the world. In this regard, this thesis posits that school choice (where parents can choose between various public schools), the rise of private schooling and the choice to home school one's children, are all forms of exit. Regarding voice, far less emphasis, in terms of policy and the media, is focussed on encouraging and assisting parents to have a voice in terms of how their children are educated. Voice usually takes the form of parent-educators associations, which are usually focused on fund raising, organising events, such as fun days, and bringing parents on board in terms of discipline. Generally, there is little emphasis on allowing parents to have a say in drafting the school curriculum, hiring educators, managing budgets, or managing the school itself. Lastly, notions of loyalty are minimal in the media. Those who stay loyal to a school are usually those who have little choice, or else loyalty has been marketized, viewing parents as clients or consumers of education who need to be appeased to keep them loyal. This is more common in high-priced private schools.

School choice, as a concept, summons up visions of marketplaces, with a wealth of available educational options (Forsey, Davies & Walford, 2008). In this regard, many parents now see choice of school as a life-defining decision (Johnson & Shapiro, 2013). That is, making a choice of school for one's child is touted as a defining and critical, long-lasting decision a parent can make (Bell, 2007). For example, on 9 September 2021, the Mirror, a newspaper in the United Kingdom, had a headline which read: "Prince George will change schools soon - five options Kate and William may pick". In this regard, 'soon' is in five years' time; nevertheless, the journalist, Newton[9] (2021, September 9), goes on to claim that "[o]nce he becomes a teenager, his parents the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge will have a big decision on where he should continue his schooling" The Mirror, 9 September 2021, p.1.). The underlying message here is that school choice is a major decision – and if true for the heir to the British throne (whose career is, incidentally, already decided), it must certainly be 'true' for those destined for 'less important' roles in life. Newton (2021) even lists factors such as proximity, cost, curriculum, and alumni as possibly driving school

[9] Newton, Jennifer 9 Sept 2021, Prince George will change schools soon - five options Kate and William may pick https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/prince-george-change-schools-soon-24940117 Accessed 23 Feb 2022.

choice for Prince George's parents[10]. Additionally, a search on Google brings up 4.4 billion hits on school choice – including YouTube posts, websites aimed at parents, government webpages, research institutes and the like. Thus, parents, certainly middle-class ones, are bombarded with the notion that school choice is very important (Buras & Apple, 2005). The assumption is that a child's prospective life chances are strongly influenced through the quality of education they receive (Heckman, 2008; Yaacob, et al.,2014; DeAngelis & Erikson, 2018). In this regard, education is viewed to help children acquire the competencies, skills, and know-how to become balanced and well-rounded adults who will also productively contribute to the economy and to society (Plank & Sykes, 2003; Musset, 2012; OECD, 2017). Furthermore, school choice decisions affect a child's career prospects, occupation and future standard of living (Buras & Apple, 2005).

2.2 International perspectives on school choice

Vargas (2021) argues that since the 1980s, school choice has flourished globally. This even includes China post-1990. In 1993, China allowed non-government private and people-run schools in metropolitan areas, as part of broader economic market reforms, to operate (Apple, et al.,2018). Private and community-run urban schools now proliferate in China. But they are all income-based options, catering to upper-income learners (Fiske & Ladd, 2000).

School choice is also touted as a seemingly useful policy instrument to address local educational challenges, such as improving education opportunities for children, remedying school inefficiencies, creating innovative educational solutions and offering a better education experience (Plank & Sykes, 2003; Musset, 2012; OECD, 2017). DeAngelis and Erikson (2018) argued that a large body of research was undertaken with respect to the positive attributes of school choice. Despite this, questions remain as to how school choice works and how it varies across the globe (Yaacob, et al., 2014). Positive outcomes include increased access to high-quality education and improving the match between schooling types and the specific needs of children. While in some countries there is an expectation that parents will enrol their children in the nearest (local) school, the opportunity to choose a school is possible in many countries. Children in Norway and Switzerland have few options while more than 66% of the 38 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries enable parents to make school choices (Plank &

[10] Jennifer Newton, 9 Sept 2021, Prince George will change schools soon - five options Kate and William may pick https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/prince-george-change-schools-soon-24940117 Accessed 23 Feb 2022.

Sykes 2003; OECD, 2011; Musset, 2012). The percentage of learners who have school choice is very much higher in certain countries such as Australia, Japan, the Slovak Republic, and Belgium.

Those people promoting educational choice highlight its potential to deliver equality and social justice (Forsey et al., 2008). School choice works, it is claimed by West, 2001; Bosetti,2004; and Turner-Bisset, 2005, on the premise that parents actively gather information on academic performance, reputation, examination results, suitability for the child, extracurricular activities, transport networks, proximity to home, costs, and quality of teaching, learning and school management (Ofsted Annual Parent Survey, 2017)[11]. That is, parents make preferred school choices based on relevant and up-to-date information, such that, Bell (2007, p. 377) posited "[p]arents gather information about schools' test scores, specialized programs, and educators, weigh the costs and benefits of attending certain schools". Parents want schools that are of the highest academic quality, aligned with their values, are safe for children, and are accessible (Bosetti, 2004; Turner-Bisset, 2005; Forsey et al., 2008).

School choice programmes introduce market mechanisms into education, creating consumer choice and competition among schools: "School choice essentially positions parents as consumers – thereby injecting a degree of consumer-driven, market-style competition into the system" (Feinberg & Lubienski, 2008, p. 2). Thus, a school choice system stimulates competition among schools, apparently causing schools to be more responsive to the wants and interests of parents and children (Bell, 2007). While this is not necessarily bad, what parents and children feel they need and want may not necessarily be the best pedagogical option for the child? Most school choice schemes are based on rational choice theory. According to this theory, parents are consumers, making decisions based on clear value preferences, cost calculations and expected benefits (Goldthorpe, 2010; Bosetti, 1998; Hatcher, 1998). Parental decisions are, however, part of a social process impacted by characteristics of socio-economic class and social contact networks (Bauch & Goldring, 1995; Ball, 2003; Bosetti, 2004;).

Private education also extends choice (Tooley, 2009). Supporters of school choice emphasise that private alternatives can revive public education. They also argue that access to private education can lead to increased parental participation, contentment, empowerment, a sense of community and greater learner accomplishment (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Huasman & Goldring, 2000). Furthermore, it

[11] Ofsted, 'Annual parents survey 2017: parents' awareness and perceptions of Ofsted https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/698913/Ofsted_Annual_Parents_Survey_2017.pdf Accessed 3 Feb 2022

is often argued that if government schools are unable to give a high-quality education to all learners, the private sector can step in, but the rise of private options further commercialises education. In this context, commercial value is placed on education (Hoadley, 1999). School choice further widens the existing educational gap between the rich and the poor, as private schooling is cost driven (Plank & Sykes, 1999; Fiske & Ladd, 2000; Bell, 2007).

School choice is often regarded as part of the neoliberal agenda, introducing market mechanisms into education (Tooley, 2009; Musset, 2012; OECD, 2017). This commodification or commercialisation of education means education is viewed as a service that can be produced under a variety of arrangements (Ball, 2004; Bellei, 2018). It is argued that market competition increases school efficiency, productivity, and services, resulting in a better education system (Levin, 2002). Thus, parents 'vote with their feet', sending a signal to the market that 'failing' schools will be shunned. Consequently, weak schools may close unless they undertake fundamental changes (Musset, 2012). This is especially true for schools where a state or private funded voucher system is used and awarded to a learner per programme or grade. Vouchers seek to improve school quality through market-based interventions (Fiske & Ladd, 2000). Given that a child may use the voucher for the entire duration of their school career, the money follows the enrolment. In such cases, therefore, enrolment numbers matter: Lower enrolments means less funding and greater enrolments more funding to the school. Unpopular schools who lose children and lose money Popular schools use the extra funds to improve the quality of their educational offerings, creating a virtuous circle, attracting more children and thereby more money (Plank & Sykes, 1999). Unpopular schools end up in a vicious circle.

Buras and Apple (2005) note a relationship between school choice and inequality in Chile, Australia, and Sweden. Choice in these countries has resulted in increased levels of class and/or racial polarisation between schools, as well as a significant growth in private school enrolment. This occurred regardless of how school choice was promoted – whether initiated under a military regime, federal funding of both public and private schools, or adopted as social democratic conditions degenerated. That is, school choice requires resourced parents. The socioeconomic status of parents determines their access to resources (e.g., a good transport system or private transport) (Ball & Vincent, 1998; Karsten, et al., 2001). Parents who can access a good transport system or private transport, for example (Karsten et al., 2001). Poor households often lack access to communal networks or resources of support and may also lack the ability to source correct information about neighbourhood schools (Ball & Vincent, 1998; Bell, 2007).

2.3 School choice in developed countries

The notion that parents have the freedom to choose the education their children receive is seen as a fundamental human right worldwide. In this regard, school choice is the most recent significant endeavour to reorganise public education to (supposedly) provide equal opportunities for all learners (Ryan & Heise, 2002; Dronkers & Avram, 2010). Most OECD countries now enable parents to pick a school from a varied range of options (OECD, 2011). Importantly, the attitudes and goals of youngsters are an important component (Fowler, 1993). Given that most OECD governments want to keep young people in school for as long as possible to satisfy the needs of the high-skill, high-technology economy, they give children a choice of school which is seen as vital to achieving this goal (Ladd & Fiske, 2001).

2.3.1 School choice in the United States of America (USA)

Lauen (2007) claim that the USA education system is designed so that parents can shop for schools. Berends (2021) claim that the American Federation for Children (AFC) is one of the organisations driving school choice in the USA, arguing that the AFC thinks that parents should have a variety of high-quality schools from which to choose. This includes traditional public schools, public charter schools, private schools, or virtual learning[12] (Hoxby, 1998, 2003; Berends, 2021). Parents therefore select schools based on information such as the neighbourhood the school is in, school staff, the socio-economic profile of the school and transportation constraints (Hoxby, 1998; 2003; Berends, et al.2020; Polikoff, 2021). School choice in the USA is confusing, however, as there are many variations and models to consider: from vouchers and charter schools to magnet schools, tuition tax credits, inter- and intra-district public school choice, virtual schools, and home schooling. In recent years, two school models have become dominant: voucher programmes and charter schools. Both are supported through policy attention and philanthropists, and each of these preferred models is viewed as a way of delivering progressive opportunities for children within urban settings to be educated (Berends, 2021).

[12] Virtual learning, online learning or known as e-learning, very applicable over the 2 years during the COVID-19 Pandemic.

2.3.2 School choice in Australia

Responsibility for school education is a function of the states and territories of Australia (Donnelly, 2012). The federal government uses a voucher system to enable choice, making school choice a key feature of the Australian education system, more so than any other OECD country. This is both at primary and secondary level. In Australia, school choice exerts significant competitive pressure on schools, resulting in a dominant 'quasi-market' public system, in part because parents are drawn towards quality of educational outputs, as entry into Australian tertiary institutions is highly competitive (Doecke, 2014).

Like the education systems of many other countries, such as charter schools in the USA and free schools in England (UK), Australia's Commonwealth, and State and Territory governments are committed to school choice. The underlying assumption is that school choice raises academic standards and better reflects the needs and aspirations of communities. In the case of Australia, this includes financing non-government schools, including faith-based schools, as well as initiatives to give government-controlled schools more independence. All schools receive Commonwealth and State government funds to varying degrees. Australia has a de facto voucher system in which money follows the child to whatever school the child attends. Australia changes the value of payments paid to independent schools to suit the individual students socio-economic. This is accomplished by modifying the value of the government grant to the school to match the socio-economic profile of each individual student in a school. Government assistance to learners from the highest socio-economic status (SES) areas is specifically limited to 20%, whereas subsidies for students from the lowest SES areas can exceed 90%. Parents or the school, via fundraisers, must bear the remaining tuition fees.

2.3.3 School choice in England (part of the sovereign state of the United Kingdom)

There are various types of schools in England: community; voluntary-aided (state funded with additional money from different religious organisations) and foundation schools (state funded schools with a governing body). Thus, England has a well-developed system of school choice (Burgess, et al., 2010). The system is centrally managed. Parents apply to a centralised local application authority and can list three possible schools (Flatley, et al., 2001; Bradley & Taylor, 2007). Learners are placed based on each school's admission policy, which usually emphasises geographical proximity. High-performing schools are naturally oversubscribed (Burgess et al., 2010). Consequently, there is a demand for houses close to desirable schools (Flatley et al., 2001;

Bradley & Taylor, 2007). The system is thus skewed towards those who can afford to live near good schools, producing an economically and socially stratified system. Schools in resourced neighbourhoods usually perform well, and demand for these schools drives up house demand in the neighbourhood. This drives house prices up in the area, so, over time, inequalities in access increase (Burgess et al., 2010). Poorer children are less likely to access good schools, as their parents cannot afford to move to areas close to good schools, due to high property prices. Schools reserve a certain number of places for children from poorer households, selected on their eligibility for free school meals. The idea that schools have ‘bands’ or ‘levels’, of social strata is that they admit equal numbers of learners from each attainment band (Burgess et al., 2010).

2.3.4 School choice in New Zealand

Parental education preferences exist in New Zealand, albeit enmeshed in the unique social, economic, and political circumstances of the country (Dale & Ozga, 1993; Gordon, 2000). New Zealand's first school choice policy was implemented in 1990. The financial model was dubbed "exit" Dale and Ozga (1993), over the more participative "voice" option, which encourages individuals to stay in institutions and make changes from within. Exit is viewed Dale and Ozga (1993) as an individualistic, economic response, whereas voice is a participatory, political one. New Zealand currently displays a school choice system based on social market strategy (Gamble, 1988; Gordon, 1994, 2003). There is a strong interplay between social and economic constructs, and education systems, especially the disparity between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’, with class, gender, and ethnicity at play (O’Dea, 2000; Gordon, 2003). It is possible to find schools completely dominated poor ethnic minorities, such as Pacific Islanders, for example, with other schools having nearly a universal population of wealthier WASPS (a child with Northern European - especially British - ancestry, and of a Protestant background). Despite significant revisions, the exit (or school choice) model remains strongly entrenched in New Zealand's educational system (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Hirsch, 1995). The school choice policy has also created extremely destructive hierarchies of "good" and "terrible" schools (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Gordon, 2003). Such categories also tend to overlap between ethnic groups.

2.3.5 School choice in Sweden

Sweden is an example of a near complete shift from area-based school assignment to free school choice. In the late 1980s, the government's obligation to provide compulsory education was shifted to municipalities, paving the way for school choice reform (Söderström & Uusitalo, 2010; Stubbs & Strathdee, 2012; Holmlund, 2016). In 1992, the government established the school-choice option, and later eased restrictions that governed independent schools (Lidström, 2002; Wahlström, 2002; Sundberg, 2005). Sweden presently has minimal regulations concerning choice, and the system is managed at the local. Parents who do not make a choice find their children enrolled in the school closest to their homes.

Sweden's school-choice system is considered as one of the world's most decentralised (OECD, 2012; Trumberg, 2019). A consequence, however, of the 'free school choice' approach is the now domination through marketisation, with education politics frequently portraying binary images of private player controlled autonomous school, and municipality-owned and run schools. On the 'plus' side, the system has enabled enterprising parents in low-income neighbourhoods to send their children to a school that they feel is superior (Nieuwenhuis, et al., 2016). Simultaneously, the departure of children from more resourceful families means that the remaining children in the local school are more likely to be from less resourceful lower-income homes. This polarised picture has been criticised, as disparities within groups are arising (Nieuwenhuis, et al., 2016).

2.4 School choice in developing countries

School choice in Africa and Asia is primarily between public or private education, with quality as the main driver of private school enrolment (Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014). However, parents also choose private schools based on discipline, English as a medium of instruction, or because of a lack of government schools (Alderman, et al., 2001; Tooley & Dixon, 2007; Stern & Heyneman, 2014). This is not necessarily just the case for well-off parents, as many parents living in rural or impoverished areas also search for a better education for their children. Hence, in many sub-Saharan African countries, as well as India, low-cost private schools proliferate (Alderman et al., 2001; Tooley & Dixon, 2005; Ngware, et al.,2009; Tooley, 2009; Dixon, 2013; Dixon, et al., 2015; Stanfield, 2015). In this regard, the school's reputation and the relationship between the school's proprietors and parents strongly influence school choice. Rose & Adelabu (2007) in Nigeria, Härmä (2009) in India, and Akaguri (2014) in Ghana all claim that these low-cost, for-profit private schools are still out of reach for the poorest families.

2.4.1 School choice in Ghana

In Ghana, education is compulsory for 9 years: 6 in primary school and 3 in junior high school. Thereafter, learners need to write a nationally administered senior high school admission examination. Ghanaians have the option of enrolment in government, international (usually catering to the children of diplomats or expatriate) or private schools (Tooley, et al., 2007; Hastings & Weinstein, 2008; Jensen, 2010; Longfield, 2011). The international and private schools tend to charge high fees, but academically they outperform government schools – which are usually under-resourced (Tooley et al., 2007; Longfield, 2011). In the public schooling system, there are two streams: academic and technical/vocational. In terms of access to government schools, learners are allocated on merit to the first available school on their list. Merit is measured using examination results, where requirements for admission are a passing grade in mathematics, English, integrated science and social studies, and a pass in any two additional subjects. All learners who qualify are guaranteed admission to a public school, but schools admit learners until their capacity to accommodate learners is reached. Some learners could therefore end up unplaced, and Ghanaians apply to high schools without knowing the outcome of their entrance examination. This placement examination system thus creates uncertainty and stress for parents and learners. As a result, resourced parents seek out private schooling instead (Ajayi & Telli, 2013).

2.4.2 School choice in Egypt

Egypt is a middle-income country with an increasing number of school choice options. There are two types of free public schools: conventional and experimental. Experimental schools, also known as ‘public language’, schools, make up roughly 5% of public schools, and were established in 1985 as a trial programme to increase the study of foreign languages (Assaad, 2013). Despite the dominance of public schooling, the number of young people attending religious or private schools is growing (Assaad & Krafft, 2015a; Elbadawy, 2015). Egypt has a long tradition of Islamic religious (Azhari) education, and the number of private schools has expanded in recent decades (Elbadawy, 2015; Asadullah & Chaudhury, 2016). Currently, 13% of all schools are private. Thus, despite free public education, there is a preference for private schooling (Sayed, 2006; Assaad & Krafft, 2015b). This is because education quality is perceived as higher in private and religious schools (Alderman et al., 2001; Nishimura & Yamano, 2013; Longfield & Tooley, 2017).

In Egypt, attendance at private and religious schools is a factor of income, although a family's religious convictions also matter (Asadullah, et al.,2013; Wodon, 2014). Although expanding the

private sector and broadening school options is advocated to improve education, it seems to be an option only for wealthier households (Assaad & Krafft, 2015b). Thus, some argue that a voucher system, aimed at poorer families, might be a cost-effective way to increase access to private education (OECD, 2012), but the effectiveness of such a model may be country-specific, and therefore needs to be piloted and assessed in terms of equity, before being widely implemented (Assaad & Krafft, 2015c).

2.4.3 School choice in India

There are two sorts of private schools in India: private aided and private unaided. Private aided schools are classified as quasi-government: They began as privately operated, but now receive government grants-in-aid, resulting in a significant loss of autonomy (Härmä, 2011). Private individuals establish, own, and maintain tiny or low fee payment schools which owned, rely entirely on parental tuition payments. They are rapidly rising in number across India (Härmä, 2011). Many of these very cheap schools are 'unrecognised' or unregistered schools, that is, they do not fulfil certain basic requirements to for the government to recognise them as a school (Mehrotra & Panchamukhi, 2006; Kingdon, 2007). Official statistics on schooling therefore do not include these 'unrecognised' schools.

Private schools are fast expanding, with Tooley and Dixon (2006) suggesting that they can be found on almost every road and back alley. Low fee payment schools are extremely popular, according to studies undertaken in Delhi (Ohara, 2012), Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan (De Schipper, Riksen- Walraven & Geurts, 2006), Calcutta (Nambissan, 2003) and Andhra Pradesh (Woodhead, et al., 2013). These low fee private schools compete on price, so fees are very low, to attract as many learners as possible. Consequently, in several Indian cities, the proportion of learners in private schools is larger than in any other developing city (Shah & Veetil, 2006). Dissatisfaction with public schools is the main driving force behind the demand for cheap private education (Kingdon, 1996; Muralidharan & Kremer, 2006; Srivastava, 2008). While there are concerns about the quality of these ultra-cheap schools, in terms of the condition of school buildings, drinking water or toilets, government schools are often worse (Nambissan, 2003; Mehrotra & Panchamukhi, 2006; Rose & Adelabu, 2007). In short, while there is free government schooling, the inadequacies of public education have driven even poor households towards cheap, accessible private education systems (Watkins, 2000; Tooley & Dixon, 2006). Better amenities, low teacher-student ratios, and enhanced teaching and learning resources lie behind private school popularity (Tooley & Dixon, 2006; Goyal & Pandey, 2009; Härmä, 2009; Singh & Sarkar, 2012). Thus, millions of poor parents

are voting with their feet, taking their children out of state-provided education, although the poorest of the poor are usually excluded, due to cost (Mousumi & Kusakabe, 2017).

According to Baird (2019) and Woodhead et al., (2013), more expensive private schools in India are associated with aspirations for higher social status and better future employment opportunities. Importantly, a major attraction of private schools is the use of English as a medium of instruction (Kingdon, 1996; Tooley et al., 2007; Muralidharan & Kremer, 2008; Baird, 2009). Sarangapani and Winch (2010) and others dispute this, claiming proximity to home, especially for girl children, is a deciding factor (Srivastava, 2008; Tooley, et al., (2010); Ohara, 2012; Woodhead et al., 2013). Another variable is religion, where Muslims seek out private schooling for religious reasons (Tooley, 2009; Tooley & Dixon, 2006). Thus, in much of the developing world, school choice is intimately linked to private schooling, to which this chapter will now turn.

2.5 Private schooling

Private education is a form of schooling funded and controlled through private investments, donations, endowments, and parents, through fees, and may or may not be for profit (McGregor & McGregor, 1992). Private schools operate outside the 'public' education system, although in 25 of the 33 OECD countries, public monies are used to finance private schools – in Estonia, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, and the United States, for example (OECD, 2011; Musset, 2012). Globally, private education is on the rise as educational entrepreneurs respond to market demand (Tooley, 2009).

2.5.1 Private schooling in the United States of America (USA)

The right to access private education was settled in 1925, with Pierce v. Society of Sisters (Wong, 2018)[13]. Thus, the USA now has many independent schools which can be either non-profit or corporate entities. They are wholly independent, in governance and finance, from the federal or state government. Private schools can define their own missions, admissions, and employment policies. They have the freedom to determine what they teach and how to assess student achievement and progress. Many form part of the National Association for Independent Schools (NAIS). In the USA, private school choice is promoted through scholarship tax credit programmes,

[13] https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2018/07/why-private-schools-are-becoming-more-elite/566144 Accessed 30/12/2021).

vouchers, educational savings accounts, and individual tuition tax credits. This allows learners to attend a school that meets their needs (Berends, 2021). Catholic schools in the USA make up the largest portion of non-public education provisioning, and such schools dominated America's private school segment for decades. This dominance began to fade in the 1970s. By the late 1990s, the number of children attending Catholic schools dropped to under 1.8 million'. This has resulted, in the closure of the National Catholic Education Association affecting nearly 100 schools, during the period 1810 - 2017. The decline in the number of Catholic schools seems to relate to many middle-class children no longer attending independent schools, given that between 1968 and 2013 the share of middle-class children enrolled in private schools halved. This was not true for the elite, who continued to support private education.

2.5.2 Private schooling in Australia

To a large extent, the independent schooling system in Australia is affiliated to the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England, Irish Catholics, or Scottish Presbyterians (Williams & Carpenter, 1991). Independent schools include numerous community-run schools, as well as schools that follow a specific educational philosophy, such as Montessori or Steiner education. Just over one third of Australian children are educated in Catholic schools 20% and other non-religious independent schools 13% (Ryan & Sibieta, 2011). In general, opting for private education is aligned with ethnic identity, culture and individuals who identify as religious – or whose parents identify as religious. The Australian independent school sector comprises 1,168 schools and almost 650 000 learners (Australia, ISA260721, School Choice Report, 2021)[14]. Australia has one of the highest percentages of learners attending private schools among the OECD countries. This percentage has also increased over time; for example, between 1998 and 2008, non-government school enrolment climbed by 21.9%, while government school enrolment increased by only 1.1% (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2009[15]). Apple (2001) argued that this has made education a marketable commodity like bread and cars in which the values, procedures and metaphors of business dominate.

Parents select private schools based on academic excellence, good quality educators, suitable facilities, and a supportive and caring environment. Parents, including minority groups, want their children to like their school and emerge as well rounded, fit-for-work citizens, who can think for themselves and have a love for learning and curiosity (Australia, ISA260721, School Choice

[14] https://www.theeducatoronline.com/
[15] https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/1001.02009-10?OpenDocument

Report, 2021). However, it appears that private schooling is associated with social and economic stratification; for example, when controlling for household income, children in single-parent households are less likely to attend private schools. Additionally, the fewer the children in a household, the more likely they are to attend independent schools. Children with more educated parents are more likely to attend private schools. Children of parents who attended independent schools are 3 to 4 times more likely to attend the same type of school as their parents (Ryan & Sibieta, 2011). This is true even when only one parent attended a private school.

Private education is in strong demand. Across the board, word of mouth from friends or other parents, as well as visiting school open days, contact with school personnel and personal experience, all affect enrolment decisions. In 2021, eighty-seven percent of independent school parents said they would suggest an independent school to friends and family, citing educational quality as the primary reason. Most parents 85% felt that independent schools align with their values and views, and many 79% felt private schools satisfy their children's requirements. Most parents want more from school than merely good academic outcomes. They want schools to aid their child's personal development (i.e., self-confidence, high self-esteem, independent thinking), prepare them for jobs, and give them life skills. They also focus on safe environments 30%, extra-curricular activities 11%, networking opportunities 11%, with affordability a very low priority 9%. Overall, parents value independent education above price and location (School Choice: A Research Report 2021).

2.5.3 Private schooling in England

Confusingly, the term "public school" is used in England to refer to what is typically referred to as a private school in other countries. The term originally applied to schools designated in the Public Schools Act of 1868. Thus, private schools in England prefer to be called independent schools[16]. In England, there are two types of fee-paying schools: ones with a Board of Trustees or Governors to oversee the running of the school, or ones run by the owners (which maybe a single company or corporation[17]).

[16] http://www.isc.co.uk/Publications_ISCCensus.htm.
[17] https://www.britishcouncil.hk/en/stateschools_priavteschools, accessed January 2022

According to the Independent Schools Council, (ISC) 544,316 learners across 1388 schools have opted for independent education[18]. Parents in England choose independent schools for several reasons. They feel that private schools teach the skills required to embrace an ever-changing world, and they like the extracurricular activities and advanced academic programmes. Parents feel that their children will have more career options if they attend an independent school. Independent schools also offer smaller classes and individualised teaching. Notably, Newton (2021) only lists independent schools as possible options for Prince George. He may be crowned head of state one day, but are state schools perhaps not good enough for him?

2.5.4 Private schooling in New Zealand

In New Zealand, some 28,652 learners are enrolled in private schools. Independent Schools of New Zealand is an organisation to which most private schools are affiliated (Jenkins, et al.,2016)[19]. Although independent, they still teach the Ministry of Education-regulated curriculum. Charitable trusts administer the bulk of the schools, with only a few having religious affiliations. In a variety of ways, independent schools contribute to New Zealand's economy and the community at large, such as generating employment opportunities and purchasing a range of products and services. Learners in independent schools felt that the schools help them achieve higher academic grades, allowing them to pursue post-secondary education possibilities (Jenkins, et al.,2016).

2.6 Private education in developing countries

Private education is a significant element of choice in some developing countries, even though some private schools may not necessarily offer education of a high quality. That is, the developing world has a flourishing poor-quality, low-fee, unregistered private school problem (Machard & McKay, 2014). Private schools in Mauritius, for example, are perceived as being of lower quality than public schools (Kitaev, 1999; Tooley et al., 2007). In Ghana, the Kumasi Metropolitan Education Directorate graded 62% of registered private schools as “low quality with many facing challenges such as inadequate funds, poor infrastructure and poor teacher quality’’ (Tooley et al., 2007, 392). This is concerning as many private schools serve the poor (Tooley et al., 2007). In

[18] RS Academics a specialist leadership and strategy consultancy

[19] Report - economic contribution of independent schools in New Zealand https://www.isnz.org.nz › assets › MJ-Economic-This report has been prepared for Independent Schools of New Zealand (ISNZ) by Jason Leung-Wai and Tim Borren from Martin Jenkins. (Martin, Jenkins & Associates)

developing countries, enrolment in private education often reflects the under-provisioning of public education; thus, private schools are supplementing public education rather than complementing it. In this regard, Du Toit (2008) claimed that high population growth rates, coupled with limited state school provision, are driving a demand for private education. In some developing countries, for instance, the only school in the neighbourhood is a private one; hence, some parents may have no choice but to make huge sacrifices to educate their children in private schools (Seboka, 2003; Du Toit, 2008). Private schools therefore playing a critical role in helping some governments achieve Education for All (EFA) targets. Critics, on the other hand, say that the broad adoption of private schooling may jeopardise the achievement of the EFA target, as not all children have families who can pay for their education. Paying for one's own education is therefore extremely inequitable for the poorest members of society (Lewin, 2007).

Low fee private schools targeting working- and middle-class parents are a growing phenomenon in Asia (Tooley et al., 2007; Hofmeyr, et al.,2013). In Hyderabad, India, some areas have over 60% of their learners enrolled in private schools, despite high levels of poverty. The situation is similar in Lahore, Pakistan, where roughly half the children in poor households attend private schools (Hofmeyr et al., 2013). Although variations occur, almost one third of all African children are enrolled in private schools (Du Toit 2008). Notably, private schooling in Africa has a long history, with mission schools playing an important part in educational provisioning, although, post-independence, many private schools were nationalised (Obanya, 1998). The rapid rise of for-profit, low-cost private schools in sub-Saharan Africa has been cited as one of the most significant educational innovations in the last 30 years (Tooley, 2005). In sub-Saharan Africa, for example in Uganda and Malawi, private schools have ‘‘mushroomed due to the poor quality of Government public schools’’ (Rose 2003, p. 80). In Ghana, private schools outnumber public ones (Tooley et al., 2007). According to Nsiah-Peprah (2004), the Kumasi Metropolitan Area in Ghana has a significant number of private schools at primary and junior-secondary levels. Private school enrolment has surged, due to a desire for high-quality education which is not available in public schools. In Kenya, the “deteriorating quality of public education created demand for private alternatives” (Bauer, et al.,2002, p. 10). High numbers are true for the peri-urban areas of Nigeria as well (Hofmeyr et al., 2013). Another aspect of choice is that of the option of home schooling. On that note, the chapter will now briefly explore home schooling.

2.7 Home schooling

Home schooling, or home education, is the process of educating children at home or in other locations (Leis, 2005). “Home schooling" is widely used in North America with "home education" more common in the UK, Europe, and many Commonwealth nations (Badman, 2009; Beck, 2010). Usually a parent, tutor or online teacher oversees the education process (Glenn, 2006; Badman, 2009; Beck, 2010). Home schooling, in terms of legal, social, and pedagogical structures differs worldwide, between countries. In terms of home schooling, there are three categories: those who prohibit the practice, those who allow some home schooling, and those who openly recognise the parental authority to educate their children at home (Wragg, 1997; Hastings, 1998; Rothermel, 2003; Jennens, 2011). In some cases, education at home seems to be on par with public or private education (Glenn, 2006; Badman, 2009; Beck, 2010). That is, some children educated at home appear to obtain the same level of knowledge and skills as those who attend formal schools (Welner & Welner, 1999; Rothermel, 2004).

Beginning in the 1980s, home schooling began to rise in popularity, with some parents electing to educate their children at home instead of sending them to a public or private school. This may be a type of ‘the future is history’, as home schooling, where mothers taught their children to read and write, was customary across Europe and the USA until public schooling became common and compulsory (Ebrahim, 2020). Initially, much home schooling, according to Kunzman and Gaither (2013), arose from the necessity for schooling special needs children. Home schooling was a way to create learning opportunities specifically designed for these children, as well as to safeguard the children from bullying in school (Hastings, 1998). More recently, home schooling is part of a growing trend of educated, middle-class parents (especially stay-at-home mothers) becoming more involved in their children's education. This heightened care may manifest itself as seeking information from the school, serving on school committees, accompanying children on field excursions, and even actively engaging in the development of school policy. Notably, discontent with the educational system is also fuelling the rise of home schooling (Glenn, 2006). Such parents believe that schools provide a poor-quality education or disagree with the education system’s approach to religion. On that note, the growing popularity of home schooling may be part of a groundswell challenge of traditional notions of education, learning and family; that is, many home school parents see themselves as part of a greater social movement in direct opposition to conventional schooling (De Waal & Theron, 2003).

Much emphasis is placed on exit: exit to another public school, exit to private education, or exit by electing to home schooling. Much less attention has been paid to voice. Nevertheless, it is to voice that this chapter now turns.

2.8 Voice in the international literature

Martin & Vincent (1999) write that in relation to schooling, the notion of parental voice emphasises the interaction between both the school and its parents. This is somewhat different from Hirschman (1970), who defined it as using voice to change the practices, policies, and outputs of the company from which they purchase, or the organisation to which they belong. Voice, in terms of schooling, is wide and inclusive, encompassing a variety of parental reactions and interventions, both voice and presence (Martin & Vincent, 1999). The notion is that if schools pay attention to parents' wishes, dreams, anxieties and concerns, schools can learn valuable lessons and become better (McKenna & Millen, 2013). Parent voice is the right of, and opportunity for, parents to share their thoughts and opinions about their children's and families' educational experiences in - and - out of school. Parental ambitions, aspirations, plans and hopes for their children are examples of parent voice, which has often gone unnoticed in educational circles (Carreón, et al.,2005). Parental dissatisfaction, concern or rage regarding separation, exclusion, or disrespect in the educational process, might also be heard (Auerbach, 2012).

The school choice conversation, as a part of the 1980s' modern school choice movement, emphasised exit over voice, urging disgruntled parents to withdraw their children from their current school. Exit was touted as key to successful school improvement: “increase the ease of the exit option and tie public funding to learners, forcing schools to respond to the exit behaviour of consumers” (Cox & Witko, 2008, p. 142). Exit has ramifications, however (Hirschman, 1992). Exit may not suit parents. In many places, leaving the local public school may be very expensive, or an alternative school option may simply not exist. Thus, voice, where parents act as a collective, and remain in the school to voice their issues, is a possible solution (Smith & Rowland, 2014). Denmark is an example of a country where parents have long played an important part in the operation of schools. Parental involvement as a type of voice should for this reason be encouraged (Sliwka & Istance, 2006).

Across most OECD countries, provisions for parents to engage in school decision-making have therefore been introduced. These provisions are mostly formalised as parent associations and parent councils, which are parent-elected groups. In most countries, there are school councils, on which

elected parent representatives serve alongside teacher members (Sliwka & Istance, 2006). In 1990, the role of parents in school decision-making was significantly expanded when boards of school governors were established (Sliwka & Istance, 2006). In Spain, England, Sweden, Australia, and Ireland, for example, parents elect parent governors, staff elect staff governors, and the governing body appoints extra community governors. Governors have three primary responsibilities: to give a strategic perspective, to serve as critical allies, and to guarantee responsibility. These have extended the powers of parents, and parental representation allows parents to formally voice their needs. Governing bodies can also caucus parents via opinion polls and formal meetings.

Better communication between schools and parents is now common. This everyday 'communication as action' takes the form of letters, phone calls, parents' evenings, cell phones and social events (Vincent & Martin, 2002). Importantly, voice, and a commitment to resolve issues, can improve the school. Vincent and Martin (2002) note that voice has various typologies: (1) quiet (inaction, 'waiting and seeing'), (2) discourse (dialogue, interacting with the system), (3) storming (direct protest, rage), and (4) by-pass (making private arrangements, such as tutoring). That said, if parents feel that none of this has worked, they may elect to exit (move the child from the school). Further to this, they explained that schools react to parental concerns in a variety of ways. The school may remain silent or publish a statement but do nothing. The school might show signs of activity by reaction which may, or may not, result in long-term change. Alternatively, the school might prevent instances of parental assertion. Either way, voice is not viewed as empowering the parent to effect immediate change or control their child’s education; in that regard, voice becomes much more associated with loyalty. Thus, it is to loyalty that this chapter will now turn.

2.9 Loyalty in the international literature

Middle-class parents, who can afford the time, school fees and the daily school commute, have the choice to leave a school community. In that regard, Walker and Clark (2010) capture the sentiment of lack of loyalty that choice creates, and the aggravation it creates for communities who do remain loyal. One school of thought believes that parents should support their community or neighbourhood school, as leaving could bring about community discord and risk a school's very existence. Parents should not 'jump ship', but rather remain and help their local school to address difficulties. In Hirschman’s model on loyalty is positively associated to voice. The more loyal a consumer is, the more likely they are to express problems, rather than leave. Hirschman (1970, p. 77) pointed out, however, that a customer's "particular connection to an organization [is] recognized as loyalty" (Turnley & Feldman, 1999, p. 899), giving people a sense of belonging and a stronger

bond (Allen & Tuselmann, 2009). Despite the option to remain loyal, constant poor service (or, in this case, teaching and education) causes parents to exit. Much of the literature on voice is linked to commercial enterprises, holding that employee loyalty, in the form of trust, perceived fairness, dedication, and motivation, is based on the company's actions and, more particularly, on the firm's attention to employees' complaints and recommendations. Thus, even when loyalty should be associated with civic mindedness, it has become aligned with commercial endeavours.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented a review of related international literature in support of the study topic with several interesting aspects such as school choice across developed and developing countries. An overview of school choice in developed countries such as United States of America (USA), England, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden and developing countries Ghana, Egypt, India. An overview of private schooling across the same selected developed and developing countries followed. In considering school choice by parents in develop countries the concluding facts are that these parents have the financial means and access to private schools through various schooling systems identified in the chapter, whereas in developing countries as identified not necessarily financial means and easy access. The literature was framed within the Voice, Exit and Loyalty theory, thus, the chapter also included sections on school governing bodies and alternative options for parents as described, home schooling.

3 CHAPTER THREE: SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

Following on from the previous chapter, this chapter looks at the South African literature from the perspective of voice, exit and loyalty. In this regard, it was possible to establish that international trends strongly influenced South Africa. Exit is the dominant discourse with school choice legislated as a right, and with the massive rise of private schooling as well as home schooling post-1994. While voice is legislated in South Africa, through SASA, 1996, there is far less emphasis on it in terms of policy and the media. Like the situation internationally, notions of loyalty are minimal in the media, and those who remain loyal to a school are usually those who have little choice.

To understand the emergence of democratic South Africa's new education system, a brief review of the educational history of South Africa is presented. There are legacies from the apartheid past, and new developments post-994 in terms of legislation, policies, and practices, all influencing the 2022 school education system. Different people perceive these economic, political, social, and geographical legacies differently. Additionally, lived experiences vary (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Crankshaw, 2008; Chisholm, 2012).

Past racial segregation and apartheid policies, and global forces such as school choice movements powerfully fashioned South Africa's educational legacy (Cross & Chisholm, 1990). Immediately prior to 1994, apartheid-supporting legislation began to gradually fall away. Some were due to court rulings (such as the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950), and others were due to the state no longer enforcing them (such as the pass laws). Alongside this was the slow desegregation of schools, where both Swilling (1991) and Lemon (2004) suggested that class segregation would replace racial segregation.

3.2 Brief overview of apartheid education

In 1948, Dr D.F. Malan led the National Party to a narrow win (by seats won, not number of votes cast[20]) over Field Marshal J.C. Smuts' United Party in an election that then saw racial segregation implemented to a degree never imagined (Cross & Chisholm, 1990; Spies & Liebenberg, 1993; Maile, 2004). Firstly, laws entrenching apartheid,[21] such as the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950, the Prevention of Illegal Squatters Act No. 52 of 1951, the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953, the Urban Areas Act No. 19 of 1954, promulgated during this period in South Africa (Spies & Liebenberg, 1993; Govender, Mynaka & Pillay, 1997).

Among the apartheid laws, one of the most significant was the Group Areas Act, which legislated that people could not live or own property outside their designated racial group area (Maile, 2004). This deliberately institutionalised residential segregation, or what is better known as spatial apartheid (Cross & Chisholm, 1990; Swilling, 1991; Biko, 1996; Chisholm, 2012). Subsequently, many people of colour were evicted from their homes and denied access to schools, as segregation was enforced – in some cases brutally (Swilling, 1991). Thus, before 1994, most schools were segregated along racial lines, except for some church schools (Cloete, 1993; Swilling, 1991). This segregated educational system proved to be effective in separating South African communities (Kallaway, 1997).

The racial classification system also divided society into social status categories (Swilling, 1991; Crankshaw, 1997; Lemon, 2004; Bell & McKay, 2011). White individuals were viewed as being of working class, middle class, or part of the elite, while people of colour were classified as lower class or the working poor. Only a small minority of people of colour made it to the middle class during the apartheid era (Horn & Henning, 1996; Crankshaw, 1997; Louw, 2004; Bell & McKay, 2011).

Working in tandem with the marring of the South African landscape with entrenched racial segregation, was inequality of education provisioning (Beutel & Anderson, 2008), that is, the government of the time introduced the Bantu Education Act which extended apartheid to schooling (Christie & Collins, 1984; Liebenberg & Spies, 1993). This Act removed control of black African

[20] The 1948 constituency system of voting gave rural voters more seats than urban voters.

[21] Apartheid was state policy whereby racial segregation was practiced. This included legal, political, social, educational, residential, and economic discriminatory policies that were based on skin colour.

education from the churches and placed it in the hands of the apartheid state (Molteno, 1984; Carrim, 1998). The Bantu Education Act also enabled full governmental control of mission schools, which were previously semi-private and open to all races. The Act also heralded in strict school segregation based on race: that is, racial classification determined which schoolchildren enrolled at which schools. South Africa's education system was thus both racially defined and socio-economically segregated, where education itself fostered this segregation (Bell & McKay, 2011). For example, Black Africans could only attend schools located in peripheral townships, designated homelands, or rural areas (Christie & Collins, 1984; Carrim, 1998; Beutel & Anderson, 2008).

Furthermore, schools for children of colour received far less money per learner than white schools for white children (Nkomo, Chisholm, & McKinney, 2004; Hunter, 2017. Over decades, (1940's – 1980's) White education received an unreasonably high share of resource allocation and so had more qualified educators and better infrastructure, such as libraries and sporting facilities (Beutel & Anderson, 2008; Fataar, 2008). The allocation of most of the education budget to white schools perpetuated education inequality (Weber, 2002; Fleisch, 2008a). In 1978/79, for example, per capita spending on black African education was less than a tenth of that on white education. Black African schools were likewise far too few in available schools, less than 1000 children (Johnson, 1982; Horn & Henning, 1996; Maile, 2004; McKay et al., 2018). Schools for people of colour, especially those for the black population, suffered from horrendous overcrowding, with excessively high teacher to learner ratios (Gustafsson & Patel, 2006). Additionally, educators of colour were paid far less compared to their white counterparts and many were significantly underqualified or unqualified (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Fataar, 2008). What is more, the quality of the education provided to Black Africans was significantly inferior to that of white children, due to significant under-provision of resources, poor teacher quality and a purposely weaker curriculum (Christie & Collins, 1982; MacKenzie, 1993; Fataar, 1997).

Thus, the apartheid state embedded inequality, discrimination, and unethical practices in education (Swilling, 1991; Kallaway, 1997; Maile, 2004; Fataar, 2008; Fleisch, 2008a; Pienaar & McKay, 2014). Consequently, the result was significant underdevelopment of human resources in South Africa, with severe long-term economic and development consequences (Weber, 2002; Lemon, 2004; Sayed & Soudien, 2005; Soudien, 2007; Bloch, 2010). A part of this long-term impact still affecting education today, whether public or private schooling, is that South Africa has two school systems with different educational outcomes (Soudien, 2007). Spaull (2013) noted that the smaller system is better performing, academically, and serves around 20-25% of learners. The larger system caters to 75-80% of children. This segment underperforms, and usually serves the poor. Most

learners in the larger system are black African.

3.3 Half in, half out: Incremental change 1980-1994

By the late 1980s, South Africa was facing increasing pressure, both domestically and from abroad, to dismantle apartheid. This took the form of political, economic, and social pressure, as well as cultural and sport/recreational sanctions (Beutel & Anderson, 2008) resulting in education and schools becoming targets for change. In particular, the government under the late State President, Mr F.W. de Klerk, faced relentless pressure to open white schools to all races and equalise funding across all schools (Lemon, 2004; Kallaway, 1997; Seekings & Nattrass, 2002; Louw, 2004). There were several reasons for this:

1. Firstly, white schools faced dwindling enrolment (due to low birth rates and emigration) while black African schools had huge learner numbers and far fewer educators (Fataar, 1997, 2008; Tikly & Mabogoane, 1997).
2. Secondly, the huge difference in the quality of education was becoming untenable (Seekings & Nattrass, 2002; Louw, 2004; and
3. Thirdly, the De Klerk government faced a major funding crisis, with the apartheid state under enormous financial pressure.

President de Klerk therefore elected to both desegregate and semi-privatise white schools using the "Clase model" (Woolman & Fleisch, 2006; Lombard, 2007). Named after the then Minister of National Education, Mr P.J. Clase, the Clase model (1990) introduced a quasi-market system, or cost-sharing model, for public education, that involved the levying of school fees (Kallaway, 1997). The model made South Africa 1 of only 6 countries worldwide to charge fees for primary schools, and 1 of roughly 30 who charge fees for secondary school (the later post-1994 policy of no-fee schools notwithstanding)[22]. A consequence was that parents who wanted to enrol in white schools had to be prepared to pay (Bush & Heystek, 2003; Fiske & Ladd, 2005). Thus, South Africa began to move towards a quasi-private approach, mirroring some international trends where education is viewed as a consumable item (Hofmeyr, 2000; Du Toit, 2008).

[22] Facilitating Girls' Access to Quality Education: Global Findings on Tuition-Free and Compulsory Education https://www.worldpolicycenter.org/sites/default/files/WORLD_Policy_Brief_Facilitating_Girls%E2%80%99_Access_to_Quality_Education_2015.pdf Accessed 24 March 2022

The Clase model had three options:

1. Model A, which permitted white parents to take ownership of the public school in which their children were enrolled, thereby allowing them to remain segregated if they so wished. This, however meant that the school was fully privatised, and parents would have to bear all costs.
2. Model B, which allowed the government to maintain authority over the school. The model was sometimes referred to as the public-school option (Tickly & Mabogoane 1997; Lombard 2007; McKay et al., 2018). They remained state schools, but they were handed over to a management group to run daily, within the confines of departmental norms. State funding provided for the salaries offer most of the workforce and covered most of the running expenditures. There were regulations in place that allowed for open admittance (Coutts, 1992; Carrim, 1995; Naidoo, 1996;); and,
3. Model C, which was to open the school to all races while retaining a 51% white majority in their population. The school could also keep some state funding but have control over the school's admissions policy (Tickly & Mabogoane 1997; Lombard 2007; McKay et al., 2018). This quasi-private model was known as the Model C option. In these Model C schools, the bulk of their income had to come from school fees or fund raising (McKay et al., 2018). The school governing body (SGB) could set the school fees. (Coutts, 1992; Carrim, 1995; Naidoo, 1996). The Clase model relied on (and perhaps even perverted) the use of the international norms such as enrolment by catchment zoning. That is Model C schools could in theory accept any learner but were unlikely to do so, as only white learners were likely to live within the designated school catchment zone due to spatial apartheid. Thus, the first learners of colour entered white public schools in 1991, with the model heralding the slow desegregation of white public schools (Lemon, 2004; McKay et al., 2018).

A fourth-generation model – Model D – was introduced towards the end of 1991. Model D was identical to Model B, except it did not limit the number of black students who may be accepted. They became black students' schools, administered by white parents, instructors, and the white Department of Education (Sayed & Carrim, 1997; Naidoo, 1996). The Clase model was embraced because of the emphasis on the introduction of school choice, not school fees. Choice was touted at the time as a type of liberation, that is, having a 'choice' is liberating. However, alongside fees, it also introduced the notion of learners and parents as consumers: Selecting schools became liken to selecting a consumer product – especially so, as choice linked to the ability to pay (Lemon, 2004; Singh, Mobokedi & Msila, 2004). While the consequences of commodification itself would be dire

(Woolman and Fleish, 2006), ambition for ‘improved’ or ‘valuable’ education also resulted in extensive learner migration and commuting (Lemon & Battersby-Lennard, 2009).

Of the four school models, only the Model A and Model C options remain as educational offerings, albeit in interpreted forms –

1. Private schooling as an interpretation of the Model A option; and
2. Ex-model C as an interpretation of the Model C option.

It is critical to note that school choice has two distinct characteristics. First, parents are not obligated to send their children to government-assigned schools which are often selected based on the family's geographic location. Second, "school choice policies foster rivalry among schools for children and income on the supply side of the market" (Plank & Sykes, 2003, p.7). This idea of parents making their own decisions regarding schooling for their child also features prominently in the international arena (Morken & Formicola, 1999). The underlying notion is that all parents want their children to receive a good education; however, the term ‘good education’ means different things to different people (Van Heemst, 2004).

Choice is also promoted as a mechanism for empowering underprivileged children (Pampallis, 2003). In the postmodern era, education is considered vital in pursuant of a better life. It is also viewed as a way for generational change in economic improvement or social upward mobility. One can say that wealthy parents adopt strategies to preserve or improve their social status and that of their children.

3.4 Education in the democratic era: Exit and marketisation

Prior to 1994, both the lack of access to education of choice and the delivery of poor-quality education in South Africa have been linked to human rights infringements because of the way the apartheid state had used legislation, to deny people of colour, the opportunity of quality education. Thus, the new South African Constitution legislated the right of all citizens to basic education, making 9 years of schooling (from ages 7 to 15) compulsory (SA Constitution, 1996c; South African Schools Act, 84 of 1996). As a result, South African Schools Act, No. 84 of 1996, 1996 and National Education Policy Act, No 27 of 1996, were promulgated (Bell & McKay, 2011). South African Schools Act, No. 84 of 1996 further allowed children of parents who are unable pay school fees, not to be rejected by fee-charging schools (McKay, 2015). The purpose was to make education both economically and physically accessible to those who were previously deprived of participation

in education (Fiske & Ladd, 2006).

The legislation, South African Schools Act, No. 84 of 1996, 1996 and National Education Policy Act, No. 27 of 1996, also fashioned the foundations for a unified public education system. The process of consolidation of the multiple education departments, across the various racial groupings, provinces, and previous homelands, was the first order of the educational transformation agenda. The 19 detached education departments, each with their own educational system, administration, budget, and affiliated schools were collapsed into one Department of Education (Gustafsson & Patel, 2006; Evoh & Mafu, 2007). The fragmented, discriminatory, and poorly managed education system had to be changed to allow for relevant, better quality and greater educational opportunities for all learners (Potgieter, Visser, Van der Bank, Mothata & Squelch, 1997; Maile, 2004).

Another priority was a new school curriculum (Soudien, 2007; Bloch, 2010). The new curriculum was, in part, meant to address quality issues so that "learners are able to develop to their full potential and to compete on equal terms with each other for jobs and for access to institutions of higher learning" (Veriava, 2005, p. 3).

The substantial steps undertaken to change the educational landscape (Soudien, 2007) were, however, plagued with difficulties and the process has been challenging (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Fataar, 2008; McKay, 2015). One of the most pressing challenges is the inadequate resources including human, physical and material (Brooks, 1993). Apartheid education was a system of under provisioning in terms of educators (in terms of both numbers and qualifications), physical resources and school management for schools that served the majority (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Fataar, 2008).

While South Africa emerged from apartheid after 1994 with high hopes of redress and systemic transformation, in matters such as education funding, access to education and quality of education, many problems remain (Kallaway, 1984, 1997; Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Sekete, Shilubane & Moila, 2001; Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Louw, 2004; Maile, 2004; Fleisch, 2008). Concerns include how to improve the quality of educators how to improve school infrastructure, and how to fix school management capacity and systems (Gustafsson & Patel, 2006). These concerns were not misplaced as it soon became apparent that there were high dropout rates, particularly from township and rural high schools (Spaull, 2013; Bernstein & Hofmeyer, 2015). There are also huge inefficiencies in the system, hampering the delivery of quality education for all (Kapp, et al., 2014). Thus, geographical zoning and high fees appear to be locking learners out from accessing quality

education (McKay, 2015, 2019). Additionally, the apartheid resource backlog is evident, some 28 years later, with resource differences based on geographical location, specifically aligned to spatial apartheid (Amoateng & Richter, 2003; Lombard, 2007; Fataar, 2011; Bell & McKay, 2011). By drawing on their apartheid resource legacy, schools in former white areas remain privileged (De Kadt, et al., 2014).

While democratic South Africa can boast of near universal enrolment at primary school level, the South African public education system is in grave trouble and is becoming a major impediment to development (Spaull, 2016). Learner achievement is poor, evident in South Africa's own national public matriculation examination results, as well as regional and international comparative surveys where South Africa is among the lowest performing countries (EFA Report, 2015)[23]. This is despite spending R203 billion on basic education for 2015/2016, or 16.7% of the total South African education budget. Such money places South Africa in the highest percentages of upper middle-income countries (Motala, 2014; EFA Report, 2015). Clearly, policy decisions relating to school funding norms must be thoroughly scrutinised (Nattrass & Seeking, 2001; Bond, 2003, 2004; Louw, 2004; Soudien, 2007).

The right to choose a school has become crucial for parents seeking access to quality education (Msila, 2011). Many black African parents are therefore exercising the right of school choice by moving their children to schools in former white areas (Tikly & Mabogoane, 1997; Bell & McKay, 2011; McKay, 2015). For example, Dekker and Van Schalkwyk (1985) found that learners from Sharpeville enrol in ex-Model C schools located in Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging, causing a decrease in the number of learners in Sharpeville primary schools. De Kadt, Van Heerden, Richter & Alvanides (2019) also found that primary schools in Soweto were emptying. For example, only 18% of primary school learners attend a school nearby. According to the findings of the StatsSA General Household Survey (2018), at least 16.7% of high school students and 14.3% of elementary school students in the country do not attend the school nearest to their houses.

[23] The 2015 Global Monitoring Report – Education for All 2000-2015: Achievements and Challenges – provides a complete assessment of progress since 2000 towards the target date for reaching the Dakar Framework's goals. https://en.unesco.org/gem-report/report/2015/education-all-2000-2015-achievements-and-challenges

3.5 Parent school choice in a democratic era

At face value, school choice increases the range of schooling options available (Lee, Croninger & Smith, 1994). However, Lee et al., (1994) contend that multiple views relate to school choice. Firstly, there is the notion of liberation. That is, school choice gives parents and learners educational freedom (McKay, 2019; Gorard et al., 2001). Within this is the consideration that, for decades, South Africans had no school choice. Parents (including white parents) had no or truly little say in their children's schooling. Private schooling was an option, but costly and religious-based (Booyse, Le Roux, Seroto & Wolhuter, 2011; Evans & Cleghorn, 2014). Thus, in South Africa, choice became synonymous with freedom (Msila, 2005; Lombard, 2007). Secondly, there is the assumption that choice promotes fairness and equity, that is, school choice is something available to all. In the case of South Africa, choice removed previously restrictive legislative barriers (Sekete et al., 2001; Hunter, 2017). Thus, school choice was also associated with the desegregation of the South Africa education system.

A third argument is that of the power of market forces. This argument claims that successful schools become popular choices, and unsuccessful schools lose out (Gorard et al., 2001; Bisschoff & Koebe, 2005; Evans & Cleghorn, 2014). Enrolment in one increases and declines in the other (Hunter, 2016). In a market economy, however, if schools can utilise school choice to select learners, they then have an incentive to choose the ones easiest to educate. In this regard, it would be the academically stronger or the middle class learners (as their parents will do much behind the scenes – such as supervise homework, find tutors, and provide resources) who will be allowed to enrol (Kallaway 1984, 1997; Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Plank & Sykes, 2003; Louw, 2004; Burgess & Briggs, 2006). This is known as creaming (Osindi, 2022). Furthermore, if choice is also linked to the ability to pay, then it will result in additional class segregation, due to the commodification of education (Horn & Henning, 1996; Lemon, 2004; Bisschoff & Koebe, 2005).

In the South African context, the ability to pay school fees, own a new house/accommodation or afford commuting costs, creates access to schools of choice, whilst those who cannot do this, their children will remain in poor quality schools, potentially trapping them in poverty (Van der Berg & Berger, 2003; Bosetti, 2004; Soudien, 2007). Additionally, choice is linked to non-financial resources as well. Notably, poorer families are less likely to participate, or take full advantage of opportunities of choice in their children's schools, as they simply 'drown' in the everyday challenges of trying to eke out a living (Carnoy & McEwan, 2003). Chisholm (2012) also noted that poorer families simply lack equivalent access to information on schooling options and opportunities

outside of their residential areas. Furthermore, they may be wary of sending their children to schools where they may not fit in culturally or linguistically (Walford, 2003; Hastings, 2005; Burgess et al., 2010). Education levels also matter. Research shows that parents who choose schools outside of townships are generally better educated than those who do not. They usually work in professional occupations (Plank & Sykes, 2003; Lemon, 2004; Fataar, 2011; Hunter, 2017). Thus, school choice policies and processes favour the better-off rather than giving all parents genuine and equitable 'power' (Msila, 2011).

When it comes to school choice, there is also the matter of white flight. white flight is when white parents believe that their children will be disadvantaged or bullied if they are in the minority in a school, so they withdraw their children from the school. Some claim that these fears are the motivating factor for white flight. Thus, principal of Saxonwold Primary, Johannesburg, a former Model C school, claims that white parents are enrolling their children in "whiter" schools or deciding to home school them (Govender, 2018). Unfortunately, she does not indicate which of these "whiter" schools are. Another example is Govender, principal of Newcastle High. He claims that he received many emails from Afrikaner parents requesting his resignation because he was a person of colour. Additionally, in his view these parents subsequently removed their children from his school because of his race. He reports, "That, over a period, the number of white learners dropped over time from around 900 to nine". Estcourt High, a once predominantly white school in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands, also reported a massive drop in white learners (Govender, 2018).

In terms of school choice, context matters. In that regard, South African schooling is characterised by many underperforming schools, schools which lack resources and funding. Their graduates often exit the schooling system with few skills or expertise needed for the workplace (Bhorat, 2004; Reddy, 2006; Spaull, 2011). Poor quality public education is creating unemployable youths, increasing youth frustration, and having a detrimental effect on the post-schooling sector (Soudien, 2004; Motala, 2014; Hunter, 2017). This hinders future employment due to the mismatch between the skills high school graduates have and those that the job market requires. Thus, over time, notions of access have changed from the right to choose a school without discrimination to an emphasis on access to quality education (Singh et al., 2004; Sayed & Motala, 2012; Hill, 2016). Parents are accordingly using the right of school choice to seek out better resourced schools, with good academic outcomes (de Kadt et al., 2014; McKay, 2019). Therefore, many black African parents are exercising the right of school choice by moving their children to schools in former white areas, which they perceive as being of better quality (Tikly & Mabogoane 1997; Bell & McKay, 2011; McKay, 2015; Hill, 2016).

3.6 Children's daily experience of the school commute

No conversation about choice can ignore the resultant school commute. In that regard, South Africa provides a first-rate setting for the investigation of school commuting and school choice (Fiske & Ladd, 2004; Lemon, 2004; Hunter, 2017). That is, school choice, in a situation where demand for quality education exceeds supply, and is additionally commodified alongside spatial apartheid, has created a particular commuting pattern.

Despite the repeal of the Group Areas Act, most black Africans still reside in the former apartheid era townships (Hofmeyr, 2000). Schools in townships continue, however, to display problems such as overcrowding, poor quality teaching and lack of resources such as desks, textbooks, classrooms, technological equipment, and computers (Ginsburg, Richter, Fleisch & Norris, 2011; McKay, 2019). Thus, while enrolment in a neighbourhood school is ideal, when local township schools offer what parents consider poor quality education, there is an exodus from township schools (Sinha, Payne & Cook, 2005; Du Toit, 2008; Nettles, Caughy & O'Campo, 2008; De Kadt et al., 2014; Pienaar & McKay, 2014). Notably, it is parents with financial means that are systematically exiting the township public school system (Weber, 2002; Lemon, 2004; Futoshi, 2011). Thus, as identified by Lancaster (2011) and Machard & McKay (2014), school choice has resulted in significant learner migration, with school commuting making the country home to unusual pupil migration patterns. That is, South African learners travel long distances with high transport costs (in terms of time and money), to be able to attend their school of choice (Hofmeyr, 2000; Sekete et al., 2001; Futoshi, 2011).

According to Mapasa (2005), such parents make their children undertake a long commute because of how they view the status (academics, safety, and discipline issues) of the receiving school and because they think status will accrue to them as a parent if their child attends such a school. Hofmeyer (2000:4) observed, "Parents … are making huge sacrifices to taxi them to schools far from where they live, often spending more on taxi costs than [on] school fees". Hence, commuting is an expensive option (Fataar, 2007; Soudien, 2010; De Kadt et al., 2014). The negative attributes are not just financial; they include time, distance, environmental impacts, congestion, and safety (Weber, 2002; Lemon, 2004; Gibbons & Machin, 2008). Long school days and a lengthy school commute have undesirable consequences for learners: They may arrive at school tired and hungry, the commute itself may be uncomfortable and unsafe, and learners may also miss out on extracurricular activities (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2002; Du Toit, 2008).

While it is well known that school choice promotes the exit choice, so too does home schooling, and it is to this that the chapter will now turn.

3.7 Exit left – the rise of home schooling

Although the South African Constitution does not contain a provision explicitly allowing parents the freedom to home school their children (Visser, 1998), Section 51 of South African Schools Act, No 84 of 1996does recognise and give life to home schooling. The South African Schools Act, No 84 of 1996 states that a "parent may apply to the Head of Department for the registration of a learner to receive education at the learner's home. (South African Schools Act, No 84 of 1996)". However, a learner may only be registered for education if the provincial head of the Education Department is satisfied that registration will be in the child's best interests, that the minimum requirements of the curriculum in public schools will be met, and that the standard of home education will at least match that of public schools. New home-schooling laws were gazetted on November 23, 1999 and went into effect in January 2000. These rules provide a policy for the registration of home learners in accordance with Article 3(4) (g) of NEPA, and augments Article 51 of SASA. The NEPA defines home schooling as an alternative form of learning that takes place outside of a government-designated public or private school environment and is primarily conducted at home with parents as the primary instructors of academic knowledge (De Waal & Theron, 2003; Mills, 2009). Parents take responsibility for the learner's education (Moore, Lemmer & Van Wyk, 2004; Donnelly, 2012). However, home schoolers continue to express confusion regarding factors such as the minimum curriculum requirements and the educational standards to which they are obligated to conform (Pestalozzi Trust, 2002[24]: De Waal & Theron, 2003; Mills, 2009). Thus, home schooling has become more formalised in recent years, and parents must register their intention to home school their child/children in the province where they reside[25].

Teaching methods in South African home schools range from less structured to more structured (Van Oostrum, 1997b; Durham, 1996; Botha, 1998; Kotzé & Donaldson, 1998; Rooi, 1998). Some home schoolers use pre-prepared curricula, while others do not (Van Oostrum & Van Oostrum, 1997; Botha, 1998; Kotzé & Donaldson, 1998; Rooi, 1998). It is, however, usually an informal

[24] The Pestalozzi Trust is a registered public benefit organisation established in 1998 by a group of Christians to provide affordable legal defence and advocacy services to protect the rights and freedoms of all member families to educate their children at home according to their own religious and/or philosophical persuasions, pedagogical convictions, and cultural traditions. https://pestalozzi.org/en/about-us-2/. (Accessed January 2022).

[25] : https://www.education.gov.za/Parents/HomeEducation/tabid/406/Default.aspx

learning setting that is touted to give children rich social experiences to allow them to discover new things and learn via experiences in a more natural way (Mills, 2009). Home schooling families usually have a schoolroom in their home. Most have normal school hours in the mornings. The flexibility, on the other hand, allows for divergence from routine to enable field excursions, study at the local library, or hands-on work in various contexts. Accordingly, home schooling is a structured, controlled, and organised environment that can help learners achieve academic success (Durham, 1996; Van Oostrum, 1997; Botha, 1998; Kotzé & Donaldson, 1998; Rooi, 1998). Furthermore, parents have more control over the moral and social components of their children's upbringing, which may be lacking or difficult in traditional schools (Spiegler, 2010).

Until the late 1990s, very few South African children were home schooled, but home schooling is fast gaining in popularity (Ebrahim, 2020). Currently, home schooling is growing in the region of 20% per annum (De Waal & Theron, 2003; Nhlapo, 2018). Despite this, there are few scholarly studies on home schoolers in South Africa. Discontent with the conventional education system is the typical motivator for the decision to home school Morton, 2010). Initially, parents who made the decision to home school their children were motivated primarily by religious reasons (Knowles et al., 1994). According to existing information, most home schoolers in South Africa are Christian parents who are dissatisfied with secular public schools. However, the greatest increase in support appears to be from parents withdrawing their children from public schools for academic reasons, specifically unhappiness with the school curricula, teaching methods, policy, and standards (Knowles et al., 1994; De Waal & Theron, 2003). Home schooling is favoured for a variety of other reasons: a collapse in moral standards, a lack of discipline, increased exposure to drugs and sex in schools, as well as more personal concerns (Botha, 1998; Kotzé & Donaldson, 1998; Rooi, 1998). Moore et al., (2004) found that home schooling parents in South Africa were dissatisfied with the quality of educators, the lack of resources such as libraries and equipment, as well as the safety of their children. Van Oostrum & Van Oostrum (1997, p. 2) proposed additional considerations, such as the value of education in the home tongue, the perils of a commute through crime-ridden and unsafe areas, and distance.

Home schooling is recognised as a genuine schooling option in South Africa (Durham, 1996; Moore et al., 2004). Advocates of home schooling claim it allows children to learn in an environment that is different from what they would find in a traditional public or private school (Ray, 2015). The growing popularity of home schooling has also spawned a massive business dedicated to helping and providing resources to parents who choose to home school their children (Moore et al., 2004). It is evident that home schoolers are a varied mix of parents who share an

attribute: the wish to provide their children with the strongest education available. These parents are actively involved in their children's education and have chosen to leave the current system for home schooling (Durham, 1996; Botha, 1998; Kotzé & Donaldson, 1998; Rooi, 1998). Thus, despite many educational changes, it appears that educational reform in South Africa may not match all parents' expectations (Dembitzer, 1990; Van der Westhuizen, 1991; Knowles et al., 1994; Van Oostrum, 1997). On this basis, a parent's decision to home school may be viewed as a demonstration of their right to choose and may in fact be using that right to exit the formal public or private educational system.

The option to take control of one's own children's education may also be impacted by COVID-19. Government's response during the various lockdown periods meant that parents had to supervise and ensure that teaching continued, and that their children remained on top of the curriculum. This may just have given parents a sufficient glimpse at becoming their children's 'educators'. Another clear 'off-ramp' out of public schooling is the move to private schools. The next section presents the rise of private schooling in South Africa.

3.8 Exit right – the rise of independent schools

Private schooling often referred to as 'independent schooling' in South Africa, with the term 'independent' derived from SASA (Kitaev, 1999; Du Toit, 2004). The term is partly to distinguish the fully private schools from the designated fee-charging Quintile 4 and 5 public schools (Hofmeyr et al., 2013). Notably, the Independent Schools Association of South Africa (ISASA) does not recognize Quintile 4 and 5 schools as independent schools (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2002). Thus, they are quasi-private. Hofmeyr & Lee (2004) describe contributors, donors, or businesses – but not the state – as the owners, managers, and financers of private schools. They also must register with the relevant authority as 'independent' (Hofmeyr et al., 2013). By ISASA's definition, the independent schooling system comprises about 6.5% of the overall schooling system, with 538,421 learners across 1,681 registered independent schools, although Umalusi records reflect 3,500 accredited independent registered schools in 2015 (Department of Basic Education, 2012; Bernstein, 2015). The South African independent schooling system is, like the public education sector, a dual one. There is a small group of high performing, competitive, resourced, expensive (in terms of fees charged) private schools, and another larger group of poorly resourced private schools charging low fees (Machard & McKay, 2014; McKay et al., 2018). The latter may be characterised as less than stellar, academically. Despite this, most are better than townships schools (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2004).

In the main, independent schools in South Africa follow the English private school model (Pretorius, 2019). Albeit a small sector, it has a long history, with the oldest independent school in South Africa, St George's Grammar School (Cape Town, Western Cape), established in 1848 (Pretorius, 2019). Between 1850 and 1989 most independent schools took the form of church schools: Catholic, Methodist, and Anglican. Post-1994, the number of for-profit private schools has risen enormously (Tooley & Dixon, 2006; Hofmeyr et al., 2013). The increase was in part due to the South African Constitution allowing for independent schools to exist, providing they do not discriminate on admission on the grounds of race and do not offer an inferior education compared to public education (Walton, et al.,2009). Consequently, most private schools in South Africa have a multi-racial learner body (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2002). Demand for quality education has also driven enrolment in independent schools since 1990 (Hofmeyr, 2001; Du Toit, 2004). Many of these new schools are purely commercial. Thus, market related dynamics of supply and demand now dominate private sector education (Hofmeyr et al., 2013, Bernstein, 2015). Additionally, the 'elite' segment of South African society wants exclusive private education. Given that this elite is becoming increasingly multiracial, most exclusive independent schools are racially diverse (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2002). In general, parents who can afford it, pick a private school as a way of exiting public education. As this study is on a particular segment of private schooling, namely Catholic schools, it is to this that the next section turn.

3.9 Private Catholic schools in South Africa

The involvement of the Catholic Church in formal education in South Africa goes back a long way. Notably, in 1849, the Missionary Sisters of the Assumption opened the first church school for settler children in Grahamstown. The Catholic Church provided mission schools education to children of colour. The role of the Catholic Church in the education of people of colour in South Africa, has been profound; for example, in South Africa there are more than 170,000 learners in 330 Catholic schools (2021)[26]. There are two categories of Catholic schools [designated by SASA Section 14]:

> (1) Public schools: Located on private property, that is, church-owned property, formerly known as state-aided schools. These schools have the right to promote and preserve their religious character.

[26] https://www.cie.org.za/pages/schools-overview (accessed 12/12/2021).

(2) Independent schools: Dioceses or religious congregations own these. The majority serve disadvantaged communities, as 75% of these schools are in townships or rural areas and may be under-resourced[27].

In terms of opposing segregation and apartheid, the Catholic Church, like most Christian churches, was relatively slow. For one, it laboured under the heritage of segregation, one that it shared with the rest of the Christian churches in most pre-liberation colonial situations[28]. Despite this, in 1952, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference publicly called out the apartheid state with respect to racism. Post the Bantu Education Act, the Catholic Church tried valiently to retain its mission schools, partly due to their view that church schools play a significant role in evangelisation. Additionally, the Catholic Church also hoped that their conciliatory stance towards the apartheid government would enable them to retain control of their schools, hospitals, and welfare institutions (Higgs & Evans, 2008). However, over time, the Catholic Church's public position towards apartheid shifted from an approach of seeming detachment to a stance of solidarity with the masses of oppressed people (Higgs & Evans, 2008). By 1957, it had condemned apartheid as "intrinsically evil".

In part, this was due to the proceedings of the second Vatican Council, alongside international anti-apartheid pressure and sanctions against South Africa. At the same time, the state began to imprison and deport clerical and lay church workers who spoke out against apartheid. Lastly, the effects of apartheid on ordinary people became intolerable to watch (Higgs & Evans, 2008). Furthermore, it was clear that there was a severe crisis in education, brought to the fore by the Soweto uprising of 1976. However, resistance to apartheid was fraught with difficulty and until the late 1970s, the Catholic Bishops' Conference, as a grouping, conducted few acts of defiance against the apartheid state (Catholic Institute of Education, 2016). By the late 1970s and 1980s, some religious congregations also took on a more active role in working against apartheid (Higgs & Evans, 2008). Nevertheless, in 1976, the so-called Open Schools' Movement was launched, where private church schools began to allow learners of colour to enrol, with the passing of a resolution by the Catholic Bishops Conference (Christie & Collins, 1982). In an additional response to the 1976 Soweto riots, the Headmasters and Headmistresses Conference (1978), elected to allow all races to enrol in private church schools (Christie & Collins, 1982). By 1978, Catholic schools had a multi-racial learner body. This is unsurprising as, today, at least 8% of the South African population self-reports

[27] http://www.cie.org.za/our_schools/ (accessed 19/12/2021).
[28] https://sacbc.org.za/history-of-the-catholic-church-in-southern-africa/ (accessed 19/12/2021).

as being Catholic, making it the second largest Christian denomination after the Dutch Reformed Church[29], about 80% of these Catholics are people of colour, 2021[30].

3.10 Voice: The rise of School Governing Bodies (SGBs)

Prior to the De Klerk reforms in 1990, South African politics was dominated by anti-apartheid demonstrations as part of a wider liberation movement. As a result, many individuals developed an idea of a post-apartheid state that would bring radical transformation and social progress through wealth redistribution and access to quality state service provisioning (Mncube, 2009; 2010). This included education. A part of the promised liberation of the South African educational landscape was the promulgation of SASA, which launched a new democratic approach to school governance (Fataar, 1997; Caldwell, 2010). In particular, the African National Congress (ANC) of 1994[31] held the view that democratic school governance institutions would be required to properly develop the country's human resources potential (Kallaway, 2003; Clase, et al., 2007). Thus, one significant new approach was the democratic control of schools through stakeholder interaction (Department of Education, 1999; Mncube, 2007; 2010; Mncube, et al., 2010). The notion was that schools should listen to parents, promote their engagement, and give them more authority and responsibility. Although it is uncommon for a government to devolve all authority and duties of school governance and management to the school and community level, it is nonetheless desirable to strike a balance between the state's authority and the authority of the School Governing Bodies (SGBs) (Clase et al., 2007; Mncube et al., 2011). This early post-apartheid period reflected the values associated with greater access, participation, and the expectation of democratic change (Fataar, 1997; Mncube, 2007, 2010). Thus, it is argued that the intention was to right the wrongs of the past and decentralise the management of schools into the hands of communities, to give a 'voice' to parents, learners, and communities (Hofman, Hofman & Guldemond, 2002; Mestry, 2004; Ranson, Farrell, Peim & Smith, 2005). As a result, SGBs were formed, comprising of democratically elected parents, learners, and other community members. Parents must form the majority, however (Van Wyk, 2004). This was an effort to enhance provisioning through participatory governance or recognising the value of 'voice' (Karlsson, 2002; Caldwell, 2010). This involvement of parents at the governance level was unprecedented for South Africa. It was hailed as an admirable idea and a progressive step for the country (Sayed & Carrim. 1997; Clase et al., 2007). This formalised

[29] https://sacbc.org.za/history-of-the-catholic-church-in-southern-africa (accessed 19/12/2021).
[30] https://www.cie.org.za/pages/schools-overview (accessed 12/12/2021).
[31] https://www.anc1912.org.za/policy-documents-1994-the-reconstruction-and-development-programme-introduction-to-the-rdp/ (accessed 19/12/2021)

opportunity to have a ‘voice’ allowed parents to co-develop mission statements for the schools, promote the school's best interests, ensure quality education for learners, ensure learners' safety and security, decide on school uniform policy, disciplinary action and determine school fees, for example (Heystek, 2004; Moore et al., 2004).

According to Chisholm, Motala and Vally (2003:246), this decentralisation of school governance and administration “allows school stakeholders to participate at a level where they can have direct impact on issues that concern them, but it also allows different capacities and inequalities of power and influence to be expressed more strongly at that level”. The overarching purpose was to reduce centralised and bureaucratic school management (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Sayed & Soudien, 2005; Mestry, 2004, 2006; Clase et al., 2007). Caldwell & Spinks (1998) noted that decentralisation does not mean that schools are autonomous (that is, not independent or private); nor does having a voice imply that all grievances will be resolved. There was the assumption, however, that monies and other resources should be entrusted to the local community, as the local level knows best how to use finances and other resources allocated from the national or state (provincial) organisations.

A question emerging is whether SGBs have functioned as originally prescribed, that is, has the right of participation and decision making at school governance level worked (Clase et al., 2007; Woolman & Fleisch, 2009; Mncube et al., 2011; Heystek, 2011). Mestry and Naidoo (2009) argued that the powers conferred on SGBs by SASA disguised the government's real intent. They argued that SASA's primary goal is to give the illusion that parents have genuine rights with respect to school governance. On the ground, stakeholders have battled to work together with some communities, particularly in rural and township schools, and have had a torrid time, as principals and parent SGB members cannot work together. Some claim that this is due to the limited training given to the role players in terms of school management and governance, as well as the ambiguity around SGB functions and duties (Heystek, 2004). Thus, over the years, tensions have emerged, most of which are associated with under preparedness of parents, lack of managerial experience and low literacy levels. Confusion at grassroots level as to governance issues is also problematic (Van Wyk, 2004; Clase et al., 2007; Joubert & Bray, 2007; Mncube et al., 2011). According to Brown and Duku, (2008) and Mncube (2007; 2008, 2009), SGBs are rife with social conflict due to uneven power relations, differing socio-economic status, different cultural expectations, poor sharing of information, language barriers, poor organisation, and a high member turnover rate.

Several authors argued that argue that SASA and other pieces of legislation pertaining to school governing bodies are part of a global neo-liberal agenda (Sayed & Carrim, 1997; Olssen & Peters,

2005; Caldwell, 2010; Heystek, 2011). That is, the state purportedly provided communities, parents, and learners with considerable democratic and political rights over their individual schools in exchange for parents' acceptance of financial responsibility for their children's education, especially in Quintile 4 and 5 schools. Thus, neoliberalism relating to school governance and management cannot be overlooked, due to its association with the commodification of education. Additionally, SGBs can be attributed to be linked to middle-class norms about parental participation in their children's education (Brown & Duku, 2008). Consequently, the notion of SGBs relies on parents having the financial means, desire, as well as the time to devote to school activities (Mncube, 2005, 2008; Sayed & Soudien, 2005).

Since, December 2020, have seen public confrontations between the ANC government and SGBs. It appears that the various members of the provincial executive committee with responsibility for education, especially in Gauteng, are unhappy with school self-determination and self-administration. Notable clashes have occurred over hair policies, the language of teaching and learning, as well as enrolment numbers (Sowetan, 2020). The ANC members in government wish to revise the SGB legislation, to roll back of the power of SGB as stipulated in the Government Gazette No 45601 of 6 December 2021. The ANC government avoided a public reaction and published in December 2021 – when people were on leave. The proposed changes as published in the Government Gazette No 45601 of 6 December 2021, affecting SGBs will mean that parents will lose control over admissions and the medium of instruction. This change will significantly extend the ruling party's (ANC) influence over schools, and for Quintile 4 and 5, with no additional financial responsibilities. The ruling party increasingly finds participatory and grassroots decision-making unpleasant, especially if SGBs do not toe the ANC's line, with the sole purpose of quietening the 'voice' of parents' right to govern over education practice and delivery.

3.11 Loyalty: Investigating loyalty to schools

Walker and Clark (2010) capture the sentiment of loyalty and the aggravation among communities when parents exit a community. Middle-class parents, who is parents who can afford the time and the cost of school fees, can opt to leave a community school. This undermines the community and its neighbourhood school. Exit can thus cause community discord and place the school's very existence at risk if the exodus is in large numbers. It is therefore posited, that parents should keep their children in a local school and then get involved in the school to address difficulties or issues. In this regard, loyalty is positively associated with voice in Hirschman's model (Boroff & Lewin, 1997). Working as a community gives people a sense of belonging and a stronger bond (Allen &

Tuselmann, 2009); however, literature on voice relates to employee loyalty, in the form of trust, dedication and motivation. How well it will work in the context of a school is not clear? How many parents are willing to have their children endure poor education while they try to help 'fix' the school? In terms of South Africa's township schools, most parents who are 'loyal' have no option but to keep their children in the school. This is noted with multiple studies showing the rise of an 'underclass' in the township and rural schools (Machard & McKay, 2014; McKay, 2015; Hunter, 2017; Mnguni & McKay, 2022; Msila, 2022).

3.12 Conclusion

This chapter presented a review of related South African literature in support of the study topic with several interesting aspects such as school choice, home schooling and School Governing Bodies (SGBs). An overview of pre-apartheid education system, post- apartheid school system of South African history of education. In considering school choice by parents in South Africa as a choice as this is not an obligatory choice as South African education is still via State and Private provisioning. Choice is a consequence of parents seeking a better-quality education. Facts are that these parents have the financial means and access to private schools, in the case of this study private Catholic schools. Parents' choice to exit and the marketisation of education. Captured in this chapter is children's daily experience of the school commute. The literature was framed within the Voice, Exit and Loyalty theory, thus, the chapter also included sections on school governing bodies and home schooling.

4 CHAPTER FOUR: PARENTAL SURVEY RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents the data collected from the survey conducted across a parent group from the identified schools in this study (Dominican Convent School, Holy Family Convent, and McAuley House Catholic School). These parents participating in the study are referred to as the parent survey group, in text, headings of tables and figures and explanatory writing. The survey was conducted between March – May 2019. Parents of learner's grades 9, 10 and 11, from the three schools, were requested to completed survey. There were no selection criteria applied to the selection of parents, an explanatory letter was attached to the survey to parents explaining the purpose of the research and the survey. The total number of surveys distributed to parents across the 3 grades at 3 schools (McH, DCS and HFC) 225 and returns of parents taking part and returning the survey 73. Important to highlight not all the questions were answered by parents when completing the survey, leading to differences in the number of replies to the questions. The survey questionnaire is in Annexure A, of the study. All percentages in the tables are rounded off to the nearest percent. The purpose of introducing percentages in the write-up is to do away with absolute numbers only the percentages have been retained throughout the work.

4.2 Demographic profile of the parent survey group

The parents' self-declared racial composition was 98% black African and 2% white, as indicated in Table 4.1. No parent self-identified as Coloured, Asian, Indian or Other. This differs from national data where black Africans are 81% of the population, similarly for Johannesburg[32].

[32] https://www.gov.za/about-sa/south-africas-people and https://www.joburg.org.za/documents_/Documents/Statistical%20Briefs/Issue%2023%20Joburg%20Demographics%20and%20Key%20Socio%20Economic%20Indicators.pdf Accessed 30 January 2022

Table 4.1: Race profile of parents in the survey group from the three schools taking part in the survey (March – May 2019)

Race	Count[33]	Percentage*
Black	64	98%
White	1	2%
Coloured	0	0
Asian	0	0
Indian	0	0
Other	0	0
Total	65**	100%

*Rounded off to nearest percent

** Only 65 parents answered this question of the survey group of 73

The most spoken home language of the parents was IsiZulu (36%), followed by English (34%), Sesotho (25%), Setswana (22%) and isiXhosa (9%). The group of minor languages together constitute the other 27% of the sample, with the outlier being siSwati at 1%. This is different to national statistics, where 25% speak IsiZulu at home and 8% speak English at home[34]. IsiZulu and English are the dominant home languages of the respondents in the sample. Considering the racial profile, black Africans have switched their home language from an indigenous one to English as is shown in Table 4.2 which depicts the home language of the respondents.

[33] *Count – The actual number of returned questionnaires. Seventy-three (73) returned surveys but not all 73 answered the specific question.

[34] https://www.statista.com/statistics/1114302/distribution-of-languages-spoken-inside-and-outside-of-households-in-south-africa/ Accessed 30 Jan 2022.

Table 4.2: Home language of parents in the survey group (March – May 2019)

Language	Survey Group (73)*	Survey Group (%)	National (%)	Standard Deviation[35][36]
IsiZulu	26	36%	25%	+2SD/dominant
English	25	34%	8%	+2SD/dominant
Sesotho	18	25%	8%	+1SD/common
Setswana	16	22%	9%	+1SD/common
IsiXhosa	9	12%	15%	-1SD/uncommon
Sepedi	5	7%	10%	-1SD/uncommon
Xitsonga	5	7%	4%	-1SD/uncommon
IsiNdebele	4	5%	2%	-1SD/uncommon
Afrikaans	3	4%	12%	-1SD/uncommon
Tshivenda	2	3%	3%	-1SD/uncommon
SiSwati	1	1%	3%	-2SD/rare

*Only 73 parents answered this question of the survey, showing more than one language

The survey proved a common issue in Gauteng schools, namely the wide variety of languages spoken at home. This issue is uncommon in provinces like KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape where one language is dominant.

It is notable that although English is the language of instruction at the schools in this study (Dominican Convent School, Holy Family Convent, and McAuley House Catholic School), 66% of respondents indicated that they spoke no English at home. Conversely, 19% respondents indicated that they spoke only English at home and 15% indicated that they spoke English and another language at home.

This lack of English being spoken in 66% of these homes is a lost opportunity for the children of these parents to build their language skills (the connection being that if the parents do not speak English in their home, then it is unlikely that their children will). Insight into this could be found by evaluating the English language proficiency of their children against the proficiency of children who speak / partly speak English in their home. If there is a direct correlation between home-speaking and proficiency, then this becomes an additional factor for parents to consider in relation to their desire for their children's academic excellence. As discussed in this section, 90% of parents named this an important factor when choosing a school. Therefore, gaining insight into the

[35] A standard deviation (or σ) is a measure of how dispersed the data is in relation to the mean. Low standard deviation means data are clustered around the mean, and high standard deviation indicates data are more spread out.
[36] SD = 8.84, Mean = 10.36

correlation between speaking English in the home and proficiency could lead to programmes to encourage and/or enable these parents to introduce the language into their home discourse.

4.3 Geographical profile of the parent survey group

Table 4.3 details the residential areas of the parents who participated in the survey. Of the 73 parent respondents[37], 54% lived in former black African designated areas (townships), 37% lived in former white designated areas, 5% lived in former coloured designated areas, 3% lived in a former Indian designated area and 1% lived in an area that was mixed race, suffered forced removals and was later designated white by the apartheid regime. The majority (76%) lived in Johannesburg South, 11% lived in Johannesburg West, 8% lived in Johannesburg Central, 3% lived in Johannesburg North, and 5% lived in Ekurhuleni. Based on these results, the vast majority do not live in the wealthier northern Johannesburg region.

[37] 73 parents participated in the parent survey; however, this does not mean that the parents answered all the questions. Therefore, in the Tables depicted in this chapter are reflective of the actual questions answered by the participating parents.

Table 4.3: Residential areas of participants indicated by parents in the survey group participating in this study (March – May 2019)

Residential area	Approx. distance from JHB CBD (Park Station)[38]	Approx. time from JHB CBD (Park Station)[39]	Designated racial area as per Group Areas Act	Count (73)	Sum
Soweto, Johannesburg South	26 km	34 min	Black African	39 (53%)	53 (75%)
Ormonde, Johannesburg South	9.6 km	13 min	White	4 (5%)	
Naturena, Johannesburg South	22 km	21 min	White	3 (4%)	
Cleveland, Johannesburg South	9.5 km	16 min	White	2 (3%)	
Kibler Park, Johannesburg South	19.3 km	21 min	White	2 (3%)	
Lenasia, Johannesburg South	38.6 km	31 min	White	2 (3%)	
Forest Hill, Johannesburg South	9.4 km	18 min	White	1 (1%)	
Malvern, Johannesburg South	7.2 km	15 min	White	1 (1%)	
Walkerville, Johannesburg South	30.5 km	29 min	White	1 (1%)	
Mulbarton, Johannesburg South	18.2 km	23 min	White	1 (1%)	
Berea, Johannesburg Central	2.1 km	7 min	White	5 (7%)	6 (8%)
Sophiatown, Johannesburg Central	8.1 km	16 min	Forced removals to make it white	1 (1%)	
Eldorado Park, Johannesburg West	22.1 km	27 min	Coloured	3 (4%)	8 (10%)
Florida, Johannesburg West	14.6 km	26 min	White	2 (3%)	
Davidsonville, Johannesburg West	22.6 km	34 min	White	1 (1%)	
Groblerpark, Johannesburg West	24.2 km	36 min	White	1 (1%)	
Riverlea, Johannesburg West	8.1 km	16 min	Coloured	1 (1%)	
Blairgowrie, Johannesburg North	12.1 km	22 min	White	1 (1%)	2 (2%)
Riversands, Midrand, Johannesburg North	36 km	38 min	White	1 (1%)	
Katlehong, Ekurhuleni	31.2 km	39 min	Black African	1 (1%)	4 (5%)
Alberton, Ekurhuleni	14 km	29 min	White	2 (3%)	
Freeway Park, Boksburg, Ekurhuleni	26.4 km	28 min	White	1 (1%)	
Mean	19 km	24 min			

[38] Using shortest route as per Google Maps. Central locations chosen where necessary.

[39] Using shortest time as per Google Maps. Central locations chosen where necessary, using a vehicle.

Table 4.4 details the property market values of residential areas of respondents. The data was obtained from Property24, a well-known and established property website. Given that the actual addresses of respondents were not captured, only a general picture of possible property values was drawn up. Within each area, property prices varied, so it was possible that a respondent living in a high value area would have a lower property value and vice versa.

The property values ranged from that of Blairgowrie, Johannesburg North, with property prices trending in 2021 at R1.85 million, to Mulbarton, Johannesburg South, with a 2021 property trend of R1.56 million, and Freeway Park, Boksburg, Ekurhuleni, at R1.35 million. Further North, Riversands faced a downward trend from R2.5 million in 2013 to R1.7 million in 2021, however, this residential area still comprised very high property values. The poorer areas such as Berea, Johannesburg Central, and Katlehong, Ekurhuleni, had property value trends in 2021 of R250,000 and R310,000 respectively. Areas such as Malvern, Johannesburg South, Cleveland and Sophiatown, had moderate property values, ranging from R880,000 to R980,000. Based on standard deviation, most respondents are living in areas of lower value properties.

Table 4.4: Property market values of residential areas of respondents (March – May 2019)

Name of residential area	Property market trend[40] 2013	Property market trend 2021	SD of Value[41]	Count (73)	Summary
Blairgowrie, Johannesburg North	R1.4mil	R1.85mil	+3SD /Very High	1 (1%)	1(1%)
Riversands, Midrand, Johannesburg North[42]	R2.5mil	R1.7mil	+2SD /High	1 (1%)	5 (6%)
Mulbarton, Johannesburg South	R1.09mil	R1.56mil	+2SD /High	1 (1%)	
Freeway Park, Boksburg, Ekurhuleni	R900k	R1.35 mil	+2SD /High	1 (1%)	
Kibler Park, Johannesburg South	R849k	R1.35 mil	+2SD /High	2 (3%)	
Lenasia, Johannesburg South	R657k	R1.05mil	+1SD /Moderate	2 (3%)	6 (8%)
Malvern, Johannesburg South	R500k	R980k	+1SD /Moderate	1 (1%)	
Cleveland, Johannesburg South	R385k	R900k	+1SD /Moderate	2 (3%)	
Sophiatown, Johannesburg Central	R580k	R880k	+1SD /Moderate	1 (1%)	
Alberton, Ekurhuleni	R930k	R875k	-1SD/low	2 (3%)	54 (76%)
Forest Hill, Johannesburg South	R450k	R800k	-1SD/low	1 (1%)	
Naturena, Johannesburg South	R450k	R794k	-1SD /low	3 (4%)	
Riverlea, Johannesburg West	R418k	R730k	-1SD /low	1 (1%)	
Ormonde, Johannesburg South	R258k	R725k	-1SD /low	4 (5%)	
Eldorado Park, Johannesburg West	R450k	R650k	-1SD /low	3 (4%)	
Davidsonville, Johannesburg West	R430k	R650k	-1SD /low	1 (1%)	
Groblerpark, Johannesburg West	R465k	R600k	-1SD /low	1 (1%)	
Soweto, Johannesburg South	R280k	R580k	-1SD /low	36 (53%)	
Florida, Johannesburg West	R440k	R550k	-1SD /low	2 (3%)	
Katlehong, Ekurhuleni	R130k	R310k	-2SD /Very low	1 (1%)	7 (9%)
Walkerville, Johannesburg South[43]	R500k	R250k	-2SD /Very low	1 (1%)	
Berea, Johannesburg Central	R175k	R250k	-2SD /Very low	5 (7%)	
Mean	R647k	R878k			

Although Blairgowrie, Johannesburg North, is an extreme outlier and not a good representation of the kind of property values, if left out it would increase the mean, hence using SD to determine the average amount of variability in the dataset, thereby determining the average distance each value lies from the mean.

[40] Average sale price according to Property24 (www.property24.com)

[41] SD 428575.18

[42] Area transitioning from working farms to residential, experiencing land invasions, crime, and the rise of informal settlements.

[43] Area transitioning from small farms to residential, experiencing land invasions, crime, and the rise of informal settlements.

4.4 Socio-economic profile of parent survey group

A range of factors relevant to this study were used to define the socio-economic profile of the parents who took part in the study. These are: (1) Level of Education; (2) Occupation; and (3) Living Standards Measure (LMS). The data for the LMS were drawn up by asking questions relating to household expenses, household assets and related activities. All data were self-declared.

4.4.1 Education attainment of parent survey group

In terms of the educational attainment of the parents, Table 4.5 indicates that of the 68 parents who responded, the majority had a graduate or postgraduate qualification. Forty-seven percent indicated that they had a postgraduate qualification, 18% indicated that they had an undergraduate qualification, and 19% indicated that they had a college qualification. Of the balance, 12% had a grade 12 qualification and only 3% had less than a grade 12 certificate. The qualification profile of the parent group is extremely different to national educational levels where only 7% of the adult population has a postschool /tertiary qualification[44].

Table 4.5: Qualification profile of the parent survey group (March – May 2019)

Educational Level (ranked)	Count (68) *	Percentage	Standard Deviation[45]
Less than a Grade 12 Certificate	2	3%	-2SD/very uncommon
Grade 12 Certificate	9	13%	-1SD/common
College qualification	13	19%	-1SD/common
University undergraduate qualification	12	18%	-1SD/common
University postgraduate qualification	32	47%	+1SD/very common

*Only 68 parents answered this question of the survey, indicating levels of qualifications

4.4.2 Employment profile of parent survey group

Most of the parents who participated in the survey (55%) said they worked as professionals. A definition of a professional is "anyone who earns their living from performing an activity that requires a certain level of education, skill, or training"[46]. Using standard deviation, working as a professional is the most common employment category for these parents. Some 23% were employed in a managerial position within their respective occupations, where a definition of

[44] https://www.oecd.org/education/education-at-a-glance/EAG2019_CN_ZAF.pdf Accessed 30 Jan 2022.
[45] SD = 9.97, Mean = 13.6
[46] https://languages.oup.com/research/oxford-english-dictionary/ (Accessed 30/12/2021).

occupation refers to the kind of economic activity undertaken by a person to earn money[47]. Occupations that require technical skills were uncommon with only 6% of parents indicating that they worked in a technical occupation. Notably, and as indicated in Table 4.6, no parent reported being unemployed, retired or a stay-at-home caregiver. This is unusual in a country with an extremely high unemployment rate, reported to be 35% (formal, not expanded) in September 2021, for example[48].

Table 4.6: Employment profile of the parent survey group (March – May 2019)

Type of Employment	Count (66) *	Percentage	Standard Deviation[49]
Professional	36	55%	+2SD/extremely common
Managerial	15	23%	-1SD/less common
Non-manual skills	11	17%	-1SD/less common
Technical	4	6%	-2SD/uncommon

*Only 73 parents answered this question of the survey, indicating more than one language

4.4.3 Living standards measure of parent's survey group

It is first important to explain the Living Standards Measure or LSM[50]. The LSM is a marketing and research tool used in South Africa to classify standards of living and determine disposable income. The LSM is widely used as an income segmentation tool able to cut across race, gender, age or any other variable used to categorise people. It has ten segments, that is, it segments the population into ten deciles based on their relative means. The decile with the least means is LSM 1, and the decile with the greatest means is LSM 10. While it was always a rather rough tool, it has become more so over time. That said, most rural residents fall into LSM 1-3, urban residents are at least LSM 4-6, and most of the middle class fall into LSM 7-9. The highest level – LSM 10 – was appropriate some 20 years ago, however the increased size and wealth of the extreme elite mean that they are well beyond the scale of LSM 10. There has been no change in the LSM ten segments since 2011 and is believed to be reviewed soon. According to Stats SA, South Africa is known as one of the most unequal countries in the world, reporting a per-capita expenditure Gini coefficient of 0,67 in 2006, dropping to 0,65 in 2015. This is according to the Inequality Trends in South Africa report released

[47] https://keydifferences.com/difference-between-occupation-and-profession.html Accessed 30/12/2022

[48] https://tradingeconomics.com/south-africa/unemployment-rate

[49] SD = 11.9, Mean = 16.5

[50] The SAARF LSM (Living Standards Measure) has become the most widely used marketing research tool in Southern Africa. It divides the population into 10 LSM groups, 10 (highest) to 1 (lowest). Also see: https://agriexchange.apeda.gov.in/IR_Standards/Import_Regulation/UnderstandingtheLivingStandardsMeasureSegmentationinSouthAfricaPretoriaSouthAfricaRepublicof11132020.pdf

by Stats SA. According to the Palma ratio, the top 10% of the population spent 8,6 times more than the bottom 40% in 2006; this ratio reduced to 7,9 in 2015. These figures show that overall inequality, measured at a national level, has declined between 2006 and 2015. The extreme wealth of this elite group is a contributor to and driver of the growing divide in South Africa's GINI coefficient[51].

The self-declared household expenses of the parent study group presented in Table 4.7 show a notable trend in the shift away from reliance on the state towards the private provision of services. These parents indicated that they did not rely on, or use, state hospitals, the state social grants system, state security (police) services, state pensions, state housing or public travel. They had even left state television (the South African Broadcasting Corporation [SABC]) for private television services. They had opted for the private provision of services such as private medical aid, retirement annuities, life insurance, mortgages, private schools, private security, and private transportation. For example, 82% of parents indicated that they spent money on private medical aid, 80% had private cars, 73% had pension funds / retirement annuities, 63% had life insurance policies, 63% had household insurance, 41% had home mortgages, 45% had home security such as high walls and gates, and 37% had a security firm on call. All these private services are costly - M-Net television services, for example, can range from R29 per month to R829 per month, 2022.

The parents also indicated that they had the 'essentials' of a middle-class existence such as smartphones, laptops or desktop computers, tablets, paid TV subscriptions and Internet connectivity. Eighty-one percent further indicated that they also used labour saving devices such as washing machines. However, these parents showed when answering the LSM questions in the survey that they do not have pets and domestic workers, and are unlikely to go on many holidays, certainly not overseas. This is an indication that disposable income is used on securing their social position (such as purchasing life insurance) rather than on having holidays that are expensive.

[51] https://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=12930, (Accessed 31 July 2021)

Table 4.7. Living standards measure of parents participating in the survey group (March – May 2019)

LMS category	Percentage %	Standard Deviation[52]
I/we have a smartphone in the home	86%	+2SD/very common
I/we have a desktop computer/laptop	84%	+2SD/very common
I/we have medical aid	82%	+2SD/very common
I/we have a washing machine, tumble drier, dishwasher	81%	+2SD/very common
I/we have M-Net/DSTV subscription	80%	+2SD/very common
I/we have a car or cars	80%	+2SD/very common
I/we have a pension plan/scheme or retirement annuity	73%	+1SD/common
I/we have an iPad/tablet	63%	+1SD/common
I/we have life insurance	63%	+1SD/common
I/we have household and car insurance	63%	+1SD/common
I/we have internet at home	60%	+1SD/common
I/we own our home	59%	+1SD/common
I/we go on holiday to various places in South Africa	48%	-1SD/uncommon
I/We have electronic gates and high walls	45%	-1SD/uncommon
I/we have a home loan (mortgage bond)	41%	-1SD/uncommon
I/we have home security service (e.g., alarms, security service)	37%	-1SD/uncommon
I/We have a domestic worker/childminder/helper	30%	-2SD/rare
I/we have a pet	26%	-2SD/rare
I/we take weekend breaks or getaways in South Africa	25%	-2SD/rare
If I/we go on holiday, we usually fly to our destination	21%	-2SD/rare
I/we go on overseas trips for holidays	8%	-2SD/rare

The value of being a medical aid member can be clearly seen with the COVID-19 pandemic, where the National Institute of Communicable Diseases (NCID) 2021 data showed that a factor associated with in-hospital mortality was admission to a public sector hospital[53]. Owning your own car is also associated with mobility, with many South Africans turning towards reliance on private vehicles to get to work and access goods and services (McKay, 2020). Private pensions are also extremely important to middle class South Africans as the state pension is extremely low (around R1,900 per month, 2022)[54]. Insurance is crucial to protect one's assets (and compulsory if one has a mortgage)

[52] Mean = 55; SD = 23.31

[53] https://www.nicd.ac.za/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/NICD-COVID-19-Weekly-Sentinel-Hospital-Surveillnace-update-Week-8-2021.pdf Accessed 28 Jan 2022.

[54] It is relevant to add here the view brought in through external examination of this thesis, namely the difference between a state pension payable to the public and a state pension payable to a state employee. An educator, for example, contributes to the Government Employee Pension Fund (GEPF). This educator, on retirement, will draw a state pension from the GEPF. This pension is NOT R1,900.00 per month as the retired educator's (or police person, or nurse in a state hospital) pension will depend on his/her income over the last 2 (or 3) years prior to retirement as well as his/her

and ensure one's family can cope financially if the bread winner dies. Again, this is because there is almost no safety net provided by the state. With the high level of crime in South Africa and the South African Police Services (SAPS)[55] poor performance, most middle-class households have some form of security such as high walls and gates, with the more affluent using private armed response services. Based on the data in Table 4.8, and in line with their indicated levels of education and occupation types, the parents participating in the survey fell into LSM 8-10 group. LSM 8-10 is defined as:

> LSM 8 – 10 – most access to wealth: Completed high school and has higher schooling. Mostly urban and suburban. Salary ranges from R13,210 to R32,521 per month (approximately US $825 - $2,000). Media: Wide range of commercial and community radio, wide range of TV channels, daily or weekly newspapers, magazines, accessed internet, cinema, and outdoor life. General: Full access to services and bank accounts, full ownership of durables such as cars, furniture, and appliances; participation in any leisure activities of interest and access to all economic activities (USDA, 2020) [56] (Rosenbaum, Bolen, Neuberger, & Dean, 2020).

4.4.4 Conclusion of section

This section covered the socio-economic profile of the parents undertaking the survey. It was found that parents 18% and 47% had obtained a university graduate and post graduate qualification. The employment profile of parents was that 55% of the parents in the survey were professionals as a type of employment. The LSM (7-9) grouping of these parents 82% in the survey and decisions to spend financial resources on private medical care 80%, life insurances 63% and pension funds 73%, showing that these are important factors that make up what is referred to as the middle-class. The participating parents as part of a middle class who make school choices are also parents who carry greater costs of schooling and other related costs as seen in section 4.5.

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length of service and thus the length of their contribution to the pension fund. Such persons will receive a state pension (via the GEPF). This is different from the pension for old age people who (supposedly) have no other source of income.

[55] https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-11-15-the-real-state-of-south-africas-police-under-sitole-reading-between-the-crooked-blue-lines/ Accessed 28 Jan 2022

[56] https://agriexchange.apeda.gov.in/IR_Standards/Import_Regulation/UnderstandingtheLivingStandardsMeasureSegmentationinSouthAfricaPretoriaSouthAfricaRepublicof11132020.pdf Accessed 30 Jan 2022

4.5 Cost of schooling

A range of costs associated with schooling, such as school fees were used to show the cost of schooling and other costs for parents who took part in the study.

4.5.1 School fees

As indicated in Table 4.8, the most common amount paid by the parents participating in the study on school fees was between R20,001 and R30,000 per year per child on school fees (55%) followed by 16% of parents who indicated that they paid between R30,001 and R40,000 per year per child. Any amounts higher or lower than these were uncommon, with only 13% of parents indicating that they paid R50,000 and more per year, 3% indicating that they paid less than R10,000 per year (the schools who participated in the study (DCS, HFC, McH), do grant a partial fee exemption for a small number of learners and full bursaries), and 4% indicating that they were exempt from paying school fees.. The schools (Dominican Convent School, Holy Family Convent, and McAuley House Catholic School) do not have any discounts for siblings but offer a percentage discount if fees are paid in advance.

Table 4.8: Annual school fees per year per child of parent survey group (March – May 2019)

School fees	Count (73) *	Percentage	Standard Deviation [57]
Greater than R60,000	1	1%	-1SD/uncommon
R50,001 – R60,000	9	12%	-1SD/uncommon
R40,001 – R50,000	7	10%	-1SD/uncommon
R30,001 – R40,000	12	16%	+1SD/common
R20,001 – R30,000	40	55%	+2SD/most common
R10,001 – R20,000	0	0%	-1SD/uncommon
R0 – R10,000	2	3%	-1SD/uncommon
Exempt from school fees	3	4%	-1SD/uncommon

*Only 73 parents answered this question of the survey, indicating a range of school fees payable

Given that many parents of the survey group live in Soweto 53%, where all the public schools are Quintile 1-3 and so do not charge fees, the respondents were not interested in no-fee paying schools. However, they were also limited for choice in terms of private schools as there were not many private schools in Soweto. Of these, only three were Catholic: Immaculate, St Matthews and St

[57] SD= 12.27, Mean = 9.25

Angela's. These three private schools' fees are listed in Table 4.10. Although the fees are considerably lower than what the parents reported paying, they may not have been able to enrol in these less expensive schools due to the limited space and teaching capacity of the school when accepting learners.

Table 4.9: Comparison of school fees of three private Catholic schools in Soweto per learner per annum (March – May 2019)

Grade	Immaculate Secondary School	St Matthews	St Angela's Primary	
Grade 8 and 9	R12, 950.00	R6, 900.00	Grade R	R6, 500.00
Grade 10	R11, 100.00	R7, 100.00	Grade 1-7	R5, 500.00
Grade 11	R12, 400.00	R7, 100.00		
Grade 12	R14, 100.00	R7, 900.00		

4.5.2 Other costs of schooling

Parents were also asked about other school-related costs. Table 4.10 – 4.16 illustrate these other costs in Rands per year per child.

Parents showed that they paid for school uniforms such as blazers, shoes, shirts, ties, and other items as per school requirements, Table 4.10. Only thirty-one parents fully completed this section of the survey. Parents estimated the cost of school uniforms and related items, with a median of R2,500.00 (mean R2,570.97), per year per child. That said, parents paid as much as R4,800.00 while others paid as little as R520.00. Most 75% respondents kept the spend under R3,000.00.

Table 4.10: Statistical analysis of school uniform costs per annum per parent (March – May 2019)

Quartiles			Summary Statistics	
100.0%	Maximum	11,000	Mean	2570.9677
99.5%		10,000	Standard Deviation	2210.459
97.5%		10,000	Standard Error Mean	397.01016
90.0%		4,800	Upper 95% Mean	3381.7707
75.0%	Quartile	3,000	Lower 95% Mean	1760.1648
50.0%	Median	2,500	N	31
25.0%	Quartile	1,000	Sum	79700
10.0%		520	Skewness	2.0638316
2.5%		100	Kurtosis	5.1021004
0.5%		100		
0.0%	Minimum	100		

Only thirty-two parents fully completed this section of the survey on school stationary purchases. On average parents estimated that they spent R2,500.00 per annum. Stationary costs as high as R2,700.00 and as low as R150.00, per annum per child. Most 75% respondents kept the spend under R1,487.50. Table 4.11 shows the purchasing of stationary, such as pens, pencils, and other related items.

Table 4.11: Statistical analysis of stationery purchases per annum per parent (March – May 2019)

Quartiles			Summary Statistics	
100.0%	Maximum	2,700	Mean	978.125
99.5%		2,700	Std Dev	795.0388
97.5%		2,700	Std Err Mean	140.54433
90.0%		2,500	Upper 95% Mean	1264.7671
75.0%	Quartile	1,487.5	Lower 95% Mean	691.48295
50.0%	Median	500	N	32
25.0%	Quartile	462.5	Sum	31300
10.0%		300	Skewness	0.9922703
2.5%		150	Kurtosis	-0.379187
0.5%		150		
0.0%	Minimum	150		

Only 30 parents fully completed this section of the survey on school exercise book purchases. On average, parents showed that they spent R500.00 per annum on school exercise books. Costs for school exercise books were as high as R2900.00 and as low as R150.00 per annum per child. Most respondents (75%) spent under R1000.00. Table 4.12 is a statistical analysis of school exercise book purchases.

Table 4.12: Statistical analysis of school exercise book purchases per annum per parent (March – May 2019)

Quartiles			Summary Statistics	
100.0%	maximum	2,900	Mean	752.66667
99.5%		2,900	Std Dev	622.4309
97.5%		2,900	Std Err Mean	113.63982
90.0%		1,770	Upper 95% Mean	985.08619
75.0%	quartile	1,000	Lower 95% Mean	520.24715
50.0%	median	500	N	30
25.0%	quartile	300	Skewness	1.8735502
10.0%		200	Kurtosis	3.99341
2.5%		150		
0.5%		150		
0.0%	minimum	150		

Only 31 parents fully completed this section of the survey on school textbook purchases. Parents showed that they spent R2,000.00 on average on school textbooks. Costs can be on average as high as R3,900.00 and as low as R1200.00 per annum per child. Most 75% kept the spend under R2,600.00. Table 4.13 is a statistical analysis of school textbook purchases.

Table 4.13: Statistical analysis of textbook purchases per annum per parent (March – May 2019)

Quartiles			Summary Statistics	
100.0%	maximum	3,900	Mean	2254.8387
99.5%		3,900	Std Dev	674.82774
97.5%		3,900	Std Err Mean	121.20264
90.0%		3,240	Upper 95% Mean	2502.3675
75.0%	quartile	2,600	Lower 95% Mean	2007.3099
50.0%	median	2,000	N	31
25.0%	quartile	2,000	Sum	69900
10.0%		1,500	Skewness	0.7434367
2.5%		1,200	Kurtosis	0.0988358
0.5%		1,200		
0.0%	minimum	1,200		

Parents also purchased sports uniforms and sports equipment, indicating that they spent on average R974.00 per annum per child. Some spent as much as R3,030.00, others as little as R200.00, per annum per child. Only 20 parents fully completed this section of the survey. Most (75%) of respondents spend under R1,450.00. Table 4.14 illustrates the expenditure on sports uniforms and equipment.

Table 4.14: Statistical analysis of sports uniforms and equipment purchases per annum per parent (March – May 2019)

Quartiles			Summary Statistics	
100.0%	maximum	3,030	Mean	974
99.5%		3,030	Std Dev	776.79775
97.5%		3,030	Std Err Mean	173.69726
90.0%		2,450	Upper 95% Mean	1337.5525
75.0%	quartile	1,450	Lower 95% Mean	610.44746
50.0%	median	600	N	20
25.0%	quartile	500	Sum	19480
10.0%		260	Skewness	1.4699274
2.5%		200	Kurtosis	1.5660904
0.5%		200		
0.0%	minimum	200		

Parents showed that they spent R1,364.29 per annum on average on extra-curricular activities and excursions (e.g., art and drama classes, school outings, choir, and sports tours). Table 4.15 depicts this expenditure showing that costs can be as high as R3,000.00 and as low as R100.00 per annum per child. Only 14 parents fully completed this section of the survey and most 75% of the parents showed that they spent under R2,250.00 per annum.

Table 4.15: Statistical analysis of extra-curricular costs (activities/excursions) per annum per parent (March – May 2019)

Quartiles			Summary Statistics	
100.0%	maximum	3000	Mean	1364.2857
99.5%		3000	Std Dev	1096.5731
97.5%		3000	Std Err Mean	293.07148
90.0%		3000	Upper 95% Mean	1997.4282
75.0%	quartile	2250	Lower 95% Mean	731.14327
50.0%	median	900	N	14
25.0%	quartile	500	Sum	19100
10.0%		150	Skewness	0.5098027
2.5%		100	Kurtosis	-1.411087
0.5%		100		
0.0%	minimum	100		

Parents showed that they spent an average of R4,975.00 on extra lessons such as English, Mathematics or another school subject, such as Geography, Business Studies, or Advanced Mathematics, as illustrated in Table 4.16. This expenditure was as high as R20,000.00 and as low as R600.00 per annum per child. Most (75%) parents showed that they spent under R8,250.00 per annum.

Table 4.16: Statistical analysis of extra lessons costs per annum per parent (March – May 2019)

Quartiles			Summary Statistics	
100.0%	Maximum	20,000	Mean	4975
99.5%		20,000	Std Dev	6802.048
97.5%		20,000	Std Err Mean	2404.8871
90.0%		20,000	Upper 95% Mean	10661.654
75.0%	Quartile	8,250	Lower 95% Mean	-711.6544
50.0%	Median	2,100	N	8
25.0%	Quartile	900	Sum	39800
10.0%		600	Skewness	1.9605115
2.5%		600	Kurtosis	3.5416755
0.5%		600		
0.0%	Minimum	600		

Table 4.17 shows that the parents paid an added average cost of R13,869.86 per annum for additional school items, with the highest expenditure being for extra lessons and the least being for exercise books. However, the range within many of the items is great, for example extra lessons can range from R600.00 to R20,000. Based on standard deviation, parents paid a considerable amount of money for extra lessons (typically extra lessons cost between R200 and R300 per hour in Johannesburg), with uniforms and textbooks also quite costly compared to other items, such as stationary, sport items, and exercise books.

Table 4.17: Summary of added school costs from the parent's survey group participating in this study, (March – May 2019)

Item	Median	Mean[58]	SD	Range	75th quartile
Extra lessons	R2,100.00	R4,975.00	+3SD/extremely costly	R600-R20,000	R8,250.00
Uniforms	R2,500.00	R2,570.96	+1SD/costly	R100-R10,000	R3,000.00
Textbooks	R2,000.00	R2,254.83	+1SD/costly	R1,200-R3,900	R2,600.00
Extra curricula	R900.00	R1,364.28	-1SD/not costly	R100-R3,000	R2,250.00
Stationary	R500.00	R978.12	-1SD/not costly	R150-R2,700	R1,487.50
Sport items	R600.00	R974.00	-1SD/not costly	R200-R3,030	R1,450.00
Exercise books	R500.00	R752.67	-1SD/not costly	R150-R2,900	R1,000.00

[58] SD = R1378.20, mean = R1981.41

4.5.3 Conclusion of section

The cost of schooling throughout this section 4.5 is seen through the responses from the parents who participated in the survey to be the extra-costs added onto the schools' fees per annum. These costs are carried by the parents participating in the group survey. These costs are what parents participating in the survey are prepared to cover as it is their choice of private schooling. However, these costs do not end simply with school costs but there are further costs as shown in section 4.6.

4.6 Travel – time, mode and cost

Ascertaining the impact of travel undertaken by learners in respect of time, mode of travel and the cost of this travel, was important from the perspective of the parents from (Dominican Convent School, Holy Family Convent, and McAuley House Catholic School) in Johannesburg. The questions in the survey were divided into three categories, time taken to get to and from home to school; the mode of transport used by the learners and the related costs particular to the mode of transport.

4.6.1 Transport mode

Eight-four percent of the parents indicated that their child/children used private transport to get to and from school, Table 4.18. This included private cars 48%, paid services 33%, and school transport 1%. The remaining parents 47% indicated that their child/children used public transport such public buses 32%, and the train 1%. Only 4% of parents indicated that their child/children walked to school. Standard deviation indicates the most common means of transport is the use of private cars and private transport, and the least common is the use of public transport. This is completely different to typical school children in South Africa where only 8% use private cars, especially Black African children who are the least likely to use private cars, and where 67% of learners walk[59] to school.

[59] Statistics on children in South Africa, run by Children Count which is a permanent data and advocacy project of the Children's Institute at the University of Cape Town http://childrencount.uct.ac.za/indicator.php?domain=6&indicator=46 Accessed 30 Jan 2022.

Table 4.18: Mode of learner transport parent's survey group participating in this study, (March – May 2019)

Mode of transport	Count (73)	Standard Deviation [60]
Private car of parent/guardian	35 (48%)	+2SD/most common
Private school transport – (Paid Service)	24 (33%)	+2SD/most common
Public bus e.g., Rea Vaya, Metro bus	23 (32%)	+1SD/common
Minibus taxi	10 (14%)	-1SD/less common
Walk	3 (4%)	-1SD/less common
Vehicle provided by the school e.g., school bus	2 (1%)	-1SD/less common
Train	1 (1%)	-1SD/less common
Other	1 (2%)	-1SD/less common
Bicycle	0 (0%)	-1SD/less common

*Only 73 parents answered this question of the survey, showing a range of mode of transport taken by learners. The total number of answers (99) however showed that parents used multiple transport modes used during the school day

4.6.2 Time taken to travel to school (one-way)

Just over half 56% of the parents indicated that it took their child/children between 30 and 60 minutes to get to school, 25% indicated that it took them between 60 and 120 minutes to get to school, 19% indicated that it can take their child/children less than 30 minutes to get to school, while 4% indicated that it can take between 120 and 180 minutes and more for their child/children to get to school. One parent indicated that it took more than three hours for their child/children to get to school. Based on standard deviation, the most common journey length in terms of time is 30-60 minutes followed by 60-120 minutes. Any journey to school that takes longer than 30 minutes is considered long by South African standards [61]. Table 4.19 depicts the time it took for the child/children of the parent study group to travel to school (one-way).

[60] SD = 12.27, mean = 11

[61] Statistics on children in South Africa, run by Children Count which is a permanent data and advocacy project of the Children's Institute at the University of Cape Town http://childrencount.uct.ac.za/indicator.php?domain=6&indicator=46 Accessed 30 Jan 2022.

Table 4.19: Learner travel time to school (one-way) parent's survey group participating in this study, (March – May 2019)

Time taken	Count (73)	Standard Deviation[62]
More than 3 hours	1 (1%)	-2SD/uncommon
Between 120 and 180 minutes	3 (4%)	-1SD/less common
Between 60 and 120 minutes	18 (25%)	+1SD/common
Between 30 and 60 minutes	41 (56%)	+2SD/very common
Less than 30 minutes	14 (19%)	-1SD/less common

*Only 73 parents answered this question of the survey, showing a range of travel time taken by learners.

4.6.3 Distance travelled by learners

Table 4.20 indicates that the standard deviation results showed that between 10 and 15 km is the most common distance, with distances longer than 25 km or less than 5 km being less common. A typical journey length is between 5 km and 25 km. Table 4.20 depicts the parents' responses on the distance their child/children travelled to school (one-way).

Table 4.20: Distance (one-way) travelled to school parent's survey group participating in this study, (March – May 2019)

Distance	Count (73)	Standard Deviation [63]
Between 10 km and 15 km	14 (19%)	+2SD/very common
Between 20 km and 25 km	11 (15%)	+1SD/common
Between 15 km and 20 km	10 (14%)	+1SD/common
Between 5 km and 10 km	9 (12%)	+1SD/common
Less than 5 km	7 (10%)	-1SD/less common
Between 35 km and 40 km	7 (10%)	-1SD/less common
Between 30 km and 35 km	6 (8%)	-1SD/less common
Between 25 km and 30 km	4 (6%)	-2SD/uncommon
More than 40 km	3 (4%)	-2SD/uncommon

*Only 73 parents answered this question of the survey, showing a range of distance travelled taken by learners.

[62] SD = 14.32, Mean = 15.4
[63] SD= 3.28, Mean = 7.88

4.6.4 Schools under study and the distance travelled by parents

Figure 4.1 shows the schools under study in this research as well as the distances travelled by parents and learners participating in the surveys (chapter 4 and chapter 5) to and from home to school.

4.6.5 The drive time to schools under study from area in which residents live

Figure 4.2 shows the drive time to schools under study from the areas in which parents participating in the survey.

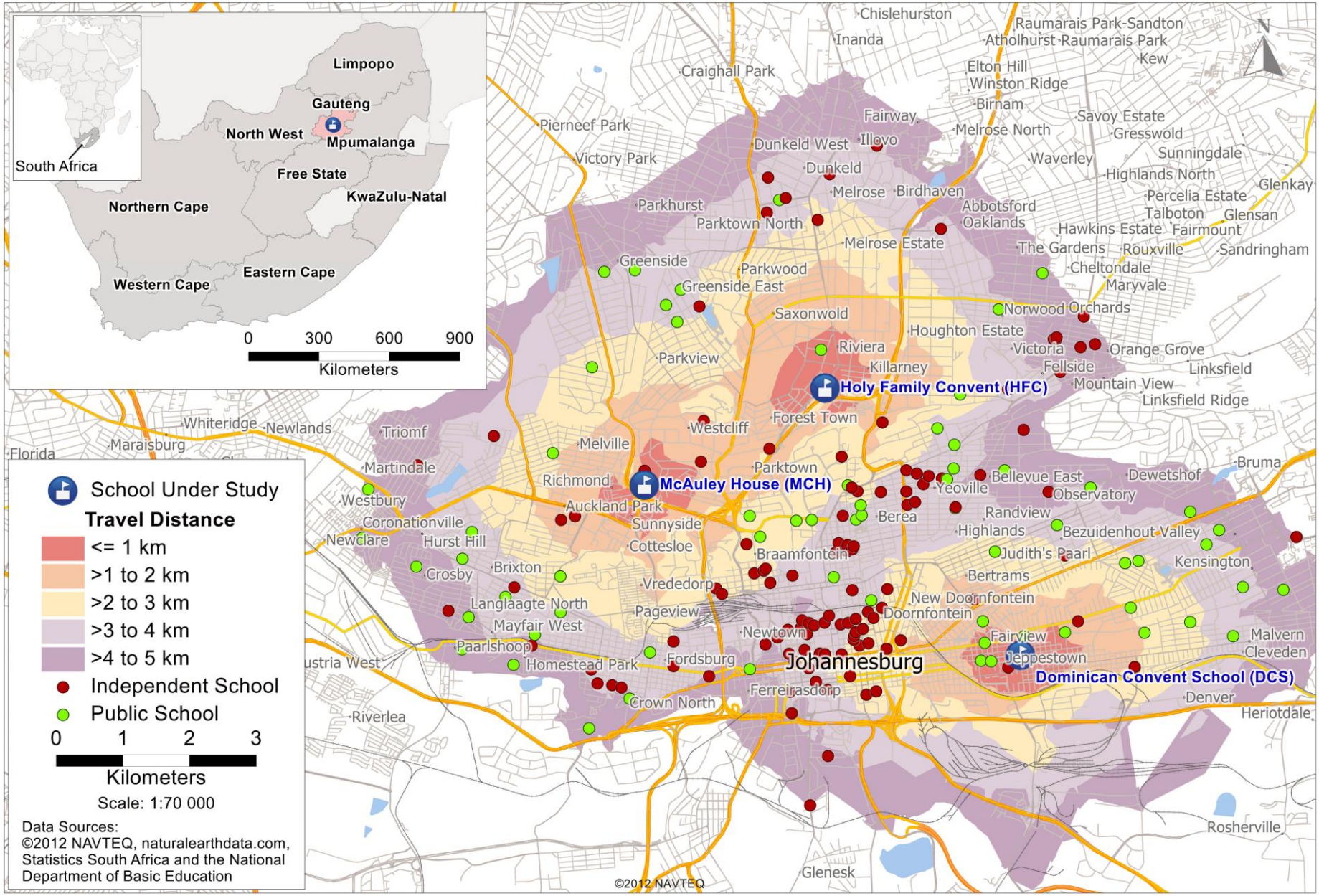

Figure 4.1: Schools under study and the distance travelled by parents

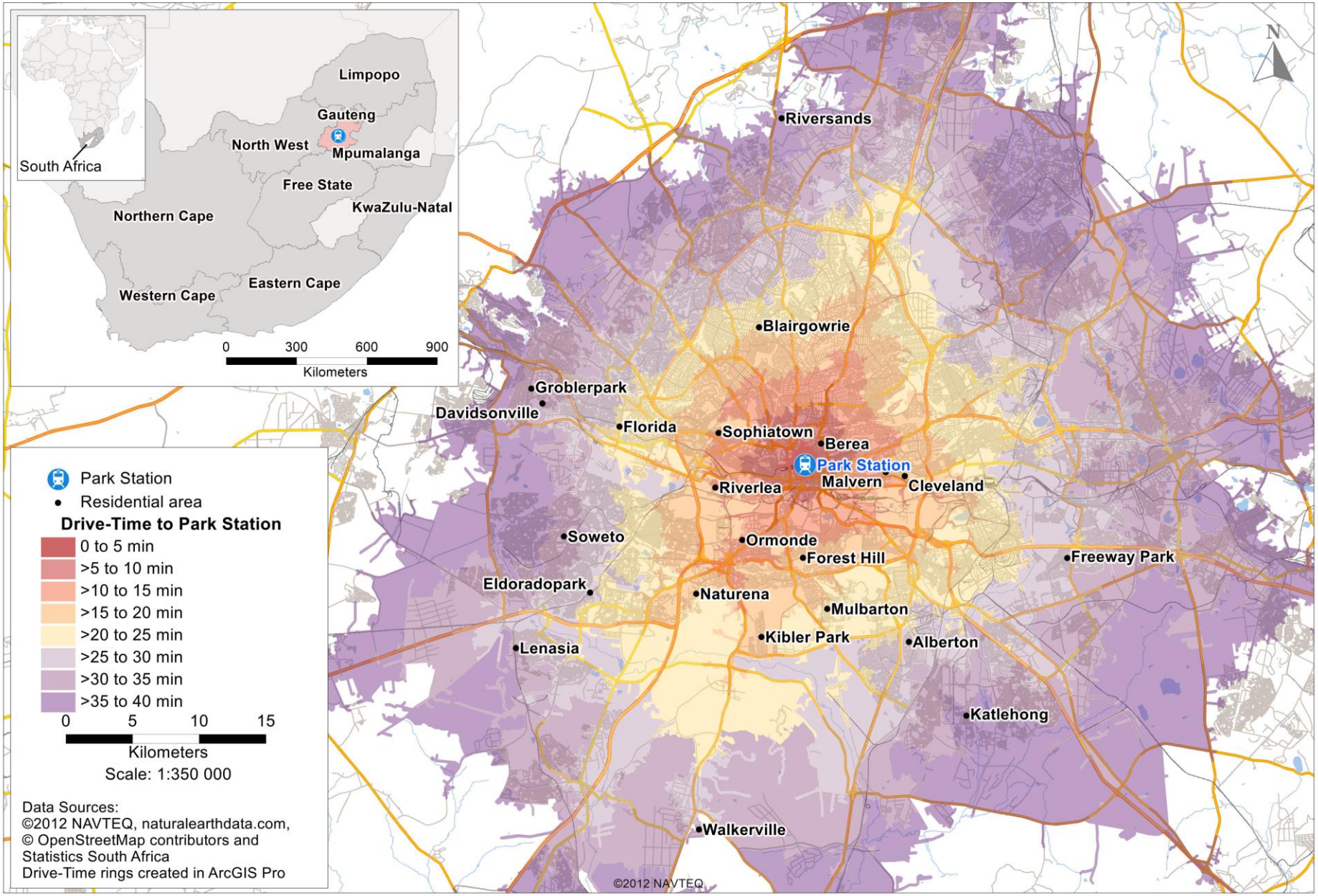

Figure 4.2: The drive time to schools under study from area in which residents live

4.6.6 Cost of travel for parents

Most (that is, 59%) of parents paid between R501 to R1,000 per month per learner, as indicated in Table 4.21, extremely common. Although the data were collected per category, it can be shown that the typical monthly cost for travel is from R751.00 – R1000.00, through a calculation of the standard deviation. Any amounts above or below that are less common. Table 4.21 depicts the monthly costs of the school commute for a parent.

Table 4.21: Cost of travel as shown by parents in the survey group participating in this study (March – May 2019)

Cost of transport	Count (73)	Standard Deviation[64]
R751 – R1000	25 (34%)	+2SD/extremely common
R501 – R750	18 (25%)	+2SD/extremely common
No cost	6 (8%)	-1SD/less common
R251 – R500	6 (8%)	-1SD/less common
More than R2001	6 (8%)	-1SD/less common
R1001 – R1250	4 (6%)	-1SD/less common
R1751 – R2000	4 (6%)	-1SD/less common
R1251 – R1500	3 (4%)	-1SD/less common
R1501 – R1750	2 (3%)	-1SD/less common
R0 – R250	1 (1%)	-1SD/less common

*Only 73 parents answered this question of the survey, showing a range of costs associated with the school commute by learners on a daily basis

4.6.7 Factors that parents need to overcome to opt for a private Catholic School

Data reflected in Table 4.22 relates to the factors that parents must address should they elect to enrol in a private Catholic School. To establish this, participants were asked to speculate why some parents did not send their children to private Catholic Schools. Cost was a significant hurdle with an overwhelming majority 90% of participants saying private Catholic Schools were too expensive.

Other factors recorded as important are transport costs, cost of other school items such as uniforms and that the Catholic schools have competition from private schools that charge lower fees. The least important factor is language of instruction matching the home language. The most important factor is cost, and the least important is a desire to have one's child educated in a home language.

[64] SD = 7.35, Mean = 7.5

Although Panyaza Lesufi, Gauteng MEC for Education, claims that parents are drawn from Quintile 1-3 schools for former Model C (Quintile 4 schools), only 18% of parents agreed[65].

Table 4.22: Factors keeping learners from enrolling in private Catholic Schools shown by parents in the survey group participating in this study, (March – May 2019)

Reasons for not sending children to private Catholic School	Responses	Standard Deviation [66]
Expensive school fees	90%	+3SD/most important
Expensive transport	47%	+1SD/important
Expensive school items, like uniforms, books and stationery	47%	+1SD/important
Lower fee private schools are more attractive	43%	+1SD/important
The school is too far, the child will spend too much time travelling	38%	-1SD/less important
Not interested in a Catholic religious education	27%	-1SD/less important
Former Model C public schools are more attractive	19%	-1SD/less important
No fee public schools in townships are more attractive	18%	-1SD/less important
Language of instruction is not the home language	15%	-2SD/unimportant

4.6.8 Factors driving parents away from neighbourhood schools

The main factor driving parents away from neighbourhood schools was listed as poor-quality teaching 67%. It is no wonder that Provincial Council Member for Education, Gauteng Province, South Africa, Lesufi sought to emphasise that there is no difference in how township school educators and educators at schools outside the township are educated. What he did not mention is that educator training is but one factor in the making of good educator and a good educational environment. Other factors such as overcrowding, lack of resources and poor discipline weighed heavily on the minds of about 60% of the 73 parents who did not prefer township (and neighbourhood) schools. Less important factors that caused parents to choose schools outside their neighbourhoods included poor or weak school management 33% and perceptions of danger or physical risk 25%. Table 4.23 provides the reasons for parents rejecting local schools.

[65] http://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/parents-prefer-model-c-schools-which-clogs-up-system-says-lesufi-as-700-gauteng-pupils-unplaced-20220112 Accessed 30 Jan 2022

[66] SD = 21.86%; Mean 38.2%

Table 4.23: Why some parents reject local schools shown by parents in the survey group participating in this study, (March – May 2019)

Factors	Count (73)	Standard Deviation[67]
Poor quality teaching	49 (67%)	+2SD/most important
Overcrowding	46 (63%)	+1SD/important
Lack of resources (libraries, laboratories, sports facilities)	43 (59%)	+1SD/important
Poor or weak discipline	42 (58%)	+1SD/important
Poor or weak management	33 (45%)	-1SD/less important
Perceptions of danger, physical risk	18 (25%)	-2SD/unimportant

The following article by Barney Mthombithi[68] (27/03/2022 Sunday Times Live) provides a succinct analysis of the state of public-school education in South Africa.

"While ANC bigwigs live the good life, the poor are stuck with chaos and despair"

Owners of all manner of vehicles are making a small fortune ferrying pupils from black townships and rural areas to schools in towns around the country.

Some of the children live a stone's throw from schools in the townships, and yet undertake the long and often hazardous journey in overcrowded vehicles in search of a better education.

These jalopies are often not in good running order and pupils have been injured or even killed on their way to or from school. Because of the long journey — they leave early in the morning and return home late — their schoolwork suffers.

And because of dwindling numbers, some schools in the townships have closed. The children are voting with their feet, running away from the chaos in often poorly resourced schools that are racked by ill-discipline and prone to disruption from strikes by teachers and pupils alike.

[67] SD = 10.4; Mean = 38.5

[68] Barney Mthombothi, a columnist for the Sunday Times, is a former editor of the Financial Mail and the Kwazulu-Natal-based Sunday Tribune, and also headed SABC News earlier. He is respected as a political commentator. https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/opinion-and-analysis/2022-03-27-while-anc-bigwigs-live-the-good-life-the-poor-are-stuck-with-chaos-and-despair/

Even some teachers in township schools do not send their children to the schools where they teach, but to schools in town. And so, when teachers go on strike, their own children are not affected. They continue with their education without any interruption. It is the poor who suffer.

Parents who can afford a better education for their children resort to all sorts of subterfuges to get them into better-functioning schools in town; they lie about where they live or use the addresses of friends or relatives who live closer to those schools.

The upshot is that those who can afford it get a better education, and the poor have to make do with the broken system where they live.

Almost three decades after the dawn of democracy and with a black government in charge, inequality is still not only prevalent, and arguably getting worse, but it is taking on a different hue.

The haves of all colours can send their children to better schools, thus improving their future job prospects, while the poor remain stuck in ghetto schools, facing a bleak future.

Unlike in the past, this is not due to any policy decision, but is primarily a result of bureaucratic incompetence. It is yet another example of the state failing to provide acceptable services for people where they live.

4.6.9 Drivers affecting parents' choice of private Catholic schools

The parent survey group showed that there are primarily four reasons for choosing private Catholic Schools: good academic results (extremely important), good discipline (very important), good teachers (very important) and good management (very important). Matters that are less important are, among others, language of instruction 45%; small class size 38% and affordability 29%. Proximity to home and cultural requirements were seen as unimportant. Table 4.24 depicts the reasons parents chose private Catholic Schools.

Table 4.24: Reasons for school choice shown by parents in the survey group participating in this study, (March – May 2019)

Reason	No of responses	Standard Deviation [69]
Good academic results	66 (90%)	+3SD/extremely important
Good discipline	62 (85%)	+2SD/very important
Good teachers	48 (66%)	+2SD/very important
School is well managed	48 (66%)	+2SD/very important
The school offers extra lessons	36 (49%)	+1SD/important
Meets religious expectations	35 (48%)	+1SD/important
Good facilities in general (classrooms, toilets, tuck shop)	34 (47%)	+1SD/important
The school is highly ranked by universities	33 (45%)	+1SD/important
I like or am happy with the language of instruction	28 (38%)	-1SD/less important
Small class sizes	28 (38%)	-1SD/less important
Affordable	21 (29%)	-1SD/less important
Good sport facilities	19 (26%)	-1SD/less important
Previous generations attended the school	14 (19%)	-1SD/less important
Proximity to transport nodal points (taxi rank, bus stop)	13 (18%)	-1SD/less important
Close to where I/we work	12 (16%)	-1SD/less important
Sibling at School	12 (16%)	-1SD/less important
Close to where I/we live	7 (10%)	-2SD/unimportant
Meets cultural requirements	7 (10%)	-2SD/unimportant

Note: respondents selected all that were true for them

4.6.10 Proximity to school

Seventy-three parents completed the question on proximity to the school. Of these, 18% said that they had moved to be closer to the school, 32% had given some thought to moving closer to the Catholic schools as a matter of convenience for them and their children, and 7% said that they would move to be closer to the school. The majority of participants however, had not moved 82%, would not move 93% and were not thinking of moving 69% to be closer to the school. Table 4.25 indicates the parents' responses on their proximity to the school that their child/children attended.

[69] SD = 17.47, Mean = 29.05

Table 4.25: Proximity to school

Proximity to School	Yes	No
Would you move closer to the school?	5 (7%)	68 (93%)
Did you move to be closer to the school?	13 (18%)	60 (82%)
Are you thinking of moving closer to the school?	23 (32%)	50 (69%)

4.7 Conclusion

The chapter presented the results of the parent survey. In the chapter various elements are reported from the survey including the demographic, language and geographic profiles of parents who enrolled their children in the Private Catholic schools. The presentation of the socio-economic information indicates that the enrolment profile of these schools is middle-class and Black African. The chapter also shows, in monetary and non-monetary considerations

The results of the survey yielded interesting data. Most parents reported as Black African and spoke either IsiZulu 36% or English 34% at home. Although English is the language of instruction at these schools (McH, DCS and HFC), 66% did not speak it at home. Most parents as respondents lived in Soweto 53%, with other respondents living in residential areas West, East and Central to Johannesburg. Approximately half (40-54%) lived in former Black African designated areas (townships). Another 39% lived in former white designated areas with a much smaller percentage 5% who lived in former coloured designated areas. Many lived in the South of Johannesburg (e.g.: Forest Hill, Ormonde, Soweto) and West of Johannesburg (e.g., Davidsonville, Florida, Eldorado) where property values were low and ranged from R250,000 to R875,000 in 2021. These areas were also some of the earliest to desegregate racially post-1994. Poorer areas such as Berea, Johannesburg Central, and Katlehong, Ekurhuleni had property values of approximately R250,000 while in Katlehong, Ekurhuleni, the property values were in the region of R310,000.

Few parents with learners at the selected three Catholic schools (Dominican Convent School, Holy Family Convent, and McAuley House Catholic School) lived in high property value locations such as that of Blairgowrie, Johannesburg North, with property prices trending in 2021 at R1.85 million, Mulbarton, Johannesburg South, with property values of R1.56 million, and Freeway Park, Boksburg, Ekurhuleni, at R1.35 million. Further North, Riversands faced a downward trend from R2,5 million in 2013 to R1.7 million in 2021, however, this residential area still comprised very high property values. Access to ‘cheaper’ housing seemed vital to the parent survey group, as most said they would not move to be closer to school. Based on the residential area, education levels (the

majority have a graduate or postgraduate qualification) and occupation (most parents - 55% - work in the professional category), parents are middle class. This was confirmed by the self-reported LSM data.

Notably, a significant change was reflected in the answers to the LSM, namely the shift away from dependency on the state. The parents from the survey group have opted for private provision of services such as private medical aid, retirement annuities, life insurance, mortgages, private security and private transportation. Thus, enrolment in private schools is but one aspect of this shift or exit from the State to the private sector.

Schooling is a costly venture this middle class or LSM 7-9 parents. Based on the data presented:

- typical mean school fees were R25,000.00 per year in 2018 with an additional R13,869.86 per annum for additional items;
- transport also averaged at around R750 per month or roughly R7,500.00 per year (2018.) Much of the transport cost was associated with the use of private transport; and
- the total mean annual cost (2018) is around R46,369.86, excluding school lunches and other school costs such as donations. This money must come out of net pay and is not tax deductible.

Participants showed that there are primarily four reasons for choosing private Catholic schools: 90% good academic results, 85% good discipline 66%, good teachers, and good school management 66%. They acknowledged that many of those who did not opt for private Catholic education did so due to lack of finances.

5 CHAPTER FIVE: McAULEY HOUSE LEARNER SURVEY RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected from a survey conducted among McAuley House Senior Grade 11 and 12 learners. Of the 63 Grades 11 and 65 Grade 12 learners, only 33 learners returned fully completed surveys and only the data responses from these surveys were analysed. The results yielded are from the context of the learner. The survey questionnaire is attached as Appendix 5.

5.2 Section A: Quantitative Results

5.2.1 Distance travelled to school by respondents to the survey questions

Table 5.1 details that 18% of the respondents (learners) travelled between 16-20 km between home and school, and that another 21% of the learners travelled between 21-25 km between home and school. The most dominant distance between home and school for the learners in this study ranged from 21 to 25 km (21%) to school. Distances greater than 41 km from the school were not that common, only (9%). Conversely, only 9% of respondents travelled less than 5 km – the South African national standard in terms of what is considered an acceptable distance to school.

Table 5.1: Distance between of home and school of learners taking part in the survey

Distance (ranked)	Count[70]/%	SD[71]	Distance	Count/%
Between 21 km & 25 km	7 (21%)	+3SD/dominant	Less than 5 km	3 (9%)
Between 16 km & 20 km	6 (18%)	+2SD/very common	Between 5 km & 10 km	4 (12%)
Between 5 km & 10 km	4 (12%)	+1SD/common	Between 11 km & 15 km	3 (9%)
Between 11 km & 15 km	3 (9%)	-1SD/less common	Between 16 km & 20 km	6 (18%)
Less than 5 km	3 (9%)	-1SD/less common	Between 21 km & 25 km	7 (21%)
Between 36 km & 40 km	3 (9%)	-1SD/less common	Between 26 km & 30 km	2 (6%)
More than 41 km	3 (9%)	-1SD/less common	Between 31 km & 35 km	2 (6%)
Between 26 km & 30 km	2 (6%)	-2SD/uncommon	Between 36 km & 40 km	3 (9%)
Between 31 km & 35 km	2 (6%)	-2SD/uncommon	More than 41 km	3 (9%)

[70] 33

[71] SD = 1.63 Mean = 3.66 km

5.2.2 Time taken to travel to school by respondents to the survey questions

The 63 learners who took part in the survey showed that the approximate time it took to get from home to school (see Table 5.2). Thirty-nine percent of learners said it took 16-30 minutes, 18% said 46-60 minutes, and 18% said 61-90 minutes, from home to school. It would take roughly the same time from school to home, thereby doubling the time daily. In Table 5.2, the most common time is between 16 and 30 minutes, followed by 46 to 60 minutes. More than 90 minutes of travel time from home to school is uncommon.

Table 5.2: Time taken to get to school.

Time (ranked)	Count[72]/ and %	Prob[73]	SD
Between 16 and 30 minutes	13 (39%)	0.39394	+2SD/most common
Between 46 and 60 minutes	6 (18%)	0.18182	+1SD/common
Between 61 and 90 minutes	6 (18%)	0.18182	+1SD/common
Between 31 and 45 minutes	5 (15%)	0.15152	-1SD/less common
Less than 15 minutes	2 (6%)	0.06061	-1SD/less common
More than 90 minutes	1 (3%)	0.03030	-2SD/uncommon

Figure 5.1 shows the distance from home to school, with a positive skewness (54%) towards an extended daily commute time of more than 31 minutes per day each way. Fifty-five percent of the 33 Grade 11 and Grade 12 learners who participated in this study at McAuley House took more than 31 minutes to travel to school." (This information is based on Table 5.2). In comparison, 45% of learners travelled under 30 km and took 30 minutes or less, while 52% travelled more than 31 km and took longer than 61 minutes.

Figure 5.1 and Table 5.3 reflect a comparison between the distance and time taken to get to school. No one living more than 31 km away takes under 30 minutes to get to school, and no one living less than 10 km away takes more than 61 minutes to get to school. Tables 5.3 and 5.4, however, show there is variation in the 31–60-minute segment, with one living within 10 km away from school taking this long, and four others living more than 31 km also taking this long to get to school. The most likely reason for this variation is departure time and traffic. If the departure time corresponds with peak traffic, then the journey time increased.

[72] 33
[73] SD = 3.86, Mean = 5.5

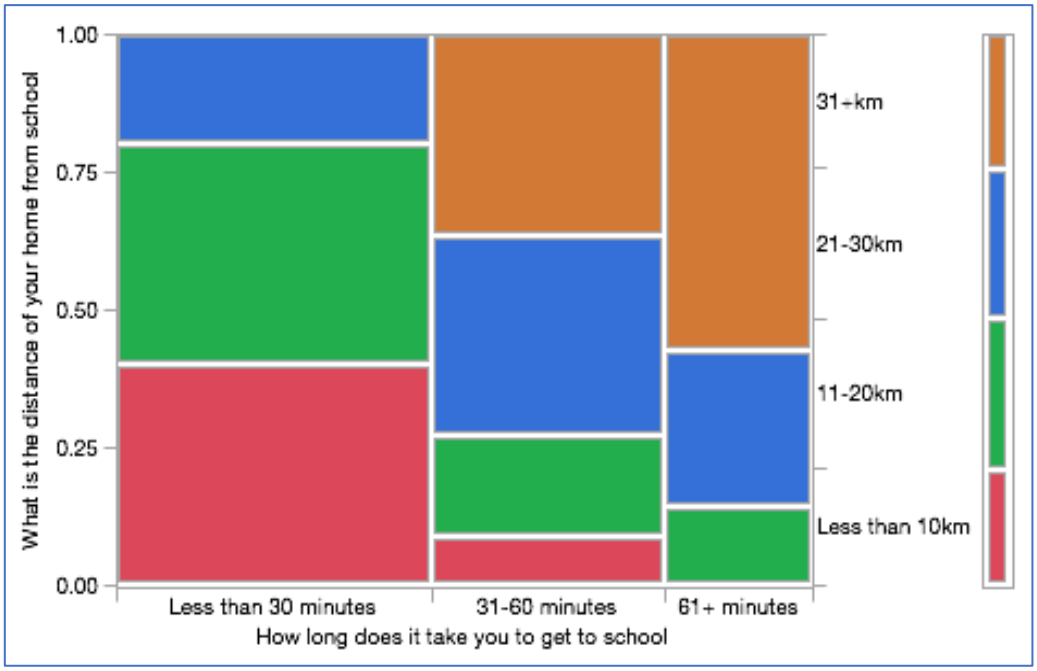

Figure 5.1: Learner commuting distance compared to learner commuting time (one way)

Table 5.3: Time it takes to get to school compared to distance from school

	Under 10 km	11-20 km	21-30 km	31+km	Total
Less than 30 minutes	6	6	3	0	15 (45%)
31-60 minutes	1	2	4	4	11 (33%)
61+ minutes	0	1	2	4	7 (21%)
Total	7 (21%)	9 (27%)	9 (27%)	8 (24%)	33

Tests for relationship between time and distance					
N	DF	-LogLike	R^2	ChiSquare	Prob>ChiSq
33	6	9.1639033	0.2011	18.328 (Likelihood Ratio)	0.0055*
				14.457 (Pearson)	0.0249*

5.2.3 Departure times from home by respondents to the survey questions

Based on the matter of distance and time taken to get to school, departure times then become essential for the analysis. This survey was undertaken in 2021, and the school was working on a COVID-19 adjusted timetable, so the school officially started at 8:00 am. Prior to this, the official start time was 7:40 a.m.

Table 5.4 indicates that most respondents leave home before 6:30 a.m. The most common departure time is between 6:00 a.m. and 6:30 a.m. Twelve percent of learners left home by 5:00 a.m. or 5:30 a.m., with 21% having left home by 7:00 a.m. or 7:30 a.m. 79% of learners left home between 90 and 180 minutes before the official start of the school day.

Table 5.4: Learner departure time when leaving from home before 06.30

Approx. time (ranked)	Count[74]/%	Prob	SD[75]	Approx. time
6:00 am	12 (36%)	0.36364	+2SD/very common	5:00 am
6:30 am	10 (30%)	0.30303	+2SD/very common	5:30 am
7:00 am	4 (12%)	0.12121	-1SD/less common	6:00 am
7:30 am	3 (9%)	0.09091	-1SD/less common	6:30 am
5:00 am	2 (6%)	0.06061	-1SD/less common	7:00 am
5:30 am	2 (6%)	0.06061	-1SD/less common	7:30 am

Figure 5.2 shows with most learners having left home before 6:30 a.m. or 90 minutes before the schools' official start time. Most of the learners in this part of the survey left home very early to avoid peak traffic and so reduce their travelling time. Many arrived at school well ahead of the official start time. Therefore, if learners woke up 45 to 60 minutes before departure; this would mean that learners are rising at 5:00 a.m. to leave by 6.00 a.m.

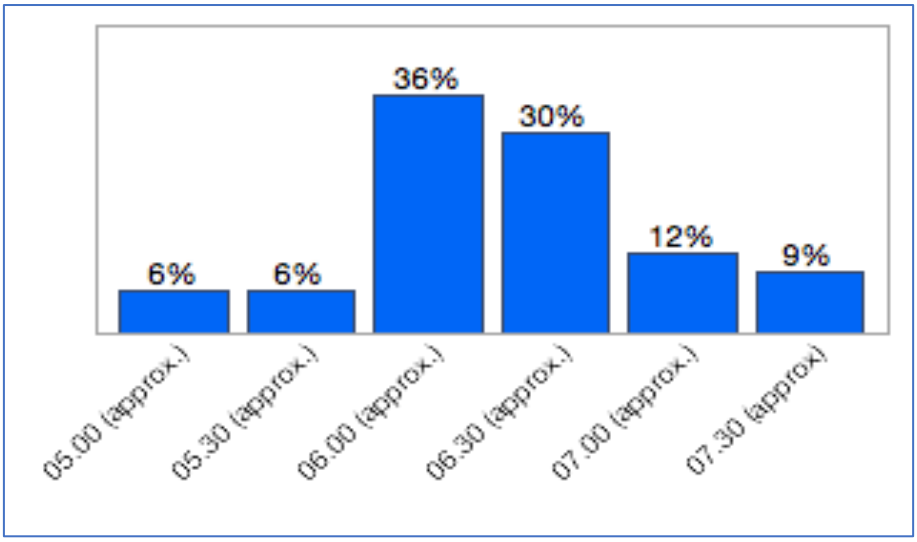

Figure 5.2: Learner's approximate time to leave from home for school

Figure 5.3 and Table 5.5 present a comparison between distance travelled and departure time. Three of the eight learners who lived more than 31 km away left before 6.00 a.m., while six of the seven who lived under 10 km away left before 7 a.m. The lack of a strong relationship between the variables of time and distance, as factors that influence these two variables in that there are changes in traffic patterns associated with COVID-19 and the lockdown, during this research period (2020-2021) conducting the survey with learners the traffic levels were much lower and more diffuse compared to before COVID-19, as schools were in lockdown, parents were working from home,

[74] 33
[75] SDS + 3.98, Mean + 5.5

schools were on a rotational timetable, and businesses were either closed or on a rotational schedule or simply closing down permanently[76].

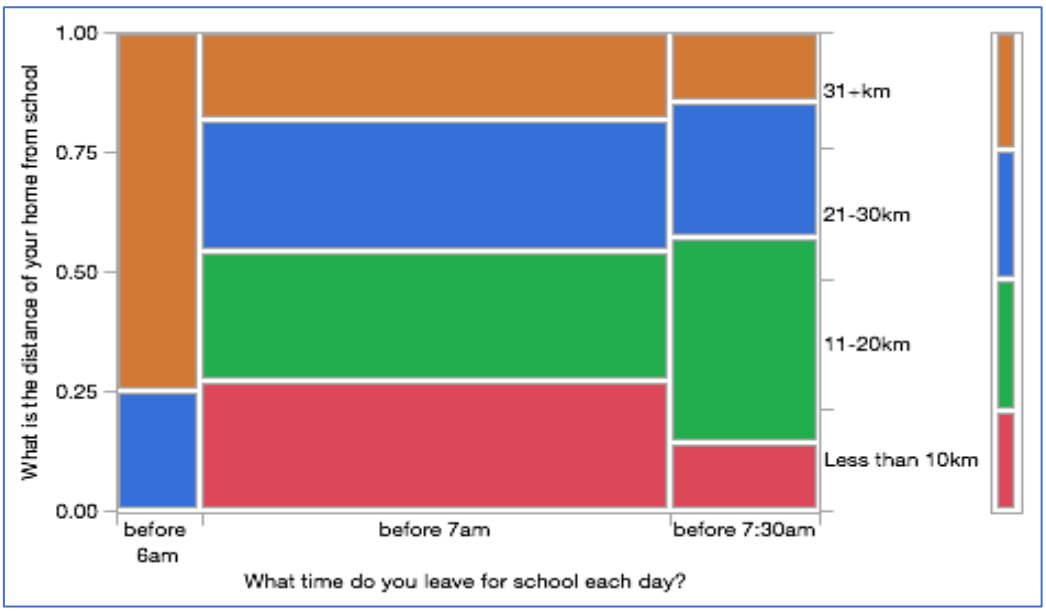

Figure 5.3: Learner distance from home to school compared to time to leave for school

Table 5.5: Distance from home to school compared to time to leave for school

Time/distance	Less than 10 km	11-20 km	21-30 km	31+km	Total
Before 6:00 am	0	0	1	3	4
Before 7:00 am	6	6	6	4	22
Before 7:30 am	1	3	2	1	7
Total	7	9	9	8	33

Tests for relationship between time and distance					
N	DF	-LogLike	R^2	ChiSquare	Prob>ChiSq
33	6	4.1831373	0.0918	8.366 (Likelihood ratio)	0.2125
				7.984 (Pearson)	0.2392

5.2.4 Learners said how often they arrived late for school.

Most learners leave home very early. It may also be that many arrive at school well ahead of the official start time. In that regard, deciding if any were late for school is important.

[76] https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/fewer-cars-on-gauteng-roads-as-residents-heed-presidents-call-to-stay-home-d27b94fe-d705-479a-98fe-07caedd946a3 Accessed 24 Jan 2022.

Table 5.6 shows that the majority (39%) of respondents indicated that they were never late for school, while 24% are only late a few times a year. This is confirmed with the use of standard deviation (see Figure 5.4), which is negatively skewed towards not being late for school most of the time.

A total of 63% of the Grade 11 and Grade 12 learners who took part fully in this part of the study usually attended school on time, 12% were late at least once a month, with another 3% late at least three times per month. This is due to either traffic congestion, traffic disruption because of traffic lights (robots) not working as a result of loadshedding or late departure times (several respondents indicated that they left home between 7:00 a.m. and 7:30 a.m. which may not give them enough time to get to school, considering the journey length or traffic congestion issues. According to Tom Tom[77], traffic in Johannesburg was congested 30% of the time in 2019, and 21% of the time in 2020. Additionally, as some parents showed that their children use minibus taxis and public buses, issues with these forms of transport, such as protest action or driver strikes, may make some learners late for school. Based on this data, the school does not appear to have a significant late coming problem.

Table 5.6: Learners who said they arrived late at school

Late coming (ranked)	Count[78]/%	Prob	SD[79]
Never	13 (39%)	0.39394	+2SD/most common
A few times a year	8 (24%)	0.24242	+1SD/common
Once a month	4 (12%)	0.12121	-1SD/less common
Thrice a month	4 (12%)	0.12121	-1SD/less common
Twice a month	3 (9%)	0.09091	-1SD/less common
Weekly	1 (3%)	0.03030	-2SD/uncommon

[77] https://www.tomtom.com/en_gb/traffic-index/ Accessed 24 Jan 2022
[78] 33
[79] SD = 3.95, Mean = 5.5

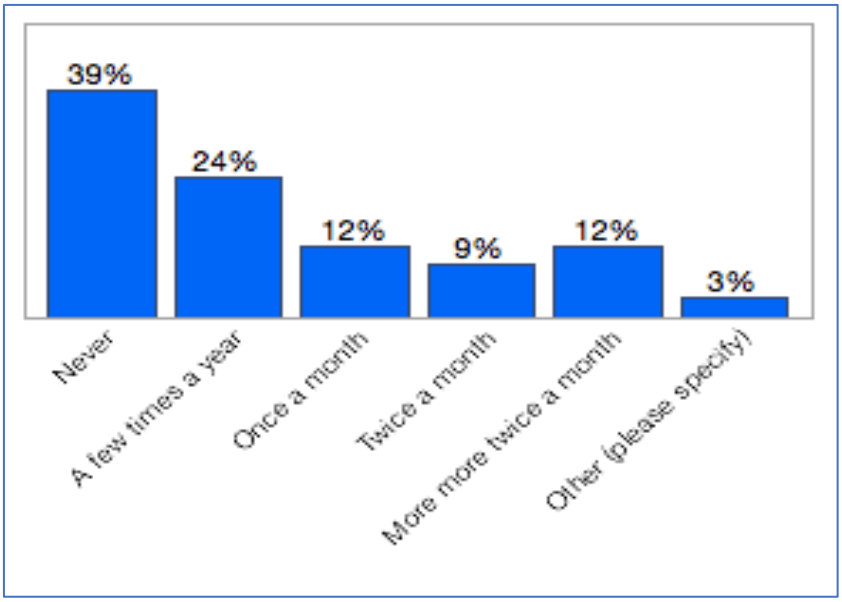

Figure 5.4: Learners said often they arrive late at school

5.2.5 Learner transport satisfaction levels

In terms of transport satisfaction, the majority (14 of the respondents or 42% of them) showed that they were satisfied with their transportation to school, followed by 18% who are fully satisfied with their transport (Table 5.7). Figure 5.5 confirms this, with a positive skewness towards satisfaction: 18% were fully satisfied, 42% were satisfied; and 24% were moderately satisfied. Only 15% of learners surveyed showed that they were not satisfied with their transport. Using standard deviation, the most common view is being satisfied with one's transport, but views are mixed. Not satisfied, respectively, associated with drivers leaving late, the sheer volume of cars, road works, protest action, broken traffic lights, load shedding and other power disruptions, infrastructure decline such as potholes all adding to travel time, traffic dangers, poor driving, road conditions (potholes or accidents). It could, however, also speak to issues of passenger safety or crime.

Table 5.7: Learners were asked if they were satisfied with your transport?

Level of satisfaction (ranked)	Count[80]/%	Prob	SD[81]	Count
I am satisfied	14 (42%)	0.42424	+2SD/very common	6
I am moderately satisfied	8 (24%)	0.24242	-1SD/less common	14
I am fully satisfied	6 (18%)	0.18182	-1SD/less common	8
I am not satisfied	5 (15%)	0.15152	-1SD/less common	5

[80] 33

[81] SD = 3.49, Mean = 8.25

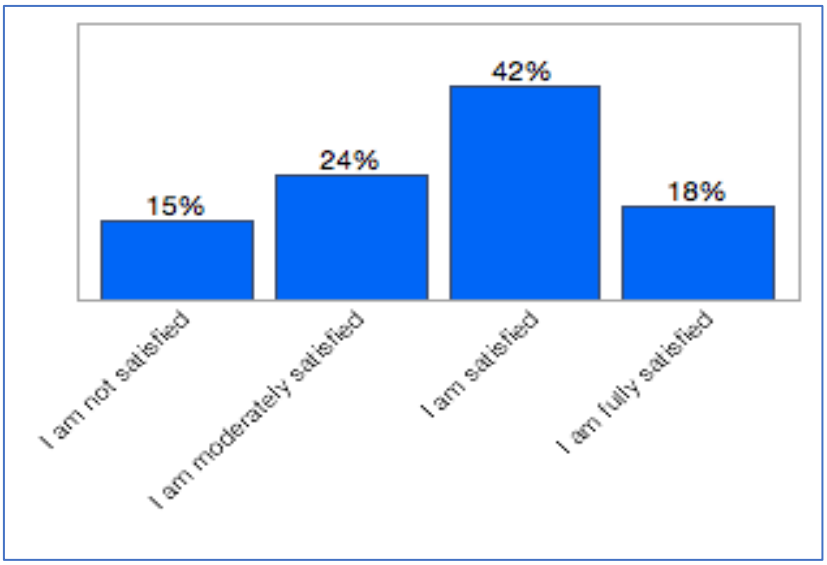

Figure 5.5: Learners were asked if they were satisfied with your transport?

5.2.6 Issues of safety and security for learners when travelling to school

Table 5.8 shows that the majority (21 out of 33 or 64%) of the respondents stated that they felt safe and secure when travelling to school. However, 9 of the 33 respondents (27%) showed that they felt somewhat safe and secure, and 3 of the 33 (9%) did not feel safe and secure at all. Feeling safe and secure dominated, with those not feeling safe and secure being uncommon. In total, 12 (or 36%) did not always feel safe.

Table 5.8: Do you feel safe and secure travelling to school every day?

Safety and security levels	Count[82]/%	Prob	SD[83]
Safe and secure at all times	21 (64%)	0.63636	+2SD/most common
Somewhat safe and secure	9 (27%)	0.27273	-1SD/common
Not safe and secure at all	3 (9%)	0.09091	-2SD/uncommon

The mode of transport was a factor with respect to safety and security. The question asked after clarifying mode of transport, Do you feel safe and secure travelling to school every day? In that regard, Table 5.9 shows that 28 learners felt most secure when walking, travelling by minibus or private car, and most concerning 66 said that they felt not so secure when they used minibus taxis, public buses, or walked. Learners' responses to the survey questions, if one considers by association and interpretation are not entirely satisfied with these modes of transport. One should keep in mind

[82] 33
[83] SD = 7.48, Mean = 11

with respect to the question asked on safety, that learners may use multiple modes of transport, on a daily basis.

Teachers intimated as much as well during focus group discussion that learners attribute not feeling safe to driver behaviour on the road, bullying by other passengers (learners) and general crime on public transport, factors that influence feelings of safety. Nine learners indicated that they seldom feel completely safe, which may be a sign that girl children have a great deal of fear, in general, about merely travelling around in Johannesburg.

Table 5.9: Do you feel safe and secure travelling to school?

Security and safety levels	Walking		Minibus taxi		Public bus		Private car	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Safe and secure at all times	2	19	1	20	1	20	14	7
Somewhat safe and secure	0	9	1	8	5	4	3	6
Not safe and secure at all	1	2	1	2	0	3	1	2
Total	3	30	3	30	6	27	18	15

5.2.7 Would you prefer a school closer to home?

Taking into consideration the distance most learners travel between 16 and 25km one way per day, the time they must leave home for school, and safety/security issues, the learners were asked if they wished to live closer to school? Somewhat surprisingly, the learners were split into two groups, with 55% showing that they would like to live closer to school, and 45% showing ‘no’. Thus, many were prepared to make sacrifices to continue attending their school. They also showed place attachment to their home neighbourhood.

5.2.8 Participation in extramural activities

A long commute to school can negatively affect a learner’s ability to take part in extramural activities. This held true for the sample, with 45% not taking part in any extracurricular activities, 9% showing a participation in one activity, 27% in two activities and 18% in three activities. However, as the survey was undertaken during 2021 when COVID-19 rules applied, this result may be distorted as the school cancelled many extramural activities.

5.2.9 Section A: Quantitative Results Summary

In summary, the majority of the survey learners' respondents travelled between 16 and 25 km (an average of 20.5 km) each day to school, or 41 km there and back. In terms of time, most (39%) took between 16 and 30 minutes, but another 36% took between 46 and 90 minutes to get from home to school. Most respondents leave home before 6:30 a.m., and the most common departure time is between 6:00 a.m. and 6:30 a.m.; therefore, most learners rose between 5:00 a.m. and 5:30 a.m. each school day. On the upside, the vast majority were seldom to never late for school. Despite this, only 55% preferred moving closer to school. Most were satisfied to fully satisfied with their transport. In terms of feelings of safety, respondents felt most secure when travelling in a private car, and much less so when they are using public buses. Some showed that they seldom felt completely safe. A long commute reduces participation in extramural activities, with 45% of learners not taking part in any extracurricular activities.

5.3 Section B: Qualitative Results

The survey had two open-ended questions which sought the learners' views on: 1) what they would like to change about their school day; and 2) what the school should do if money were donated to it? The following seven key themes (ranked in terms of importance) appeared from the analysis of the responses to the open-ended questions.

1. Purchase resources for staff and learners.
2. Address transport issues.
3. The length of the day at school and time travelling.
4. Increase staff for sports and extramural activities.
5. Address matriculant dance costs.
6. Address school camp issues; and
7. Support needy learners.

5.3.1 Theme 1: Resources for staff and learners

The learners' noted that they would like the school to invest more in teaching resources / have equipment and resources available to educators at the school, saying that: *"McAuley can be better with more money."* (Respondent 5) *"Improve equipment" and "renovate the school premises."* (Respondent 1). Respondent 10 said that it was important to *"Buy new white boards"*, and Respondent 13 added that *"Some educators need laptops."*

Learners also suggested that the school should– *[get] "bigger tables for certain classes; it's hard to write a geography exam on a small table"* (Respondent 32) *"[b]uy necessary equipment for science lab so we can do the experiments ourselves instead of just watching sir do the experiments for us"* (Respondent 25). Respondent 18 added: *"The school needs space. I do not know how or if it is possible, however the school needs a sports field."*

5.3.2 Theme 2: Transport issues

The respondents said that they would like to change the following aspects of getting to school, such as: Respondent 9 "*[m]ake the journey shorter"*

Various respondents remarked that they would like to have a school bus: *"It would be beneficial to have a school bus as a change from the transport mode for getting to and from school* (Respondent 17) *"A separate bus specifically for scholars to avoid being late because the main reason why I'm sometimes late for school is because the buses are always full."* (Respondent 1) *"I would like the school to have its own transport system so that there is less traffic at the gate."* (Respondent 30)

Respondent 3 highlighted issues of safety: *"Sometimes when going with the [public] bus, I can even get home when it's dark and it's not really safe especially because there are no streetlights when walking home."* Respondent 22 spoke about the problem of having to rise so early: *"Get a school closer to home and wake up at a reasonable time instead of 4:30am."*

5.3.3 Theme 3: Length of the day

Concerns were raised about the start and end times of school, with a suggestion made to change these:

"Change the time school ends to an hour earlier, in order for us to get home earlier and get work done faster and more efficiently." (Respondent 2) *"My routine gets a bit draining because I get home late after extra murals [activities] and still have homework and studying to do" and "I still must wake up early if I do not want to be late for school, so I barely even get 5 hrs (five hours) of sleep".* (Respondent 11) *"I can't think of any solutions to getting home late when doing extra murals [activities]."* (Respondent 30) Both Respondent 3 and Respondent 22 showed that they would like to *"wake up at a reasonable time instead of 4:30am".*

5.3.4 Theme 4: Staff for sports and extra mural activities

Further to the feedback on resources, Respondent 8 suggested: *"Invest in qualified coaches. Include robotics. Increase Advanced Programmes classes"*. Respondent 27 commented on the fact that there should be more diverse extracurricular activities:

> *They should supply more extra mural stuff that I will be more interested in besides sports and the choir" and "I would like extra murals [activities] to be taken more seriously by investing in qualified coaches and adequate equipment. I would like it if they went back to the pre-COVID schedule.*

5.3.5 Theme 5: Matriculation dance costs

In response to the question, "What would you change about the school?" Respondent 4 replied: *"Contribute the money to anyone who is unable to pay for matriculant dance dress, jersey, jacket, outings, etc. so that everyone is included."*

5.3.6 Theme 6: School camp issues

Respondent 11 voiced a strong opinion: *"Find alternatives for the camp and sleepover because they are important experiences that all McAuley girls should have the privilege to experience."*

5.3.7 Theme 7: Support needy learners

Bearing in mind that the learners are young women in Grade 11 and Grade 12, the answer to this value-added question certainly showed a high level of maturity and care on the part of Respondent 20: *"Contribute to learners who do not have money for food, books, or transport. It does not mean because a child goes to McAuley he/she does not struggle financially."*

5.4 Conclusion

The chapter captured the views of educators and the school principal of McAuley House. The chapter outlined the discussions related to school choice and commuting. When considering the travel routes in and around the City of Johannesburg, there was a sign that time and distance were intertwined, learners showed that a particular frustration was the congestion within the 5 km radius

to school. There were of course a few reasons for this, the sheer volume of cars, road works, protest action, broken traffic lights, load shedding and other power disruptions, infrastructure decline such as potholes all adding to travel time. Learners expressed transport satisfaction levels when travelling in a private car to school as they felt safe and secure. Conversely, learners expressed that they did not feel safe when travelling on public transport such as buses or taxis. Despite the parents' sacrifices with respect to school choice and the financial costs to keep their children at a good school, most of the learners who responded to the survey said that the daily commute and associated pressures made them want to stay closer to school. This did not mean that they would like to go to a local school but, but they preferred to live within the 5 km radius of the school, for ease of getting to school and more than likely be part of the school's extra-curricular activities, which makes up a holistic school experience. Middle class parents who took part in this study accessed better quality educational and associated opportunities will make very deliberate choices for their children to attend a school where there is quality teaching and learning and a greater chance of access to post schooling. The associated sacrifices made by parents of the learners attending McAuley House Private Catholic School, as the respondents' described in the interviews, were very deliberate as was the decision of 'school choice'

6 CHAPTER SIX: RESULTS OF TEACHER FOCUS GROUP, MCAULEY HOUSE

6.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the focus group discussion with educators at McAuley House (June 2021). The educators hold teaching positions across a wide range of grades and subjects as listed in Table 6.1. The focus group questions were given to the educators and formed the basis of the discussion. From an analytical perspective, the answers were transcribed from a recording, with the permission of the educators, and then the transcription was categorised under emerging themes. An interview was also held with the Principal of McAuley House via TEAMs, as we were in lockdown due to Covid-19 pandemic in South Africa. The discussions yielded the most interesting information, and this forms a part of this analysis in this chapter.

6.2 Focus group of educators taking part in the focus group

Table 6.1 illustrates the teaching level profile of the educators who took part in the focus group discussion:

Table 6.1: Educators profile of the different grades in which they teach and manage

Respondent number	Teaching position**	Grade/s taught
Respondent 1	Music	0-12
Respondent 2	Intersen*	4-6
Respondent 3	Management	0-7
Respondent 4	Afrikaans	4 - 7
Respondent 5	Head of Department	0-7
Respondent 6	Mathematics and Science	4 - 7
Respondent 7	Remedial Teacher	0 - 12
Respondent 8	Grade 3	3

*Intersen is a teaching phase that includes Grades 4, 5, 6 and 7

** The responses from the two educators who taught lower grades were included in the responses below as they added insight and were familiar with the high school

6.3 Study Themes and Responses

6.3.1 Theme One: The impact of the school commute – a long day for learners

The educators were concerned about the consequences of the learners' long school commute. One concern was that several children arrived at school extremely early. For example, Respondent 1 pointed out*: "Some children that travel with their parents are sometimes dropped off at 6 a.m. and they sit here often till late until picked up*." Respondent 4 confirmed this, saying that: "*They come very early and go home very late. We had one child in Foundation Phase, where the parents had to withdraw the child from the school because the day was too long, and the child was exhausted.*" Parents, to ensure that their children arrived at school on time, made sure their children were "… *getting up so early and being dropped off early, whether it's by private, taxi or by bus*" (Respondent 1).

Many parents dropped off their children on the way to work and collected their children after they finished work. Hence, some learners are at school until after 5 p.m. and as late as 6 p.m. In addition to the early rising, going home late meant that some educators felt that for some learners the school day was extraordinarily long.

Respondent 3 explained: I feel that the school day is too long for those children that live far away… they leave home at 5 o' clock in the morning [and] they get home at 5 o' clock at night. They are exhausted. I think it cannot be helped but it does have an effect of their academic performance.

While this teacher thought that academic performance was affected, the head of the school, said that academic results were completely independent of arrival and departure times (Personal communication, August 12, 2021).

6.3.2 Theme Two: Impact of the school commute on learner nutrition

Another concern was the provision of food. Some children ate breakfast very early or not at all, and then only brought a small amount of food for lunch, as Respondent 2 noted: "*The children are hungry by 9 o' clock because they leave so early, or they don't have breakfast, as it's early (keeping in mind that the school does not provide a kitchen for early arrivals of learners)*".

Like Respondent 2, some educators were so concerned, that they wanted to introduce a feeding scheme: “We used to have a kitchen but now we do not. It is something I want to bring back” (Respondent 4). Without a feeding scheme, learners needed money to access food:

“We have a tuckshop, but it is a private tuckshop. Then there is a lady on the corner who sells ‘vetkoek’, she is extremely popular” (Respondent 4). “Certainly, the cheap food at the private tuckshop is unhealthy – like that of the vetkoek seller (The response of the teacher (Respondent 4) was confirmed in a statement that a Grade 11 learner made, and then include the quote from the learner Grade 11 learner, personal communication, November 1, 2021). The principal of McAuley House agreed that this is a concern, and that parents needed to add more food to their children’s lunches (Personal communication, August 12, 2021).

6.3.3 Theme Three: The impact of the school commute on participation in extracurricular activities

The respondents in the focus group related their experiences of learners taking part in extracurricular activities during the week and weekend. Educators unanimously agreed that there was a link between learner transport modes and their participation in extracurricular activities. Respondent 3 clarified:

A lot of them like the extramural activities but the children who travel with the private school transport very often cannot, because they must get to their transport and the transport wants to go and is not going to wait, so they must go.

At the time of the discussion, Respondent 5 described the following as an example of just how difficult it was for learners to take part in extra-curricular activities after school:

A journalist from SAFM (a South African radio station) wanted to interview children for the programme Children’s Hour, at 13.00, on radio. It was impossible to select children from the general population of learners at McAuley House. It had to be children in aftercare provided by the school, as most learners rush to get to their transport to be able to get home.

A further example was given with respect to afternoon sports activities such as netball and extra mathematics or English lessons, with Respondent 3 saying: “They can’t because their transport is going!” In terms of the impact on academic performance, respondents acknowledged that learners might skip extra lessons offered after school. A mathematics teacher, Respondent 7, said: “*I offer*

extra maths, but I had a lot of absent kids because they had to go – even though they were the ones that needed the extra maths."

6.3.4 Theme Four: The impact of commuting on learner behaviour and discipline

A concern for the well-being of learners is an important part of the daily life at the school. In this regard, the Respondents noted that there are issues arising in terms of the school commute and that they were concerned with some modes of transport. Respondent 1 felt the journey to school in transport modes other than private cars changed the learners' en route, that they became rowdy and undisciplined, explaining:

> The learners sort of tumble out in a state … then they must get into a sedate way when they come in … I see them … pushing each other … it is very difficult … There is a lot of misbehaviour that comes from taxis and such that would not be tolerated in a car.

The respondents said they noted a difference when dealing with learners who use public transport and voiced their concerns about the impact on learner discipline. Adding to the discussion, Respondent 2 said that learners interacted with "kids from different schools" who could have a negative effect (bad peer pressure) on the McAuley learners in terms of behaviour. Respondent 4 added that:

> There is quite a lot of bullying that happens in a taxi and the like … We have had issues. Sometimes we have dealt with them. But usually, we try to make the parents take responsibility for dealing with their children's behaviour. But that is not always easy. I know that their hands are tied to some extent. If it is all our children we have intervened, occasionally, very occasionally, we have intervened when it is children from other schools.

Respondent 2 opined: "I think it would be useful to determine how many learners make use of public vs private transport, what time they get up, where they travel from, you know the specifics, so that would give us something." Respondent 5 gave further input: "We have to be sympathetic to that because we can't blame the children; they have to get their transport." Respondent 1 felt discipline was the big issue:

> … we can discipline here at McAuley, but educators' hands are tied in the government schools now … If we must, we do discipline our kids, we do not do it often but if we have

too then we are able to. We can deal with the disruptive ones. We always follow due process.

In an interview with the principal of McAuley House (personal communication, August 12, 2021), he had a different view: "*There is not so much bullying, but because of a mixture of grades on public transport, it is more a type of bossiness as there are Grade 3s mixed with Grade 12s*."

He also emphasised that this was pre-COVID-19. He concluded that after almost 2 years of COVID-19 and all the factors attributed to schooling, that – "[b]*ecause of the rotational system, we have the same grades travelling with each other now. This may be a good outcome as it protects younger grades (from older ones)*" (personal communication, August 12, 2021).

6.3.5 Theme Five: The attractive ethos of McAuley

McAuley House is a Catholic school, and the ethos of the school is consistent with a focus on the pastoral care for learners by educators and shows this as a being cornerstone of the school. The McAuley House motto is: "*We live our faith through honesty, integrity, humility, responsibility, commitment, reliability and a willingness to serve*". Respondents felt that this ethos attracted parents to the school, as Respondent 3 clarified: "*I have got two groups of parents: Ones who say they chose the school as it is close to work, it is convenient. Then I have got those parents who say we see McAuley children in our area and we like what we see.*"

The respondents acknowledged that behaviour out of school, presuming while learners are in uniform, matters, as Respondent 4 stated: "*So, our children are our ambassadors … the school has a good reputation, and the parents also say that they found out about us from word of mouth, we hardly need to advertise.*" There are reasons, as Respondent 7 said: "*Parents are attracted to the quality of education and its values.*"

Respondent 2 also explained:

> There is a huge difference between our children and children from other schools. If they litter, for example, our kids know it is wrong; we have emphasised that, repeatedly. We also say we are a family, so that it helps them to understand to work together. But for someone who is new coming into this group of kids, sometimes it is difficult to break in and make friends.

Respondent 4 elucidated:

> A lot of kids are brought here because we teach morals. A lot of parents say that they will not send their children to public schools because they come out of there so ill disciplined and disrespectful towards their parents at home because they are in a disrespectful environment all day long. So those kids come home and try do whatever they have seen during the day at school, at home. Here at McAuley we teach them the values and morals for life, not just religion. We have Religious Education lessons. The parents were happy that they are learning the Catholic faith, learning about God and how to treat other people. Our kids learn they must say 'sorry', 'please' and 'thank you.

Further to the discussion, Respondent 2 gave input:

> There is a sense of community amongst the McAuley kids, even though they come from different areas and township. There is a real sense of community amongst the kids. You can see it when there have been school holidays, when they come back, they are all very happy to see one another, screaming and screeching and jumping; you must get out of the way 'cos when they run to hug you, they almost run you over, so I think we do have a sense of community … I taught at a township school, and I must say that I had classes, big classes, children of 40 and 45. I have spoken to parents, and they were happy that our numbers are small here at McAuley. Here children are getting more attention, they are getting a better education and I think that is one of the reasons why they choose not to take their children to township schools.

This discussion illustrates the importance of a focus on the development of learners attending McAuley House and the creation of a caring teaching and learning environment. Educators described that they were aware of the responsibility placed upon them in and out of school. Respondent 1 stated:

> I think that the educators are more accountable at a school such as this. I certainly feel that we are. I can point out we are a Catholic School. I say to the children it is a Catholic school, private school, so you cannot behave badly, you just cannot do certain things … and they listen … Morals and ethics are a constant reminder, it is a very useful thing to be part of a school like this because the parameters are very clear for the educators and for the children.

That said, Respondent 6 did not think religion really mattered as much: "*Enrolment is not dependent on being Catholic. When considering the number of enrolled learners, only 28% are Catholic*".

Respondent 7 explained:

> I think that there are influential kids who drive enrolment to a particular school. Where someone is going often shows a stream to that school. At parents' evening some do not want their child to go to a certain school because of behaviour, so the parents talk about schools.

This respondent went on to explain: "*I remember last, year (2019) I was invited to a party and at once I got a text to say, 'I see you are here'. This shows that the parents watch what educators are doing.*"

Respondent 1 explained further:

> I am always terribly aware when I am out and about: how to behave and wear a dress. I once went to Rosebank in a tracksuit because I had been working and it was a shabby faded tracksuit. I saw some learners from our high school who came over and greeted me, and I thought never again. I will never do that; I will make sure I am dressed properly.

Respondent 4 commented:

> A lot of learners are brought here because we teach morals, and a lot of the parents say that they will not send their children to public schools because they come out of there so ill disciplined, and they disrespect their parents at home.

6.3.5 Conclusion to section

The study themes covered in section 6.3 shows educator responses to questions posit with reference to the impact of the commute on learners, impacting on learner nutrition, lack of participation in extracurricular activities and the challenges of the commute on behaviour and discipline.

6.3.6 Theme Six: Drivers of school choice

The educators emphasised that what they knew came from discussions with parents. Despite the challenges associated with enrolling a child at McAuley, parents felt the sacrifices are worthwhile – for good education and the greater goal, access to university. McAuley is one of the best Catholic private schools in Johannesburg, and at a relatively low cost. Respondent 3 said "*If they can have a matriculant education for R30,000, why should they pay R60,000, which is, you know, they see that.*"

So, this respondent felt some enrolled at McAuley as it was a 'bargain;' Respondent 3 continued: Despite the noble values embedded in a parent's choice, their thinking is that they can still get a good education for less. From a high school perspective, we are one of the cheapest schools around; so, they see a value in that. Some of the wealthier parents see value in it, which is sort of a little bit of a concern to me because, that was not our target market.

Respondent 4 felt that parents were prepared to make sacrifices for quality education:

> It also happened in our lifetime. I had to travel far as well for education. A good education at a good school will give you more opportunities. The pressure of getting a good education is on everyone if you think about it. For many it has to do with equality and opportunity.

Respondent 3 agreed: "*I think they want the best they can afford*." In relation to costs associated with schooling at McAuley House, Respondent 3 remarked: "*A lot of parents struggle financially. Every year and every term we have parents who cannot afford to keep their children in the school and there is a lot of them*."

Respondent 4 had the following opinion:

> It is how you are going to make a South African an equal society - through education, so I think parents make the sacrifice. I think it is a specific kind of parent that makes this kind of sacrifice. My daughter goes to the National School of the Arts, and you see parents coming from Springs, or Benoni, every day to Braamfontein, even though they have a hostel. They have chosen not to put their children in hostel, so it is a specific kind of parent that does that for whatever reason for bettering their children's education.

Most of the respondents felt that parents had no choice but to look for schools outside of the township.

Respondent 2 remarked: "*Parents are happy that our classroom numbers are small. Their children are getting more attention. They are getting a better education. I think that is one of the reasons why choose not to take their children to township schools*".

Respondent 3 gave a different view:

> If you come from the township system, if you know township public education and what kids are getting from the township schools, as a parent you want to get your child to another

> school. I do not want my child to [be] in the township school system; it is why these parents are making these difficult choices.

Respondent 2 has seen:

> Another reason is safety. Parents know their children are safe at McAuley House. They know what happens on the playground in township schools where there are huge numbers of children and there are only one or two educators on duty. I have seen a lot of children assaulting other learners while you are duty in a township school, you must run and scream to try to get them apart. So yes, they do feel that their children are safe here.

Respondent 2 added that another problem was: "*Big classes, children of 40 and 50*".

Respondent 7 felt educator's matter: A reason that some parents do not send their children to the schools in the township is that they see the township educators after school. If they see a teacher drunk, that becomes a concern to them.

6.3.7 Conclusion of section

Despite the challenges shown from learners in section 6.3.4 the section indicates that as per the survey with learners, learners favour the choice as they respect the ethos of the school, and that the education is learner centric – caring.

6.4 Emerging sub-themes from an interview with the school principal

In the interview with the principal of McAuley House, a couple of sub-themes appeared.

In support of the 'ethos and the values of caring' in driving school choice the principal stated the following: "Parent[s] are in search of a caring and supportive environment … old fashioned values". Regarding the issue of school fee payment, the principal added:

> Parents are struggling currently with the payment of school fees … The school fees are being paid across 12 months and not 10 months as it was in the past … to give parents more options … We are lucky that parents still value education … Parents have been hit very hard during COVID-19, losing jobs through retrenchments, not entirely across all the parents but it has happened (Personal communication, August 12, 2021).

There were other aspects of COVID-19: death of breadwinners or other family members, and other costs such as funerals. The principal supported:

> Not only loss of a job but also the issue of now one income supporting multiple family members … Salaries have not gone up or salaries have been cut, and the support required by the family has doubled with the addition of unemployed members in the family (Personal communication, August 12, 2021).

The principal raised the question of the school taking on responsibilities outside of the ambit of the school: "*Parents, not all, expect the school to feed, clothe and educate kids. He stated around 3% of the parents were unable to feed and clothe their children, adding that it was: "Really sad, sad*." (Personal communication, August 12, 2021).

6.5 Conclusion

The chapter presents the views of educators who participated in a focus group discussion at McAuley House. The educators covered a few themes as shown in the chapter and expressed their opinions on the school commute, the school day and issues associated with the daily commute. The teaching profile of teachers was across different grades. The themes focused on the educator responses showing how the school commute effect on learners from nutrition to discipline. Educators in the focus group were concerned about learners who used public transport such as mini-bus taxis and busses, as responses were caring and considerate.

7 CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION FROM FINDINGS IN CHAPTERS FOUR TO SIX

7.1 Introduction

There is evidence of strong awareness among South African parents that public schooling is unable to enhance the educational outcomes of their children. The recent editorial by Mthombithi[84] is clear evidence thereof. He noted that this has resulted in a flight of both primary and secondary school learners from township schools to ex-Model C schools. However less acknowledgment is given of the flight by black Africans from public education to private education (Hofmeyer & Lee, 2002; Machard & McKay, 2014, McKay et al., 2018). Thus, this study contributes to the literature as it shows that middle class black Africans are also choosing private schools over public ones. This movement has taken place post-1994, as historically South African parents could not actively choose the schools their children attended (Lombard, 2007). Recently, and in line with international trends, parents are increasingly formulating their own ideas and preferences of what an ideal school educational experience should be. To this end, many are choosing private schools. Parents are doing this with the expectation that their children will receive quality education to secure greater opportunities for post-schooling education and improved job prospects (Singh et al., 2004). In this regard, this chapter aims to unpack the factors influencing the school choice decisions of middle-class parents.

7.2 Demographic profile of parents participating in the study

In terms of the results pertaining to the demographic profile of participants in the parental survey (March – May 2019), 98% self-identified themselves as Black African and 2% as white. In 2020, nationally, South Africa's population was roughly 59.6 million, of which the majority (roughly 47.4 million or 79.5%) were Black Africans. Thus, compared to national data, black Africans are overrepresented in these schools (McH, HFC, DCS). Nationally, the South African white population is roughly 4.44 million or 7.4%, with minority population groups at lower numbers, Indian/Asian 1.54 million people[85]. Minority groups are not represented in the survey conducted across parents at

[84] (27/03/2022 Sunday Times Live)

[85] https://www.statista.com/statistics/1116076/total-population-of-south-africa-by-population-group/ (accessed June 2021)

(McH, HFC and DCS). Thus, minority populations are significantly underrepresented in the parental survey of the three Catholics schools in this study (Nattrass & Seekings, 2001; Crankshaw, 2008; Chisholm, 2012; Statistic, 2018[86]). Looking at the population from a regional perspective, Johannesburg is part of Gauteng, and is the largest municipality of South Africa and one of the largest 50 urban agglomerations in the world (Statistic[87], 2018; Frith, 2022). Johannesburg (Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan area) has a population 5.63 million (Statista, 2019)[88]. Thus, studies like this one on private Catholic schools in Johannesburg can shed light on what is transpiring in this economically and demographically significant city. Racially the Johannesburg population consists of black African 76.4%, white 12.3%, coloured 5.6% and Indian/Asian 4.9% (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: Johannesburg, South Africa - Population by major racial categories (2011)[89]

	Population number	Percentage
black African	3,389,278	76.42%
white	544,530	12.28%
Coloured	247,276	5.58%
Indian/Asian	216,198	4.88%
Other	37,545	0.85%

The parental survey results showed significant racial change had taken place in these Catholic schools. Prior to 1953, Catholic schools did not practise racial segregation. They were, however, well resourced - their classrooms were smaller than those in overcrowded black schools, their educators were more prepared, and Catholic schools were unlikely to turn children of colour away. In short, the Catholic schools attracted children of colour. However, with the passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, Catholic schools such as the ones under study, were, forced by law to become racially segregated, serving the white population. Things changed in the late 1970's when private schools, including the Catholic ones, began to desegregate Thus, by 2010, black-African students made up 72% of all students enrolled in private institutions (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2002, 2004; Hofmeyr & McCay, 2010). The parental survey indicates that black Africans completely dominated the private Catholic schools under study, indicating that these schools have desegregated, only this time to black Africans in the majority. It is likely that if the trends noted in the Catholic schools are

[86] https://www.statista.com/statistics/1112169/total-population-of-south-africa-by-province/ Accessed 29/08/2021.
[87] https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/798 - Population statistics were obtained from the Census 2011 Community
[88] https://populationstat.com/south-africa/johannesburg
[89] https://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/798 - Population statistics were obtained from the Census 2011 Community Profile Databases, and geographical areas were calculated from the Census 2011 GIS DVD.

replicated in South Africa's former Coloured and Indian schools, then they will also now be dominated by black African learners. This warrants further research.

Based on the survey results from parents, indicated that there are four primary reasons for choosing private Catholic Schools: Good academic results (90%); Good discipline (85%); Good educators (66%), and good school management (66%).

7.3 Further reason for choosing Catholic schools as an education choice

Catholic schools, provide for a demand for a Christian education is not unexpected as around 53% of the residents of Johannesburg belong to a mainstream Christian church and another 14% are members of African Independent Churches (Statista, 2018). Thus, some of the demand for Catholic schools may be linked to the mismatch between what parents want in terms of religious adherence and what the public schools (who were declared secular) offer. Certainly, the educators at McAuley House felt that their school was selected due to its emphasis on pastoral care: "*We live our faith through honesty, integrity, humility, responsibility, commitment, reliability and a willingness to serve*". The above statement is not generalized to all educators at McAuley House Catholic school, as a case study was conducted. Reference here is based on the responses from the to the selected educators who participated in the focus group session. In short, the educators who participated in the focus group session thought that their school was selected because of its emphasis on pastoral care.

Respondents from the educators focus group discussion felt that the ethos of McAuley House attracted parents to the school, as Respondent 3 clarified:

> I have got two groups of parents. One group of parents who say they chose the school as it is close to work, it is convenient. Then I have got those parents who say we see McAuley children in our area and we like what we see.

The respondents from the educators focus group discussion acknowledged that behaviour out of school, presuming while learners are in uniform, matters, as Respondent 4 stated: "So, our children are our ambassadors … the school has a good reputation, and the parents also say that they found out about us from word of mouth, we hardly need to advertise."

An essential aspect in the search for a better education is the quality of teaching, this was borne out in the discussion with educators focus group discussion at McAuley House. Educators focus group

discussion were aware of the responsibility placed upon them in-and-out of school. Respondent 1 stated:

> I think that the educators are more accountable at a school such as this. I certainly feel that we are. I can point out we are a Catholic school. I say to the children it is a Catholic school, private school, so you cannot behave badly, you just cannot do certain things… and they listen … Morals and ethics are a constant reminder, it is a very useful thing to be part of a school like this because the parameters are very clear for the educators and for the children.

> An educator respondent 3: A lot of kids are brought here because we teach morals. A lot of parents say that they will not send their children to public schools because they come out of there so ill disciplined and disrespectful towards their parents at home because they are in a disrespectful environment all day long. So those kids come home and try do whatever they have seen during the day at school, at home.

School management, for example, did not think discipline issues related to the commute all that much, whereas for the educators it did. Educators felt that religion and ethos attracted parents to Catholic schools, whereas parents focused strongly on academic quality. Learners raised issues of commuting safety, which did not seem to be a concern for the other stakeholders.

7.4 Language profile of the parents participating in the study

Results from the parental survey indicated that the main languages spoken in the homes of the parents are: isiZulu 36%; English 34%; Sesotho 25% and Setswana 22%. In terms of the number of mother-tongue speakers in South Africa, however, isiZulu is at 25.3%, isiXhosa at 14.8%, and Afrikaans at 12.2% (StatsSA, 2018). English is only the sixth most common language spoken in South African households (at 8.1%) although it is the second-most prevalent language spoken outside of homes, at 16.6% (StatsSA, 2018). In Johannesburg, about 23% of the population speaks isiZulu, 20% speak English, 9.5% speak Sesotho and 9.5% Setswana (StatsSA, 2011). Thus isiZulu, English, Sesotho and Setswana speakers are overrepresented in the parental survey, both compared to South Africa in general and Johannesburg in particular. This is different from Seethal's 2020 paper on, "The State of Languages in South Africa". Seethal noted that black UKZN students who go home find that the language spoken at home is their vernacular language and not English. These students change to the indigenous language at home (Seethal, 2020).

The choice of a school where English is the language of learning and teaching (LOLT) or medium of instruction is, therefore, not aligned to the language most learners spoke at home. This is despite evidence that suggests that not educating learners their home tongue increases the risk of failure. This is because home language is viewed as the language learners are the most comfortable with in terms of reading, writing, and speaking. Hence Evans & Cleghorn (2014) found it interesting that in post-apartheid South Africa, a colonial language (English) rather than any of the indigenous languages is favoured as a language of learning and teaching (Maile, 2004; Msila, 2005; Lombard, 2007).

Instruction in English comes with a certain perception, such as benefits of social mobility and greater economic opportunities. On the other hand, the choice of English must be viewed from the context of South Africa's language rights (Wong-Fillmore, 1991; Bunyi, 1999; De Klerk, 2002; Stroud, 2002; Benson, 2004; Maile, 2004; Msila, 2005; Wolfaardt, 2005; 2010; Busch, 2010). That is, Bantu Education instituted a policy of mother tongue instruction for the first 7 years of education for black African children. During apartheid, the use of mother tongue was viewed as both inferior and associated with apartheid (Maile, 2004; Msila, 2005; Lombard, 2007). This then drove a historically rooted fear of the use of language as a weapon – one to keep black Africans marginalised and subservient (Heugh, 2005). Many Black African parents are suspicious of mother tongue education, feeling that will "delay access to English" which is "commonly viewed as the perceived access to access to higher education and employment" (Heugh, 2005:243). Although, small sample of parents, an answer to the question of home language and preferred language of instruction, there are difference in Seethal's paper, as stated previous above in section 7.4. Clearly, decisions on school choice by parents, as found in this study, may stem from parents' experience of forced language of instruction at schools attended, hence not wanting the best for their children (Evans & Cleghorn, 2014).

7.5 Geographical profile of parents participating in the study

The parents participating in the study indicated that they reside in the following areas: Over half (54%) lived in former black African designated areas (townships), 5% lived in a former coloured group area, 3% lived in a former Indian group area and 1% lived in an area in which different racial groups previously occupied together, suffered forced removals and was later designated white by the apartheid regime. Thus, only 37% lived in former white designated group area.

Reasons for remaining in these former black areas (Table 4.3) are linked to affordability, place attachment or strong cultural affection for these areas. For example, 93% of parents who participated in this study indicated that they would not be moving closer to the school - they may reject local schools but not their local neighbourhoods. On that note, most 67% parents indicated that poor quality teaching was a major factor in terms of rejecting township or local schools. They also indicated overcrowding was an issue 63%, along with a lack of discipline 59%, lack of resources such as libraries, laboratories, and sports facilities 58%, as well as poor management 45%.

Beavon (2004) described this retention of apartheid spatiality or racial zoning as 'neo-apartheid'). That is, although Johannesburg is not subject to the Group Areas Act, racially distinct areas remain. Consequently, Crankshaw (2022) quotes, Heller (2017: p.41) argues that "…despite concerted efforts to 'de-racialise' the city through spatial planning and investment priorities, South African cities remain segregated". Parry and van Eeden (2015: p.31) noted that while racial residential segregation in Johannesburg decreased between 1991 and 2011, the city is still 'extremely separated' in terms of race.

Yet other studies have found strong racial residential desegregation in at least some formerly white-only suburbs of Johannesburg (Crankshaw, 2008), Tshwane (Horn & Ngcobo, 2003), eThekwini (Schensul & Heller, 2011), and Cape Town (Kotzé & Donaldson, 1998; Lemanski, 2006; Crankshaw, 2012). Additionally, Crankshaw (2022) noted that racial desegregation in Johannesburg North is slower than Johannesburg South, due to the higher cost of property in Johannesburg North.

Crankshaw (2022) also argued that diverse methodologies used to quantify desegregation were to blame for confusion regarding racial residential desegregation. That is, studies which have found persistent racial segregation employ the dissimilarity index to quantify segregation. White (1983) described this dissimilarity index as the most widely used international metric for quantifying segregation, particularly in metropolitan areas. It is, however, primarily a tool for countries such as the USA and UK, where people of colour are in the minority. Thus, unpacking racial segregation or desegregation in South Africa may need a different tool. Crankshaw (2022) wrote, the great majority of Johannesburg's population is made up of black Africans, the bulk of whom live in areas that are highly unlikely to ever desegregate due to black Africans being numerically dominant.

The responses of parents in terms of where they lived may also reflect the growth of the black middle class. Southall (2016) describes how the black middle class was deliberately stunted prior to

1994 in terms of property acquisition. But now, despite being free to move away from former segregated residential areas, they remain to live in these residential areas, as a matter of choice. Such decisions to remain in townships be a non-exit/loyalty choice. That is, despite being middle class, these black Africans remain in townships where property values are very low, or, if they do move out, they move to areas where properties are less expensive [Eldorado Park, Ormonde, Lenasia and Davidsonville, for example].

Table 7.2 reflects tax brackets, associated approximate monthly income and what house price range such individuals can afford. When considering middle class (lower, middle, and upper) the taxable income ranges from R216,201 to R782,200 or a monthly income between R18,017 and R65,166. In this regard, approximate property that this group could afford would be property in the range of R670,909 – R2,426,758. As the parent survey conducted (chapter 4) revealed, most lived in areas where the properties are valued at R1 million or less[90]. This would make the parents lower-middle to middle-middle class.

Table 7.2: Tax brackets associated approximate monthly income and house prices per socio – economic classification

Socioeconomic classification	Tax Bracket(s) (2022 Tax Year)	Approx. monthly household income	Approx. Property Price
Lower - income	R 1 – R216,200	≤ R18,016	< R670,909
Middle-class			
Lower - middle	R216,201 – R337,800	R18,017 – R28,150	R670,909 – R1,048,296
Middle - middle	R337,801 – R467,500 R467,501 – R613,600	R28,151 – R38,958 R38,959 – R51,133	R1,048,297 – R1,904,174
Upper - middle	R613,601 – R782,200	R51,134 – R65,166	R1,904,175 – R2,426,758
Elite			
Lower - higher	R782,201 – R1,656,600	R65,167 – R138,050	R2,426,758 – R5,140,932
Upper - higher	R1,656,601 and above	< R138,050	< R5,140,932

Source C Van Rensburg, 2022 using South African Revenue Services (SARS) data.

Note: Approximate average property price in the above-table was calculated using an interest rate of 7.5% over a 20-year period. Calculations were made working on gross monthly income only, and without expenses. Thus, real-life property prices would be slightly less than that given in the above table, and affordability lower.[91]

[90] It is said that there are many variables that determine where a person or family purchase a property. The decision to purchase is also based on many personal and family circumstances. The decision is not based only on the individual's taxable income. For example, many Black Africans are involved in supporting members of their greater families. This consideration alone, for example, will limit the income available for the purchase of a residential property.

[91] Post-tax income is significant when one notes that the tax rates in South Africa are high, with the country having one of the highest tax burdens in the world.[91] Furthermore, personal income tax contributes to 38% of South Africa's total

It seems the extent of racial residential desegregation is a measure of racial inequality, in that Black Africans are still excluded from the benefits of middle-class choices (Beavon, 2004; Schensul, 2011; Heller, 2017; Crankshaw, 2022). Hunter (2017) further supports this notion, arguing that although the costs of sending a child to an outside school are expensive, it is significantly less than the costs of moving out of the township.

7.6 Socio-economic profile of parents participating in the study

Socio-economic status (SES) or profile is defined as the position of an individual or a household within a society. It is a combination of occupation, education, health, income, wealth, and residential neighbourhood. Class is a group of people with similar characteristics. These characteristics can include social and economic standing, level of education, current profession, and background or heritage[92]. Social economists attempt to explain how a particular social group or socio-economic class behaves, including their actions as consumers. Most researchers agree that the socio-economic status of a parent contributes to school selection (Dronkers & Robert, 2008; Walker & Clark, 2010). In South Africa, historically, white people generally constituted the working class, middle class or part of the elite, while people of colour were in the main either associated with the lowest of classes or the working-but-poor group, even though there were many black South Africans who were professionals (teachers, police, nurses, lawyers, medical doctors) and there were many who were small-scale businesspersons. In addition, many also worked in clerical and administrative positions. Only a small minority of black people attained 'middle-class' socio-economic status (Bell & McKay 2011). South Africa, under apartheid, was a racially and socio-economically segregated society and its urban landscapes reflected this situation.

In the 1990s, South Africa ended over 40 years of apartheid politics and commenced a transition to democracy. The transition gave rise to expectations of change, especially as far as socio-economic inequalities were concerned. The eradication of historical differences resulting from the racial

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tax revenue.[91] Thus, the middle class carries a large tax burden but get little in return. This includes education. So, the move to private education of parents in this study may be viewed in the context of the failure of the post-1994 state to provide efficient public services despite the high tax rates.

[92] https://www.investopedia.com/terms/s/social-economics.asp

exclusion of blacks, coloureds, and Indians from political, social, and economic power was among the many priorities the new regime faced after the 1994 democratic elections (Kotzè & García-Rivero, 2018). Burger R., McAravey C. & Van der Berg S. (2014) maintain that middle class is not just about wealth, but also political, economic, and social factors. This differs from neo-Weberian or neo-Marxist scholars like Wright (1997) and Goldthrope (1987), who employed a sociological definition of class status based on occupation (Rivero, du Toit & Kotzé, 2003; Southall, 2016). Regardless, the size and nature of the black middle class in South Africa is of crucial importance (Visagie, 2015). Crankshaw (1997) agrees. Thus, Rivero et al., (2003) state that a well-developed middle class plays a positive role in democratization, although the middle class in South Africa remains relatively small. Nevertheless, the black middle class is growing, and, over the past 12 years, exponentially (Southall, 2016).

In terms of SES, educational attainment, and occupation matter. The findings of the parental survey indicate that a greater proportion 47% of the parents had a postgraduate qualification. More than half 55% said they were in the professional work category or 'white-collar' workers. Functions performed by this white-collar group are largely managerial, inclusive of administrative functions. Additionally, 23% indicated they were in managerial positions. Therefore, most participants classified themselves as either professional or managerial. Crankshaw (2008:1701)

> "...defines middle class to include the occupational groups of managers and professionals. In class theory terms, this definition corresponds roughly to both Weberian and Marxist definitions of the middle class. Specifically, it corresponds to the higher grade of Erikson and Goldthorpe's 'professional, higher technical, administrative and managerial employees' and Wright's 'expert managers and experts".

Thus, in terms of education and occupation, the parents participating in the study can be said to be part of the middle class. In an interesting explanatory note Vincent (2001) makes a distinction between middle-class parents who work in the public sector and those who have risen through the ranks of the corporate sector. Evident from the parent survey black people enter the public service, professions and buy property, they accumulate wealth and become middle class. Parents who are middle class by profession rely on "their cultural capital as a crucial advantage [in] helping them recognize and manage their children's prospects". Generally, though, research indicates that more educated parents are better equipped to exercise choice (Bosetti, 2004; Goldring & Rowley, 2006).

In South Africa, consumption and the LSM can be used to define and measure socio-economic status. This is in line with Southall (2016) who describes the middle class as a category of people in

the middle range of the hierarchies of income, wealth, property ownership, as well as lifestyle and consumption patterns. Notably, the middle class is a group of people affluent in relative terms (Visagie, 2015). In this regard, the use of the Statistics South Africa annual General Household Survey (GHS) is insightful. The survey measures the performance of programmes, as well as the quality-of-service delivery in several key service sectors in the country. Six broad areas are covered, namely education, health and social development, housing, access to services and facilities, food security, and agriculture (GHS, 2019). The GHS (2019) indicates that 17.2% of individuals were part of a private medical aid scheme, or 10.1 million persons. Additionally, 31.2% of households owned at least one vehicle in working condition and one-fifth (22.7%) of the South African population own one or more computers. Contrary to this, television sets and electric stoves are extremely common for most South African households. As most parents in the study survey had medical aid 82%, pension fund and life insurance 73%, private vehicles 80%, and computers 84%, relative to most South Africans these parents were better off. Importantly, owning a home, having a pension, and life insurance are uncommon in the general population in South Africa. Hence, middle-class are not 'living for today' but planning their futures. Furthermore, this is supported by these parents participating in the survey that foregoing vacationing overseas or even weekend breaks. Thus, allocating a percentage of monthly income to home loans, life insurance, car and home insurance, private medical aid and investing in retirement annuities and pension funds, defines the post-democracy South African middle-class (Southall, 2016).

Most of the respondents lived in areas where the property values were considered low, such as from R875,000 to as low as R250,000 (2021). These areas (Examples: Alberton, Ekurhuleni, Forest Hill, Johannesburg South, Naturena, Johannesburg, Riverlea, Johannesburg West) were also some of the earliest to desegregate racially post-1994. Few live in high property values locations such as that of Blairgowrie, Johannesburg North where property prices trended in 2021 at R1.85 million to Mulbarton, Johannesburg South, with a property trend of R1.56 million, and Freeway Park, Boksburg, Ekurhuleni at R1.35 million. Further north, Riversands faced a downward trend from R2.5 million in 2013 to R1.7 million 2021; however, this residential area still had very high property values. Access to 'cheaper' housing seemed vital to this middle-class group (survey parents), as most said they would not move to be closer to school. Based on the residential area, education levels (the majority have a graduate or postgraduate qualification) and occupation (most parents – 55% – work in the professional category) parents are middle class.

Home loans, life insurance, private cars, private medical aid, retirement annuities and pension funds also represent an exit from public service provision. Notably security, electronic gates and high

walls was an also an indication of no longer relying on the South African Police Service, but rather on private security measures. Additionally, many parents also subscribed to private television or streaming services such as M-Net, DSTV or Netflix, despite the high costs [DSTV packages range from Premium at R829 to Family at R295 per month]in 2021/22, whilst the SABC television service is relatively inexpensive (a TV licence is required, but few pay it).

The middle-class parents who participated in this study, instead of exercising the 'voice' option regarding their dissatisfaction with poor service delivery of public services (Example: health care, education, transport) have opted to 'exit' to private provision (Benson, 2000; Gollan, 2003, 2005; Dundon et al., 2004; Bryson et al., 2006). Thus, as noted by McKay & Hendricks (under review), the middle class "no longer wants to rely on anything produced by the government, as many opt for private education, health care, security and technology, the move to solar is just another part of that". This explains the exit to private education.

The discussion with respect to the separation between the middle and elite class from public provisioning is not without controversy. Ngwenya (2020) argued in the *'Rise of the Private Parallel State'* that it is splitting society into one that has access and one which does not[93]. She also argued that it represents the consequences of state collapse. A dual system, therefore, exists, where the middle class and elites have access to private services and goods, and the poor, who are reliant on the State, are at the mercy of public service delivery.

7.7 Cost of schooling

7.7.1 Annual school fees per year per child

When addressing costs of education, parents must have sufficient (postdeductions) disposable income to afford the school fees and added costs (Hoadley, 1999; Bosetti, 2004). Most of the parents who took part in this research (55%) indicated they pay between R20,001 – R30,000 per year on school fees. When factoring in the added costs of transport and school lunches, the combined total increases up to R46,369.86. Depending on how many children they have at the school, this may be double or increase even more. When engaging with the schools (Holy Family Covent, McAuley House, and Dominican Convent School) it was found that these schools did not

[93] Gwen Ngwenya, 30 Dec 2020. The rise of the private parallel state https://www.politicsweb.co.za/opinion/the-rise-of-the-private-parallel-state Accessed 30 March 2022

apply any discounted percentage for the number of children attending the school but rather a discounted percentage for early payments. In the three participating schools, 50% of the Grade 12 school fees must be paid upfront (by end of January for each year). In short, not only must parents have the disposable income, but they also need to accumulate savings for the early fee payment demands. The results show school choice in these cases is linked to monetary resources (Weber, 2002; Lemon, 2004; Futoshi, 2011).

7.7.2 Additional educational costs per child per year

The costs in addition to school fees include transport costs and costs for school lunches. The parents participating in the survey indicated that additional costs per child per year, averaged R13,869.86. These costs included the purchasing of school uniforms, stationery, exercise books, and textbooks. The parents also indicated that there were financial contributions towards extracurricular activities and excursions. These activities included art, drama, history tour, choir tour or sports tours. This is in line with Hofmeyer (2000) Sekete et al. (2001) and Futoshi (2011), who point out the associated high level of schooling costs.

The purchase of school uniforms, such as blazers, shoes and other related items is also a costly exercise. Parents spent between R1,000 – R3,000 per child per year, with an average of R2,570.96 per year on clothing. The purchase of stationery such as pens, pencils and other related items is an estimated annual spend of between R400 – R1,500 per child per year, with an average of R978.12 per year. The purchase of school exercise books and textbooks varied from R1,086.00 to R2,254.83. The purchase of sports uniforms and sports equipment was roughly R974.00 per child per year. Not all learners participated in extra-curricular activities, which was due to the long commute which affected the learners' ability to attend, but cost may be a factor. Participants also paid for extra lessons (English, Mathematics, or another school subject) with an average spend of R2,100.00 per child per year, with a high of R20,000 or a low of R900.00.

Despite all the costs referred to in the previous paragraphs, learners wanted more investment in additional resources. This is an indication of how costly quality education really was. Respondent 8 learner suggested: "Invest in qualified coaches. Include robotics. Increase Advanced Programme classes", and, as a follow-on to the resource allocation for extracurricular activities, Respondent 27 learner commented on the fact that there should be more diverse extracurricular activities: "They should provide more extramural stuff that I will be more interested in besides sports and the choir" and "I would like extra murals to be taken more seriously by investing in qualified coaches and

adequate equipment". On that note, the learners were aware of many who could not afford the costs, suggesting the need for support for learners: learner Respondent 20 suggested "Contribute to learners who do not have money for food, books, or transport. It does not mean because a child goes to McAuley he/she does not struggle financially." Learner Respondent 4: "Contribute the money to anyone who is unable to pay for their matriculant dance dress, jersey, jacket and outings, so that everyone is included."

7.8 The school commute

The spatial development and historical background of Gauteng's land use related to the gold-bearing Witwatersrand reef, running from west to east and a growth 'pull' in a northerly direction, towards Pretoria. The Vaal River is found to the south of the province with better and more pricy residential land found to the north of the gold reef due to prevailing winds. These better residential areas were reserved for white people until 1994 (McKay et al., 2017). Less desirable land in the south, with mine dumps, wetlands, and little high ground, saw the establishment of residential areas for people of colour (e.g., Soweto, Lenasia, Eldorado Park, and Ennerdale) (Parnell & Beavon 1996; Beavon, 2004; Murray 2011). Thus, for Johannesburg, a unique South African school commuting pattern is explained as the city suffers from significant urban sprawl (Fiske & Ladd, 2004; Lemon, 2004; Hunter, 2017).

School choice and spatial apartheid have combined to create an extraordinary long commute (De Kadt et al., 2019). This is true for Johannesburg, as well as for much of urban South Africa (Ginsburg et al., 2011; Mnguni & McKay, 2022). That is, despite the abolition of the Group Areas Act, most black Africans still live in old apartheid townships, such as Soweto (Hofmeyr, 2000). Schools in townships continue to display problems such as overcrowding, poor quality teaching and a lack of resources, parents considered them to offer poor quality education (Sayed & Motala, 2012). There is an exodus of parents with financial means from these schools (Sinha et al., 2005; du Toit, 2008; Nettles et al., 2008; de Kadt et al., 2014; Pienaar & McKay, 2014). In terms of the three schools under study, none were in residentially suitable areas, or suffered from urban decay, but were be accessed via motorways. It was therefore more likely that they drew learners from beyond a 5 km radius.

Learners travel distances of between 16-20 km (18%) and 21-25 km (21%) from home to school. There were, however, some learners who travelled much further, some more than 41 km one way. In relation to time, learners travelling greater distances were certainly spending more time travelling

to school, from an approximate 30 minutes to an hour (33%). Further afield learners travelled for up to an hour and more (21%). There is a positive skewness towards an extended daily commute. The South Africa Child Gauge (SACG) report (2008/2009) confirms that a child traveling more than 30 minutes to reach school, irrespective of mode of transport, is considered to travel a far distance. Traffic congestion was heavy during school travel times, and this contributed negatively to the time taken for leaners to get to school. Learners complained, for instance, about the severe congestion in and around the school. The long commute also meant waking up extremely early. Learner Respondent 11 explained: I still must wake up early if I do not want to be late for school, so I barely even get 5 hours of sleep". Learner Respondent 3 wanted to "wake up at a reasonable time instead of 4:30 a.m.". Despite having to wake up early, the time taken to get to school, the distance travelled and congestion, only 55% of learners wanted to live closer to school. However, a lengthy school commute has undesirable consequences for learners. They may arrive at school tired and hungry. The commute itself may be costly, uncomfortable, and unsafe. Learners may also miss out on extra-curricular activities (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2002; du Toit, 2008). Learners responded with Respondent 33 saying, "A separate bus specifically for scholars to avoid being late because the main reason why I'm sometimes late for school is because the buses are always full." Respondent 3 stated that, "Sometimes when going with the [public] bus, I can even get home when it's dark and it's not really safe especially because there are no streetlights when walking home." There were also issues of environmental impacts and congestion.

In terms of assessing the impact of commuting on learners, educators from McAuley House were concerned with various disciplinary issues, bullying on public transport and the fact that so much time is spent in the school commute. There was also a concern for the wellbeing of learners. Educator Respondent 1 explained: "The learners sort of tumble out in a state … then they must get into a sedate way when they come in … I see them … pushing each other … it is very difficult … there is a lot of misbehaviour that comes from taxis and such that wouldn't be tolerated in a car." Educator Respondent 1 also said: "Some children who travel with their parents are sometimes dropped off at 6 a.m. in the morning and they sit here often till late until picked up." Educator Respondent 4 confirmed this: "They come very early and go home very late. We had one child in Foundation Phase, where the parents had to withdraw the child from the school because the day was too long, and the child was exhausted." A further issue associated with early arrival times at school is that some children ate breakfast very early or not at all, and then only brought a small amount of food for lunch, as Respondent 2 noted: "The children are hungry by 9 o'clock because they leave so early, or they don't have breakfast, as it's early, keeping in mind that the school does not provide a kitchen for the early arrival of learners." There was unanimous agreement that there was a link

between the learner's mode of transport and their participation in extracurricular activities. Educator Respondent 3 clarified:

> A lot of them like the extramural activities but the children who travel with the private school transport very often cannot, because they have to get to their transport and the transport wants to go and is not going to wait, so they have to go.

Much of the commute is done using private transportation. Historically, there is a lack of good and reliable public transportation in Johannesburg (McKay et al., 2017). Consequently, many individuals rely on private motor vehicles, private school transport or privately operated minibus taxis (Hunter, 2017). Without a user-friendly, cost-effective, and integrated transportation network, transport costs become a significant burden (Hunter, 2017; Schoeman, 2017. Thus, the parental survey showed parents were typically paying between R501 – R1,000, per month for the commute to school, with 34% paying between R751 - R1,001 per month. Learners were asked about transport issues and responses were "[m]ake the journey shorter" (Respondent 9). Respondent 17 wanted a school bus "to avoid being late because the main reason why I'm sometimes late for school is because the [public] buses are always full." That said, most said they feel safe and secure when travelling to school, but less so on public transport such as buses or mini-bus taxis. Thirty six percent of learners showed that they did not feel safe and secure or somewhat safe and secure. This included those who walked to school, used a mini-bus taxi or public bus. Learner Respondent 3 highlighted issues of safety "Sometimes when going with the bus, I can even get home when it's dark and it's not really safe especially because there are no streetlights when walking home." The educators felt learners who used transport modes other than private cars were negatively affected saying that they felt it made learners rowdy and undisciplined. Educator Respondent 4 stated:

> There is quite a lot of bullying that happens in a taxi and the like … we have had issues. Sometimes we have dealt with it. But usually, we try to make the parents take responsibility for dealing with their children's behaviour. But that is not always easy. I know that their hands are tied to some extent. If it is all our children, we have intervened occasionally and very occasionally we have intervened when it is children from other schools.

In summary, the learner survey respondents travelled between 16 and 25 km (an average of 20.5 km) each day to school, or 41 km there and back. In terms of time, most 39% take between 16 and 30 minutes, but another 36% take between 46 and 90 minutes to get from home to school. Most respondents leave home before 6:30 am, and the most common departure time is between 6:00 a.m. and 6:30 a.m.; therefore, most learners awake between 5:00 a.m. and 5:30 a.m. each day. On the upside, the vast majority were seldom to never late for school. Despite this, only 55% would like to

move closer to school. While most were satisfied to fully satisfied with their transport, not all were so. In terms of feelings of safety, respondents felt most secure when travelling in a private car, and much less so when they used public buses. Some showed that they seldom felt completely safe. As noted in the responses from educators, a long commute reduces participation in extramural activities – which seems to be true here, with 45% not participating in any extracurricular activities.

7.9 Conclusion

Private Catholic school as a school choice, despite the additional costs and financial resources, the commute times and the sacrifices such as not been able to attend extracurricular activities as these take time and learners travel great distances to attend school, are acceptable as parents and learners participating in the surveys have shown. There is a notable shift away from dependency on the state. The parents who participated in the study have opted for private provision of services such as private medical aid, retirement annuities, life insurance, mortgages, private security, and private transportation. Thus, enrolment in private schools is but one aspect of this shift or exit from the State to the private sector. Schooling is a costly venture that these middle-class parents undertook.

8 CHAPTER EIGHT – Conclusion on the Research

8.1 Introduction

This study considered the reasons for, and the impact of, middle-class parental school choice with respect to the results from the parent survey, educator focus group, learner survey and an interview with a principal from the three private Catholic schools under study. It also sought to unpack the commodification of education in South Africa in terms of detailing the extent of the costs of schooling for this middle-class segment of the population in Johannesburg. The study also showed the well documented flight from township public schools, only in this case to private schools rather than former white ex-Model C public schools. Lastly, the study sought to record the voices of the educators and learners at the selected case study schools with respect to their lived experiences around the school commute and school choice.

8.2 Overview of the methodology

In terms of methodologies, a mixed method was used, consisting of both qualitative and quantitative research techniques. This was done to enable triangulation. In that respect, key stakeholders, namely the parents (73), learners (who were over 18) (33) and teacher's (8) views and information were collated and analysed. Triangulation also included school management, principal of McH, to a lesser degree. Schools, McH, DCS and HFC, participated after consultation with the principal of each school and the study garnered the support of the Catholic Institute of Education (CIE). All respondents gave informed consent. Data were collected on self-reported demographics, economic status, cost of schooling, school choice and the commute from home to school. The different stakeholders clearly had different world views.

There were limitations to the study. It only focused on three schools in Johannesburg, rather than all 13 Catholic schools in the city. The parents and learners self-reported data was subject to bias, to their making 'guesses' (about the length of the commute, for example) or by leaving information out. A serious additional, and unexpected challenge was the COVID-19 epidemic, as well as the resulting lockdown, which had a significant influence on data collection. The parental survey was completed by the end of 2019, with the remainder of the data expected in 2020. However, the closure of schools, followed by restrictions on learner and school personnel travel, as well as extremely limited access to schools, pushed back data gathering until mid-to-late 2021.

The chapter will now turn to answering the research questions:

8.3 Research Question 1: What is the demographic and socio-economic profile of the three private Catholic school learners in Johannesburg?

Black Africans dominated the three private Catholic schools in the study, implying that these schools have changed in the profile of learner is now at the time of this study predominately black Africans rather than whites. The significance of the racial change in these three Catholic Schools is evident, which makes this study, in part, an academic documentation of white flight from private schools post-1994. Re-segregation is not a solely an American phenomenon, for example, in the USA (Orfield & Yun, 1999). South Africa's history of racial divide and racial make-up, re-segregation is a concerning possibility as once again, children may be denied opportunities to interact with learners of other races. The sample group in this study was small and does not consider the racial mix of former Model-C public schools and would require further research.

The study also found that the black African learners in the case study of the three Catholic Schools in Johannesburg come from middle-class homes. This socio-economic profile was determined by self-reported data such as level of education (most learners have well educated parents) and occupations (most parents worked as professionals). The Living Standards Measures (LMS) which indicated that the parents in this study had private cars, mortgages, short-term and life insurance policies, pension plans, medical aid, paid television channels and technologies. Furthermore, based on the kinds of residential areas they resided in, and using SARS tax brackets, the property profile of the areas in which the parent-respondents lived added to the profile of a middle-class profile. Thus, the study provided evidence of positive socio-economic change for (at least some) black African people post-1994. The study, from answers of the parents indicated that there was a preference to move away from State services and reliance on the state for public housing, education, health, transport, pension, security, and media broadcasting services. This is despite the significant cost of, inter alia, private medical care, vehicles, insurance, mortgages, private income, wealth and pension protection or plans and private media, which require setting aside post-tax disposable income.

The theoretical underpinning to the study is: parents are choosing the 'exit' option when they exercise their right of school choice to withdraw their children from weak public schools. That is, parents in this study vote with their feet and move their children to former Model C schools or

private ones. The migration of children out of public township schools may very well reinforce the cycle of decline in weak schools. Home schooling is also an example of exit.

The findings on language of the study are also notable. It was found that isiZulu and English were the most common home languages in this study of parents. Thus, crucially, given the racial profile found in this study of parents, it is reasonable to believe that these parents as Black Africans are switching from their native tongue to English. This speaks to a loss of home language, a phenomenon common across the globe. Secondly, there is an over-representation of isiZulu speaking persons at these schools where parents participated in the study.

Crucially, the survey results suggested a frequent problem in the participating schools in this study that there are the wide range of languages spoken at home. This makes the choice of what First Additional Language (FAL) the schools should offer a challenging one. On that note, most private and ex Model C schools in Johannesburg offer either isiZulu or Afrikaans, which is also true for the schools under study. This means for most children in these schools their language of teaching and learning (LoLT) and their FAL are not their home language, but English.

While the educators in the study felt that religion drove choice of selecting these three schools by the parents, the parents did not articulate this during the parental survey. Based on Figure 8.1, the parents had many public and private schools from which to choose within a 5 km radius of their chosen schools. So why then opt for a Catholic school? Investigating this specific aspect of private school choice calls for further study, especially in the context of public schools purposely not promoting any religion.

Figure 8.1illustrates the number of public schools in and around the geographical location of the three schools participating in this study (McH, DCS and HFS). Independent schools are indicated by red dots and public schools are indicated by green dots and the travel distance measured in kilometres.

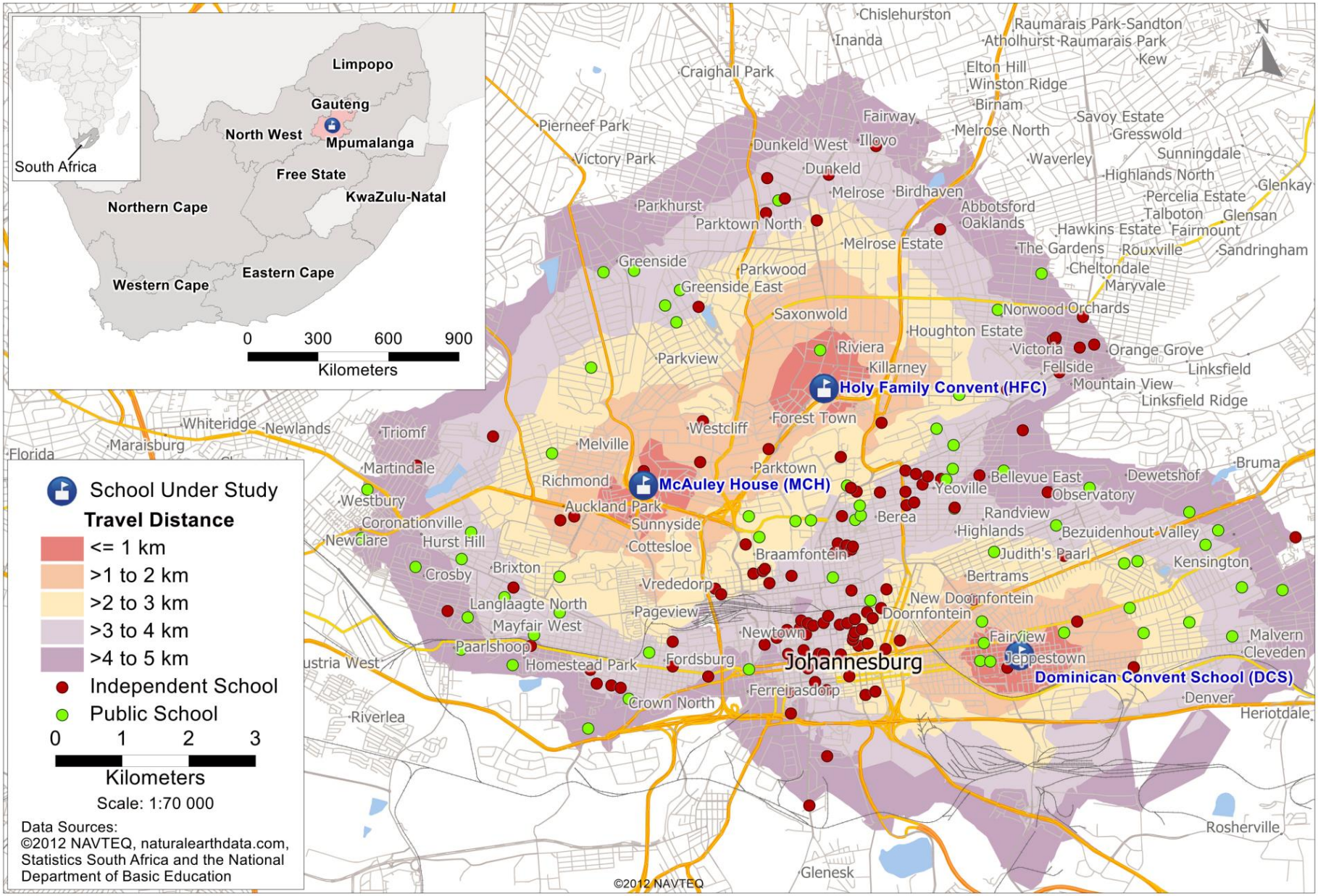

Figure 8.1: The many public and private schools (within a 5 km radius of their chosen schools)

8.4 Research Question 2: What are the impacts and consequences of private school enrolment on learners and parents?

First, the race and residential location of the learners who participated in the study indicated that their parents shunned neighbourhood no-fee state schools in Johannesburg. These parents indicated poor academic performance, lack of resources, weak teaching and school management drove them from the no-fee state schools. Clearly, due to the relatively high cost, the ability to choose to enrol their children in a private school were linked to their financial capacity, demonstrating that quality education has become commodified in South Africa. Unfortunately, school choice, in this study, was linked to the ability to pay, resulting in additional class segregation due to the commodification of education. In, terms of cost, parents must carry the significant added cost of school fees, commuting, uniforms, extra lessons, school lunches, excursions and sports equipment. The learners also carry a burden of long commutes, early mornings, unsafe journeys and missing out on extra-curricular activities. There are parents who are unable to afford school choice, which makes choice, reserved for those with money to be able to afford the costs of private schooling, as shown in this study. In the long term, the difference between parents who can make a choice for a better education and are able to afford the associated costs and those parents who cannot make the choice and cannot afford the associated costs, may further polarise South African society, with the children who remain in poor quality schools potentially trapped in poverty.

8.5 Research Question 3: What is the nature of the school commute of learners enrolled in private Catholic schools in Johannesburg?

In South Africa, transportation is expensive and, depending on the mode of transit, frequently risky. This is especially true for learners using public transport, which is not only risky but also can make the learners late for school or miss school entirely if there is a strike underway. Notably, the trip, in terms of time, distance, cost, safety and impact on children's school lives, puts immense strain on the learners and their families.

The study showed the increasing reliance on the automobile as a mode of transportation. From that perspective, some of the children in this study endured heavy traffic congestion and dangerous road conditions, including potholes, road closures, police roadblocks, out-of-order traffic lights, streams of water from overflowing drains or sewers, bad drivers, and potentially being the victim of crime or traffic accidents. This affected the mental, physical, and emotional health of these children. The

eight educators in this study certainly noticed the effect of bullying and negative peer pressure, an issue that warrants further study. To avoid much of this, most learners arrived at school very early and some stayed there until very late – making the day extremely long for these young individuals. Learners identified school commute issues, such as the time to leave home for school, the time to get to school, the distance travelled, the traffic congestion as factors leading to their late arrival at school. Despite the sacrifices, learners were not unhappy with their schooling.

8.6 Research Question 4: What 'push' and 'pull' factors are driving enrolment in private Catholic schools in Johannesburg?

8.6.1 Push factors

In South Africa, educational attainment and access to a good job was very important. Hence the huge emphasis on access to a good school. In this regard, some parents of the survey group shunned no-fee paying local state schools, with poor-quality academic offerings a significant push factor, for these parents. Additionally, the lack of safety and discipline drove these parents from no-fee paying schools. Despite the push factors to leave a school or community with no-fee paying local state schools not all are as fortunate and have no choice but to keep their children in a local school and then get involved in the school to address difficulties or issues. In this regard, 'loyalty' is positively associated with voice in Hirschman's model. Working as a community, like this, gives people a sense of belonging and a stronger bond.

8.6.2 Pull Factors

The most important pull factor to McH, HFS and DCS private schooling is an opportunity for a better-quality academic offering. Good academic results in Grade 12 are strongly linked to access to post-schooling education. Thus, a good education opens opportunities for post-schooling study and job opportunities. Furthermore, the educators who participated in the study noted that the schools also offered pastoral care, a safe environment and considered the emotional health of their learners as important. While these schools McH, HFS and DCS do have good resources, such as sports fields, science laboratories and libraries, parents who participated in their survey did not value them as much as the learners who participated in their survey did (who wanted more resources).

The demand for Catholic schools has not been fully explained from a religious viewpoint. While some parents did not select the schools based on religion, despite the views of the eight educators who constituted a focus group in this study that they are selected on religious grounds, the demand was linked to the mismatch between what parents want in terms of religious adherence and what the public schools (who were declared secular) offered. As noted, this matter needs further research

8.7 Recommendations for further research

If the trend in terms of racial minority flight noted in the three Catholic Schools is potentially replicated in coloured and Indian schools, there warrants further research.

Other findings that warrant further research include:

- Possible solutions with respect to public-private partnerships or semi-privatization (Hunter, 2017; Chisholm, 2004). To date, however, these have not been tried.
- Research in terms of where the white learners have gone is warranted. They may have emigrated, do low birth rates account for some of the decline in white learners, are white learners opting for home-schooling, while others either remain in ex-Model C schools or have opted for non-Catholic private or more expensive private schools. Where they have gone is one issue, why they have left is another that needs investigation?
- Despite free government schooling and the inadequacies of public education have driven even poor households towards reasonably priced and accessible private education systems (Watkins, 2000; Tooley & Dixon, 2006)'. Could this be South Africa's future? As a possibility, the elite have gone private, the middle class have gone semi-private or private as there are already low-cost private schools for the working class, so why not for the poor?

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10 APPENDIX 1: ETHICS LETTER

UNISA university of south africa

CAES HEALTH RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

National Health Research Ethics Council Registration no: REC-170616-051

Date: 04/03/2019

Ref #: **2017/CAES/022**
Name of applicant: **Ms DC Machard**
Student #: **58524290**

Dear Ms Machard,

Decision: Ethics Approval Renewal after Second Review for period 01/03/2019 to 28/02/2020

Proposal: The causes and consequences of the emerging middle class school choice: A case study of private catholic school enrolment in Johannesburg

Supervisor: Mrs TC McKay

Qualification: Postgraduate degree

Thank you for the submission of your progress report to the CAES Health Research Ethics Committee for the above mentioned research. Approval is granted for the continuation of the project.

Please note that the approval is valid for a one year period only. After one year the researcher is required to submit a progress report, upon which the ethics clearance may be renewed for another year.

Due date for progress report: 28 February 2020

The resubmitted application was reviewed in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics by the CAES Health Research Ethics Committee on 15 February 2017.

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

University of South Africa
Preller Street, Muckleneuk Ridge, City of Tshwane
PO Box 392 UNISA 0003 South Africa
Telephone: +27 12 429 3111 Facsimile: +27 12 429 4150
www.unisa.ac.za

1) *The researcher/s will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.*
2) *Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the CAES Health Research Ethics Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.*
3) *The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.*

Note:
The reference number [top right corner of this communiqué] should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication [e.g. Webmail, E-mail messages, letters] with the intended research participants, as well as with the CAES Health REC.

Kind regards,

Prof EL Kempen
Chair of CAES Health REC
E-mail: kempeel@unisa.ac.za
Tel: (011) 471-2241

Prof MJ Linington
Executive Dean : CAES
E-mail: lininmj@unisa.ac.za
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11 APPENDIX 2: CORRESPONDENCE WITH CATHOLIC INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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P O Box 2083, Southdale 2135
info@cie.org.za
www.cie.org.za

Catholic Institute of Education

Dr. Tracey McKay
Senior lecturer and Supervisor
Department of Environmental Sciences
UNISA
Florida campus
Contact number: 011-670-9461

10 January 2018

Re: Partnering with Catholic Institute of Education (CIE)

Dear Dr. McKay

The Catholic Institute of Education (CIE) supports Ms. Deborah Machard (PhD Student: 58524290) pursuing the research project, "*The causes and consequences of the emerging middle class school choice: A case study of Private Catholic School enrolment in Johannesburg*" and involving Catholic Schools, affiliated with the CIE.

We are in support of this research study as it seeks to identify, determine and enable an understanding of the social, financial and lifestyle impacts of school choice with respect to opting to enrol children in private Catholic schools. The research will include the consequences and the effects of accessing the school on the family (as a whole, for parents/guardians, learners and staff at selected schools invited to participate in this study. Deborah has visited the Catholic Institute for Education (CIE) and had good discussion with the Mrs Janice Seland, Director and Mrs Anne Baker, Deputy Director. It was concluded at the meeting that Deborah would work further for the duration of the research with Mrs Anne Baker.

Yours sincerely

Janice Seland
Director

12 APPENDIX 3A: LETTER TO PRINCIPAL – DOMINICAN CONVENT HIGH SCHOOL

Principal: Mr Graham Howarth

Dominican Convent High School

Corner Marshall and Boom Street

Belgrave

JHB

Re: Request for meeting with principal

Dear Mr Howarth

I, Deborah Machard am doing research with Dr. Tracey McKay, a Senior lecturer in the Department of Environmental Management towards a PhD at the University of South Africa. We are requesting a meeting to discuss the following research project, "*The causes and consequences of the emerging middle class school choice: A case study of Private Catholic School enrolment in Johannesburg*"

This research study seeks to identify, determine and enable an understanding of the social, financial and lifestyle impacts of school choice with respect to opting to enrol children in private Catholic schools. The research will include the consequences and the effects of accessing the school on the family (as a whole, for parents/guardians, learners and staff at selected schools invited to participate in this study. Questions will cover matters that influence school choice (i.e.) the causes and consequences of this choice on their everyday lives. In addition, a socio-economic profile of respondents in this study will be analysed, with a specific emphasis on educational spend and the reasons for the decision to spend on education outside of the public education system. I have visited the Catholic Institute for Education (CIE) and the Chief Executive Officer and Research Manager, resulting in good discussions.

Yours sincerely

Deborah Catherine Machard
PhD Student: 58524290
Contact no: 0827713716
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13 APPENDIX 3B: LETTER TO PRINCIPAL – HOLY FAMILY COLLEGE

UNISA university of south africa

Principal: Mr F. Sobreira

Holy Family College

40 Oxford Road

Parktown

2193

Re: Request for meeting with principal

Dear Mr Sobreira

I, Deborah Machard am doing research with Dr. Tracey McKay, a Senior lecturer in the Department of Environmental Management towards a PhD at the University of South Africa. We are requesting a meeting to discuss the following research project, "*The causes and consequences of the emerging middle class school choice: A case study of Private Catholic School enrolment in Johannesburg*"

This research study seeks to identify, determine and enable an understanding of the social, financial and lifestyle impacts of school choice with respect to opting to enrol children in private Catholic schools. The research will include the consequences and the effects of accessing the school on the family (as a whole, for parents/guardians, learners and staff at selected schools invited to participate in this study. Questions will cover matters that influence school choice (i.e.) the causes and consequences of this choice on their everyday lives. In addition, a socio-economic profile of respondents in this study will be analysed, with a specific emphasis on educational spend and the reasons for the decision to spend on education outside of the public education system. I have visited the Catholic Institute for Education (CIE) and the Chief Executive Officer and Research Manager, resulting in good discussions.

Yours sincerely

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14 APPENDIX 3C: LETTER TO PRINCIPAL – MCAULEY HOUSE

Principal: Mr Davis

McAuley House High School

Cnr Napier and San Souci Road

Parktown West

Re: Request for meeting with principal

Dear Mr Davis

I, Deborah Machard am doing research with Dr. Tracey McKay, a Senior lecturer in the Department of Environmental Management towards a PhD at the University of South Africa. We are requesting a meeting to discuss the following research project, "*The causes and consequences of the emerging middle class school choice: A case study of Private Catholic School enrolment in Johannesburg*"

This research study seeks to identify, determine and enable an understanding of the social, financial and lifestyle impacts of school choice with respect to opting to enrol children in private Catholic schools. The research will include the consequences and the effects of accessing the school on the family (as a whole, for parents/guardians, learners and staff at selected schools invited to participate in this study. Questions will cover matters that influence school choice (i.e.) the causes and consequences of this choice on their everyday lives. In addition, a socio-economic profile of respondents in this study will be analysed, with a specific emphasis on educational spend and the reasons for the decision to spend on education outside of the public education system. I have visited the Catholic Institute for Education (CIE) and the Chief Executive Officer and Research Manager, resulting in good discussions.

Yours sincerely

Deborah Catherine Machard
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15 APPENDIX 4: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

UNISA university of south africa

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Ethics clearance reference number: 2017/CAES/022
Research permission reference number: REC-170616-051

Date: November 2018

Title: *The causes and consequences of the emerging middle class school choice: A case study of private Catholic school enrollment in Johannesburg*

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is Deborah Machard and I am doing research with Mrs Tracey McKay and co-supervisor Professor Andre Horn, a senior lecturer and Professor, in the Department of Environmental Science towards PhD. Environmental Management at the University of South Africa. We are inviting you to participate in a study entitled: ***The causes and consequences of the emerging middle class school choice: A case study of private Catholic school enrollment in Johannesburg.*** It is anticipated that the information we gain from this survey will help us to establish the causes and consequences of the emerging midddle class school choice. With particular attention to the nature of the impact (social, financial and lifestyle) and reasons for your school selection. The study involves the completion of a self-completion questionnaire. The self-completion questionnaire will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. You are, however, under no obligation to participate and you can withdraw from the study. Any identifying information that is obtained in connection with this survey will remain confidential. You will not benefit from your participation as an individual, however, it is envisioned that the findings of this study will provide the researcher with invaluable information. We do not foresee that you will experience any negative consequences by completing the survey. Your answers will be given a code number and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting methods such as conference proceedings.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.
D C Machard

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CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty.

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified.

I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

Participant Name & Surname..... (please print)

Participant Signature.....Date.....

Researcher's Name & Surname: Deborah Machard

Researcher's signature.....Date.....

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16 APPENDIX 5: LEARNER QUESTIONNAIRE

D C Machard **Student number: 58524290**

LEARNER (OVER AGE OF 18) QUESTIONS FOR GRADE 11 AND 12

1. What is the distance and/or time (roughly) of your travel daily to school?
2. What time do you leave home to come to school?
3. How often are you late for school?
4. What means of transport do you use to get to school?
5. Are you happy with this transport or would you change it if you could?
6. Do you enjoy traveling to school and back or not?
7. Do you feel safe and secure travelling to school every day?
8. How many after school, extra-curricular activities were you able to attend in 2019 before COVID-19?
9. What time to you usually leave school to go home?
10. What is the best thing about McAuley House?
11. Would you prefer a school that is closer to home?
12. What would you like to change in terms of the average school day?
13. If McAuley House had money donated to them, what would you like the school to do with the money? *
14. Would you choose private Catholic Education for your own children?

17 APPENDIX 6: PARENT SURVEY

D C Machard UNISA **Student number: 58524290**

OFFICIAL USE ONLY
NAME OF HIGH SCHOOL :……
QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER :……

SURVEY SELF- COMPLETION QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS

A. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. What residential suburb do you and your family primarily live in? ……
2. What is the postal code for your primary residence?……
3. Please tick the appropriate block below

No		YES	NO
1.	Is your child/children in High School?		
2.	Is your child/children at Primary School?		

4. Please tick the correct block below

No		Child 1	Child 2	Child 3
1.	What are the Grade(s) of your child/children?			
2.	Number of children at school?			

5. Ethnic group (Please tick appropriate group)

	Parent 1	Parent 2	Guardian
Asian			
Black			
Coloured			
Indian			
White			
Other			

6. What is the highest level of qualification obtained? (Please tick appropriate group)

	Parent 1	Parent 2	Guardian
Post Graduate			
Under-Graduate			
College			
Matric			
Secondary			
Primary			

9. Current occupation? (Please tick appropriate group)

	Occupation	Parent 1	Parent 2	Guardian	Example per occupational grouping
1.	Professional				Engineers, healthcare workers, educators, lawyers, architects, accountants (CA) etc
2.	Managerial				General managers, assistant managers etc
3.	Technical				Technicials across various economic sectors
4.	Non-Manual Skilled				Clerks, cashiers, sales personnel etc
5.	Manual Skilled				Plumbers, electricians, welders, fitters and turners etc

B. LANGUAGE

1. What is the language spoken by? (Please tick correct block)

No	Language	Parent 1	Parent 2	Guardian
1.	Afrikaans			
2.	English			
3.	IsiSwati			
4.	IsiZulu			
5.	IsiNdebele			
6.	IsiXhosa			
7.	Sesotho			
8.	Setswana			
9.	Sepedi			

10.	Tshivenda			
11.	Xitsonga			

C. TRAVEL TIME, MODE AND COST OF TRANSPORT

1. How does your child/children get to and from school? (Please tick correct block)

No	Mode of Transport	Child1	Child 2	Child 3
1.	Walk			
2.	Ride a bike			
3.	Mini bus taxi			
4.	Public bus e.g. Rea Vaya, Metro bus			
5.	Train			
6.	Private car of parent/guardian			
7.	Private kids school transport – (Paid Service)			
7.	Vehicle provided by the school e.g. school bus			
8.	Other			

*If your child/children uses more than one mode of transport please tick accordingly

2. How much time does it take for your child/children to get to and from school? (Please tick correct block)

No	TIME	Child1	Child 2	Child 3
1.	Less than 30 minutes			
2.	Between 30 minutes & 1 hour			
3.	Between 1 hour & 2 hours			
4.	Between 2 hour & 3 hours			
5.	More than 3 hours			

3. What is the distance traveled from home to school by your child/children?
(Please tick correct block)

No	(To and from school)	Child1	Child 2	Child 3
1.	Less than 5kms			
2.	Between 5kms & 10 kms			
3.	Between 10kms & 15 kms			
4.	Between 15kms & 20 kms			
5.	Between 20kms & 25kms			
6.	Between 25kms & 30kms			
7.	Between 30kms & 35kms			
8.	Between 35kms & 40kms			
9.	More than 40kms			

4. What is your monthly transport cost to get your child/children to school per month?
(Please tick correct block)

No	COST	Child1	Child 2	Child 3
1.	No cost			
2.	R0 – R250			
3.	R251 – R500			
4.	R501 – R750			
5.	R751 – R1000			
6.	R1001 – R1250			
7.	R1251 – R1500			
8.	R1501 – R1750			
9.	R1751 – R2000			
10.	R2001 (plus)			

D. SCHOOL COSTS

1. What are your annual school fees per child/children?
   (Please tick correct block)

No	SCHOOLFEES PER ANNUM	Child1	Child 2	Child 3
1.	Excempt from school fees			
2.	R0 – R10,000			
3.	R10,001 – R20,000			
4.	R20,001 – R30,000			
5.	R30,001 – R40,000			
6.	R40,001 – R50,000			
7.	R50,001 – R60,000			
8.	Greater than R60,000			

2. What are your additional educational costs per child per year?
   (Please fill in the block with the monetary cost)

No	ITEM – Cost in Rands (Only) per year	Child 1.	Child 2	Child 3
1.	Purchasing school uniforms (such as blazers, shoes, etc)			
2.	Purchasing stationery (pens, pencils, etc)			
3.	Purchasing School Exercise Books			
4.	Purchasing Textbooks			
5.	School sports activities (include uniforms, equipment etc)			
6.	Extracurricular activities and excursions (E.g. Art, drama, school outings, choir, sports tours, etc)			
7.	Extra lessons e.g. maths, English			
8.	Other (please list what theses are)			

3. Some parents do not send their children to a private *Catholic school*. Think about these parents. In your opinion, what is the main reason why they cannot or do not send their children to a private Catholic School?

No	Reason in your opinion (You may tick more than one)	
1.	Expensive school fees	
2.	Expensive transport	
3.	The school is too far, child will spend too much time travelling	
4.	They prefer public former Model C schools	
5.	They don't teach our children in their home language	
6.	The other school items, like uniforms, books and stationary are too expensive	
7.	Parents do not subscribe to Catholic religious education	
4.	They prefer public no fee township schools	
5.	They prefer lower fee private schools.	

4. Some parents do not want to send their children to *local* schools. Think about these parents. In your opinion, why they do not send their children to local schools? (Please tick the most important ONE)

No	Reason	
1.	Poor quality teaching	
2.	Lack of resources such as libraries, laboratories and sports facilities	
4.	Over crowding in local school(s)	
5.	Lack of discipline	
6.	Too dangerous to send the child to these schools	
7.	Poor school management	

5. Why did you choose .....as a school for your child/children?
(Please tick any applicable blocks)

No	Reason	
1.	Good Academic Results	
2.	Good Sport Facilities	
3.	Good Teachers	
4.	Good Discipline	
5.	The school is highly ranked by universities	
6.	Proximity to transport nodal points (E.g. Taxi rank, bus stop, drop-off zone)	
7.	Close to where I/we live.	
8.	Close to where I/we work	
9.	Afforable	
10.	Sibling at School.	
11.	Meets religious expectations.	
12.	Meets cultural requirements.	
14.	I like or am happy with the language of instruction.	
15.	Good facilities in general (E.g. classrooms, toilets, tuck shop, sport facilities)	
16.	Previous generations attended the school (Parents, Grandfather, Grandmother etc.)	
17.	Small class sizes	
18.	School is well managed	
19.	The school offers extra lessons	

6. With whom does the child/children live? (Please tick correct block)

No		Child 1	Child 2	Child 3
1.	Both parents			
2.	Single Parent			
3.	Guardian			
4.	Grandparent/s			
5.	Other relatives (E.g. aunt, uncle etc.)			
6.	Child headed household			

E. INCOME AND EXPENSES

1. What is your average **household** monthly income? (Please tick correct block)

No	INCOME	Parent 1	Parent 2	Guardian
1.	R5000			
2.	R5001 – R10,000			
3.	R10,001 – R20,000			
4.	R20,001 – R40000			
5.	R40,001 – R50,000			
6.	R50,001 – R60,000 (plus)			

2. Please tick (any below) that you have the following?

1.	I/we have Medical aid	
2.	I/we have Life insurance	
3.	I/we have a Pension plan/scheme or Retirement Annuity	
4.	I/we have Household and Car insurance	
5.	I/we have a Home loan	
6.	I/we own our home	
7.	I/we have a pet	
8.	I/we have M-Net/DSTV Subscription	
9.	I/we have a car or cars	
10.	I/we have Desktop Computer/laptops	
11.	I/we have iPad/Tablets	
12.	I/we have a smart phone in the home	
13.	I/we have access to an internet connection at home	
14.	I/we have washing machine, tumble drier, dishwasher	
15.	I/we have a home security service e.g. alarms, security service	
16.	I/We have electronic gates and high walls	
17.	I/We have a domestic worker/child minder/helper	
18.	I/we go on holiday to various places in South Africa	
19.	I/we go on overseas trips for holidays	
20.	I/we take weekend breaks or getaways here in South Africa	
21.	If I/we go on holiday we usually fly to our destination	

3. Proximity to school (Please tick appropriate block)

		YES	NO
1.	Did you move house to be closer to the school?		
2.	Would you move house to be closer to the school?		
3.	Are you thinking about moving house to be closer to the school?		

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

18 APPENDIX 7: STAFF AND SCHOOL MANAGEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

D C Machard **Student number: 58524290**

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR STAFF AND SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

1. In your experience is there a link between mode of travel of children to school and their academic performance?
2. Is there a link between how children travel to school and a learner's participation in extra-curricular activities?
3. In your opinion, why do parents choose this school for their children?
4. Some parents do not want to send their children to *Township* Schools. Think about these parents, in your opinion, what is the main reason why they do not send their children to Township Schools?
5. Some parents say they would send their children to a private *Catholic school*, but cannot. Think about these parents, in your opinion, what is the main reason why they cannot or do not send their children to a private Catholic School?
6. In your opinion, why do parents choose this school for their children?
7. In your opinion are the emerging middle class parents abandoning public schools for private Catholic schools in JHB and if so why?
8. In your opinion what are the social and economic impacts and consequences of enrolment in these selected private Catholic schools in JHB, on the child?
9. How are the learners accessing private Catholic schools in JHB and what are the costs and consequences thereof?
10. What are the challenges, opportunities and recommendations that emerge for learners enrolled in your school?

Research instruments for review – Attachment to PhD. Proposal