

**The Implications of Public School Fees  
for Educational Performance and Enrolment,  
with Reference to the Greater Durban Area**

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**Hiroyuki Azuma**

# ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the implications of the new South African education system based on the South African Schools Act, No. 84 of 1996 for educational performance and learners' enrolment in public schools. Central to the argument are the unfavourable consequences of the charging of school fees at public schools for learners from poor families. This is analysed based on a survey conducted in the Durban Metropolitan area between September and November 1998.

As a legacy of apartheid education, inequalities between population groups are still evident (Chapter 1). One of the aims of the Act is the redress of past inequalities and permission to charge fees at public schools is seen as a measure to supplement the resources provided by the State (Chapter 2). Implications of school fees for school finance and redress of past inequalities between ex-departments are often discussed. However, little attention has been given to the impact of charging fees on learners' enrolment, which is the main focus of this thesis. There is a contradiction between permitting the charging of fees at public schools and the insistence on compulsory attendance in the Act. Given the financial constraints of South African schools, most schools are likely to adopt school fees. There may be many learners who may not be able to afford fees. Although the Act provides measures to prevent poor learners from being refused admission, it is questionable whether the measures provided by the Act function properly in practice. There would be poor learners who are effectively excluded from advantaged schools which charge high school fees. Past inequalities would not necessarily be redressed under the new system. As a result of the implementation of the Act, a kind of semi-privatisation within the public school sector could be introduced (Chapter 3). Analysis based on the research in Durban supports these hypotheses to some degree (Chapter 4). Recent incidents regarding the refusal by some public schools to admit learners on the basis of the parents' inability to pay school fees indicate the importance of this issue. Equal access to a basic education cannot be guaranteed under the current situation.

Chapter 5 presents an alternative to the current system. If the State provided all public schools with the minimum operation costs necessary to run daily activities, the school would be able to substitute voluntary contributions for school fees. One possible way to release resources for this purpose is a reduction in personnel expenditure, including an acceptance of much higher pupil/teacher ratios. Although this is a controversial issue, it is inevitable for any society to seek a more productive system if it faces financial constraints.

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## Definitions and Terminology:

- (1) There is no longer any legal discrimination between people of different races, colours or social origins in South Africa. However, in order to discuss educational realities which relate to South African education both in the past and at present, it is necessary to refer to the past classification of people. The purpose of the use of this terminology is only to assist discussion of educational issues which refer to differences between population groups. In this thesis, unless the context indicates otherwise,
  - (a) "African" means the people who were classified as 'Native' (later 'Bantu') by the Population Registration Act of 1950 under the apartheid regime;
  - (b) "White" means the people who were classified as 'European' (later 'White') by the Population Registration Act of 1950 under the apartheid regime;
  - (c) "Coloured" means the people who were classified as 'Coloured' by the Population Registration Act of 1950 under the apartheid regime; and
  - (d) "Indian" means the people who were classified as 'Indian' (later 'Asian') by the Population Registration Act of 1950 under the apartheid regime.
  
- (2) Regarding other terminology, in this thesis, unless the context indicates otherwise,
  - (a) "Act" means the South African Schools Act, 1996 (Act No. 84 of 1996);
  - (b) "advantaged school" means a school which is well-resourced in terms of material education provision, educators and non-educator staff;
  - (c) "Constitution" means the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act No. 108 of 1996);
  - (d) "education" means the process of planned and organised teaching and learning;
  - (e) "education department" means the department established by section 7(2) of the Public Service Act, 1994, which is responsible for education in a province;
  - (f) "educator" means an educator as defined in the Employment of Educators Act, 1998;
  - (g) "equity in education" means the practice of education provision without any unfair discrimination;
  - (h) "governance" means the activity or manner of a school governing body in terms of the South African Schools Act, 1996;
  - (i) "governing body" means a governing body contemplated in South African Schools Act, 1996;
  - (j) "grade" means an educational programme which a learner may complete in one school year, or any other education programme which the Member of the Executive Council may deem to be equivalent thereto;
  - (k) "Head of Department" means the head of a provincial education department;
  - (l) "homelands" means territories once called 'bantustans' or 'Bantu Homelands' which were established by the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959. Each homeland was meant to be for the members of a particular ethnic group, and eventually supposed to become independent states, namely the former Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa, and former TBVC states;
  - (m) "'independent' homelands" means 'homelands' which became politically independent from South Africa during the apartheid period, namely the former Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei;
  - (n) "independent school" means a school registered or deemed to be registered by the Head of Department, and established and maintained by any person at his or her own cost;

- (o) "learner" means any person receiving education or obliged to receive education;
- (p) "learners with special education needs" means learners who, for whatever reason, cannot benefit from learning opportunities in ordinary school programmes;
- (q) "Member of the Executive Council" means the Member of the Executive Council of a province who is responsible for education in that province;
- (r) "Minister" means the national Minister of Education;
- (s) "Ministry" means the national Ministry of Education;
- (t) "norm" means values to be agreed and embodied in specified planned activities;
- (u) "ordinary school" means a school which enrolls learners who do not have special education needs;
- (v) "parent" means one of the following—
  - (i) the parent or guardian of a learner;
  - (ii) the person legally entitled to custody of a learner; or
  - (iii) the person who undertakes to fulfil the obligations of a person referred to in (i) and (ii) towards the learner's education at school;
- (w) "principal" means an educator appointed or acting as the head of a school;
- (x) "province" means a province established by Section 103 of the Constitution;
- (y) "public school" means a school provided by the Member of the Executive Council and funded by the State. A public school may be an ordinary public school or a public school for learners with special education needs;
- (z) "quality education" means the practice of education undertaken effectively and efficiently with acceptable high standards;
- (α) "race" means any of the population groups into which South Africans could be divided in terms of Population Registration Act of 1950;
- (χ) "school" means a public or an independent school which enrolls learners in one or more grades between grade zero (known as 'reception') and grade twelve;
- (β) "school for learners with special education needs" means a school providing education for learners with special education needs;
- (δ) "self-governing territories" means 'homelands' which had not been granted independence from South Africa during the apartheid period, namely the former Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa;
- (ε) "standard" means an educational programme which a learner may complete in one school year in the old education system. Sub-standard A is equivalent to Grade 1 in the new system;
- (φ) "TBVC states" means former 'independent homelands' during the apartheid period, namely former Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei; and
- (γ) "'white' South Africa" means South African territory other than 'homelands' under the apartheid regime.



## Abbreviations

<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>DET</b>	Department of Education and Training
<b>DNE</b>	Department of National Education (prior to 1994)
<b>DoE</b>	National Department of Education (1994 onwards)
<b>GETC</b>	General Education and Training Certificate
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>HOA</b>	House of Assembly
<b>HOD</b>	House of Delegates
<b>HoD</b>	Head of a provincial education department
<b>HOR</b>	House of Representatives
<b>KDEC</b>	KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture
<b>MEC</b>	Member of the Executive Council for Education in a province
<b>NSSF</b>	National Norms and Standards for School Funding
<b>PTA</b>	Parents and Teachers' Association
<b>RSA</b>	Republic of South Africa
<b>TBVC</b>	Four former independent homelands, namely Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei
<b>UN</b>	United Nations

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## **Introduction**

South Africa has adopted a single education system which is a product of the recent political changes following a long history of struggle. In the new system, while the national Ministry of Education deals with education and training at national level, assisted by the national Department of Education (DoE), educational affairs other than universities and technikons are largely organised and managed on the basis of nine provincial subsystems (Burger et al, 1998, p.317). During the 1990's, the national budget allocated to education amounted to 20% to 23% of the total budget and from 6% to 7% of the gross domestic product (GDP) each year (Shindler, 1997, p.5; Sidiropoulos et al, 1998, p.136; and others). This is the largest slice of the national budget and, by international standards, is a very high rate of expenditure on education (Claassen, 1997, pp.365-365; Pretorius et al, 1998, pp.64-66). However, both national and provincial departments are still facing severe budgetary shortages in catering to their clients. Since the new South African education system in terms of the South African Schools Act started in 1997, one of the critical issues has been how to finance all public schools based on the principles of equity and equality. According to Minister of Education, Professor Bengu, the country could not afford to establish equity at the same level as former coloured or white education because this would require 9.2% or 10.5% of GDP respectively and would therefore be unattainable (Sidiropoulos et al, 1997, p.171). Before focusing on this issue, a review of the historical significance of the new system will be undertaken.

### **The start of a new South African education system**

The National Party came to power in South Africa in 1948 under a policy of apartheid or racial segregation across all spheres. In sharp contrast, at the end of the same year, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 26 of the Declaration declares that everyone has the right to education, that education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages, and that elementary education shall be compulsory (UN, 1988, article 26). Fifty years have passed. The installation of a new government has provided the opportunity for revising all existing policies. South Africa has finally reached the point where it can implement a new education policy based on the same

principles of the Declaration. When the Interim Constitution was adopted in 1993, the right to basic education and to equal access to educational institutions was recognised for everyone irrespective of race, for the first time in the history of South Africa (RSA, 1993, sec 32(a)). Since then a number of policies aimed at the improvement in education have been implemented. The new South African Constitution of 1996 (the Constitution), succeeding the Interim Constitution, also recognises that everyone has the right to basic education, including adult basic education (RSA, 1996, sec 29(1)). As a result of apartheid and the unequal allocation of educational expenditure, the majority of the South African population have been deprived of access to quality education. The South African Schools Act, Act No. 84 of 1996 (Schools Act), introduced 9 years compulsory education for all South African children, giving the national norm for compulsory attendance (President's Office, 1996, sec 2). While education was compulsory for White, Coloured and Indian children in the old system, this was not the case for African children (Bot et al, 1995, p.3). In order to eradicate poverty, redress the inequalities caused by past apartheid policies and advance both in human development and economic growth in South Africa, it is critically important to secure education for all South African children as well as to improve the quality of education. Therefore, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the future of South Africa depends on how successfully this new policy is implemented.

### **The focus of the thesis**

The essence of the Schools Act lies in the idea of a partnership between all people with an interest in education (DoE, 1997a, p.4). The Act expects that schools would be greatly improved through the joint efforts of parents, educators, learners, members of their local communities and various education departments (DoE, 1997b, pp.8-9). The Act has launched a number of new policies. In the new South African educational system, governing bodies of public schools are given significant functions and powers to contribute to the improvement in the quality of education (President's Office, 1996, sec 20, 21). Funding for public schools is generated both by the State and by parents or guardians. Governing bodies are expected to take all reasonable measures within their means to supplement the resources supplied by the State in order to improve the quality of education provided by the State (President's Office, 1996, sec 36). The Act urges them to establish a school fund and allows public schools to charge school fees (President's Office,

NB  
1996, sec 37, 39). Most public schools have already adopted school fees and many parents have experienced an increase in school fees in recent years. While school fees may contribute to the improvement in education at each public school, it is possible, however, that this might have a negative effect on the aims of the Act itself, such as the redress of past inequalities. Although only two years have passed since the new system started, it has faced various problems including financial restrictions. Therefore, it is worth reviewing the new system at this stage. This thesis will focus on the implications of the adoption of school fees at public schools, both for positive outcomes and for negative effects this presents for the South African school system. Particular attention will be given to the influence of school fees on educational performance and learners' enrolment at public schools. Following an analysis of research findings regarding the implications of school fees, I will consider some alternative solutions to the problems which the current system is facing.

### **The structure of the thesis**

The main focus of this thesis will be on educational reforms since 1994. However, educational developments in South Africa during the apartheid era still have important implications for the planning of educational transformation in the new South Africa. Therefore to start the discussion, it is necessary to review the essential problems associated with South African education in the past.

In Chapter 1, I summarise education realities which resulted from the past system and its practices and recent educational developments in South Africa. In Chapter 2, I look at the new South African education system in detail. Chapter 3 focuses on the implications of charging school fees for educational performance and learners' enrolment and describes the objectives and methodology of the research. Chapter 4 offers an analysis of the research findings and discusses the problem further. In Chapter 5, I consider some alternatives which would be necessary to avoid certain problems and achieve the goal of the new South African educational system such as the redress for past inequalities. Chapter 6 offers concluding remarks on this thesis.

## **The limits of the thesis**

Firstly, although this thesis intends to address South African educational issues, the scope of research is limited to the Durban Metropolitan area. Secondly, the majority of schools which responded to the questionnaire were mainly primary schools, and thus the findings are not as comprehensive as initially expected. Regarding sample schools, they include the former KDEC, DET, HOA, HOD and HOR schools and an independent school. However, because of the limited number of responses compared to the total in Durban, they do not necessarily represent each category in Durban. Therefore, as the third point, the findings and the analysis based on them can only suggest tendencies in this area. Nevertheless, these findings give a good overview of the situation of schools in Durban, which shares much in common with other urban areas in terms of education problems, particularly as regards financial issues. In addition, during the time of research, the national policy itself changed to some extent. Therefore, some suggestions made in this thesis may show concurrence with recent national policy documents.



## **Chapter 1:**

# **Educational Development in South Africa**

## **1.1 Education Realities in South Africa**

### **1.1.1 Separate education departments**

There are a number of problems and issues which resulted from apartheid education. The first and fundamental problem with education in South Africa during the apartheid era was the educational system itself. Until 1994, South Africa had fifteen different Ministries of Education: four in the 'independent homelands' (i.e. TBVC states), six in the self-governing territories (i.e. 'non-independent homelands'), one responsible for the Department of Education and Training (DET: catering for Africans outside the homelands), one in each of the three houses of parliament (catering for Whites, Coloureds and Indians) and one for the Department of National Education (DNE) which was responsible for co-ordination and establishing countrywide norms and standards (Hunter et al, 1995, p.15). They functioned as separate entities, backed by unequal financial support (DNE, 1991, p.6). Therefore, it is a matter of course that education developed unequally. The schools catering for Whites were at the top of the quality scale, followed by those catering for Indians, Coloureds and Africans (Hunter et al, 1995, p.15). The population group who had been most disadvantaged were Africans who lived in rural areas including both former rural 'white' South Africa and former homelands (Krige et al, 1994, p.94). Community schools were the dominant type of school in seven of the ten former homelands and, in general, poorly resourced, overcrowded and facilities were woefully inadequate (Pampallis, 1995, pp.16, 25). Most schools for Africans in 'white' South Africa were farm schools which were built on private farms. Although farm schools fell under the control of DET and the farmers received state subsidies amounting to 75% (or 80% in certain areas), the ultimate control remained with the owner of the land and farm schools as a whole were the poorest and most deprived schools in the country (Nasson, 1988, pp.13-38; Christie and Gaganakis, 1989, pp.77-92).

The following subsection describes some comparisons which indicate inequalities in education provision between population groups in South Africa.

## **1.1.2 Inequalities in education provision**

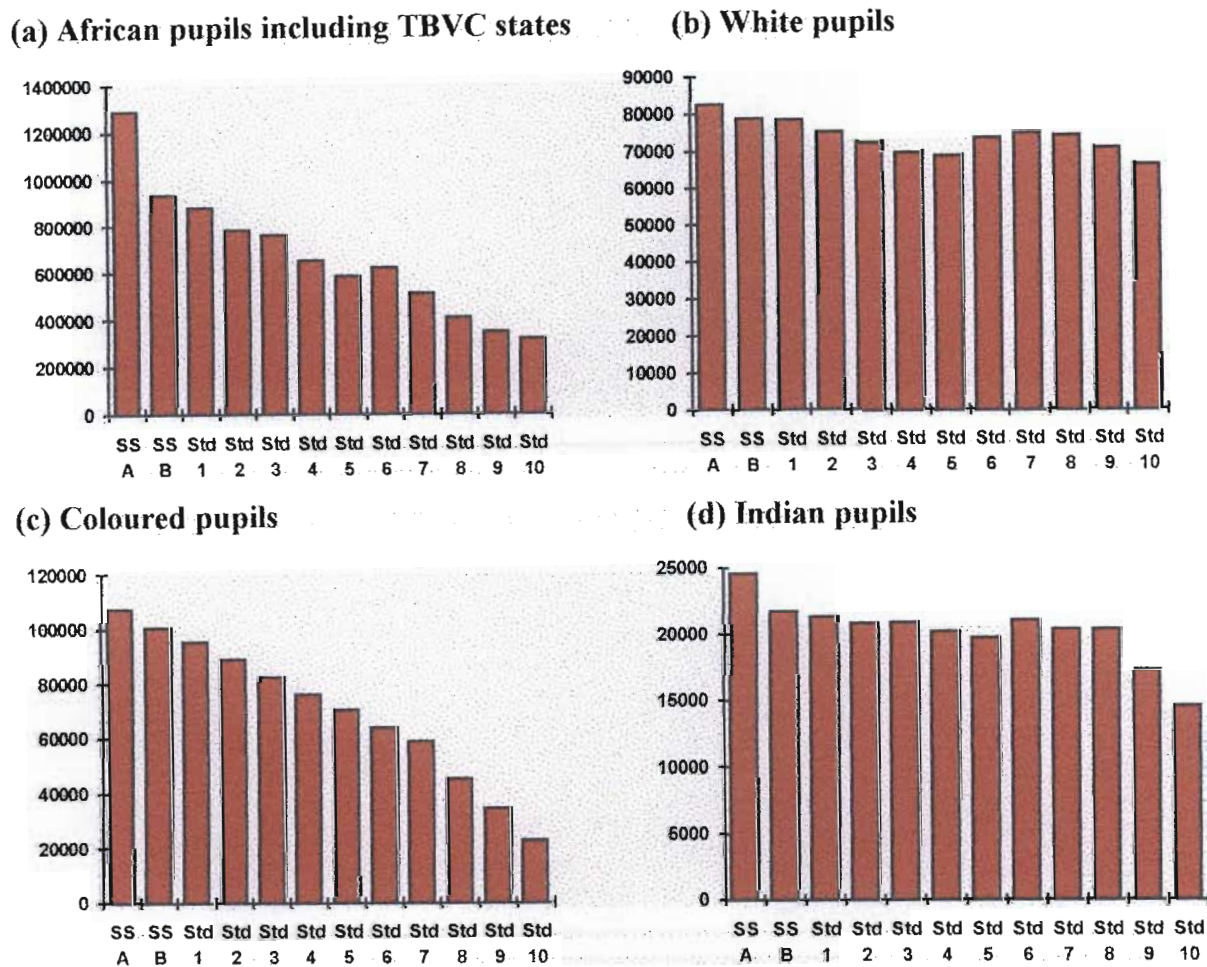
### **(A) Enrolment pattern and repeaters**

The rapid economic growth during the 1960's and early 1970's led to an increased demand for skilled and semi-skilled labour and it became increasingly obvious that more skilled and semi-skilled African workers would be required by the economy. Therefore, the government was forced to expand schooling for Africans, especially at secondary level (Pampallis, 1991, p.252). Although enrolment rates for African children increased steadily since the 1960's and reached 80% in 1980 (Pillay et al, 1995, p.6), pupils' progress into higher standards did not follow. Figure 1 shows the enrolment of pupils of the different population groups in primary and secondary school education according to the level of education in 1991. The large differences between the population groups as regards the distribution of pupils across the school standards are conspicuous. Enrolment figures for African and Coloured pupils decrease significantly with each successive level. This tendency indicates that there are a large number of pupils who can not proceed to a higher standard in each level. This can result in either repeating a standard in the following year or dropping out from the school. The research on 'Educational Wastage in KwaZulu' conducted by the University of the Orange Free State in 1981 proved that repetition and dropout rates for Africans are actually very high and that it contributes to the wastage of human resources. According to their research, there were 108,647 pupils in Substandard A during 1972 in KwaZulu, and only 14.8% of them completed Standard 5 successfully at the end of 1978 (Verwey, 1981, p.18).

Several factors can be considered as reasons for high repetition and dropout rates of African learners. Pampallis points out that inadequate financing for African education resulted in overcrowded classrooms, underqualified teachers, poor school facilities, poor examination results, a high dropout rate, and high cost for parents who, unlike white parents, had to pay school fees and buy school books (Pampallis, 1991, p.252). In addition, the access to secondary education for Africans was very limited (Krige et al, 1994, p.74). For example, in the late 1980's in Natal, only 7.6% of DET schools offered secondary education and only 13.6% of DET pupils in Natal were in secondary schools (Ardington, 1989, pp.38-41). In the case of farm schools in Natal, one third did not go beyond Standard 2 and two thirds did not go beyond Standard 4. There was only one secondary school with boarding facilities from Natal's approximately 7,500 farms (Ardington,

1989, pp.45-46). Therefore, it was difficult for African children to proceed to the higher standards; even though they wished to do so.

**Figure 1: Enrolled pupils in primary and secondary education by racial group according to the level of education (1991)**



(Source: Bot (cd), 1994a, pp.7-10)

Table 1 shows the absolute numbers of African pupils and repeaters enrolled in 1991 with their repetition rates, including TBVC states. It is evident that each standard includes a number of repeaters, namely from 11.1% to 32.9%. Looking at the percentage, it seems that the secondary phase has a relatively high occurrence of repeaters, especially in Standard 10, compared to the primary phase. This is probably due to the fact that pupils receive a certificate which holds benefits for them in the labour market and for entering higher education. High repetition rates constitute a problem for education for a number of reasons. Firstly, repeating a grade (standard) is a demotivating and negative experience for a child. In addition, a large number of repeaters in a grade results in the presence of many children older than the norm for the class. This results in

both educational and social problems, especially at the senior primary level (Krige et al, 1994, p.72). Secondly, repetition is a great drain on resources. High repetition rates delay the youngster's entry into the job market. In addition, a large number of repeaters in a grade results in an increase in pupil/classroom ratios and becomes a financial burden to a regional government, because more teachers and classrooms are required.

**Table 1: African repetition rates for RSA by standard in 1991 (including TBVC states)**

Standard	SSA	SSB	Std 1	Std 2	Std 3	Std 4	Std 5	Std 6	Std 7	Std 8	Std 9	Std10
Total enrolment	1290622	936606	879316	784300	762435	651724	586526	622198	510822	410161	348182	317883
Total repeater	219292	142141	133282	94790	116757	77238	66774	128481	120380	92722	82981	104435
% of repetition	17.0 %	15.2 %	15.1 %	12.1 %	15.3 %	11.1 %	11.4 %	20.6 %	23.6 %	22.6 %	23.8 %	32.9 %

(Source: Bot (ed), 1994a, pp.11-12)

### (B) Pupil/Teacher ratios

Table 2 shows pupil/teacher ratios by race at public ordinary schools in 1992. A higher pupil/teacher ratio for African schools, which is about twice that of others, indicates a relative disadvantage for African education. These ratios need to be treated with caution as they are national averages and there is wide dispersion around the mean. In African education, ratios vary in primary schools from 32:1 in QwaQwa to 53:1 in KwaZulu, and in secondary schools from 33:1 to 42:1 respectively. In practice, however, pupil/teacher ratios exceed 100:1 in some rural areas, often as a consequence of the shortage of classrooms. Obviously, such class sizes make effective teaching extremely difficult, and can lead to a teaching methodology that is teacher-centred and authoritarian (Bot(ed.), 1993a, p.3).

**Table 2: Pupil /Teacher ratios in public ordinary schools in 1992**

	Primary	Secondary
African	46:1	31:1
White	22:1	17:1
Coloured	25:1	19:1
Indian	22:1	16:1

(Source: Bot M, 1993a, p.3)

Moreover, it is necessary to note that the figures discussed so far are those for enrolled pupils. There are a large number of children out of school. According to Krige et al, it is estimated that there were about 490,000 children aged 7 to 14 years out of school in 1991. Whereas 11% of

African children in this age group were out of school, the percentage for Whites and Indians is 2.5% and for Coloureds 4.5% (Krige et al, 1994, p.82). The data do not include the former TBVC states, and include only children in the 7 to 14 age group. Therefore, the inclusion of the TBVC states and of older children would greatly increase the figure for out-of-school children. Hartshorne estimates that in 1987 the figure could have been at least 2 million for the whole country (Hartshorne, 1992, p.44). Therefore, if those out-of-school children had attended the schools, pupil/teacher ratios shown above would have been much higher, particularly for Africans.

### (C) Education levels

Table 3 shows the rates of population groups who had completed certain levels of schooling by 1991 against the absolute population in each population group. For example, 57% of adult Africans aged between 18 and 64 years old had completed Standard 5, but had not completed Standard 6. According to the data, 43% of the adult African population is considered as literate: that is, they have a 'retained' literacy of Standard 6 and over. This is considerably lower than those for other population groups: 97% for Whites, 56% for Coloureds and 79% for Indians. Regarding adults with tertiary education degrees, 0.28% for Africans is extremely low compared with other population groups. Although these data exclude the former TBVC states, they show us the obvious differences between population groups. The African population shows the lowest level of education. "Coloured" shows the second lowest level of education, while Indians show relatively high levels of education. Clearly, Africans have been placed in the most disadvantaged situation. However, we also need to note that when the data is disaggregated by the type of area, the education levels for Africans and Coloureds are much higher in urban areas than rural areas (Krige et al, 1994, p.93).

**Table 3: Rates of education levels in 1991 (excluding TBVC states)**

	<b>Africans</b>	<b>Whites</b>	<b>Coloureds</b>	<b>Indians</b>	<b>RSA Total</b>
<b>18-64 year old: &lt;Std 6</b>	<b>57 %</b>	<b>3 %</b>	<b>44 %</b>	<b>21 %</b>	<b>44 %</b>
<b>18-64 year old: Std 6+</b>	<b>43 %</b>	<b>97 %</b>	<b>56 %</b>	<b>79 %</b>	<b>56 %</b>
<b>25-64year old: Std10+</b>	<b>8 %</b>	<b>61 %</b>	<b>10 %</b>	<b>27 %</b>	<b>20 %</b>
<b>Adults with degrees</b>	<b>0.28 %</b>	<b>10.8 %</b>	<b>0.74 %</b>	<b>3.5 %</b>	<b>2.4 %</b>

Note: <Std 6 signifies Std 5 and below (considered as semi-literate and illiterate)

Std 6+ signifies Std 6 and above (considered as literate)

Std 10+ signifies Std 10 and above who is matriculated

(Source: Krige et al, 1994, p.93 and the calculation based on it)

Table 4 shows Standard 10 examination results in 1993. In addition to the comparison in rates of education levels against the absolute number of population, the following data also implies the difference in quality of education between population groups. Whereas other population groups achieved more or less 90% of pass rates in the Standard 10 examinations in 1993, only 39% of African pupils passed the examination. Eight percent of matriculation exemption for Africans is extremely low compared with three other population groups. Twenty-one percent of matriculation exemption for Coloureds is considerably low as well. However, it is still more than twice the exemption rate for Africans.

**Table 4: Standard 10 examination results in 1993 (including TBVC states)**

<b>Groups</b>	<b>Candidates</b>	<b>Total passes</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Matriculation Exemption</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>African</b>	<b>337 821</b>	<b>130 474</b>	<b>39 %</b>	<b>27 395</b>	<b>8 %</b>
<b>White</b>	<b>63 769</b>	<b>60 281</b>	<b>95 %</b>	<b>26 597</b>	<b>42 %</b>
<b>Coloured</b>	<b>25 735</b>	<b>22 077</b>	<b>86 %</b>	<b>5 411</b>	<b>21 %</b>
<b>Indian</b>	<b>15 203</b>	<b>14 111</b>	<b>93 %</b>	<b>6 862</b>	<b>45 %</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>442 528</b>	<b>226 943</b>	<b>51 %</b>	<b>66 265</b>	<b>15 %</b>

(Source: Bot (ed.), 1994b, p.7)

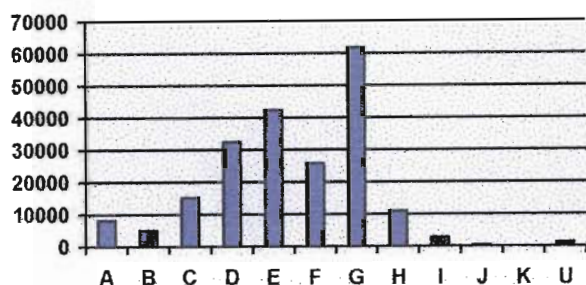
#### **(D) Qualification of teachers**

The review so far has shown that the apartheid education system resulted in large differences in educational provision, quality and achievement between population groups. There are a number of interrelated reasons for these inequalities. In addition to physical differences such as pupil/teacher ratios, pupil/classroom ratios, school facilities and education materials/equipment, the qualification or teaching skills of teachers can be considered as an important contributor. Figure 2 shows the distribution of teachers by qualification level in each population group in 1990. Table 5 shows its summary by percentage. It is evident that the qualification levels of African teachers are lower than that of Whites, Coloureds and Indians. The majority of them have either no qualification or less training than other groups. In terms of qualified teachers, 37% for Africans is extremely low compared with other population groups: 98% for White and Indian, and 59% for Coloured. Whereas 6.9% of White teachers and 10.1% of Indian teachers have a university degree or master's degree, 1.3% of Coloured teachers and only 0.2% of African teachers have a university degree or master's degree (calculated from the data of Bot (ed.), 1993a, p.4). It should be considered that an education level or official qualification does not necessarily guarantee the

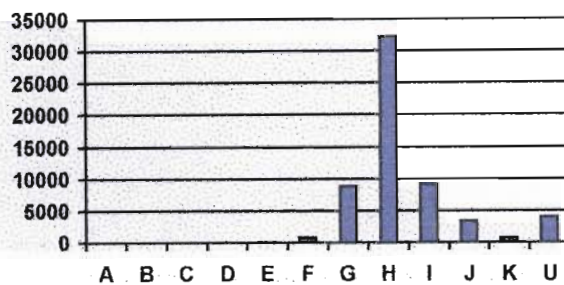
quality of a teacher and that even un/under-qualified teachers could teach through their self-training. Nevertheless, it appears that the apparent differences in qualifications of teachers between population groups, which in itself is a result of apartheid education, have contributed as an important factor to the inequalities of education levels.

**Figure 2: Teachers (FTE\*) by qualification level and race in 1990 (including education control and auxiliary service personnel and including TBVC states)**

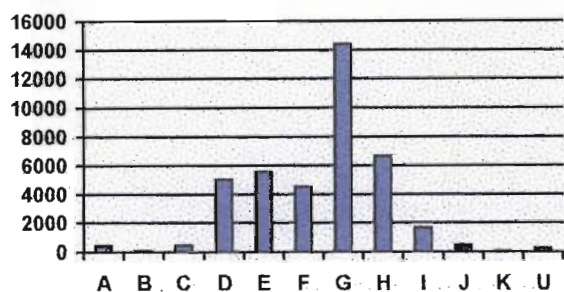
**(a) African teachers**



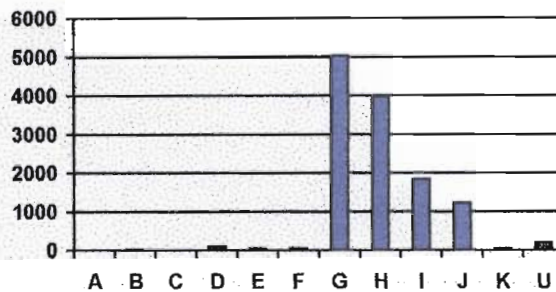
**(b) White teachers**



**(c) Coloured teachers**



**(d) Indian teachers**



\* FTE: Full-time equivalent means that all part-time personnel is added together to make full-time personnel numbers.

Key: A: Lower than std 10 without a teacher's qualification

B: Std 10 without a teacher's qualification

C: Std 6/7 plus a teacher's qualification of not less than two years

D: Std 8/9 plus a teacher's qualification of not less than two years

E: Std 10 plus one year appropriate training

F: Std 10 plus two years' appropriate training

G: Std 10 plus three years' appropriate training

H: Std 10 plus four years' appropriate training

I: Std 10 plus five years' appropriate training

J: Std 10 plus six years' appropriate training and holds a recognised completed university degree

K: Std 10 plus seven years' appropriate training and holds a recognised master's degree

U: Un-categorised teachers

(Source: Drawn based on the data of Bot (ed.), 1993a, p.4)

**Table 5: Percentages of teacher qualifications by race in 1990 (including TBVC states)**

Groups	Unqualified	Under-qualified	Qualified
African	12 %	51 %	37 %
White	0 %	2 %	98 %
Coloured	2 %	39 %	59 %
Indian	0 %	2 %	98 %

Note: Unqualified: no professional qualifications

Under-qualified: less than standard 10 plus 3 years' appropriate training

Qualified: at least standard 10 plus 3 years' appropriate training

(Source: Bot (ed.), 1993a, p.4)

### (E) Inequalities in funding

Moreover, the most fundamental reason which underlies all other conditions is probably the inequalities in funding. Table 6 shows per capita state expenditure for school/college education by department in 1986, 1989 and 1994. The percentage indicates the nominal increase in per capita expenditure compared to the past. Per capita expenditure for African pupils and students in the Department of Education and Training (DET) is about one-fifth of that for Whites in 1986, and about one quarter in 1989. The figures for Africans in self-governing territories are much less compared with other population groups. It is approximately one-eighth of that for Whites in 1986, and one-sixth in 1989, even with an increase of 86% over the three years. One can recognise the attempts to increase per capita expenditures for formerly disadvantaged groups, especially for Africans. However, differences in per capita expenditure between population groups in recent years are still considerably biased in favour of Whites and Indians.

**Table 6: Per capita state expenditure for school/college education in South Africa by department in 1986, 1989 and 1994 (excluding private ordinary schools and TBVC states)**

Department	Per Capita Expenditure (Rand)				
	1986	1989	Increase from 1986	1994	Increase from 1989
Education & Culture (House of Assembly: mainly for Whites)	2,746	3,572	30 %	4,772	34 %
Education & Culture (House of Delegates: mainly for Indians)	1,952	2,645	36 %	4,423	67 %
Education & Culture (House of Representatives: mainly for Coloureds)	1,330	2,115	59 %	3,601	70 %
Education & Training (Mainly for Africans)	610	927	52 %	2,110	128 %
Self-governing Territories	347	647	86 %	1,648*	155 %

\* Note: The figure '1,648' is the average per capita expenditure of the six self-governing territories. Since self-governing territories vary in numbers of learners, the figure is not an accurate per capita expenditure. (Source: DNE, 1991, p.47 for 1986 and 1989 data; and Bot (ed.), 1995, p.9 for 1994 data)

### (F) Concluding remarks

In addition to the differences between racial population groups, other inequalities among Africans, such as inequalities between ex-homelands and between urban and rural areas, are evident. Since the legacy of apartheid education is so wide, it would be difficult to redress these inequalities immediately. Nevertheless, in order to reduce these imbalances, the improvement in education for



formerly disadvantaged groups is extremely important. Comparisons in the enrolment and the number of teachers between 1984 and 1994 indicate educational improvement for formerly disadvantaged population groups. Enrolments in primary and secondary schools increased by 60% for Africans, 17% for Coloureds and 21% for Indians. The number of teachers increased by 73% for Africans, 25% for Coloureds and 35% for Indians. Increases for Whites were negligible (Bot (ed.), 1996, p.17). However, basic problems such as inequalities in pupil/teacher ratios, teachers' qualifications and school facilities have not yet been solved. Per capita expenditure for school and college education in 1994 still indicates large inequalities between population groups. Redress in funding, *inter alia*, would probably be the most important and difficult issue regarding the reform of education. In the next section, I summarise the recent changes in education policy in the post-apartheid period.

## **1.2 Recent Changes in Education Policy**

### **1.2.1 Free compulsory education for all**

The former state president, Mr F W de Klerk, announced in January 1993 that the government intended to move towards a new non-racial, regionally based education system by 31 March 1994. There were a number of policy developments towards the creation of a non-racial, democratic education system (Bot (ed.), 1994b, P.1). Ironically, however, during 1993 South Africa experienced its worst crisis in education since 1984/85. Disruptions began shortly after schools opened and continued for most of the year (Bot (ed.), 1994b, p.2). Statistics such as pupil/teacher ratios and standard ten examination results for 1993 still indicated unequal educational provision between population groups (Bot (ed.), 1994b, pp.5-7).

The African National Congress (ANC) had already adopted certain policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa at their national congress in May 1992. It stated that education and training was a 'basic human right and all individuals should have access to lifelong education and training, irrespective of race, class, gender, creed, age, sexual orientation and physical or mental disability'. Their policy guidelines provided, *inter alia*, for a minimum of ten years free and compulsory education including, where possible, one year pre-school education (Bot (ed.), 1993b, p.2). Prior to 1994, compulsory education was only fully implemented in White education, and to

a lesser extent in education for Indians and Coloureds. Compulsory education for Africans existed in a handful of schools only (Claassen, 1996, p.472). ANC emphasised in the Reconstruction and Development Programme that the democratic government must phase in compulsory education as soon as possible and that no class should exceed 40 students by the end of the decade (ANC, 1994, p.64). In June 1994, the newly elected president, Mr Nelson Mandela, announced that legislation to introduce 'free and quality education for all children' would be introduced at the next parliamentary sitting. However, the government soon realised that this would have to be a gradual process, due to budgetary constraints (Bot (ed.), 1995, p.3). In October 1994, the minister of Education, Prof. Bengu, said that only first-year primary pupils would receive free education in 1995, and that it would extend to standard 7 after three years (Bot (ed.), 1995, p.4).

However, several provinces indicated later in that year that even such a gradual method would be difficult to implement due to a shortage of funds, teachers and classrooms. By December 1994, funds to provide education for the first year of free schooling had still not been allocated to the provinces, and it appeared that the introduction of ten years free and compulsory education would be difficult to implement even in a gradual manner unless the national economy grew rapidly (Bot (ed.), 1995, p.8).

In March 1995, the White Paper on Education and Training (White Paper 1) was released, containing a commitment to provide ten years of free and compulsory education for all from a reception year up to Grade 9 (Standard 7) (DoE, 1995, p.73, par.2). In September 1995, the Education Labour Relations Council signed an agreement on guideline learner-educator ratios of 40:1 in ordinary primary schools and 35:1 in ordinary secondary schools (DoE, 1996, p.35, par.5.33). However, Crouch points out that if there are insufficient resources to accommodate the country's pupil enrolments, then education cannot be compulsory, and that there is no such thing as 'free' education: 'Any activity making claim on real, scarce resources is by definition not free to society. Someone, usually the vague "taxpayer", is paying for "free" things... Even when something is nominally free to the users, the user still incurs heavy costs in out-of-pocket expenditures' (Crouch, 1994, p.1). According to him, 'a commitment to truly "free" education (in South Africa) would increase the state's education budget by anywhere from one-third to one-half without even beginning to affect quality and access' (Crouch, 1994, p.4). South African state expenditure for education during the 1990's has already reached the peak, accounting for 20% to 23% of the national budget, which is a very high rate in international terms (Claassen, 1997,

pp.365-365; Pretorius et al, 1998, pp.64-66). Given these facts, it appears that the commitment to free, compulsory education for all will be extremely difficult to implement, and the payment of a certain amount of school fees seems to be inevitable.

All these concerns were brought together into the Education White Paper 2 (White Paper 2), which was released in February 1996. Following the White Paper 2, the South African Schools Bill was introduced in Parliament in August 1996. With some alterations, the South African Schools Act was adopted and came into operation on 1 January 1997. The new education system provided by the Act will be discussed in Chapter 2.

### **1.2.2 The new South African Constitution and the South African Schools Act**

The current South African education system has been given its legitimacy by the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (the Constitution) which was adopted in 1996 and came into effect on 4 February 1997. It has a number of provisions which have important implications for education, such as the right to a basic education, the right to instruction in the language of choice, and the right to establish and maintain independent educational institutions (RSA, 1996, sec 29). The Constitution stipulates the following with respect to the right to a basic education:

- “Everyone has the right –
- (a) to a basic education, including adult basic education; and
  - (b) to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures must make progressively available and accessible.” (RSA, 1996, sec 29(1))

This subsection recognises the right of everyone to a basic education. The national Ministry of Education expresses their interpretation of this right in White Paper 1, referring to the 1993 interim constitution, as follows: “. . . the right to basic education . . . applies to all persons, that is to all children, youth and adults. Basic education is thus a legal entitlement to which every person has a claim” (DoE, 1995, p.40, par.11). Therefore, it should also be interpreted as South African children who were formerly disadvantaged in, or excluded from basic education should be given the same right as that of those formerly advantaged. Section 29 of the Constitution does not clearly refer to the “right to access to educational institutions” as was done in the 1993 interim constitution (RSA, 1993, sec 32(a)). However, considering the principle of the 1993 interim constitution, “the right to a basic education” provided by Section 29 of the Constitution should be interpreted as including the right to equal access to educational institutions.

Along with the Constitution, the South African Schools Act, No. 84 of 1996 (Schools Act) was adopted in 1996, after a long process of consultation following the release of White Paper 1 in March 1995. It was assented to by the President on 6 November, and came into effect on 1 January 1997. The Schools Act introduced 9 years compulsory education to all South African children, giving the national norm for compulsory attendance (President's Office, 1996, ch.2), and provides for a single, non-discriminatory school system based on fundamental rights provided for in the Constitution. The basic aims of the Act are to make education better, more efficient and more just (DoE, 1997a, p.1). Although the new system was generally welcomed by the majority of South Africans including both formerly advantaged and disadvantaged population groups, there have been concerns regarding the decline in education standards in formerly advantaged schools and financial limitations in implementing the new policy (Naidoo, 1996, p.4). In a few extreme cases, some people rejected the non-racist, uniform system provided by the Act and isolated themselves by establishing schools for their own children. The main features of the new system are discussed in the next chapter.

### **1.3 Chapter Summary**

As a result of the long history of apartheid, the majority of the South African population have been deprived of access to quality education. Many schools, mainly African and Coloured schools, experienced unfavourable conditions such as high pupil/teacher ratios, lack of equipment, un/under-qualified teachers and low standards. As the demand for education increased, a number of policies were implemented by the apartheid government, attempting to improve education provision for the formerly disadvantaged population groups. Although enrolment numbers for formerly disadvantaged population groups increased steadily during the last decades of apartheid, it was not accompanied by an improvement in quality. Fundamental change in the education system had to await the birth of the new government in 1994. The new Constitution of South Africa, adopted in 1996, recognises that everyone has the right to a basic education including adult basic education (RSA, 1996, sec 29(1)). The South African Schools Act, which was adopted in 1996 and came into effect in 1997, introduced 9 years compulsory education, and provides for a uniform school system throughout the country.

## **Chapter 2:**

# **Central Features of the New South African School System: the South African Schools Act, No. 84 of 1996**

## **2.1 Democratic Aims and Partnership between the State and Other Stakeholders**

As indicated in its preamble, the basic aims of the Schools Act are (a) the achievement of democracy; (b) the creation of a new national system for schools which will redress past injustices in education provision and provide an education of progressively high quality; and (c) the setting of uniform norms and standards for the education of learners and the organisation, governance and funding of schools throughout the country (President's Office, 1996, Preamble). In the new system, whereas the provincial legislatures and governments deal with school education, the Ministry of Education and the national Department of Education maintain the power to regulate and co-ordinate educational matters in terms of norms and standards at a national level (Burger et al, 1998, p.317). Therefore, it would be possible to redress past inequalities, such as unequal funding to the ethnically divided education departments. The Ministry can propose their education policies so that provincial education departments can use scarce resources more effectively, targeting the needy schools. However, the Act recognises the limitation of the power and resources of the State and calls for the partnership between the State and all other stakeholders involved with education. It also requests the acceptance by parents of the responsibility for governance and funding of the school (President's Office, 1996, Preamble). It is reflected in the sections of the Act which provide for the establishment of school funds and the setting of school fees (President's Office, 1996, sec 37, 39, 40), which are discussed in respective sections below.

## **2.2 Compulsory Attendance and the State's Responsibility**

The Schools Act makes schooling compulsory for all South African children from six to fifteen years old (9 years). The Act provides that:

.....every parent must cause every learner for whom he or she is responsible to attend a school from the first school day of the year in which such learner reaches the age of seven years until the last school day of the year in which such learner reaches the age of fifteen years or the ninth grade, whichever occurs first. (President's Office, 1996, sec 3(1))

The Minister determines the age of compulsory attendance at schools for learners with special education needs. This is known as the compulsory or General Education phase. Every provincial Member of the Executive Council for education (MEC) must make sure that there are enough school places for every child in the compulsory attendance phase. If this cannot be done because of a lack of capacity, the MEC must take steps to remedy any such lack of capacity as soon as possible. If it is in the best interests of the learner, a Head of Department (HoD) may exempt a learner from compulsory attendance (President's office, 1996, sec 3(2)(3)(4), 4(1)).

The State is responsible for the funding of public schools. The basic principle of state funding of public schools derives from the constitutional guarantee of equality and recognition of the right of redress (DoE, 1998, par.20). The Act provides that:

The State must fund public schools from public revenue on an equitable basis in order to ensure the proper exercise of the rights of learners to education and the redress of past inequalities in education provision (President's Office, 1996, sec 34(1))

In short, the parent has an obligation to make sure his or her child attends a school during the compulsory phase, and the State has the responsibility to provide sufficient school places, which are funded from public revenue.

## **2.3 Equal Access of All Learners to Public Schools and Admission Policy**

Regarding the admission to public schools, the Act provides that:

- (1) A public school must admit learners and serve their educational requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way.
- (2) The governing body of a public school may not administer any test related to the admission of a learner to a public school, or direct or authorise the principal of the school or any other person to administer such test.
- (3) No learner may be refused admission to a public school on the grounds that his or her parent—
  - (a) is unable to pay or has not paid the school fees determined by the governing body under section 39;
  - (b) does not subscribe to the mission statement of the school; or
  - (c) has refused to enter into a contract in terms of which the parent waives any claim for damages arising out of the education of the learner. (President's Office, 1996, sec 5)

Parents can rest assured that their children will not be discriminated against in public schools—either in gaining entry or when they get there (DoE, 1997a, p.3). Admission policies of public

schools are determined by the governing body of the school (President's Office, 1996, sec 5(5)). The governing body may also determine the language policy of the school, but no form of racial discrimination may be practised (President's office, 1996, sec 6(2)(3)). Restrictions can be placed on admission for reasons of age. After consulting with provincial MECs, the national Minister of Education may determine—by notice in the Government Gazette—age requirements for the admission of learners to a school or to different grades at a school. Schools can also retain the right to maintain single sex institutions if they wish. In determining the placement of a learner with special education needs, the HoD and principal must take into account the rights and wishes of the parents of such a learner (President's office, 1996, sec 5(4)(6), 12(6)).

## **2.4 Democratic Structure and a Wide Range of Functions of the Governing Body**

The structure of the membership of a governing body provided for in the Schools Act is itself the manifestation of the democratic aims of the Act. The membership of a governing body of a public ordinary school comprises elected members (from parents, educators, non-educator staff and learners in the 8th grade and higher), the principal as an *ex officio* member and co-opted members such as member(s) of the community. In the governing body of a public ordinary school, the number of parents comprises one more than the combined total of other members. It means that members from parents in the governing body comprise the majority who have voting rights (President's Office, 1996, sec 23).

The Act provides that every public school is a juristic person, with legal capacity to perform its functions (sec 15) and that the governance of every public school is vested in its governing body (sec 16(1)). In the new governance system, the governing body of the school has a much larger range of functions compared with those of a former Model C school under the old system. The governing body must determine admission policy of the school, subject to the Act and any applicable provincial law (sec 5(5)), and may determine the language policy of the school subject to the Constitution, the Act and any applicable provincial law (sec 6(2)). The governing body may apply to the HoD to be allocated other functions such as the maintenance and improvement of the school's property, and the purchase of textbooks, educational materials or equipment for the school (sec 21).

Regarding school finance, the governing body must take all reasonable measures within its means to supplement the resources supplied by the State in order to improve the quality of education (sec 36). All money received by a public school including school fees and voluntary contributions must be paid into the school fund, and all assets acquired by a public school are the property of the school (sec 37(3)(5)). Then, it is the governing body who administers the school fund and all properties of the school (sec 20(1)(g), 37(1)). The governing body must use the school fund and any other assets only for (a) educational purposes at or in connection with the school; (b) educational purposes at or in connection with another public school by agreement with that school and with the consent of the HoD; (c) the performance of the functions of the governing body; or (d) another educational purpose agreed between the governing body and the HoD (sec 37(6)).

After the new system started, there was an important amendment of the Act, regarding the number of educators and non-educators. The Education Laws Amendment Act, which was adopted in November 1997, provided for the amendment of Section 20 of the Act. It allows a public school to establish posts for educators and non-educators and employ them in addition to the establishment determined by the MEC. The governing body is responsible for budgeting the costs for additional staff (President's Office, 1997, p.4). Therefore, the governing body can hire additional teachers and non-educator staff if the annual school budget is approved by a majority of parents attending the general meeting of parents.

Thus, the Act gives considerable powers and responsibilities to the governing body, which cover almost all aspects of the governance of the school. However, the provincial HoD can, on reasonable grounds, withdraw a function of a governing body (sec 22(1)). The functions of a governing body may be increased depending on the body's capacity and experience. However, the provincial HoD may refuse an application if the governing body concerned does not have the capacity to perform such functions effectively (sec 21(2)).

## **2.5 A Single National Education System and State Subsidies to Independent Schools**

In the new South African education system, there are only two types of school—public and independent (President's Office, 1996, sec 1). This provision is a result of an evaluation of the past South African education system and a long process of consultation with the public. In the



White Paper 1, the Ministry of Education proposed the principles as the basis of the new policy framework for school ownership, governance and finance. Regarding the legal categories of schools, the Ministry required that there would be as few as possible (DoE, 1995, par.29). In the old system, there were three categories of schools—state schools, state aided schools and private or independent schools. However, state schools varied in quality from ex-department to ex-department and even within departments, and inequalities between different types of state-aided schools (i.e. Model C schools, community schools, farm schools etc.) were much larger (Pampallis, 1995, p.16). The way that different categories of schools were defined across departments was unsystematic (Tikly, 1995, p.90). The Hunter Committee, the Review Committee appointed by the Ministry, showed their concerns in their report as follows:

- (a) ... The Committee's proposals for new categories are intended to maintain the positive characteristics of all existing models ...;
- (b) In developing proposals to integrate the national school system, the Committee has been concerned to avoid unnecessary distinctions among those institutions which are wholly or largely state-funded. Instead of different types of state and state-aided schools, it suggests one category of "public" schools; and
- (c) It is therefore proposed that there be two basic categories of school, **public schools** and **independent schools** (original emphasis). (DoE, 1995, p.44)

Following the proposals of the Hunter Committee, the Ministry, in the White Paper 2, expressed their policy: that there should be just two broad categories of schools—public and independent and that the public school category would comprise all schools which were then known as community schools, farm schools, state schools, and state-aided schools (including church schools, Model C schools, mine schools, and others). They would comprise just over 98% of the country's primary and secondary schools, and almost 99% of school enrolments (DoE, 1996, p.13). In addition, the White Paper 2 emphasised the Ministry's obligation to base the public provision of schooling for all South Africans on the principles of equity and redress of past inequality and discrimination (DoE, 1996, p.15). These policies were incorporated into the Schools Act.

In 1998, independent school enrolments amount to about two percent of total school enrolment nation wide and this percentage may be increasing (DoE, 1998, par.56). Although the independent school sector is small, its importance should be mentioned. If all learners currently attending independent schools were to transfer to public schools, the cost of public education in certain provinces might increase by as much as five percent (DoE, 1998, par.56). Therefore, the

Ministry has provided the norms for State subsidies to independent schools. The Ministry expresses its fiscal argument as follows:

The state has a constitutional and statutory responsibility to provide school education to all learners. However, the right of reputable, registered independent schools to exist is protected by the Constitution, and the payment of subsidies to them is not precluded. Such independent schools perform a service to their learners that would otherwise have to be performed by the provincial education departments. Public subsidies to such schools cost the state considerably less per learner than if the same learners enrolled in public schools. It is, therefore, cost efficient for the state to provide a subsidy (DoE, 1998, par.62).

Therefore, as far as school funding is concerned, the existence of independent schools is a preferable situation.

## **2.6 The Permission of Charging School Fees at Public Schools**

### **2.6.1 Regulations for charging school fees**

The Schools Act stipulates that school fees may be charged at a public school if the following requirements are met:

- A resolution to charge school fees has been adopted by a majority of parents attending a general meeting of parents, where parents consider the budget of the school and must vote on this (President's Office, 1996, sec 39(1));
- The parents have approved the amount of fees to be charged (sec 39(2)(a)); and
- Equitable criteria and procedures for the total, partial or conditional exemption of parents who are unable to pay school fees have been provided (sec 39(2)(b)).

Once the resolution of charging school fees has been adopted, the governing body must implement the resolution (President's Office, 1996, sec 39(3)). The Minister must make regulations regarding the equitable criteria and procedures referred to school fees exemption (sec 39(4)). A parent is liable to pay the school fees determined by such resolution unless or to the extent that he or she has been exempted from payment (sec 40(1)). A parent may appeal to the HoD against a decision of a governing body regarding the exemption of school fees (sec 40(2)). The governing body may by process of law enforce the payment of school fees by parents who are liable to pay (sec 41).

The DoE released 'National Norms and Standards for School Funding' (NNSSF) in October 1998, which provides the criteria for fee exemption at public schools. According to NNSSF, subject to the regulations made by the Ministry, if the annual gross income of the parents is less than 10 times the annual school fees per learner, the parent qualifies for full exemption (DoE, 1998, par.129). If the gross income is more than 30 times the annual school fees per learner, the parent does not qualify for exemption (par.133), and the parent with a gross annual income between 30 times and 10 times the annual school fees per learner qualifies for partial exemption (par.131). Special circumstances affecting a parent's ability to pay the fee, such as the income level or the change in the income level, must be taken into consideration (par.134-139).

### **2.6.2 Reasons for the permission of charging school fees at public schools**

The reasons for the provision in the Schools Act to allow public schools to charge school fees are as follows: (a) the requirement of a partnership between the State and communities to finance education; (b) the necessity to redress past inequalities; and (c) the demand for maintenance of school standards, particularly those of formerly advantaged schools.

#### **(a) Partnership between the State and the communities**

This idea is based on the recognition that the provision of quality education for all, at no direct cost to parents and communities, is not affordable in terms of current or anticipated budgetary allocations to education (DoE, 1996, par.5.16). Considering the restraints of the national education budget, it was suggested by the Hunter Committee that schools need to mobilise additional resources for the operating costs of schools, including parental contributions. Parental contributions could either be collected on a voluntary basis or levied on an obligatory basis (Hunter et al, 1995, pp.73-74). However, both the Committee and the Department of Education favoured the legally obligatory fees (Hunter et al, 1995, pp.72-79; DoE, 1996, pp.32-34).

#### **(b) Redress of past inequalities**

The Constitution obliges the State to ensure the right to a basic education for every learner. In order to redress past inequalities in education provision, the State needs to reallocate more resources either to the formerly disadvantaged schools or for the construction of new schools in disadvantaged areas. This results in a considerable reduction in resources allocated to the

formerly advantaged schools. If an equal per capita expenditure was implemented under the current national education budget, the allocation per school would be at a level somewhere between the levels in former DET schools and those in former House of Representatives' schools (Hunter, et al, 1995, p.71). Although such a thorough policy to equalize per capita expenditure throughout the country would not be implemented immediately, a reduction in resources for the formerly advantaged schools is inevitable in order to redress past inequalities. In addition, resources allocated to the formerly disadvantaged schools may not be adequate to improve the quality of education to an acceptable level. This implies that almost all public schools need to seek additional sources of school funds. There would be several sources for this purpose, such as parental contributions, donations from private companies and international aid. However, obligatory school fees was seen as the most reliable source by the Committee and the Department (Hunter et al, 1995, p.74; DoE, 1996, par.5.19).

### **(c) Maintenance of educational quality of the formerly advantaged schools**

It was anticipated by the DoE and its consultants that the decline in public funding for previously privileged schools would propel middle-class parents out of the public school sector and into the independent school sector, and that among those departing would be many opinion-formers and decision-makers (DoE, 1996, par.5.24). The consultants argue that if the public education system permits a situation where the independent sector grows in attraction through the adherence of middle-class parents, such a tendency would result in depriving the public school sector of the financial, managerial and persuasive capacities of the better-educated and financially advantaged segment of the population. The remedy would be to find an acceptable means of enabling school communities to raise sufficient resources to maintain school quality at levels acceptable to the parents who would otherwise drift away (DoE, 1996, par.5.25). The DoE explains that this argument does not centre on the desire to do favours to the financially advantaged class, but on a recognition that the commitment of the middle class to public school education is a pre-requisite for maintaining adequate levels of both public and private investment in public education for the benefit of the whole population, especially the poor, who have neither financial means nor influence to improve the condition of their children's schools (DoE, 1996, par.5.25). Herein lies an important assumption which underpins the provisions of the Schools Act.

The following chapter will discuss possible outcomes as a result of the implementation of the Schools Act, with particular attention to the financial implications and learners' enrolment, and describe the objectives and methodology of the research.

## **2.7 Chapter Summary**

The Schools Act provides for a new national system for schools which will redress past injustices in education provision and makes education compulsory for all children from six to fifteen years old. It also provides for the establishment of democratic and effective school governing bodies, giving them considerable powers in terms of school operations. However, the Act acknowledges the State's limited capacity to finance basic education, and requests a partnership in funding between the State and parents. It transfers, therefore, the financial responsibility of supplementing the resources supplied by the State, to the school's governing body. It also allows public schools to charge fees even during the compulsory phase. Once the charging of school fees is adopted, it will become compulsory to all parents unless they are exempted. An amendment of the Act allows public schools to hire additional teachers at their own expense. Regarding independent schools, the state subsidy to them is considered financially cost efficient for the State.

## **Chapter 3:**

### **The Implications, for Educational Performance and Enrolment, of Charging School Fees – The Objectives and Methodology of the Research**

#### **3.1 Problem Statement**

##### **- Contradiction between Compulsory Attendance and Compulsory Payment of School Fees**

The provision of the Schools Act for a 9 years compulsory education is considered as a tool to ensure the right of everyone to a basic education as recognised by Section 29 of the Constitution. In order to guarantee this right to everyone, the Act makes schooling compulsory for all South African children. It is parents' obligation to make sure that their children, from 6 to 15 years old, attend school (President's Office, 1996, sec 3(1)). Even though the right to a basic education is recognised for everyone, it is difficult to satisfy this right of all children, without defining the parents' responsibility for the education of their children. Therefore, the provision of compulsory education is essential to secure the right of all children to a basic education.

On the other hand, the Act allows public schools to charge school fees, including those for the compulsory phase if such a resolution is adopted by the majority of the parents, and once charging of school fees has been adopted, every parent becomes liable to pay school fees unless he or she has been exempted from payment (sec 40(1)). The Act does not say that the school *has to* charge school fees. In reality, however, due to the financial constraints of the education budget at national or provincial level, public schools do not receive sufficient resources from the State to run their school activities adequately. Therefore, it is likely that most public schools will decide to charge a certain amount of school fees. The plan for and implementation of school fees is carried by the governing body in which elected members from parents form the majority of voting members. Since those representatives from parents are presumably influential members, any decision by the governing body could be made in favour of them, even though there may be those who are reluctant to pay, or cannot afford fees among the parents.

In the new system, two obligations would be imposed on the parents: an obligation to ensure their children's attendance at school and another obligation to pay school fees. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that education shall be free at least in the

elementary and fundamental stages, and elementary education shall be compulsory (UN, 1988, article 26). This statement expresses the principle that it is necessary to make elementary and fundamental education free and compulsory in order to ensure the right of everyone to education. Although the term 'basic education' is not defined in the Constitution, the Ministry of Education shows its position, stating that appropriately designed education programmes to the level of the proposed General Education (and Training) Certificate (GETC) would adequately define basic education for the purposes of the constitutional requirement (DoE, 1995, p.40, par.15). The GETC is achieved by the acquisition of the required credits at the end of the compulsory schooling phase (Pretorius et al, 1998, p.4). Therefore, 'basic education' in the Constitution can be considered as equivalent to 'elementary and fundamental stages' in the Declaration. Although the Constitution does not clearly define whether basic education is free or not and whether it is financed by the State, the Ministry states in White Paper 1 that the cost of the provision of schooling for all children to the GE(T)C level, at an acceptable level of quality, must be borne from public funds (DoE, 1995, p.40, par.17). The White Paper further states that 'for children, the right would be satisfied by the availability of schooling facilities sufficient to enable every child to begin and complete a basic education programme of acceptable quality' (DoE, 1995, p.40, par.11). Therefore, the realisation of the right of all South African children to a basic education and the implementation of a compulsory basic education could be compatible only if such compulsory education is free: i.e. without charging *compulsory* school fees.

Considering the *de facto* 'user charges' situation in that most public schools charge school fees even during the compulsory phase, the provision of the Act to allow public schools to charge school fees would be contradicting the provision of compulsory attendance. The Act states that no learner may be refused admission to a public school because of the parent's inability to pay school fees (President's Office, 1996, sec 5(3)(a)). In theory therefore, every learner can attend the school even though his or her parents cannot pay or did not pay school fees. However, it appears that the Act does not pay enough attention to the influence of those provisions on learners. There is no doubt that school fees exemption is a tool to support poor learners. However, if other learners in the school know that someone's parent is exempt from paying school fees because of poverty, such a learner may encounter invisible discrimination against him/her. If a parent fails to pay school fees, a legal process can be taken to force the parent to pay school fees. Under such conditions, it is unlikely that his or her child can enjoy school activities in the same way as other children. In addition, South Africa does not have a clear school zoning system and therefore, it is not clear who can apply to which school. Even if some

learners are refused admission to the nearest school due to unpaid school fees, there is no provision for penalties regarding such action. Therefore, there is doubt about the compatibility between the provision of *compulsory* education and the permission of charging *compulsory* school fees.

In the new South African education system, both the improvement in the quality of education and the redress of past inequalities are important aims. Two years have passed since the implementation of the Schools Act. At this stage therefore, it is important to consider the implications of the charging of school fees— i.e. its contribution to educational improvement and its impact on the admission and enrolment of learners.

### **3.2 Research Objectives**

This research aims to monitor the funding situation of public schools, including school fees and the implications of charging school fees for both educational improvement and the admission and enrolment of learners at the schools in the Durban Metropolitan area. The key questions of the research are as follows:

- (a) Whether or not the adoption of compulsory school fees is essential to supplement the resources supplied by the State;
- (b) To what extent the charging of school fees contributes to the improvement in educational activities at the school; and
- (c) To what extent the charging of school fees influences the admission and enrolment of learners, especially less advantaged learners.

### **3.3 Hypotheses**

#### **Hypothesis 1**

**“The introduction of school fees would widen the inequalities of educational performance between public schools.”**

Given limited educational resources, all public schools are likely to face a shortage of funding to some extent. Most public schools would adopt school fees to meet their financial needs and improve their educational performance. However, the amount of school fees and consequently,



the financial capacity would vary from school to school. It is plausible that the formerly advantaged schools are in the position of being able to adopt school fees (or higher school fees) because presumably, both parents' income levels and demands for educational quality are higher than those of other schools. On the other hand, it may be difficult for the formerly disadvantaged schools to adopt school fees (or high school fees). Although they are likely to continue to face financial difficulties, the majority of poor South Africans have already been contributing substantially to the provision of education through monetary and non-monetary contributions, regardless of their financial position (Sithole, 1997, p.16). Therefore, the possibility of the adoption of school fees and the amount of fees, largely depend on the income levels of parents.

In addition, there is no legal limitation on the *improvement* in the quality of education. If the governing body has enough capacity, it can apply to the Head of Department (HoD) to be allocated a wide range of functions to improve the quality of education (President's Office, 1996, sec 21(1)). They can maintain and improve the school's property, purchase textbooks, educational materials or equipment for the school and even employ additional educators and non-educators using school funds. The HoD may refuse an application only if the governing body concerned does not have the capacity to perform such functions effectively (sec 21(2)). On the other hand, it is not clearly defined whether or not provincial departments are responsible for the maintenance of the school's property or the purchase of textbooks and educational materials or equipment if the governing body does not have such powers. Therefore, the improvement in the education provision at a school to a large extent depends on the management power of the governing body and the availability of school funds. As a result, the differences in education provision such as pupil/teacher ratios, teaching or learning materials and school operation costs between public schools would widen.

Low pupil/teacher ratios and more sophisticated physical materials do not necessarily guarantee a high educational performance at a school. It depends on how well the actual learning process is organised both at a class level and at a school level. Therefore, the management of the school and the quality of teachers including teaching skills and the commitment shown by teachers are important factors. Since the school governing body is entitled to recommend the appointment of educators and hire additional teachers (President's Office, 1996, sec 20(1)), it is plausible that schools which have strong financial capacities and good conditions for teaching can hire more skilled and experienced educators because it is natural for them to prefer better conditions and require higher salaries. Therefore, the formerly advantaged schools are not only materially well

resourced but are also in a position to attract better teachers. In such a way, the introduction of school fees would contribute to the increase in educational inequalities between public schools.

## **Hypothesis 2**

**“The adoption of school fees may function as a barrier to exclude poor learners from financially advantaged public schools.”**

Regarding the admission of learners, the Schools Act prohibits unfair discrimination in any way, including any test related measures. No learner may be refused admission to a public school on the grounds of parents' (a) inability to pay school fees; (b) failure to subscribe to the mission statement of the school; or (c) refusal to enter into a contract in terms of which the parent waives any claim for damages arising out of the education of the learner. No form of racial discrimination may be practiced in implementing language policy (President's Office, 1996, sec 5, 6).

In principle, no learner is refused admission to a public school. However, it is a matter of course that each school has its own capacity and it cannot accept an unlimited number of learners who wish to go to that school. If it is not deemed unfair, some learners might be refused admission for some reason by means of an admission policy. For example, in terms of language policy, if an alternative institution is available to the applicant without undue hardship, offering tuition in the preferred medium, a refusal to such applicant would not be deemed to be unfair (DoE, 1995, p.42, par.28). Therefore, if the governing body adopts certain school policies, it is possible to exclude certain categories of learners effectively. For example, it is unlikely that a school, which has adopted relatively high school fees, will accept many learners who are unable to pay the school fees if there are more applicants who are willing to pay such school fees. By setting other conditions, such as the maximum number of learners and the maximum distance between the school and the learner's home, they can effectively exclude poor learners. There is evidence of some governing bodies and sectoral organisations advocating exclusionary mechanisms (Mabasa, 1997, p.4). Even if some learners are accepted with an exemption of school fees, other forms of indirect costs will be considerable for those learners. Unless the State considers subsidising transport for learners, it will be difficult for many African learners to attend the former white schools that may be far away from their townships, but which offer the only opportunity for attending school (Mabasa, 1997, p.4).

In addition, it is unlikely for poor learners to enter a school which charges high school fees unless they are exempted from school fees. Even though such a school may be the nearest to them, those who cannot afford school fees would choose another nearby school which they can afford.

In such a way, for one or more reasons, there may be learners who are effectively refused admission to a school or indirectly forced to move to another school, even though they stay near the school or they wish to go to that school. Therefore, there is the possibility that the adoption of (high) school fees may function, intentionally or unintentionally, as a barrier to prevent poor learners from enrolling or staying at financially advantaged public schools, unless those schools actively accept poor learners, by applying school fees exemption to them.

### **Hypothesis 3**

**“The new education system may create semi-privatisation of public schools.”**

The Act provides for significant powers and responsibilities of the governing body which cover almost all aspects of the governance of the school, including the appointment of educators and the administration of school funds and properties (Section 2.4). This provision gives significant autonomy to all governing bodies. Since the governing body prepares and implements a school budget, the education provision and performance at a school may depend to a large extent on the management of the governing body and the capacity of school funds as mentioned above.

Since the wealthy in South Africa are mostly white people (Sithole, 1997, p.19), the former Model C schools, the governing bodies of which had similar functions under the old system, have the advantage in raising school funds as well as in operating their governing bodies. On the other hand, the former farm schools and community schools in the poor regions are likely to be less advantaged in both fund-raising and effectively operating their governing bodies. Therefore, it is likely that inequalities in education provision between ex-departments are likely to remain and even widen under the new system unless the redress of past inequalities is undertaken actively, improving the quality of education of formerly disadvantaged schools.

Sithole warns that an element of privatisation would be introduced within the public education sector and this would engender a situation where three forms of schools would exist, namely: semi-private, public and independent schools (Sithole, 1997, p.19). Even though such clear

divisions may not occur, the permission of the charging of school fees and significant autonomy of the governing body would give a certain characteristic of private school to all public schools. Therefore, the formerly advantaged schools, which have a relatively strong resource base, are likely to take on the characteristics of a private institution.

### **3.4 Research Methodology**

#### **3.4.1 Brief description of research methods**

A questionnaire was sent to some three hundred schools in the Durban Metropolitan area. The schools were chosen so that they would include the former DET, HOA (i.e. Model C), HOD, HOR, KDEC and independent schools, both primary and secondary schools, and both urban and peri-urban areas. Through questionnaires, and interviews when necessary, data has been collected from twenty-seven schools, including one independent school. The data collected includes the revenue, expenditure and other statistics of the school in order to analyse the implications of schools fees for educational performance and learners' enrolment.

In addition to the questionnaire for the schools, another type of questionnaire has been collected from one hundred and six parents to analyse the implications of school fees for learners and parents. Questionnaires were collected through five sample public schools including one former HOA (Model C) school, two former HOD schools and two former HOR schools. The details of the questionnaires for the school and the parents are included in the Appendices.

Using the data collected, I analyse the extent to which the charging of school fees and other voluntary funds contributes to the educational activities at the public school, and consider whether or not the charging of school fees is essential for the improvement in educational quality at the school. I also analyse the implications of the adoption of school fees for the admission of learners, particularly the impact of school fees on disadvantaged learners.

### **3.4.2 The questionnaires**

The following are the key questions asked of schools and parents.

#### **(A) Key questions of the questionnaire for schools**

- (a) statistics of the school, including the number of teachers, privately hired teachers, non-teaching staff, learners and classrooms;
- (b) school revenue;
- (c) school expenditure;
- (d) school fees and their proportion in the annual school budget; and
- (e) criteria for the exemption of school fees and the number of learners who have been exempted.

#### **(B) Key questions of the questionnaire for parents**

- (a) the learner's distance from the school, their mode of transport and duration of travel;
- (b) the reason for choosing the school attended;
- (c) household income;
- (d) educational expenditure; and
- (e) opinions on school fees.

### **3.4.3 The nature of the data: applicability and limits**

The data collected includes 4 former DET schools, 6 former KDEC schools, 4 former HOA schools, 10 former HOD schools, 2 former HOR schools and 1 independent school. The number of schools which replied to the questionnaire was very few compared with the existing schools in the Durban metropolitan area (1,373 schools in North and South Durban regions in 1997). In addition, the data also has limitations in that some schools chose not to answer all questions in the questionnaire. Nevertheless, these give a good overview of the current situation in Durban and provide a good comparison of the schools against their former status. Although there is insufficient data to generalize about the issues concerned, the analysis based on the data offers

useful insights into the impact of school fees and the new education system on school performance and enrolment at public schools in Durban.

### **3.5 Chapter Summary**

The introduction of school fees is one of the measures adopted in the new education system to supplement the resources supplied by the State. It is envisaged that there will be a considerable reduction in funds available for formerly advantaged schools and consequently, an increase in pupil/teacher or pupil/classroom ratios. The State would be able to reallocate the resources to improve formerly disadvantaged schools. However, inequalities may increase because of the differences in financial capacity between public schools. Moreover, the practice of charging fees at public schools may function to exclude poor learners from financially advantaged schools. There is a possibility that the new system will lead to semi-privatisation within the public school sector. It is important to consider the implications of charging school fees, both for educational improvement in the school and for its impact on the admission of learners. In order to monitor the current situation in the Durban Metropolitan area, a questionnaire was distributed and collected; 27 replies out of some 300 schools, including both primary and secondary schools from various former departments, were received.

## **Chapter 4:**

### **The Implications of School Fees for School Performance and Enrolment: The Case of the Greater Durban Area – Findings and Analyses Based on the Research**

In this chapter, I will examine the extent to which the charging of school fees influences the educational performance and enrolment of learners at public schools in Durban. In the previous chapter, I suggested that the introduction of school fees would widen the inequalities of educational performance between public schools (Hypothesis 1); that the adoption of school fees may function as a barrier to prevent poor learners from applying to or enrolling at the financially advantaged public schools (Hypothesis 2); and that the new education system may create semi-privatisation of public schools (Hypothesis 3). In the first section, I look into the effect of charging school fees on school performance and consider whether or not the charging of school fees is essential for the improvement in educational quality at the school and whether the charging of school fees has narrowed or widened the differences between formerly advantaged and disadvantaged schools. The second section analyses the implications of charging school fees for learners' enrolment. In the third section, I consider the current situation of the public school sector in Durban, as a result of the implementation of the new education system based on the Schools Act.

In tables used in this chapter, reference numbers are shown in the left column. These numbers identify each school in different tables, figures and appendices.

#### **4.1 The Extent to which the Charging of School Fees Influences Educational Performance at Public Schools -Regarding Hypothesis 1**

##### **4.1.1 Features of school fees at public schools in Durban**

Table 7 shows the amounts of annual school fees over the last five years, at 26 sample public schools and one independent school which responded to the questionnaire. For comparative reasons, the sample public schools are divided into 'Primary' and 'Secondary' schools, and primary schools are grouped into their ex-departments. The independent school is listed at the

bottom for comparison. Averages are calculated in each of the ex-departments where more than two figures are available.

**Table 7: School fees per learner per year at sample schools in Durban**

re #	ex-Dep.	Type of school	Grade	School fees per learner per year (Rand)				
				94	95	96	97	98
<b>Primary school</b>								
1	KDEC-1	J. P. Co-ed	1-4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	40	90
2	KDEC-2	J. P. Co-ed	1-4	20	20	20	20	50
3	KDEC-3	S. P. Co-ed	5-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	20	50
4	KDEC-4	J. P. Co-ed	1-4	15	25	25	40	120
5	KDEC-5	J. P. Co-ed	1-4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	30	120
<b>KDEC average</b>				<b>17.5</b>	<b>22.5</b>	<b>22.5</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>86</b>
7	DET-1	S. P. Co-ed	5-7	30	30	50	50	80
8	DET-2	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	45	60
9	DET-3	J. P. Co-ed	1-4	20	20	25	25	120
10	DET-4	J. P. Co-ed	1-4	30	30	50	50	100
<b>DET average</b>				<b>26.7</b>	<b>26.7</b>	<b>41.7</b>	<b>42.5</b>	<b>90</b>
11	HOA-1	J. P. Co-ed	1-3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2000	2900
12	HOA-2	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1500	1700
13	HOA-3	P. Co-ed	1-7+spec.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3000	3774
<b>HOA average</b>				<b>n.a.</b>	<b>n.a.</b>	<b>n.a.</b>	<b>2167</b>	<b>2791</b>
15	HOR-1	P. Co-ed	1-6	90	90	90	100	150
16	HOR-2	P. Co-ed	1-7	75	100	200	250	300
<b>HOR average</b>				<b>82.5</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>225</b>
17	HOD-1	P. Co-ed	1-6	5	10	15	40	50
18	HOD-2	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	250	250
19	HOD-3	P. Co-ed	1-7+rec.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	300
20	HOD-4	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	50	50	50	225
21	HOD-5	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	25	215
23	HOD-6	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	50	350
24	HOD-7	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	25	80
25	HOD-8	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	25	240
26	HOD-9	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	60	370
<b>HOD average</b>				<b>n.a.</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>32.5</b>	<b>65.6</b>	<b>208</b>
<b>Secondary schools</b>								
6	KDEC-6	Sec. Co-ed	6-12	50	50	60	75	100
14	HOA-4	Sec. Boys	8-12	2000	2000	2500	3500	4500
22	HOD-10	Sec. Co-ed	6-12	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	75	220
27	An Independent school		1-12	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	*10960a, 12900b 15700c	12800a, 15000b, 18200c

Note: re: reference number for other tables; n.a.: not available; \* a: Grades 1-3, b: Grades 4-7, c: Grades 8-12.

The data shows several important features. Firstly, all sample public schools have already adopted schools fees. Although the figures for school fees at several schools in the past are not available, it does not mean that they did not charge school fees. From another set of data (Table 8), it is evident that most schools have been charging school fees at least for the last five years. These facts suggest that most schools in Durban, irrespective of ex-departments, have already adopted school fees and charged school fees even before the adoption of the Schools Act. This reality slightly contradicts the provision of the Act. According to the Act, school fees *may be*



*determined and charged at a public school only if a resolution to do so has been adopted by a majority of parents attending a general parents' meeting (President's, Office, 1996, sec 39(1)).* Public schools *do not have to* charge school fees and parents can deny such a resolution. However, all sample schools and probably most other public schools, have been charging fees for a long while irrespective of the existence of the Act. Therefore, Section 39 of the Act is considered as the provision to give legitimacy to the charging of fees to all public schools to follow the reality rather than to give a new direction to the school finance.

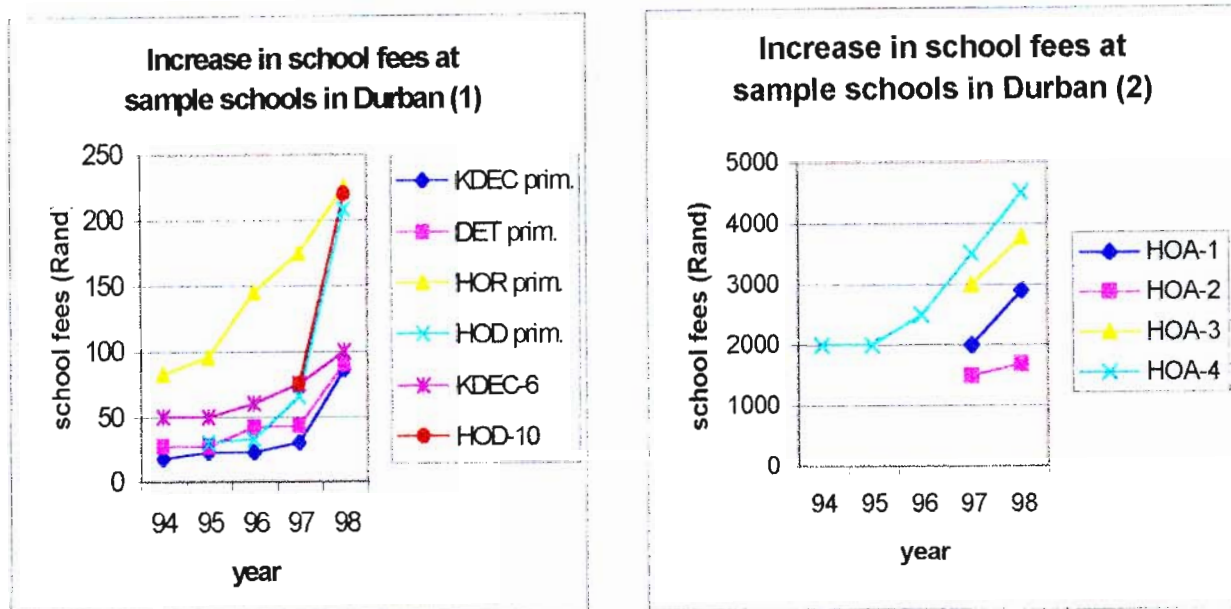
Secondly, there are large differences in school fees between ex-departments. The former KDEC and DET schools have similar fees and are the lowest on a scale of school fees. In 1998, whereas the former HOR and HOD schools' fees are moderate and charge about 2.5 times higher than fees of the former KDEC and DET schools, the former HOA schools charge more than 30 times the fees of the former KDEC and DET schools on average. Compared with the school fees at the independent school, those of the former HOA schools are still low. However, the differences in school fees between the former HOA schools and other schools are considerable. There may be a number of reasons for these differences such as the difference in school facilities, educational activities and income levels of parents. The differences in school fees imply that there are differences in expenditure as well. High expenditure does not necessarily mean a high quality of education. However, education expenditures are generally associated with educational provision and activities. Therefore, these differences in school fees imply that there are still large inequalities in terms of education quality between ex-departments.

Thirdly, most schools, irrespective of ex-departments, show a similar tendency to increase school fees. Figure 3 shows the changes in annual school fees at the sample public schools in Durban. The figure is divided into two parts due to the large difference in unit on Y-axis between the former HOA schools and other schools. Part (1) shows the average annual school fees of ex-KDEC, ex-DET, ex-HOR and ex-HOD primary schools, and annual school fees of ex-KDEC and ex-HOD secondary schools. Part (2) shows annual school fees of ex-HOA primary (HOA-1-3) and secondary (HOA-4) schools.

While the increases in school fees were moderate until 1995, they began to increase in 1996 and drastically so in 1997 and 1998. It can be explained partly by the adoption of the Schools Act in 1996 which officially permits the charging of school fees. Another possible factor is the increase in educational demands among parents. In the former HOA schools, the cuts of state funds can

be considered as an important reason for the drastic increase in school fees. The schools needed to do so in order to maintain their standards as discussed in the following sections in this chapter.

**Figure 3: Increase in school fees at sample public schools in Durban (per learner per year)**



Note: KDEC prim., DET prim., HOR prim., HOD prim. indicate averages of primary schools in each category. HOA-1, HOA-2, HOA-3 are primary schools. KDEC-6, HOD-10 and HOA-4 are secondary schools.

## 4.1.2 The extent to which school fees contribute to educational performance

### 4.1.2.1 The proportion of school fees in school income

Table 8 shows the percentage of total annual school fees against total annual school income at several sample schools in Durban. In the calculation, total annual school income does not include the remuneration of personnel paid by the State. Regarding the funds remaining from previous years, they include a certain amount of school fees from the previous years. Their inclusion as a component of school income makes the calculation of the proportion of school fees against total school income too complex and accurate records are not provided by many sample schools. Therefore, funds remaining from previous years are not included in the total annual school income (see Appendix 1 for details of total annual school fees and total annual school income).

Although school fees vary from school to school and from ex-department to ex-department, this data suggests that for most schools, irrespective of ex-departments, school fees form a large part

of school income, excluding that for the remuneration of personnel, which is basically paid by the state. It also suggests that the running costs of these schools are largely dependent on income from school fees. It is especially true in the case of ex-KDEC and ex-HOA schools. The percentages of total annual school fees against total annual school income range from 86% to 100% at ex-KDEC schools and from 91% to 99% at ex-HOA schools respectively. Ex-HOD schools show a gradual increase in percentage over the years except for HOD-10 school (a secondary school). In the case of ex-KDEC and ex-HOA sample schools, the proportion of other sources of school income, such as voluntary contributions, donations and income from fund-raising activities is generally little compared with the total school income. It may seem to contradict my argument that the former Model C schools have the advantage in raising school funds (Section 3.3). However, 'school funds' here means all money received by the school including school fees and voluntary contributions (President's office, 1996, sec 37(2)). High dependency by a school on school fees does not necessarily mean a weakness in the fund raising ability of the school. The fact that ex-HOA schools can charge high school fees is itself proof of the strength of the fund raising ability of the ex-HOA schools. On the other hand, the proportion of other sources of school income at ex-HOD sample schools was relatively high in the past compared to other ex-departments. There might have been a tendency for ex-HOD schools to be supported financially by the community in the past (see Appendix 1). Nevertheless, the data in the last two years suggests that most schools, irrespective of ex-departments, are becoming financially more dependent on school fees.

**Table 8: Total annual school fees and their percentage against total annual school income at sample public schools in Durban**

ref#	ex-Dep.	Total annual school fees (Rand)					Percentage against total annual school income				
		1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
1	KDEC-1	16,300	16,900	17,200	21,200	26,300	100%	100%	100%	95.5%	98.5%
3	KDEC-3	16,320	17,600	18,350	14,900	36,400	100%	100%	100%	92.1%	100%
4	KDEC-4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	36,000	40,018	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	98.1%	97.8%
5	KDEC-5	15,000	18,000	18,000	18,000	60,000	100%	97.3%	100%	85.7%	99.5%
11	HOA-1	n.a.	653,035	713,382	896,615	1236,100	n.a.	91.0%	96.5%	97.3%	98.0%
12	HOA-2	415,000	500,000	580,000	630,000	650,000	97.4%	97.7%	97.5%	97.5%	97.5%
13	HOA-3	n.a.	421,061	479,300	530,000	557,500	n.a.	99.2%	99.1%	99.3%	99.1%
17	HOD-1	444	460	460	1,375	3,400	24.6%	26.1%	21.6%	41.6%	88.3%
18	HOD-2	4,440	13,090	54,802	54,614	126,685	44.5%	71.2%	97.4%	93.8%	98.1%
21	HOD-5	1,865	3,740	6,455	8,405	3,344	14.2%	62.4%	62.9%	71.2%	78.0%
23	HOD-7	6,400	5,415	8,557	10,240	32,835	37.3%	17.6%	48.7%	41.2%	94.5%
24	HOD-8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	120,000	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	99.2%
25	HOD-9	7,800	10,000	14,000	37,200	140,409	58.1%	84.0%	84.9%	88.2%	97.9%
26	HOD-10	11,000	43,000	47,500	90,000	105,000	100%	100%	100%	100%	93.8%

Note: The data for other sample public schools are not available. The data for the sample independent school is available but not listed here. See Appendix 1 for details of total annual school fees and school income.

### 4.1.2.2 The composition of school expenditure

Table 9 is a summary of school expenditure at the sample public schools in 1997 and 1998 (see Appendix 4 for the data for other years). The differences in expenditure between sample schools and between ex-departments are astonishing. However, a direct comparison of expenditure is less significant, because the number of pupils and conditions of the school varies from school to school. Nevertheless, it explains the characteristics of each school and reveals how money is spent. Although the pattern of school expenditure varies from school to school, there is a similar trend among the schools in the same ex-department.

**Table 9: A summary of annual school expenditure at sample public schools in Durban**

ex-Dep.	School expenditure (Rand), 1997					School expenditure (Rand), 1998- $\alpha$				
	Learning /teaching materials - $\beta$	Sport & educational equipment	Remuneration of non-G teachers - $\gamma$	Others- $\delta$	Annual total expenditure	Learning /teaching materials	Sport & educational equipment	Remuneration of non-G teachers	Others	Annual total expenditure
KDEC3	28,386	3,649	0	9,362	41,397	37,072	11,065	0	1,865	50,002
KDEC4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	9,200	4,500	0	1,800	15,500
HOA1	40,890	28,571	593,562	329,640	992,663	40,000	35,000	910,000	371,250	1,356,250
HOA2	162,000	35,000	250,000	30,000	477,000	195,000	40,000	300,000	50,000	585,000
HOA3	121,024	29,392	94,830	78,999	324,245	180,750	27,000	160,000	145,500	513,250
HOD1	600	0	0	8,000	8,600	800	0	0	9,200	10,000
HOD3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3,500	0	9,174	6,823	19,497
HOD5	5,000	0	0	4,000	9,000	6,000	0	0	9,400	15,400
HOD6	4,703	0	0	1,400	6,103	8,934	1,000	0	24,473	34,407
HOD9	4,067	47,060	0	139,482	190,609	18,996	11,966	5,300	155,172	191,434
HOD10	40,000	24,000	0	10,000	74,000	52,500	17,000	36,000	46,000	151,500

Notes: Accurate data of other schools are not available. See Appendix 4 for the data for other years.

$\alpha$ , 1998: The data of this column are projected figures.

$\beta$ , Learning/teaching materials: This category includes expenditure for textbooks, library books, stationery, and other learning or teaching materials.

$\gamma$ , non-G teachers: This means non-government teachers – i.e. privately hired teachers.

$\delta$ , Others: This category includes expenditure for maintenance, facility improvement, telephone fees, salary for caretakers, etc.

At the ex-KDEC schools, the largest part of expenditure is that for learning and teaching materials. On the other hand, at the ex-HOA schools, the remuneration for privately hired teachers forms the largest part of school expenditure which accounts for 29% to 67% of the total school expenditure (see Appendix 4). In the case of ex-HOD schools, their expenditure patterns

vary from school to school. This is probably due to the fact that the State provided basic expenditure at the former HOD schools and therefore, they could spend school revenue according to the needs of individual schools. For instance, at HOD-1 school, the largest part of the expenditure is the salary for caretakers, which is included at the column 'Others'. At HOD-5 school, textbooks, library books, stationery, sport and educational equipment are provided by the State and their main expenditures are for other learning and teaching materials and for the maintenance of the school.

In addition, there is a tendency to increase the number of privately hired teachers in public schools as a whole. The next subsection looks into the current situation and the effects of hiring additional teachers at public schools.

#### 4.1.2.3 Current situation of hiring additional teachers at public schools

Table 10 shows the number of state teachers and privately hired teachers at the sample public schools in Durban in the last five years.

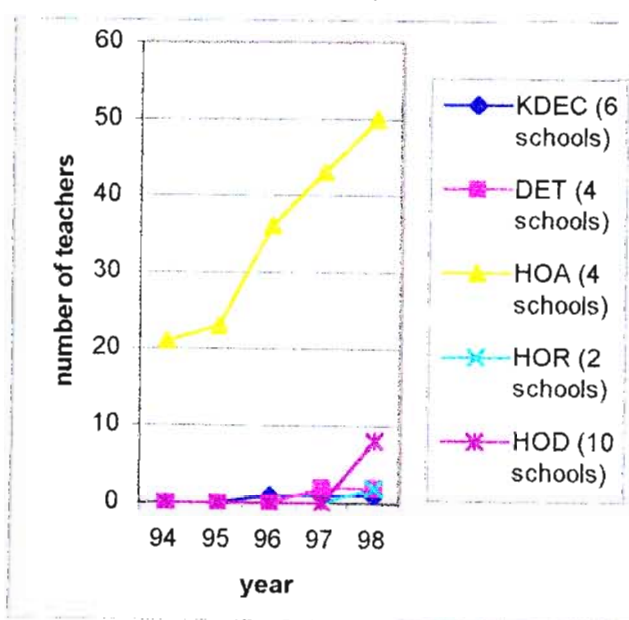
**Table 10: Number of state teachers and privately hired teachers at sample public schools in Durban**

ex-Dep.	# of state teachers					# of privately hired teachers				
	94	95	96	97	98	94	95	96	97	98
KDEC-1	15	15	16	16	17	0	0	0	0	0
KDEC-2	26	26	25	25	25	0	0	0	0	0
KDEC-3	20	21	19	19	20	0	0	0	0	0
KDEC-4	25	25	25	25	25	0	0	0	0	0
KDEC-5	21	24	24	25	25	0	0	1	1	1
KDEC-6	28	32	36	41	41	0	0	0	0	0
DET-1	20	20	20	20	20	0	0	0	0	0
DET-2	24	24	24	20	19	0	0	0	0	0
DET-3	19	19	20	19	19	0	0	0	2	2
DET-4	15	16	16	16	17	0	0	0	0	0
HOA-1	15	15	15	14	10	7	8	9	11	15
HOA-2	15	16	16	17	15	2	3	4	4	7
HOA-3	26	26	22	20	17	2	2	3	3	3
HOA-4	50	50	40	35	35	10	10	20	25	25
HOR-1	35	37	37	37	34	0	0	0	0	0
HOR-2	27	27	27	24	20	0	0	0	0	2
HOD-1	6	6	6	5	4	0	0	0	0	0
HOD-2	26	28	34	34	32	0	0	0	0	0
HOD-3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	24	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2
HOD-4	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	29	21	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0	2
HOD-5	9	17	14	14	12	0	0	0	0	0
HOD-6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	23	22	0	0	0	0	0
HOD-7	26	25	23	22	18	0	0	0	0	1
HOD-8	n.a.	n.a.	26	26	25	n.a.	n.a.	0	0	1
HOD-9	22	24	22	23	18	0	0	0	0	1
HOD-10	53	51	47	47	42	0	0	0	0	1

As seen in the table and Figure 4 below, most teachers privately hired are found at the former HOA schools. There are still many schools which do not have any privately hired teachers. However, some schools of other ex-departments have begun to hire additional teachers as well. The reason for large numbers of additional teachers at the ex-HOA schools can be explained as follows: at the former HOA schools, the number of state teachers have been reduced to a large extent in recent years. This is in part due to the government's policy of equalization in pupil/teacher ratios across the ex-departments combined with teacher retrenchments. As a result, the former HOA schools needed to hire more private teachers in order to maintain their educational standards. This was made possible by allocating a large part of school fees to the remuneration of those teachers. At the same time, however, it caused an increase in school fees every year.

Even at other ex-departments' schools, the demand for additional teachers is probably similar to the ex-HOA schools. However, school funds of other ex-departments' schools are very low compared with those of ex-HOA schools (see Appendix 3). If they had more school funds available, other ex-departments' schools would probably hire additional teachers as well. Figure 4 shows the change in the total number of privately hired teachers of the sample public schools in each ex-department. As seen in the figure, although the scale of numbers differs from the former HOA schools, privately hired teachers at other ex-departments' schools are gradually increasing. Table 10 and the upward curves of Figure 4 suggest that the tendency to hire additional teachers will probably increase at schools of all ex-departments.

**Figure 4: Change in the number of privately hired teachers at sample public schools in Durban (as a total in each ex-department)**



In order to consider the effects of hiring additional teachers on educational performance, it is useful to examine the change in pupil/teacher ratios. Table 11 shows the summary of pupil/teacher ratios at the sample schools in Durban. It also provides pupil/classroom ratios as additional information. Figures for public schools are grouped into the ex-departments for comparison (see Appendix 5 for the data of each sample school; see Appendix 6 for the number of classrooms and enrolment at each school).

**Table 11: Pupil/Teacher ratios (of state teachers), Pupil/Teacher ratios (including privately hired teachers) and Pupil/Classroom ratios at sample schools in Durban**

ex-Department	P/T ratios of state teachers & P/T ratios including privately hired teachers (figures in brackets)					Pupil/Classroom ratios				
	94	95	96	97	98	94	95	96	97	98
<b>Primary schools</b>										
<b>KDEC Average (of 5 primary schools)</b>	38.0	37.4	37.2 (36.8)	37.3 (37.0)	36.1 (35.8)	64.3	65.5	65.4	65.9	65.1
<b>DET Average (of 4 primary schools)</b>	39.9	39.8	37.5 (36.8)	36.9 (35.9)	35.4 (34.5)	58.7	60.9	60.3	53.8	47.1
<b>HOA Average (of 3 primary schools)</b>	27.4 (23.1)	27.9 (22.5)	30.6 (23.6)	32.0 (23.8)	42.2 (26.8)	29.1	29.2	30.0	26.3	27.8
<b>HOR Average (of 2 primary schools)</b>	31.8	30.9	32.5	34.8	41.6 (39.8)	38.5	38.7	40.8	40.9	43.0
<b>HOD Average (of 9 primary schools)</b>	24.1	24.5	27.3	28.1	31.4 (30.3)	25.3	27.7	28.8	30.6 - $\alpha$	30.6 - $\alpha$
<b>Secondary Schools</b>										
<b>KDEC-6 school (Grade 6-12)</b>	32.0	31.2	35.7	28.5	22.6	44.8	47.5	61.2	55.6	44.1
<b>HOA-4 school (Grade 8-12)</b>	22.0 (18.3)	22.0 (18.3)	27.5 (18.3)	34.3 (20.0)	34.3 (20.0)	24.4	24.4	24.4	26.7	26.7
<b>HOD-10 (Grade 6-12)</b>	24.4	25.1	27.9	26.2	29.2 (28.5)	34.1	33.7	36.4	34.2	34.0
<b>An independent school (Grade 1-12)</b>	12.7	12.9	13.1	12.9	12.9	17.2	17.7	18.4	18.4	18.4

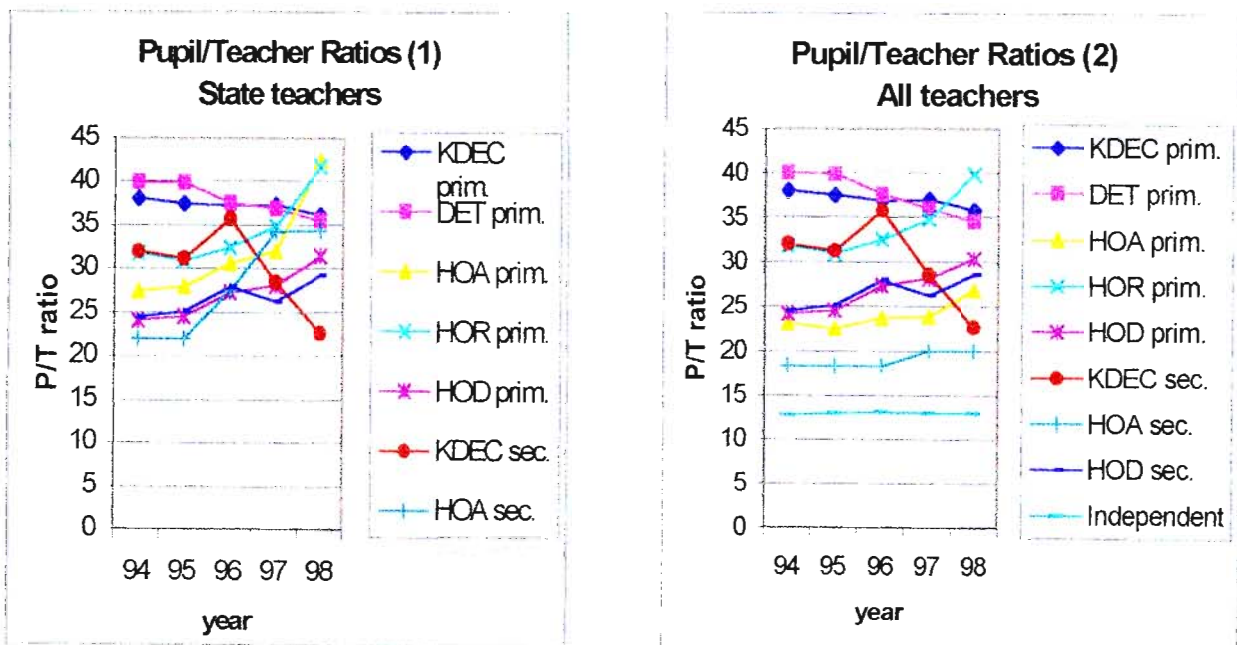
Note:  $\alpha$ : These figures are pupil/classroom ratios including specialist rooms.

Regarding state teachers, while pupil/teacher ratios at the former KDEC and DET schools have been continuously reduced, those at the former HOA, HOR and HOD schools have increased instead. This is considered to be the result of the government's policy to narrow the gaps between ex-departments. By the average of sample primary schools, whereas pupil/teacher ratios at the former KDEC and DET schools are still higher than those at the former HOD schools in 1998, pupil/teacher ratios at the former HOA and HOR schools have exceeded those at the former KDEC and DET schools. In the case of secondary schools, pupil/teacher ratios at the former HOA and HOD schools have exceeded the former KDEC school as well.

Figure 5 shows the change in pupil/teacher ratios at the sample schools based on Table 11. Graph (1) (at left) describes the change in pupil/teacher ratios regarding teachers hired by the state and

Graph (2) (at right) describes the change in pupil/teacher ratios regarding all teachers including privately hired teachers. Regarding state teachers, it is evident that the differences in pupil/teacher ratios between ex-departments have been reduced during the last five years. Graph (1) indicates that the reduction in the number of state-teachers probably most affected the former HOA schools, where the increasing rates of pupil/teacher ratios are the highest among sample groups. However, Graph (2) reveals that as a result of the practice of hiring private teachers, the former HOA schools, both primary and secondary, maintain the lowest pupil/teacher ratios among the public schools. Therefore, inequalities in actual pupil/teacher ratios between ex-departments are still evident. In addition, the former HOA, HOD and HOR schools are experiencing an increase in pupil/teacher ratios as a result of recent educational transformation. Therefore, it is also understandable that there is a demand to reduce pupil/teacher ratios at most schools, irrespective of ex-departments.

**Figure 5: Change in pupil/teacher ratio at sample schools in Durban**  
 ((1): excluding privately hired teachers; (2): including privately hired teachers)



Note: KDEC prim., DET prim., HOA prim., HOR prim., HOD prim. indicate averages of primary schools in each category. KDEC-sec., HOA-sec., HOD-sec. are secondary schools. Independent is an independent school.

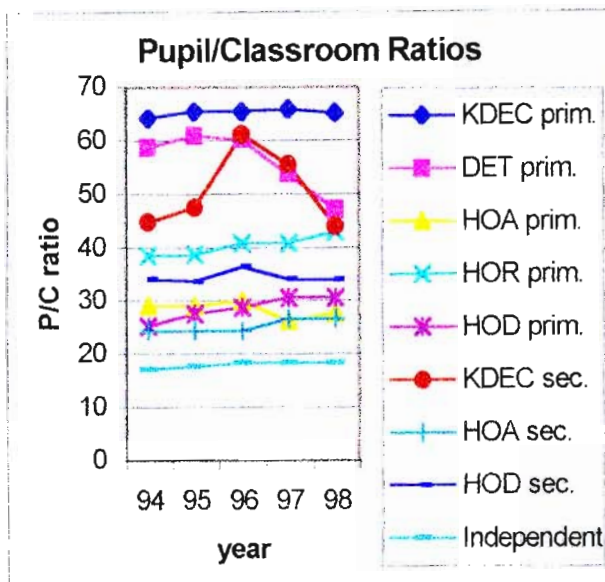
In addition, it should be noted that pupil/teacher ratios vary among ex-HOA schools as well (see Appendix 5). In 1998, while HOA-1 school maintains a pupil/teacher ratio of 20.4:1, hiring 15 private teachers (60% of all teachers at the school), HOA-3 school's ratio remains 33.8:1, hiring 3 private teachers (15% of all teachers). The pupil/teacher ratio of HOA-3 school is comparable to the average ratios of other ex-departments and even higher than the average of ex-HOD



schools. Therefore, not all ex-HOA schools are necessarily in a financially advantaged position. Inequalities in education standards are present among the formerly advantaged schools as well.

In this subsection, I have compared pupil/teacher ratios. However, it should be remembered that *pupil classroom* ratios have important implications for educational efficiency and effectiveness. Figure 6 shows the change in pupil/classroom ratios at the sample schools in Durban based on Table 11. Graphs for KDEC prim., DET prim., HOA prim., HOR prim. and HOD prim. are averages of the sample schools in each category.

**Figure 6: Change in pupil/classroom ratios at sample schools in Durban**



Note: KDEC prim., DET prim., HOA prim., HOR prim., HOD prim. indicate averages of primary schools in each category. KDEC sec., HOA sec., HOD sec. are secondary schools. Independent is an independent school.

This figure reveals that whereas the differences in pupil/state-teacher ratios between ex-departments have been reduced during the recent transformation, differences in pupil/classroom ratios between ex-departments have not yet changed substantially, except for the ex-DET primary schools and the ex-KDEC secondary school. The pupil/classroom ratios at the former KDEC primary schools still count about 65:1, more than double of those at the former HOA and HOD primary schools. The exceptional decline in pupil/classroom ratios at the ex-DET primary schools and the ex-KDEC secondary school does not necessarily mean an improvement in their educational environment. It is the result of a decrease in the enrolment of learners. It may have additional implications as discussed in Section 4.2 below.

The improvement of physical facilities such as land acquisition and the building of new classrooms requires large amounts of funds. There are few cases of the allocation of school funds

for these purposes at the sample schools. Among the 27 respondents to the questionnaire, only six schools (including an independent school) reported that they had allocated their school funds for either the acquisition of new lands or the building of new facilities in the past five years. The charging of school fees might have contributed to the building of new classrooms at these schools. However, for most schools, especially those with limited school funds such as the former KDEC schools, the construction of new classrooms cannot depend on the charging of school fees.

#### 4.1.2.4 Differences in per capita school income

Education expenditure is generally associated with educational provision and activities as mentioned in Subsection 4.1.1. Therefore, per capita (i.e. per learner) expenditure is often used as an indicator to compare the educational quality among schools and it would be useful to analyse the sample schools as well. However, accurate figures of school expenditure are not available at many sample schools. Instead, per capita school income is used here to compare educational quality among the sample schools, assuming that the expenditure of a school is roughly proportional to its income. Although the data used here does not refer to actual expenditures, per capita school income is still significant, because it indicates the level of resources available to operate the school. Comparisons of annual school fees per learner cannot be used for this purpose, because there are learners who do not pay school fees and there are other sources of school income. Table 12 shows the summary of per capita school income at the sample public schools in Durban and Figure 8 shows the change over the last five years based on the table. Data for the ex-DET and ex-HOR schools is not available. In the calculation, total annual school income does not include the remuneration of personnel paid by the State and the funds remaining from previous years (see Appendix 7 for the data of each sample school).

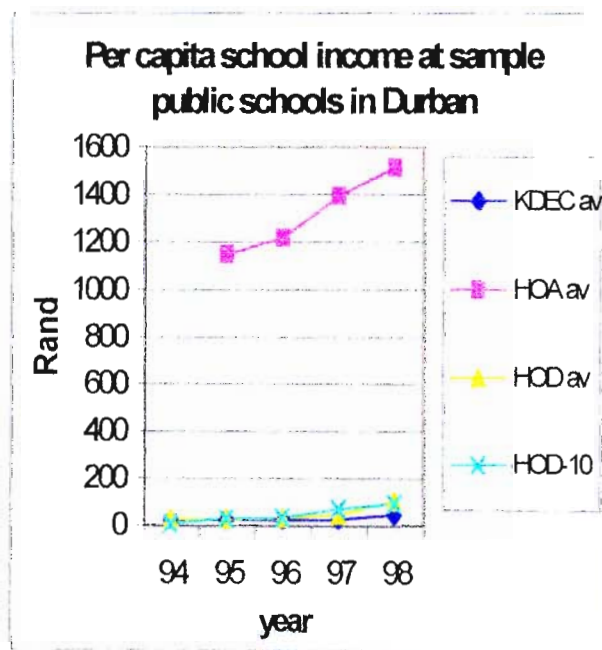
**Table 12: Per capita annual school income (annual school income per learner) at sample public schools in Durban**

ex-Dep.	Per capita annual school income (Rand)				
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998- $\alpha$
<b>Primary school</b>					
<b>Ex-KDEC average (4 schools)</b>	23.35	24.15	24.27	29.70	48.15
<b>Ex-HOA average (3 schools)</b>	n.a.	1149.62	1218.74	1396.89	1514.44
<b>Ex-HOD average (6 schools)</b>	29.85	27.24	30.67	47.43	105.50
<b>Secondary school</b>					
<b>HOD-10</b>	8.49	33.59	36.26	73.17	91.43

Note:  $\alpha$  1998: Figures of this column are based on projected data.

In 1997, per capita school income at the ex-KDEC and ex-HOD primary schools is only 2.1% and 3.4% of the ex-HOA primary schools on average respectively. In 1998, figures for per capita school income in all categories increased. The percentage of the ex-KDEC and ex-HOD primary schools against the ex-HOA primary schools increased from 2.1% to 3.2% and from 3.4% to 7.0% respectively. However, in the absolute figure, the differences between those two ex-departments' schools and the ex-HOA schools increased from R1,367 to R1,466 and from R1,349 to R1,409 respectively. Per capita school income of the ex-KDEC and ex-HOD schools is particularly low compared to that of the ex-HOA schools. Such inequalities are envisaged from the differences in school fees per learner as discussed in Subsection 4.1.1. Furthermore, Figure 7 reveals that differences in per capita school income between the ex-HOA schools and other ex-departments' schools are widening every year and that differences between other ex-departments' schools are, though still considerable, negligible compared to the ex-HOA schools.

**Figure 7: Change in per capita school income at sample public schools in Durban**



Note: KDEC av, DET av, HOA av, HOR av, HOD av indicate averages of primary schools in each category. HOD-10 is a secondary school.

### 4.1.3 Implications of school fees for educational performance

Given the fact that school fees form a large part of school income at most schools, it is obvious that school fees have been playing an important role in allowing certain schools to hire additional teachers, thus reducing the pupil/teacher ratios at those schools. In addition, in most schools,

operation costs largely rely on school income consisting largely of school fees due to the reduction in state subsidies. The data from the sample schools in Durban suggest that under the current circumstances, it is probably difficult to maintain educational standards at public schools without charging school fees. This is true for all the ex-departments' schools but in different ways. For instance, at the former HOA schools, school fees play an important role in the hiring of additional teachers as well as in the operation of daily educational activities. At the former KDEC or DET schools, school fees mainly contribute to school operations. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for all schools to increase the amount of school fees, irrespective of ex-departments. In addition, there is a tendency to increase the number of privately hired teachers across the former departments.

Regarding pupil/state-teacher ratios, inequalities between ex-departments have narrowed since the implementation of the Schools Act, compared with the past (Figure 5(1)). One might argue that this is an achievement of the new system in which the State allocated more resources to the formerly disadvantaged schools, thus reducing the gaps between the advantaged and the disadvantaged, by allowing the public schools to charge school fees. Inequalities are not widening but nor have they narrowed enough in reality (Figure 5(2)). The formerly advantaged schools are trying to maintain low pupil/teacher ratios, by hiring additional teachers. However, many schools other than the former HOA schools still do not have enough resources to hire additional teachers. In addition, regarding pupil/classroom ratios, there has been no substantial improvement in reducing the inequalities.

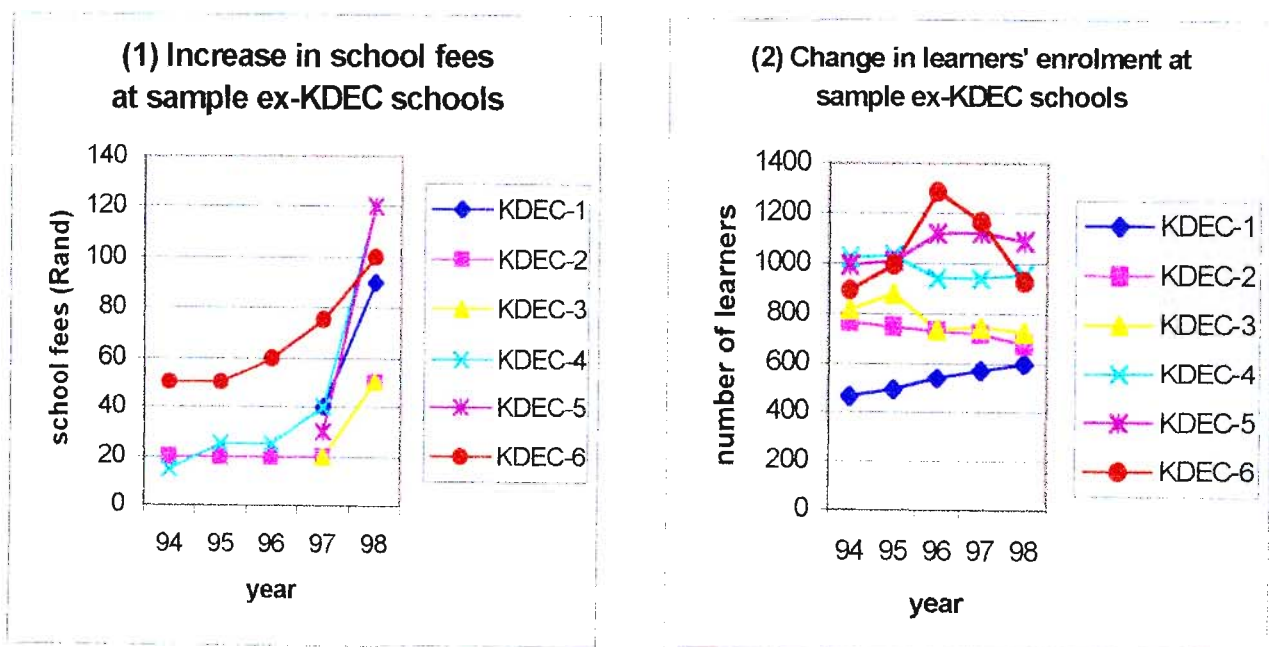
As far as the operation costs at schools are concerned, while the charging of school fees helps the schools maintain their educational standards, there are considerable differences in school fees as well as per capita school income between the former HOA schools and other public schools. Inequalities in per capita school income have increased during the past five years. In the new system in terms of the Act, public schools can charge school fees at their own discretion and there are no constraints regarding the amount of fees as long as it is approved by the majority of the parents. Since school fees are the main source of school income, it is evident that the new system has widened the inequalities in operation costs between public schools.

## 4.2 The Implications of School Fees for the Learners' Enrolment at Public Schools - Regarding Hypothesis 2

### 4.2.1 The impact of the increase in school fees on learners' enrolment

Figure 8 (1) shows the increase in school fees at sample ex-KDEC schools over the last five years and Figure 8 (2) shows the change in learners' enrolment at those schools over the same period (see Appendix 8 for details of data). Figure 8 (2) indicates that at some schools, the number of learners decreased in recent years. For example, at KDEC-6 school, the number of learners decreased over the last three years from 1,286 in 1996 to 1,167 in 1997 and 1,090 in 1998. Coincidentally, KDEC-6 school saw a sharp increase in school fees over the same period. Similar phenomena took place at KDEC-2, KDEC-3 and KDEC-5 schools. As they increased their school fees, especially from 1997 to 1998, they experienced a reduction in enrolment. At KDEC-2, KDEC-3 and KDEC-5 schools, the number of learners decreased from 719 to 677, from 745 to 728, and from 1,126 to 1,090, respectively. This is probably not a result of the reduction in the population of their communities. Rather it can be considered as a result of either the dropping out or the moving of learners from the schools, and either the refusal of admission by the school or learners' reluctance to enrol at the schools.

**Figure 8: Increase in school fees and change in enrolment at sample ex-KDEC schools**



For example, there were 575 pupils in total in Grades 1 to 3 at KDEC-2 school in 1997 (Table 13). In 1998, 236 pupils including 79 repeaters enrolled in Grade 1. It means that only 157 (236-

79) pupils were newly enrolled in Grade 1. If 575 pupils in Grades 1 to 3 in the previous year all remained at the school in 1998, whether they proceeded or repeated, the total enrolment in Grades 1 to 4 in 1998 would be 734 (575+157+2\*) (note-2\*: two repeaters in Grade 4 in 1998 should be added because they are not included in the pupils in Grades 1 to 3 in 1997). However, the actual total enrolment in 1998 is 677. It suggests that at least 57 (734-677) pupils either dropped out from the school or moved to other schools. The bottom row of Table 13 provides estimated numbers of learners who either dropped out or moved from the school in each year, using the same calculation mentioned above. These figures do not include the possible dropout/movement from Grade 4, because figures for Grade 5 are not available (KDEC-2 is a junior primary school). In addition, there might have been some pupils who moved into this area and enrolled at the school. If there were such newcomers, it would increase the figures of dropout or movement in the table.

**Table 13: Number of learners' enrolment, repeaters, annual school fees per learner and the estimated number of dropout/movement at KDEC-2 school**

Grade		1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Grade 1	Enrolment- $\alpha$	250	260	248	277	236
	Repeater- $\beta$	66	40	55	82	79
Grade 2	Enrolment	180	120	158	153	183
	Repeater	22	20	23	20	16
Grade 3	Enrolment	175	180	157	145	121
	Repeater	16	9	15	21	17
Grade 4	Enrolment	160	190	166	144	137
	Repeater	4	5	3	2	2
Total enrolment		765	750	729	719	677
Annual school fees per learner		R 20	R 20	R 20	R 20	R 50
Estimated dropout/movement		n.a.	80	27	41	57

Note:  $\alpha$ , Enrolment: Total enrolment number in the year including repeating pupils.

$\beta$ , Repeater: Total number of the pupils who repeat(ed) that grade in the year.

As seen in the table, dropout or movement is not uncommon in the school. Therefore, an increase in the number of dropout/movement is not necessarily a direct result of the increase in school fees. However, an increase in school fees could be considered as one of the reasons for dropout or movement from the school. In addition, there may be learners who have not enrolled in Grade 1 due to their inability to pay school fees, even though they are eligible in terms of their age. Those learners might be keeping out of school or have moved to other schools.

Figure 9 (1) shows the increase in school fees at sample ex-DET schools over the last five years and Figure 9 (2) shows the change in learners' enrolment at those schools over the same period.

Similar phenomena to the ex-KDEC schools are observed. Three of the four DET sample schools, namely DET-1, DET-2 and DET-3 schools, show a decrease in the number of learners as their school fees increased during the last few years.

**Figure 9: Increase in school fees and change in enrolment at sample ex-DET schools**

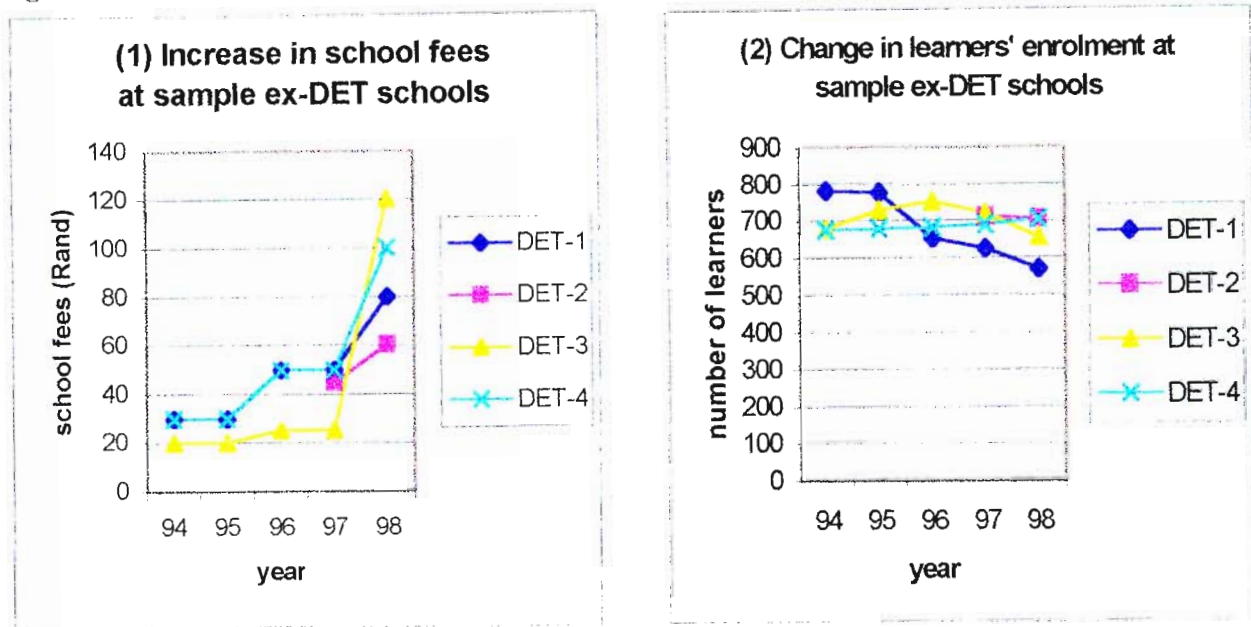


Table 14 shows the number of learners' enrolment, repeaters, annual school fees and the estimated number of dropout or movement at DET-3 school, using the same method of Table 13.

**Table 14: Number of learners' enrolment, repeaters, annual school fees per learner and the estimated number of dropout/movement at DET-3 school**

Grade		1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Grade 1	Enrolment- $\alpha$	222	230	260	287	212
	Repeater- $\beta$	30	21	18	2	2
Grade 2	Enrolment	140	155	160	172	177
	Repeater	22	16	10	4	4
Grade 3	Enrolment	136	152	156	120	144
	Repeater	10	9	6	4	6
Grade 4	Enrolment	180	191	176	140	122
	Repeater	9	6	4	2	1
Total enrollment		678	728	752	719	655
Annual school fees per learner		R 20	R 20	R 25	R 25	R 120
Estimated dropout/movement		n.a.	-15- $\chi$	31	144	134

Note:  $\alpha$  Enrolment: Total enrolment number in the year including repeating pupils.

$\beta$  Repeater: Total number of the pupils who repeat(ed) that grade in the year.

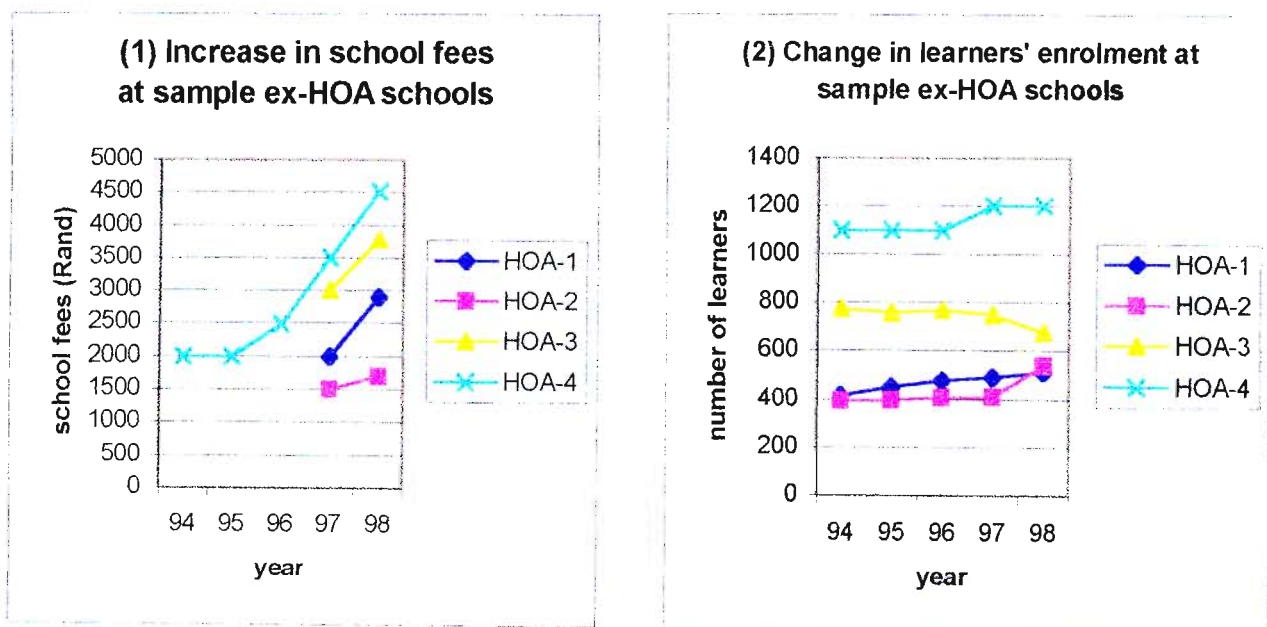
$\chi$  -15: This means the number of enrolment of repeaters exceeded the dropout/movement learners.

DET-3 school increased its school fees sharply in 1998 from R 25 to R 120. According to its reply to the questionnaire, there were no learners who were exempted from school fees. It means

that if there had been learners who could not afford school fees, they would not have enrolled. Whereas enrolment increased until 1996, it began to decrease from 1997 and it decreased more in 1998. In 1997 and 1998, the estimated number of dropout or movement shows very high figures. In addition, while the number of enrolments at Grade 1 continued to increase until 1997, it suddenly decreased in 1998 by 72. It suggests that the sharp increase in school fees in 1998 might have discouraged, to some extent, learners to enrol at the school in 1998.

Regarding the former HOA schools, only one of four sample schools (HOA-3) shows a similar case (Figure 10). At HOA-3 school, the learners' enrolment decreased from 746 in 1997 to 675 in 1998. This is an unusual decrease compared to the figures for other years. It can be considered to some extent as a result of the sharp increase in school fees from R 3,000 in 1997 to R 3,774 in 1998. However, at other ex-HOA schools, despite their increase in school fees, the number of learners continued to increase. This phenomenon can be explained as a result of the high demand by parents for educational standards.

**Figure 10: Increase in school fees and change in enrolment at sample ex-HOA schools**



Regarding the former HOD schools, six of ten sample schools (HOD-5, -6, -7, -8, -9 and -10 schools) experienced a decrease in learners' enrolment from 1997 to 1998 (Table 15, Figure 11 (2)). All these schools increased their school fees sharply from 1997 to 1998 (Table 15, Figure 11 (1)). Especially, HOD-6 and HOD-9 schools show the largest decrease in enrolment and the largest increase in school fees in 1998. At HOD-6 school, the number of learners decreased from 658 in 1997 to 583 in 1998, while its school fees increased from R 50 in 1997 to R 350 in 1998.

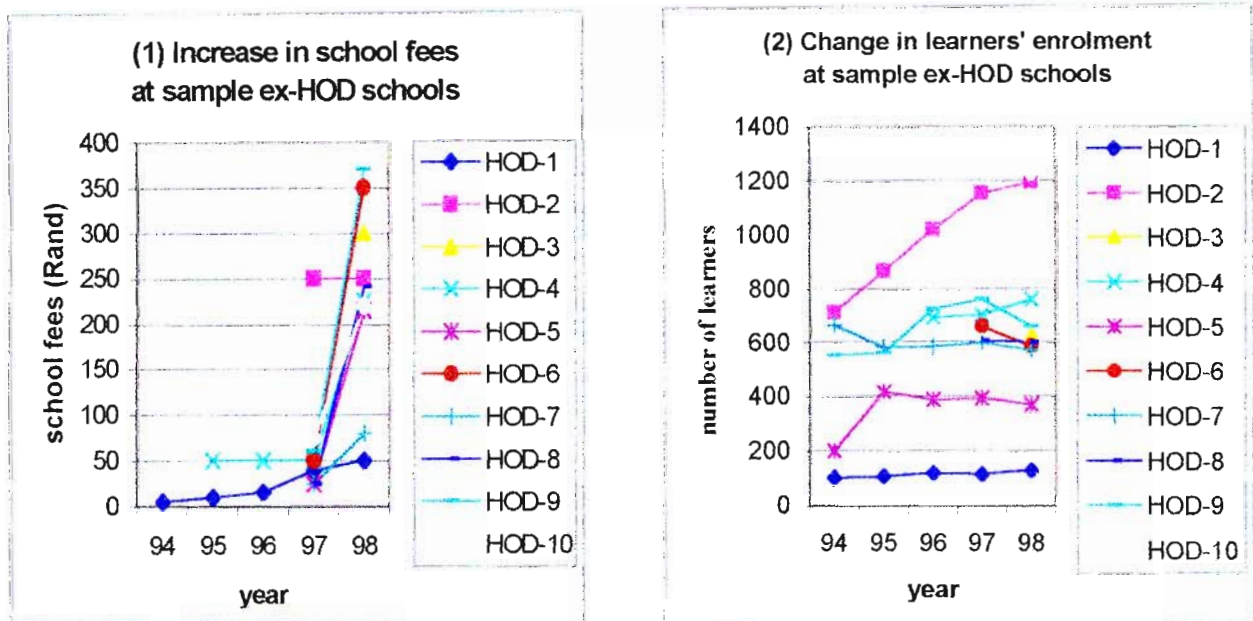


At HOD-9 school, the number of learners decreased from 756 in 1997 to 658 in 1998, while its school fees increased from R 60 in 1997 to R 370 in 1998.

**Table 15: School fees and the number of learners' enrolment at sample ex-HOD schools**

ex-Dep.	Annual school fees (Rand)						Number of total enrolment					
	94	95	96	97	98	Increase from 97 to 98	94	95	96	97	98	Change from 97 to 98
HOD-1	5	10	15	40	50	R 10	99	104	116	112	126	+14
HOD-2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	250	250	R 0	710	861	1015	1151	1190	+39
HOD-3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	300	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	625	n.a.
HOD-4	n.a.	50	50	50	225	R 175	n.a.	n.a.	691	699	758	+59
HOD-5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	25	215	R 190	197	412	385	392	365	- 27
HOD-6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	50	350	R 300	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	658	583	- 75
HOD-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	25	80	R 55	662	582	584	597	570	- 27
HOD-8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	25	240	R 215	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	604	595	- 9
HOD-9	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	60	370	R 310	549	560	723	756	658	- 98
HOD-10	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	75	220	R 145	1295	1280	1310	1230	1225	- 5

**Figure 11: Increase in school fees and change in enrolment at sample ex-HOD schools**



Regarding ex-HOR schools, both HOR-1 and HOR-2 schools show a moderate increase in school fees and did not experience a decrease in enrolment over the last five years (Appendix 8).

Through the analyses above, it is evident that an increase in school fees discourages learners' enrolment to some extent. Although the charging of school fees does not necessarily lead to a decrease in the enrolment of learners, evidence suggests that a decrease in enrolments is associated with a sharp increase in school fees.

#### 4.2.2 The current situation of school fees exemption at sample schools in Durban

As analysed in the previous subsection, there is the possibility that some learners did not or could not enrol at their schools because of the increase in school fees. If a learner cannot afford his/her school fees, such a learner cannot enrol at a school unless the school applies school fees exemption to him/her. If such a learner could not enrol at his/her school, he/she would have to either stay out of school or look for an affordable school. Table 16 shows the number of learners exempted from school fees and the percentage of exemption in 1997 and 1998 at several sample public schools in Durban (see Appendix 9 for details of all sample public schools).

**Table 16: School fees exemption at sample public schools in Durban in 1997 and 1998**

re #	ex-Dep.	Annual school fees and school fees exemption					
		1997			1998		
Primary Schools		fees (R)	# of learners	% of exemption	fees (R)	# of learners	% of exemption
1	KDEC-1	40	approx 40%	n.a.	90	approx 40%	100%
5	KDEC-5	30	approx 30%	n.a.	120	approx 25%	n.a.
11	HOA-1	2000	12 (2.5%)	10-86%	2900	20 (3.9%)	10-86%
13	HOA-3	3000	60 (8.0%)	7.46%	3774	70 (10.4%)	6.75%
16	HOR-2	250	84 (11.6%)	100%	350	53 (6.6%)	100%
						54 (6.8%)	50%
18	HOD-2	250	n.a.		250	2 (0.17%)	90%
						3 (0.25%)	80%
						4 (0.34%)	70%
						5 (0.42%)	60%
22	HOD-6	50	0		350	20 (3.4%)	n.a.
23	HOD-7	25	n.a.		80	90 (15.8%)	n.a.
24	HOD-8	25	0		240	50 (8.4%)	n.a.
<b>Secondary School</b>							
26	HOD-10	75	20 (1.6%)	n.a.	220	approx 10%	n.a.

Note: The numbers of learners exempted from school fees at other schools are either nil or not available.

Out of 26 sample schools, 10 schools reported that they had applied school fees exemption in the last two years. According to their response, the KDEC-1 and KDEC-5 schools have many learners who were exempted from school fees in the last two years, ranging from approximately 25% to 40% of learners. KDEC-2, KDEC-3 and KDEC-6 schools which experienced a decrease in enrolment from 1997 to 1998 did not apply any exemption to their learners. As an exception, some learners are effectively exempted at KDEC-2 school, because they attend school without

payment, although no learner is exempted from school fees. Only one of 6 ex-KDEC schools (KDEC-5) has adopted criteria of exemption.

At ex-DET schools, there were no reports regarding school fees exemption and its criteria. As far as the sample schools are concerned, ex-DET schools seem to have made no attempt to exempt their learners from school fees. At three out of four sample schools, learners' enrolment decreased from 1997 to 1998.

Out of four ex-HOA sample schools, two schools have granted partial exemption to some learners. At HOA-1 school, 12 learners (2.5% of all learners) were partially exempted in 1997 and 20 learners (3.9% of all learners) in 1998. The scale of exemption ranges from 10% to 86 %. At HOA-3 school, 60 learners (8.0% of all learners) were partially exempted in 1997 and 70 learners (10.4% of all learners) in 1998. The scale of exemption is 7.46% and 6.75% respectively. Despite this, HOA-3 school experienced a large decrease in enrolment from 746 in 1997 to 675 in 1998. The low scale of exemption could be considered to be a reason for this. Even though school fees exemption was applied, learners would still have to pay R 2,776 in 1997 and R 3,519 in 1998 respectively. According to their responses, three schools adopted criteria of exemption.

Out of 10 sample ex-HOD schools, 5 schools applied school fees exemption to their learners. The number of learners exempted ranged from 1.2% to 15.8% of the total learners. The scale of exemption is available only at HOD-2 school. Out of six schools which experienced a decrease in enrolment from 1997 to 1998, four schools reported that they had applied exemption to learners. However, HOD-9 school, which saw the largest decrease in enrolment among the sample HOD schools, has not applied any exemption to learners. According to their responses, six schools adopted criteria of exemption.

Both of the ex-HOR sample schools reported that they have adopted criteria of exemption. In 1997, HOR-2 school applied 100% exemption to 84 learners (11.6% of all learners). In 1998, it applied 100% exemption to 53 learners and 50% exemption to 54 learners (13.4% of all learners as a total). Among the responses from 26 sample schools, HOR-2 school has the most advanced criteria of school fees exemption (see Appendix 9).

In summary, the ex-HOA sample schools have fewer cases of school fees exemption than other ex-departments' schools except for the ex-DET schools. Their scales of exemption are also lower than other ex-departments. The formerly disadvantaged schools such as the ex-KDEC and ex-HOR schools apply school fees exemption to more learners than other schools do. The fact that 14 of 26 sample public schools (54%) have not adopted criteria of exemption needs special attention because the Act allows a public school to charge fees only when its requirements are met as mentioned in Subsection 2.6.1. The requirements include the provision of equitable criteria and procedures for the exemption (President's Office, 1996, sec 39(2)(b)). Strictly speaking, therefore, some schools are charging fees illegally. The Department of Education should make sure that any public school which charges fees has provided for equitable criteria and procedures for exemption.

### **4.2.3 Implications of school fees for the enrolment of learners**

As mentioned in Subsection 4.2.1, there is evidence that a sharp increase in school fees led to a decrease in learners' enrolment at several sample schools. If some learners did not or could not enrol at the school, they would have to keep out of school or move to another school. In addition, the data shows that while some sample schools experienced a decrease in enrolment, the others saw an increase in enrolment in recent years. It suggests that there may be movement among learners in search of suitable schools. The amount of school fees is not necessarily the main reason for choosing the school. Other components such as educational standards and transport may be important determinants of learners' or parents' choice of their schools. However, it is unlikely that a learner who cannot afford a low level of school fees will move to a school which charges much higher school fees, unless the school accepts such a learner by applying school fees exemption to him/her.

Regarding school fees exemption, the data from 26 public schools in Durban suggests that there are still many schools which have not adopted criteria of school fees exemption. Out of 26 sample schools, only 12 schools reported that they had adopted criteria and only 10 schools actually applied school fees exemption to some learners in 1997 and 1998. Among those schools, the former KDEC schools show the highest percentage of learners who were exempted totally or partially from school fees. While some of sample ex-KDEC and ex-HOR schools offer 100% exemption, the scale of exemption at sample ex-HOA and ex-HOD schools is only partial. It presents an important comparison. The maximum school fees exemption (100%) at KDEC-1 and

HOR-2 schools in 1998 is R 90 and R 350 respectively. On the other hand, the maximum exemption (86%) at HOA-1 school in 1998 is R 2,494. The amount of exemption at HOA-1 school is much higher than that at KDEC-1 and HOR-2 schools. However, learners who are granted 86% exemption at HOA-1 school still need to pay R 406 which is still higher than the school fees at other sample schools except for ex-HOA schools. In the case of HOA-3 school, learners who were granted a partial exemption of 6.75% in 1998, still had to pay R 3,519.

Therefore, it is unlikely that learners from poor families, who cannot afford school fees at the formerly disadvantaged schools where school fees are relatively low, will move to the formerly advantaged schools where school fees are much higher unless such schools actively accept poor learners by applying a total or nearly total exemption of school fees to them. On the other hand, there is the possibility that learners who cannot afford high school fees at the formerly advantaged schools may move to schools where they can afford the fees. In addition, there is another possibility, that learners who seek better education may move to the formerly advantaged schools if they can afford the fees at such schools.

There is evidence for the above among responses to the questionnaire from the parents. The questionnaire was collected in October 1998 from 106 parents whose learners attended one of five sample schools including one ex-HOA, two ex-HOD and two ex-HOR schools. These schools are not necessarily identical to the sample schools in the previous sections. Table 17 shows the reasons why the sample parents chose the school for their children to attend and the reasons for their moving to the school if they moved. Samples are grouped into the five schools where they are collected. Multiple answers were possible in this question.

**Table 17: Reasons of sample parents for choosing the school at 5 sample schools in Durban**

School (ex-department)	# of respondents	Reasons for attending the school (*multiple answers)									Reasons for move	
		(a) nearest to the home	(b) environment & standards are good	(c) it has good teachers	(d) fees are affordable	(e) transport is convenient	(f) his/her brother/sister attends the school	(g) other			(a) the school offers better education	(b) fees of the previous school are too expensive
							(i) his/her parent works at/near the school	(ii) to learn English	(iii) nearest school is not within walkable distance			
<b>HOA-a</b>	14	3	13	7	3	3	3		1	1		
<b>HOD-a</b>	18	18	13	13	15	11	5	1			2	
<b>HOD-b</b>	15	13	7	9	3	3	1			1	2	
<b>HOR-a</b>	41	38	9	12	4	4	12		2			
<b>HOR-b</b>	18	13	13	10	9	3	5	1		2	1	
<b>Total</b>	106	72	42	41	25	21	21	2	2	1	4	5

As seen in the table, the most frequently answered reason for attending is that the school is the nearest to the home. However, there are varieties among the ex-departments. The most frequent answer from the parents at HOA-a school is the educational environment and standards at the school. On the other hand, the affordability of school fees is an important reason for the parents at some schools such as HOD-a and HOR-b schools.

Four of 106 sample parents answered that their children moved to the current schools because the school offered a better education than their previous schools. At HOA-a school which is located in central Durban, five of 14 sample learners travel to the school from as far as Phoenix, Isipingo and Queensburgh despite the fact that there are other available schools nearer to their homes. At HOR-b school which is located in Durban North, three of 18 sample learners travel to the school from African townships such as Ntuzuma, Kwamashu and Newlands East despite the fact that there are schools available in their areas. These examples suggest that there is movement amongst learners in search of better schools and their parents are willing to pay higher school fees if they can afford them.

On the other hand, five parents answered that their children moved to the current schools because school fees at their previous schools were too high. Those previous schools do not necessarily mean ex-HOA schools. However, a parent whose child moved to HOR-b school answered that the child moved from a former Model C school. Five cases out of 106 samples may seem a small proportion. However, as far as the three sample schools to which their children moved are concerned, five cases means 9.8% of respondents. These examples provide evidence for the movement of learners due to their inability to pay school fees.

Recent incidents reported in newspapers support this argument. It is reported that some school governing bodies in KwaZulu-Natal do not accept learners who are unable to afford fees (Daily News, 21 January 1999, p.2). According to the reporter, there are many parents whose children were not allowed to register at schools without the full fees for the year. At a public secondary school in Durban, only those who had the money were allowed to enrol their children and more than 100 learners were told to go home if they did not have the fees. Some parents believe that all available space at the school would soon fill up. In addition, there is a learner who has not been given a report from last year because her parents failed to pay the full amount of fees (Daily News, 21 January 1999, p.2). A nine-year old Grade 4 pupil has not attended his school at all in 1999 because his parents cannot pay school fees (The Mercury, 10 March 1999, p.3). The school

is a public primary school in Durban and adopts the 'no money, no school' attitude, according to the news reporter. The chairman of the school governing body says that they are running a business; that school fees are compulsory to ensure the running of the school; and that the school has the right to refuse the child admission (The Mercury, 10 March 1999, p.3).

According to the Schools Act, no learner may be refused admission to a public school on the grounds that his or her parents are unable to pay or have not paid the school fees. In reality, however, there are learners who are refused admission due to their parents' inability to pay school fees. The data on this matter in the whole Durban area is not available at present. The education authorities should undertake a thorough investigation regarding this matter throughout the region. Otherwise, the number of out-of-school children, who are newly produced by the new school system in addition to those who existed already, would increase further under the current education system.

### 4.3 The Current Situations of Public School Sector in Durban - Regarding Hypothesis 3

#### 4.3.1 Income levels of learners' families and affordable levels of school fees

As discussed in Section 4.1, inequalities between ex-departments have not narrowed enough and can be widening in terms of operation costs at schools. Large disparities in school fees among sample schools suggest that parents' choice of school can be restricted by the income levels of families. Table 18 shows a summary of income levels and the average school fees of 106 sample families whose data are collected from five sample schools. A summary of school fees exemption with regard to the sample families is provided at the end of the table.

**Table 18: Monthly household income and the number of learners exempted from school fees at sample families in Durban (1998)**

School (ex-department)	Monthly household income (R), 1998									Average school fees in 1998	# of learners exempted from school fees and amount of exemption (%)
	0-1000	1000-3000	3000-5000	5000-7500	7500-10000	10000-12500	12500-15000	n. a.	total		
HOA-a	2	5	1	0	1	1	1	3	14	1433	R100 (7%)-1
HOD-a	7	9	2	0	0	0	0	0	18	50	R 50 (100%)-2
HOD-b	3	9	3	0	0	0	0	0	15	200	0
HOR-a	19	15	0	0	0	0	0	7	41	141	R 50 (33%)-1 R 50 (50%)-1 R100 (50%)-1 R100 (67%)-9
HOR-b	1	7	3	3	2	0	1	1	18	297	0
<b>Total</b>	32	45	9	3	3	1	2	11	106		15

As seen in the table, the distribution of income levels of sample families broadly correspond to the average school fees which they pay. For example, HOA-a and HOR-b schools charge the highest and second highest school fees among the five sample schools and contains families who have relatively high income levels. On the other hand, at HOD-a, HOD-b and HOR-a schools which charge relatively low school fees, the majority of sample families belong to the lowest two income levels. It suggests that the decision on the amount of fees charged at any public school depends on the income levels of families in each community. It also suggests that the choice of school depends to some extent on the amount of school fees and the income levels of families.

In addition, whereas only one of 14 sample learners at HOA-a school is exempted from school fees by 7%, two of 18 sample learners at HOD-a school and 12 of 41 sample learners at HOR-a



schools are exempted from school fees by 50% to 100%. This supports the analysis in Subsection 4.2.2 which suggests that more cases of school fees exemption are found at the formerly disadvantaged schools than at the formerly advantaged schools and that the scales of exemption at the formerly advantaged schools are lower than those at the formerly disadvantaged schools.

Table 19 shows a summary of impressions of sample families with regard to school fees. While the majority of parents at three schools (HOA-a, HOD-a and HOR-b) think that school fees help the school to improve its performance, the majority at the other two schools (HOD-b and HOR-a) have either doubt or negative feelings about it. The feeling about the affordability of school fees varies from school to school. At HOA-a and HOR-b schools, which charge relatively high school fees among sample schools, 43% and 67% of respective sample parents think that their school fees are affordable. On the other hand, at HOD-b and HOR-a schools, about 80% of sample parents feel that their school fees are either expensive or not affordable despite their lower school fees compared to HOA-a and HOR-b schools. In the case of HOD-a school, which charges the lowest school fees (R 50) among the sample schools, it is understandable that 83% of sample parents feel that their school fees are affordable.

**Table 19: Impressions of sample parents in Durban on school fees (1998)**

School (ex-department)	Do you think that school fees help the school to improve its performance?					Are school fees affordable?				
	yes	not sure	no	n.a.	total	Average school fees in 1998	yes	yes but expensive	no	n.a.
<b>HOA-a</b>	10 (72%)	3 (21%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	14	R 1 433	6 (43%)	6 (43%)	2 (14%)	0 (0%)
<b>HOD-a</b>	16 (89%)	1 (5.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (5.5%)	18	R 50	15 (83%)	0 (0%)	2 (11%)	1 (6%)
<b>HOD-b</b>	6 (40%)	4 (26.7%)	4 (26.7%)	1 (6.7%)	15	R 200	3 (20%)	3 (20%)	9 (60%)	0 (0%)
<b>HOR-a</b>	16 (37%)	16 (37%)	8 (19%)	3 (7%)	43	R 141	6 (14%)	16 (37%)	20 (47%)	1 (2%)
<b>HOR-b</b>	14 (78%)	3 (17%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	18	R 297	12 (67%)	2 (11%)	4 (22%)	0 (0%)
<b>Total</b>	62 (57%)	27 (25%)	14 (13%)	5 (5%)	108 (100%)		42 (39%)	27 (25%)	37 (34%)	2 (2%)

These facts suggest that whereas the formerly disadvantaged schools cannot charge high school fees due to the low income levels of the parents, the formerly advantaged schools are still taking advantage of the high income levels of the parents to improve their educational performance.

### 4.3.2 Semi-privatisation within the public school sector

As mentioned in Section 2.4, the school governing body under the new educational system has considerable powers and responsibilities. One prominent power among them is the decision to charge school fees. One of the differences between the public sector and the private sector is the price of services or commodities. While the price of services or commodities in the public sector is usually low and equally available to all people because of its monopolistic position, the price of services or commodities of the private sector is determined by competition among private firms in the same field as well as supply and demand. The fact that the amount of school fees can be specified by individual schools implies that all public schools have a private institutional characteristic to some extent. They could compete against each other in attracting learners on the basis of their school fees and standards of education. If the demand of learners or parents for quality education is higher than the supply – i.e. the places at the advantaged schools, those schools can still raise the amount of school fees to improve their educational performance. On the other hand, schools in poor communities cannot charge high school fees because their clients – i.e. learners or parents, cannot afford them, and those schools can only offer limited standards of education which is affordable to the parents. In theory, all public schools should be funded by the State (President's Office, 1996, sec 34(1)). In the current reality, however, the financial dependency on the State varies from school to school. As analysed in Section 4.1, although all public schools are still funded by the State, the former HOA schools are becoming financially more independent than other ex-departments' schools.

The practice of the former HOA schools is increasingly similar to that of independent schools. For example, independent schools would accept learners, even though they live far away from the school, if they have proper means of travel and they can afford school fees. There is evidence for such practices. Table 20 shows the distance between the school and home of sample learners. As seen in the table, whereas most sample learners of HOD-b, HOR-a and HOR-b schools travel less than 5 km to go to school, about 70% of sample learners of HOA-a school travel more than 7 km including 3 learners who travel more than 20 km. Sample learners of HOD-a school travel relatively long distances. However, this school is located in a peri-urban area and it is still the nearest school for all learners (see Table 17). This comparison supports the assumption that the former HOA schools have a tendency to accept learners from much farther away than other groups of schools. In addition, at HOA-a school, the percentage of learners who travel to school by car is much higher than other sample schools (see Appendix 10).

**Table 20: Distance between the school and home of sample learners in Durban (1998)**

School (ex-department)	Distance between the school and home (km)- $\alpha$											
	<1	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12	13-14	15-19	20+	n.a.	Total
HOA-a	2	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	2	3	2- $\beta$	14
HOD-a	0	3	5	2	3	4	0	0	1	0	0	18
HOD-b	10	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3- $\gamma$	15
HOR-a	11	15	4	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	5- $\gamma$	41
HOR-b	8	5	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	18
<b>Total</b>	31	24	12	7	5	8	0	1	4	4	10	106

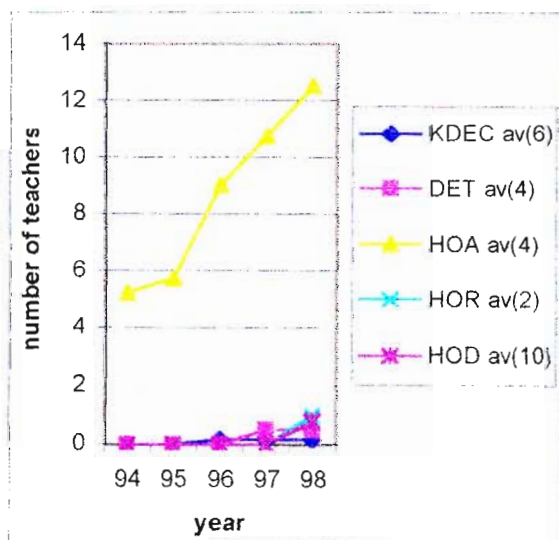
Note:  $\alpha$ : This data is based on the estimation of respondents and not necessarily accurate.

$\beta$ : Although the distance is not available, their suburbs are very far and more than 10 km from the school.

$\gamma$ : Although the distance is not available, their suburbs are close to the school.

Another important practice which gives public schools the characteristics of a private school is the hiring of additional teachers. As mentioned in Section 2.4, the amendment of Section 20 of the Act allows a public school to establish posts for educators and non-educators in addition to the posts determined by the MEC (President’s Office, 1997, p.4). If a majority of the parents’ general meeting approve, a public school can hire as many teachers as they like, as long as they are paid from the school funds. As analysed in Subsection 4.1.2.3, the differences in the number of privately hired teachers between the former HOA schools and other ex-departments’ schools are extremely large. Figure 12 shows the change in the average number of privately hired teachers in each ex-department in Durban. The number of privately hired teachers at the ex-HOA schools has been increasing continuously and exceeded 12 on average in 1998. Although other ex-departments’ schools have started to hire private teachers as well, the numbers at those ex-departments’ schools are negligible compared to that at ex-HOA schools.

**Figure 12: Change in the number of privately hired teachers at sample public schools in Durban (as an average in each ex-department)**



These facts suggest that the former HOA schools have to some degree the characteristics of independent schools. This can be called the 'semi-privatisation' of public schools. Since the high demand among parents for high educational standards is likely to continue, the degree of 'semi-privatisation' at the former HOA schools is likely to increase. All the other ex-departments' schools have the potential to act in the same way as the former HOA schools. In fact, there is a tendency for all public schools to increase school fees and the number of privately hired teachers is increasing in all ex-departments. Therefore, all public schools could move to some degree towards 'semi-privatisation'. However, in the case of the formerly disadvantaged schools, their financial restrictions and the low income levels of their learners' families do not allow them to act in the same way as the former HOA schools.

## **4.4 The Implications of the Charging of School Fees for the School Performance and Learners' Enrolment**

### **– Concluding Remarks**

As analysed so far, there is evidence for the following. Firstly, whereas the charging of school fees at public schools helps the schools to improve their educational performance, it has been functioning to maintain inequalities among public schools in some aspects, such as pupil/teacher ratios. Inequalities in school operation costs have been widening during recent years, especially between the former HOA schools and other ex-departments' schools. Secondly, the practice of charging school fees at public schools functions to exclude learners who cannot afford fees from those schools despite the provision of the Schools Act which prohibits the refusal of admission of learners because of the learners' inability to pay fees. There is a movement among learners to transfer from an expensive school to an affordable school due to their financial difficulties. Thirdly, a kind of division among public schools is taking place under the new education system. On the one hand, there is a group of public schools which have strong resource bases and can offer high standards of education, charging high schools fees. On the other hand, there is a group of financially less advantaged or disadvantaged schools which offer poor or moderate standards of education, charging lower school fees. The former group of public schools are increasingly taking on the characteristics of independent schools.

These facts contradict some of the aims of the new education system in terms of the Act. As mentioned in Section 2.1 and 2.3, the Act aims to redress past injustices in education and ensure the equal access and admission of all learners to public schools without any unfair discrimination (President's Office, 1996, sec 5). However, the access of learners to public schools can be limited due to the inability of their parents to pay school fees. It would be especially difficult for poor learners to enrol at the former HOA schools, because the former HOA schools tend to charge high school fees and their school fees exemption is often partial and limited to a few. According to the Department of Education, the reason for the decision to enable schools to charge fees is because the State must allocate funds according to the principle of equity and must ensure redress of past inequalities (DoE (e), 1997a, p.3). The underlying logic is that the State can allocate more funds to needy schools, reducing funds for the formerly advantaged schools which are able to charge school fees to compensate for the reduction in funds. However, the State has not improved the formerly disadvantaged schools to catch up with the level of the formerly advantaged schools. Ironically, as a result of the charging of school fees, the past

inequalities have not narrowed and could even be widening due to the large differences in financial capacity between schools. In addition, permission to charge fees and employ additional teachers at public schools has given a characteristic of private institutions to all public schools.

There should be several reasons for these problems. However, one of the important reasons could be found in the provisions of the Act itself. While the Act provides for a compulsory education to all children between 6 and 15 years old, it also permits public schools to charge school fees which parents are liable to pay once such a resolution is adopted by the majority of the parents. Although the Act stipulates that no learner is refused admission because of the parent's inability to pay fees, many cases of such refusals have been reported across the types of schools. Therefore, the reality and the Act do not coincide. In a situation in which the amount of school fees is decided by individual schools and fees charged are compulsory, there can be no equal access to public schools.

## Chapter 5:

### **An Alternative to Current Practice under the South African Education System**

As analysed in the previous chapter, there is evidence of the reproduction of inequalities in education as a result of the charging of fees at public schools. In order to realise truly equal access of all children to a basic education, *compulsory* fees should not be charged at public schools at least during the compulsory education phase. However, the following question would be raised immediately: how can public schools finance operation costs without charging fees under such conditions where the State pays only for teachers and not for school operation costs? Based on the analysis of this research, I will explore the possibility of substituting voluntary contributions for school fees.

#### **5.1 Re-assessment of Voluntary Contributions**

Table 21 shows the impression of the sample parents with regard to school fees and voluntary contributions at the five sample schools.

**Table 21: Impressions of sample parents in Durban on school fees and voluntary contributions (1998)**

School (ex-department)	Average school fees in 1998	Would you pay higher school fees if it helped the school to improve its performance?					Would you pay some/more voluntary contributions if the school does not charge school fees?				
		yes	not sure	no	n.a.	total	yes	not sure	no	n.a.	total
HOA-a	R 1433	5 (36%)	6 (43%)	3 (21%)	0 (0%)	14	8 (57%)	3 (21%)	2 (14%)	1 (7%)	14
HOD-a	R 50	14 (78%)	3 (17%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	18	9 (50%)	8 (45%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	18
HOD-b	R 200	4 (27%)	4 (27%)	7 (46%)	0 (0%)	15	6 (40%)	6 (40%)	0 (0%)	3 (20%)	15
HOR-a	R 141	5 (12%)	19 (46%)	16 (39%)	1 (2%)	41	15 (37%)	13 (32%)	3 (7%)	10 (24%)	41
HOR-b	R 297	14 (78%)	0 (0%)	3 (17%)	1 (5%)	18	13 (72%)	2 (11%)	2 (11%)	1 (6%)	18
<b>Total</b>		42 (40%)	32 (30%)	30 (28%)	2 (2%)	106 (100%)	51 (48%)	32 (30%)	8 (8%)	15 (14%)	106 (100%)

While the majority (78%) of sample parents of HOD-a and HOR-b schools answered that they would pay higher school fees if it helped the school to improve its performance, the majority of

sample parents at the other three schools are either not sure or negative about it. The impression of the sample parents is surely influenced by the amount of school fees which they currently pay and their degree of satisfaction regarding educational performance of respective schools. The fact that nearly 80% of sample parents of HOD-a and HOR-b schools and 36% of HOA-a school feel positive about the increase in school fees suggests that if the parents are satisfied with the educational performance at the school, many parents would be willing to pay higher fees. Regarding voluntary contributions, the majority of sample parents of three schools (HOA-a, HOD-a and HOR-b) answered that they would pay some or more voluntary contributions if the school did not charge school fees and in total, their positive answers exceed their uncertain or negative answers. In addition, while 28% of total sample parents answered that they would not pay higher school fees even though it helped the school to improve its performance, only 8% of total sample parents answered that they would not pay any voluntary contributions if the school did not charge school fees. Since the data was collected only from five schools and the data for ex-KDEC and ex-DET schools are not available, it is not possible to conclude the general tendency of parents in Durban. Nevertheless, these comparisons suggest the possibility that if public schools did not charge school fees, the majority of parents would be willing to offer voluntary contributions.

Table 22 shows the amount of voluntary contributions and the number of contributors among sample parents at five sample schools in 1997 and 1998. At HOD-a school, most sample parents in 1997 and all parents in 1998 contributed to the school. At HOD-a, HOR-a and HOR-b schools, the amount of average contributions of contributors is comparable to school fees, although the percentage of contributors varies from school to school. This fact suggests the possibility of substituting voluntary contributions for the charging of school fees.

**Table 22: Voluntary contributions of sample parents in 1997 and 1998**

School (ex-department)	# of respondents	Voluntary contributions in 1997			Voluntary contributions in 1998		
		Total amount	# of contributors & its percentage against all respondents	Average	Total amount	# of contributors & its percentage against all respondents	Average
HOA-a	14	R 0	0 (0%)	R 0	R 200	1 (7%)	R 200
HOD-a	18	R 660	17 (94%)	R 39	R 650	18 (100%)	R 36
HOD-b	15	R 70	2 (13%)	R 35	R 0	0 (0%)	R 0
HOR-a	41	R 100	1 (2.4%)	R 100	R 1216	6 (15%)	R 203
HOR-b	18	R 250	3 (17%)	R 83	R 890	5 (29%)	R 178
<b>Total</b>	106						



However, there may be concern about the total amount of voluntary contributions. Whether a school can collect enough funds to manage the school only through voluntary contributions, is an important question. In relation to this problem, there is an interesting example. Table 23 shows the change in annual school income through school fees, voluntary contributions and other sources at HOD-5 school over the last five years.

**Table 23: Change in the amount of school fees and voluntary contributions as annual school income at HOD-5 school**

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998*
<b>School fees as a total</b>	R 1,865	R 3,740	R 6,455	R 8,405	R 3,344
<b>Voluntary contributions</b>	R 11,165	R 2,142	R 2,018	R 133	R 0
<b>Income paid by the state</b>	R 0	R 0	R 0	R 1,000	R 380
<b>Other sources</b>	R 74	R 114	R 1,792	R 2,267	R 562
<b>Total</b>	R 13,104	R 5,996	R 10,265	R 11,805	R 4,286
<b>% of voluntary contributions</b>	85.2 %	35.7 %	19.7 %	1.1 %	0 %

Note: Figures for 1998 are the data at the time of collection (October 1998).

At HOD-5 school, as the amount of school fees increases, the amount of voluntary contributions decreases. In 1998, there was no contribution and the amount of total school fees decreased as well. What is interesting is that although the percentage of voluntary contributions was quite high (85.2 %) in 1994, it drastically decreased as the total amount of school fees increased. It suggests that if the school had not charged school fees, the amount and percentage of voluntary contributions would have remained high in relation to the total school income. It also supports the possibility of parents' willingness to contribute to the school, if school fees are not charged. However, even if this happened, it would not necessarily guarantee enough school income to run the school. Therefore, the operation costs of a public school would not be able to rely totally on voluntary contributions.

The basic operation costs of public schools should be funded by the State based on an equitable formula. Such an equitable formula would be based on the principle of equal per capita expenditure. A certain amount of running costs based on the school size (i.e. the number of learners) should be allocated to all public schools so that they can reduce their dependency on voluntary contributions or other sources to operate daily activities of the school. For example, at public schools where water, electricity and a telephone are available, a certain amount should be allocated based on an equitable formula. If their expenditure exceeded the allocation from the State, its payment would be the responsibility of the school governing body; and even at schools where water, electricity and telephone are not available, an equitable amount of running budget should also be allocated so that they can use it to improve school performance. Once basic

running costs of public schools are secured by the State, each public school can improve its performance by utilising the voluntary contributions according to its financial capacity.

The amount of voluntary contributions is likely to vary from parent to parent depending on their income levels and therefore, total school income through voluntary contributions may vary from school to school. Especially public schools in poor communities may not be able to collect large contributions. However, it is at least justifiable that parents have the right to contribute to additional improvements at the school under the condition that all public schools are secured of the running costs at an acceptable minimum standard. Therefore, another question is whether or not the State can secure the minimum school operation costs for all public schools.

## **5.2 Ways to Release Resources: Re-consideration of the Pupil/Teacher Ratio**

Assuming that the capacity of overall education expenditure will not increase to a large extent due to South African budgetary constraints, one possible way to increase the allocation for school operation costs may be a reduction in personnel expenditure both inside and outside the school. It may seem to contradict the previous discussion regarding the disadvantaged situation of pupil/teacher ratios at most schools. However, I have suggested that the inequalities between ex-departments should be narrowed but have not argued that pupil/teacher ratios should be much lower. Claassen suggests the following as examples of financial strategies to meet South African budgetary constraints: (a) controlling bureaucratic spending and channelling the money to teachers and schools; and (b) accepting a relatively high pupil/teacher ratio (Claassen, 1996, p.489). According to Claassen, it is estimated that education spending on positions higher than that of principal (i.e. outside the school) in South Africa is as high as 29% of the education budget. Therefore, bureaucratic control of education has to be scaled down and money has to be channelled to where teaching and learning actually take place (Claassen, 1996, p.490).

Regarding inside the school, there are many studies which conclude that there is a substantial relationship between class size and teacher and pupil attitudes and that smaller classes are associated with greater attempts to individualize instruction and a better classroom climate (Gibbs and Jenkins, 1992, p.14). However, various studies suggest that there is little evidence of the decisive impact of class size on pupils' performance. For example, according to Anderson, over the range of class sizes commonly found in schools (about 25-50 pupils), class size appears

to play only a very minor role in determining eventual pupil performance on tests and examinations (Anderson, 1991, as quoted by Gibbs and Jenkins, 1992, pp.14-15). According to Donaldson, the results of some 112 separate studies of school production functions in the United States suggest that the relationship between school effectiveness and class size is weak, and possibly positive, if it is associated with improved school quality (Donaldson, 1992a, p.10). Based on the review of 72 empirical studies, Fuller reports that in 16 of 21 analyses, no significant effect of class size on pupils' achievement is found and that other elements such as instructional materials, school library activity, teacher training and length of instructional programme are more consistently related to achievement (Fuller, 1986, pp.20-21). However, Eicher comments that most studies were made in fairly developed countries and very few observations concern classes of 50 pupils or more and class size seems to be fairly important in the first grades of primary education (Eicher, 1984, p.72). Therefore, we should be careful when interpreting these studies in the South African context. They may not apply to the formerly disadvantaged schools where physical facilities and teaching materials are still poor and pupil/teacher ratios are relatively high. Regarding educational reform in South Africa, Donaldson points out that school readiness of children, the availability and quality of books and teaching materials, the administrative skills of school principals, and effective in-service teacher education and support services, are important elements in effective schooling (Donaldson, 1992b, p.3). Therefore, in the formerly advantaged schools such as the ex-HOA schools, there may be scope for expanding enrolment (Donaldson, 1992a, p.10). If the former HOA schools accept an increase in pupil/teacher ratios, they will not have to hire so many private teachers and, therefore, they do not have to charge such high fees.

In addition, Crouch points out that educator salaries and related costs are very high in South Africa, compared to other countries at similar levels of GDP per capita (Crouch, 1997, p.18). According to him, South African educators appear to enjoy an 'unexplained' advantage of somewhere between 20% and 30% over other employees' salaries, at average levels of education and at an average age, and this advantage is much greater for younger and less qualified educators (Crouch, 1997, p.18). The fact that educators earn so much more than the average working citizen's income imposes a large tax burden on the incomes of parents whose children are to be educated (Bot, 1998, p.10). According to Crouch, international evidence shows that there is a strong trade-off between salary and learner:educator ratios. Therefore, he concludes that there should be a gradual drop in real educator salaries; that as long as salaries remain high, the learner:educator ratio must also remain high; and that educators must be more productive

(Crouch, 1997, p.19). Morrow suggests in similar vein that we have to discover how teachers can effectively teach much larger numbers of learners (Morrow, 1996, p.154).

In December 1997 the Minister, Professor Bengu, announced that the Department of Education had abolished national guidelines on pupil/teacher ratios (i.e. 40:1 in ordinary primary schools and 35:1 in ordinary secondary schools). Provinces should decide how many teachers they could afford to employ, based on their individual budgets (Sidiropoulos, et al, 1998, pp.156-159). Average pupil/teacher and pupil/classroom ratios at public schools (including both primary and secondary) in the Durban South Region are 30.8 and 40.7 in 1997, respectively. With respect to educational effectiveness, these figures are not necessarily too high as discussed above. Therefore, it is possible to increase pupil/teacher ratios in Durban. However, such an increase in pupil/teacher ratio should be a moderate one and associated with an improvement in school quality as discussed above. Nevertheless, even a moderate increase in class size in Durban would release considerable resources to provide operation costs for the public schools.

Table 24 shows the summary of actual education expenditure of the Durban South Region in the 1997/1998 financial year (as at 31 March 1998).

**Table 24: Summary of education expenditure of Durban South Region in 1997/1998 financial year (as at 31 March 1998)**

Category of expenditure	Expenditure (Rand)	% of total expenditure
<b>Personnel</b>	R 1,099,976,598	95.64%
<b>Administrative services</b>	R 5,049,339	0.44%
<b>Stores and consumables</b>	R 5,097,756	0.44%
<b>Equipment</b>	R 1,494,872	0.13%
<b>Land and buildings</b>	R 0	0 %
<b>Professional and special services</b>	R 21,849,851	1.90%
<b>Transfer payments</b>	R 325,473	0.03%
<b>Miscellaneous expenditure</b>	R 16,302,652	1.42%
<b>Total</b>	R 1,150,096,541	100%

(Source: KwaZulu-Natal Department of Education and Culture, Durban South Region, 1998, pp.1-3)

The expenditure for 'personnel' amounts to 95.64% of total expenditure. On the other hand, a total of material expenditure including 'stores and consumables' and 'equipment', which implies that there will be physical improvement at schools, is only 0.57%. There is no expenditure for land acquisition and new buildings. When per school expenditures are calculated (there were 650 public schools in the Durban South Region in 1997), whereas per school expenditure for personnel is approximately R 1.7 million, that for material expenditures is merely R 10,142. If

personnel expenditure was reduced by 5%, it could result in an increase of R 84,615 per school or R 139 per learner (there were 394,725 learners at public schools in 1997 in the Durban South Region) for the school operation costs. It suggests the possibility of allocating basic school operation costs to all public schools, if the State could reduce the personnel expenditure both inside and outside the school.

Any increase in pupil/teacher ratio or rationalization of personnel inevitably involves redeployment or retrenchment. This is a very difficult issue and the national teacher redeployment policy has been hampered by the reluctance of individuals to move from areas of surplus to areas of need and the absence of opportunities for inter-provincial redeployment (Sidiropoulos et al, 1998, p.159). In addition to the practice of voluntary severance, one possible way to reduce the number of teachers may be the retraining of teachers who are not qualified as mathematics or science teachers to be such teachers. It is estimated that the country needs an additional 2,000 to 3,000 mathematics teachers and 2,200 to 5,000 science teachers to fulfil the shortage of adequately trained teachers in these subjects (Sidiropoulos et al, 1998, p.154). If this can be done, instead of hiring several thousand additional mathematics and science teachers, thousands of existing teachers could be redeployed.

### **5.3 Planned Utilisation of Voluntary Contributions**

One problem regarding voluntary contributions is the uncertainty of their amount. Without knowing the estimated amount of available funds, it is difficult to make a school budget. However it is possible to estimate the annual school income, arranging a type of contract regarding the amount of voluntary contributions from parents. In Japan, although all compulsory education is free in terms of a basic legal principle, parents usually contribute for meals at school, transportation and extra teaching equipment (Pretorius, 1996, p.360). At most public schools in Japan, parents submit an agreement regarding a monthly contribution to the Parents and Teachers' Association (PTA) in the beginning of the school year. The PTA in Japan is comparable to the school governing body in South Africa, although the autonomy of the school governing bodies is much higher than that of Japanese PTAs. Each PTA may arrange several stages regarding the amount of contribution. However, the decision of the amount of monthly contribution is totally voluntary. Based on the parents' submissions, the PTA makes a budget for the school year. Such PTA funds are used for various purposes to support educational activities

at their schools except for the direct costs for individual learners which are paid by their own parents. A similar practice could be implemented in South Africa, that of making agreements between the parents and the school governing body regarding voluntary contributions.

This alternative suggests a totally voluntary contribution so that poor parents are not forced to pay high amounts. Some parents may be reluctant to contribute a large amount of money to 'subsidize' other parents who can/do not contribute much to the school fund. It may seem to contradict the new South African education policy which expects that more affluent, or less poor, parents contribute proportionally more according to their ability to pay (DoE, 1998, p.6). However, this alternative expects the development of parents' willingness to contribute to the improvement in education not only for their own children but also for all learners in the community. The governing body cannot force any parents to pay a high amount of contribution but they can encourage them to contribute as much as possible, setting a scale of contributions. Such contributions should not necessarily be on a monthly basis. Payment can be made every other month or on a quarterly basis, depending on the arrangement by the governing body. In addition, the process of collecting voluntary contributions should be confidential to avoid the possible discrimination against learners whose parents can/do not contribute much to the school fund.

If such a system works successfully, it would allow public schools to stop charging compulsory school fees. If South African public schools are relieved of the necessity of charging compulsory school fees, it would increase the equal access of learners to public schools.

## **5.4 Remaining Issues**

Regarding the admission of learners to a public school, there are many factors which should be taken into account. Although any test related selection is not permitted, the criteria of admission policy are not clearly defined in the Schools Act. Those factors such as capacity of the school, school zone, means of transport, and acceptable distance or duration of travel between the school and home, would be among the criteria of any admission policy. Since space is limited, these issues cannot be discussed in this thesis. However, each of them is an important issue which needs to be taken into account.

## 5.5 Chapter Summary

In principle, compulsory attendance at public schools and the charging of compulsory school fees are not compatible. There is a possibility of substituting voluntary contributions for the charging of school fees. To make this possible, it is necessary for the State to allocate basic operation costs of the school to all public schools. If the State does not have enough funds for this purpose, the funds could be made available by reducing the expenditure for personnel –e.g. by reducing teacher salaries, or increasing pupil/teacher ratios. It is possible to make a school budget based on the estimation of the amount of voluntary contributions through a type of agreement between the parents and the school governing body. If such a system works successfully, the public school can abolish the charging of compulsory school fees and increase the equality of access to public schools.

## **Chapter 6:**

### **Conclusion**

As a legacy of apartheid education, inequalities in education provision between population groups and between regions are still evident in South Africa. Therefore, the creation of a single national education system based on the Schools Act is a great step towards redressing the past inequalities and injustices, such as the unequal allocations of funds to ethnically divided education departments. The introduction of 9 years compulsory education, the abolition of racially specified schools, and the creation of a single category, 'public school', would guarantee the access of formerly disadvantaged or neglected learners to a better education. The uniform national system for the school organisation, governance and funding would allow public schools to move towards the national norms and standards, and help provincial departments administer schools more efficiently and equitably. The permission to charge fees at public schools would release part of scarce resources so that the State would be able to use them more effectively, targeting the needy schools.

However, as a result of the implementation of the new education system based on the Schools Act, some phenomena, which may contradict the aims of the Act itself, are emerging. First of all, inequalities in education provision such as pupil/teacher ratios and pupil/classroom ratios have not been sufficiently redressed, and differences in school operation costs between the sample public schools in Durban are even increasing. There is evidence that the permission to charge school fees in the new system may function favourably for the formerly advantaged schools because they can charge much higher school fees than other schools due to the relatively higher income levels of the parents and in the process maintain or improve educational standards, hiring additional teachers. Therefore, they are also in a position in which they can attract more pupils from wider areas. On the other hand, the formerly disadvantaged schools such as the former KDEC and DET schools are in a weak position to charge high school fees due to the relatively low income levels of the parents. In addition, there is no restriction regarding the amount of school fees. Therefore, as long as a school can attract pupils and their parents can afford fees, it can increase its fees to strengthen its resource base. Evidence from the research in Durban supports the hypothesis that the permission to charge school fees contributes to maintaining or reinforcing the past inequalities among public schools despite the aim of the Act, which is the redress of past injustices.



Secondly, the charging of high school fees has begun to affect the enrolment of learners at some schools. There is evidence for the movement of learners in search of more affordable or better schools. Any learner may apply to a better school even though it charges high school fees. However, it is unlikely for poor learners to enter such a school which charges unaffordable school fees for them, unless they are partially or completely exempted from school fees. Advantaged schools can attract learners from wider regions. Therefore, they can fill their places with learners who can afford high school fees, leaving few places for those who cannot afford it. Evidence suggests that the formerly advantaged schools are more reluctant than the formerly disadvantaged in the granting of school fees exemption to learners. In this way, learners from poor families would be effectively excluded from the advantaged schools which charge higher school fees. If this tendency increases and is not redressed, this situation can be considered to be a form of unfair discrimination against learners from low income families.

Furthermore, due to the considerable autonomy of the school governing bodies and the provision of the Act which allows public schools to charge fees, all public schools have a certain degree of independence. For example, each public school can decide their admission policy and the level of school fees. Especially, the formerly advantaged schools have been increasingly taking on the characteristics of independent schools based on their strong financial capacities. The education standards of the formerly advantaged public schools are comparable to those of independent schools. For example, they can hire many additional teachers and offer various extra curricular activities. Regarding the sample public schools in Durban, the difference in pupil/teacher ratios between the former HOA schools and other public schools is much higher than that between the former HOA schools and the independent school. Under the new system, all public schools could become semi-private schools which vary in their educational standards depending on their financial capacities.

Therefore, the new South African education system based on the Schools Act may not be able to redress past inequalities in education provision and could rather reinforce them. A result could be that only learners from wealthy families can enjoy higher standards of education either at advantaged public schools or independent schools, while the majority of learners still have to endure the low and poor standards of education at other public schools. Inequalities in education are becoming more complex as the differences between social classes or household income levels are mixed with the past racial and regional inequalities.

In order to avoid some of the exclusionary effects of school fees, I would like to suggest that there should be no compulsory school fees during the compulsory education phase. The governing body can set up voluntary contributions, with several categories according to parents' willingness to pay, with a minimum or nil contribution at the lowest end. The contribution would be paid on a monthly, bi-monthly or quarterly basis in terms of an amount agreed upon at the beginning of the year. The governing body can make an annual budget based on the agreement. Such a system should be associated with an increase in State expenditure for school operation costs. However, given the financial constraints in South Africa, a large increase in the national education budget is unlikely.

One possible way to increase the expenditure for school operation costs would be the reduction in personnel costs through the rationalization of administration, including the eradication of corruption, and by accepting an increase in pupil/teacher and pupil/classroom ratios. Even a moderate reduction in the number of personnel could release a considerable amount of resources for school operation costs. Teachers should be more productive and need to acquire skills and methods to teach much larger numbers of learners effectively. The same is true for the independent school sector. There will be scope for the reduction in State subsidies to independent schools, encouraging them to accept an increase in pupil/teacher and pupil/classroom ratios. This approach will inevitably involve the retrenchment or redeployment of educators and will no doubt meet resistance.

If the State increases the expenditure for school operation costs and the utilisation of voluntary contributions works successfully, the public school can abolish compulsory school fees. There may be similar problems as before, such as continuing inequalities in educational standards due to the differences in financial bases between public schools. However, the right of the parents to improve their children's education through their voluntary contributions should be justifiable, and it would not be considered as a violation of the right of equal access to basic education as long as such contributions are not forced. In addition, through the utilisation of voluntary contributions, it is at least possible to increase the access of all learners to public schools, irrespective of their families' income levels.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Questionnaire for the School

Name of the school:

### 1. Please tick or fill in the following information about the school:

1.1 Current school status:

(a)  Public  Independent (Private)

(b)  Ordinary school  School for learners with special education needs

1.2 School level:  Primary  Secondary  
 Combined  Intermediate  
 Other (please specify)

1.3 Gender specification:

Boys  Girls  Co-educational

1.4 Former status of the school:

Model C  DET  KDEC  
 HOD  HOR  Private  
 Newly established  
 Other (Please specify)

### 2. Please fill in the following information about the school history. If the exact figures are not available please supply approximation:

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
The number of teachers (including Principal and non-government teachers)					
The number of non-teaching staff					
The number of learners (total)					
The number of classrooms (total)					

**3. Please fill in the following information about school statistics, with regard to grades which your school teaches. If the exact figures are not available please supply approximation:**

		1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Grade 1 (SSA)	Enrolment*					
	Repeater*					
Grade 2 (SSB)	Enrolment					
	Repeater					
Grade 3 (STD 1)	Enrolment					
	Repeater					
Grade 4 (STD 2)	Enrolment					
	Repeater					
Grade 5 (STD 3)	Enrolment					
	Repeater					
Grade 6 (STD 4)	Enrolment					
	Repeater					
Grade 7 (STD 5)	Enrolment					
	Repeater					
Grade 8 (STD 6)	Enrolment					
	Repeater					
Grade 9 (STD 7)	Enrolment					
	Repeater					
Grade10 (STD 8)	Enrolment					
	Repeater					
Grade11 (STD 9)	Enrolment					
	Repeater					
Grade12 (STD10)	Enrolment					
	Repeater					

\* Enrolment: Total enrolment number in the year including repeating pupils.

\* Repeater: Total number of the pupils who repeat(ed) that grade in the year.



**4. Please fill in the following information about school revenue. If the exact figures are not available please supply approximation:**

* Unit: Rand	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998*
School fees as a total during the year (if charged)					
Total school income paid by the state (excluding the remuneration of personnel)					
Voluntary contribution from the parents as a total during the year (excluding the school fees)					
Donations from Private companies or Aid organisations					
Other sources: e.g. Interest of the school fund etc.					
Funds remaining from the previous year's budget					
Annual total revenue					
Estimated percentage of school fees in the school budget					

\* 1998: Please supply projected figures.

**5. Please fill in the following information about school expenditure. If the exact figures are not available please supply approximation:**

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998 *
Text books for learners as a total					
Other learning materials for learners as a total					
Library books (not for individual learners)					
Stationery (including teaching materials for teachers, not for individual learners)					
Stationery for learners					
Sport equipment					
Educational equipment and other moveable assets					
Remuneration of non-government teacher(s)					
Maintenance of buildings and grounds					
New buildings and other land improvement					
Land acquisition					
Annual total expenditure					
Transfer to the next year					

\* 1998: Please supply projected figures.

**6. Please answer the following questions and fill in the following information about school fees and school fees exemption:**

6.1 Does your school charge school fees to learners?     Yes     No

6.2 Has your school applied the criteria of school fees exemption?  
 Yes     Not yet

6.3 If your school charges school fees, please fill in the following information with regard to grades which your school teaches:

	School fees per learner per year in 1997	Number of learners exempted from school fees and its percentage in 1997 *	School fees per learner per year in 1998	Number of learners exempted from school fees and its percentage in 1998 *
Grade 1				
Grade 2				
Grade 3				
Grade 4				
Grade 5				
Grade 6				
Grade 7				
Grade 8				
Grade 9				
Grade 10				
Grade 11				
Grade 12				

\* Number and percentage of exemption: e.g. 2 learners (100%), 3 learners (75%) etc.

**If you could attach the criteria of school fees exemption of your school, it would be appreciated.**

**Thank you very much for your co-operation.**

## Appendix 2: Questionnaire for the Parents

1. Please tick or fill in the following information about your child who has handed in this questionnaire, and about the school where he/she attends.

1.1 The grade:

- Grade 1     Grade 2     Grade 3     Grade 4     Grade 5     Grade 6  
 Grade 7     Grade 8     Grade 9     Grade 10     Grade 11     Grade 12

1.2 Sex:     Male     Female

1.3 Age: (    ) years old

1.4 The name of suburb where your child lives:

1.5 Distance from the house to school (**one way**):

- less than 1 km     1 - 2 km     3 - 4 km     5 - 6 km     7 - 8 km  
 9 - 10 km     11 - 12 km     13 - 14 km     15 - 19 km     20 km+

1.6 Mode of travel to the school: Tick items and columns below (**multiple answers are possible**).

	Always	Usually	Sometimes
<input type="checkbox"/> Walk			
<input type="checkbox"/> Bicycle			
<input type="checkbox"/> Motor-cycle			
<input type="checkbox"/> Car			
<input type="checkbox"/> Bus/Taxi			
<input type="checkbox"/> Train			
Other (please specify)			

1.7 Duration of travel (**one way**):

- less than 5 mins     5 - 9 mins     10 - 14 mins     15 - 19 mins  
 20 - 24 mins     25 - 29 mins     30 - 39 mins     40 mins +

1.8 Why does your child attend this school (**multiple answers are possible**)?

- This school is the nearest to the home.  
 The educational environment and standards are good.  
 This school has good teachers.  
 The school fees are affordable.  
 The transport is convenient.  
 His/her brother/sister attends the same school.  
 Other (Please specify.)

**2. If your child moved to this school from another recently, please answer the following questions.**

2.1 At what grade, did he/she move to this school?

- Grade 1    Grade 2    Grade 3    Grade 4    Grade 5    Grade 6  
Grade 7    Grade 8    Grade 9    Grade 10    Grade 11    Grade 12

2.2 Why did he/she move to this school (**multiple answers are possible**)?

- Because the family moved to this area.  
 Because this school offers better education.  
 Because the school fees of the previous school are too expensive.  
 Other (please specify)

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**3. Please fill in or tick the following information about household income and expenditure. This is only for statistical purposes.**

3.1 Total **monthly** household income (Rand):

(Including cash income, remittances and all other sources)

- 0 - 1,000                       1,000 - 3,000                       3,000 - 5,000  
 5,000 - 7,500                       7,500 - 10,000                       10,000 -12,500  
 12,500 - 15,000                       15,000+

3.2 Total **monthly educational** cost for **all your children** (Rand):

(**Excluding** school fees)

- 0 - 20                               20 - 50                               50 - 100  
 100 - 200                               200 - 300                               300 - 500  
 500 - 700                               700 - 1000                               1000+

**4. If you pay school fees for your child, please answer the following questions.**

4.1 How much are/were the **annual** school fees for **your child who handed in this paper**?

School year	Annual school fees (Rand)
1997	
1998	

4.2 If your child has been exempted from school fees, what is the amount or percentage of exemption?

School year	Amount or percentage of exemption (Rand or %)	School fees which you actually pay/paid (Rand)
1997		
1998		

4.3 If you pay school fees for **other your children**, what is the **total annual payment as the school fees** for your children **this year** ?

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4.4 Do you think that school fees help the school to improve its performance?  
 Yes                       Not sure                       No

4.5 How do you feel about school fees that you pay?  
 Affordable  
 Affordable but expensive  
 Not affordable

4.6 Would you pay higher school fees if this helped the school to improve its performance?  
 Yes                       Not sure                       No

**5. Regarding voluntary contributions (not school fees), please answer the following questions.**

5.1 If you pay/paid voluntary contributions to **the school where your child attends**, how much do/did you pay annually?

School year	Annual voluntary contributions (Rand)
1997	
1998	

5.2 Would you pay any/more voluntary contributions **if the school dose not charge the school fees**?  
 Yes                       Not sure                       No

**6. If you have an additional comment about school fees or voluntary contributions, please mention it.**

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**Thank you very much for your co-operation.**

**Appendix 3: Annual school income and percentage of total annual school fees against total annual school income at sample schools in Durban**

rc#	ex-Dep.	School income (Rand)	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998- $\alpha$
1	KDEC-1	Total school fees	16,300	16,900	17,200	21,200	26,300
		Income paid by the state	0	0	0	1,000	400
		Other sources- $\beta$	0	0	0	0	0
		Total school income	16,300	16,900	17,200	22,200	26,700
		% of fees in total school income	100%	100%	100%	95.5%	98.5%
		Funds from previous year	143	200	330	495	n.a.
		Total annual school revenue	16,443	17,100	17,530	22,495	26,700+
3	KDEC-3	Total school fees	16,320	17,600	18,350	14,900	36,400
		Income paid by the state	0	0	0	1,000	0
		Other sources	0	0	0	802	0
		Total school income	16,320	17,600	18,350	16,702	36,400
		% of fees in total school income	100%	100%	100%	92.1%	100%
		Funds from previous year	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
		Total annual school revenue	16,320+	17,600+	18,350+	16,702+	36,400+
4	KDEC-4	Total school fees	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	36,000	40,018
		Income paid by the state	0	0	0	0	0
		Other sources	7,000	n.a.	n.a.	700	900
		Total school income	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	36,700	40,918
		% of fees in total school income	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	98.1%	97.8%
		Funds from previous year	n.a.	n.a.	0	4,000	n.a.
		Total annual school revenue	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	40,700	40,918+
5	KDEC-5	Total school fees	15,000	18,000	18,000	18,000	60,000
		Income paid by the state	0	0	0	1,000	300
		Other sources	0	500	0	2,000	0
		Total school income	15,000	18,500	18,000	21,000	60,300
		% of fees in total school income	100%	97.3%	100%	85.7%	99.5%
		Funds from previous year	220	135	500	1,038	3,000
		Total annual school revenue	15,220	18,635	18,500	22,038	63,300
11	HOA-1	Total school fees	n.a.	653,035	713,382	896,615	1236,100
		Income paid by the state	n.a.	0	0	0	0
		Other sources	n.a.	64,228	25,522	24,827	25,000
		Total school income	n.a.	717,263	738,904	921,442	1261,100
		% of fees in total school income	n.a.	91.0%	96.5%	97.3%	98.0%
		Funds from previous year	n.a.	n.a.	106268	48,990	16,043
		Total annual school revenue	n.a.	717,263+	845,172	970,432	1277,143
12	HOA-2	Total school fees	415,000	500,000	580,000	630,000	650,000
		Income paid by the state	0	0	0	0	0
		Other sources	11,000	12,000	15,000	16,000	17,000
		Total school income	426,000	512,000	595,000	646,000	667,000
		% of fees in total school income	97.4%	97.7%	97.5%	97.5%	97.5%
		Funds from previous year	70,000	120,000	160,000	170,000	180,000
		Total annual school revenue	496,000	632,000	755,000	816,000	847,000
13	HOA-3	Total school fees	n.a.	421,061	479,300	530,000	557,500
		Income paid by the state	n.a.	0	0	0	0
		Other sources	n.a.	3,450	4,430	3,580	5,000
		Total school income	n.a.	424,511	483,730	533,580	562,500
		% of fees in total school income	n.a.	99.2%	99.1%	99.3%	99.1%
		Funds from previous year	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
		Total annual school revenue	n.a.	424,511+	483,730+	533,580+	562,500+

Note: The data of following schools are not available: #2 (KDEC-2), #6 (KDEC-6), #7 (DET-1), #8 (DET-2), #9 (DET-3), #10 (DET-4), #14 (HOA-4), #15 (HOR-1), #16 (HOR-2), #19 (HOD-3), #20 (HOD-4) and #22 (HOD-6).  $\alpha$ , 1998: The data of this column are projected figures.

$\beta$ . Other sources: This category includes voluntary contributions from parents, donations from private companies or aid organizations, income from fund raising activities etc.

**(To be continued below.)**

re#	ex-Dep.	School income (Rand)	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998*
17	HOD-1	Total school fees	444	460	460	1,375	3,400
		Income paid by the state	375	341	702	744	0
		Other sources	989	963	968	1,185	450
		Total school income	1,808	1,764	2,130	3,304	3,850
		% of fees in total school income	24.6%	26.1%	21.6%	41.6%	88.3%
		Funds from previous year	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
		Total annual school revenue	1,808+	1,764+	2,130+	3,304+	3,850+
18	HOD-2	Total school fees	4,440	13,090	54,802	54,614	126,685
		Income paid by the state	0	0	0	0	0
		Other sources	5,527	5,293	1,471	3,616	2,422
		Total school income	9,967	18,383	56,273	58,230	129,107
		% of fees in total school income	44.5%	71.2%	97.4%	93.8%	98.1%
		Funds from previous year	5,225	10,567	32,390	55,298	13,203
		Total annual school revenue	15,192	28,950	88,663	113,528	142,310
21	HOD-5	Total school fees	1,865	3,740	6,455	8,405	3,344
		Income paid by the state	0	0	0	1,000	380
		Other sources	11,239	2,256	3,810	2,400	562
		Total school income	13,104	5,996	10,265	11,805	4,286
		% of fees in total school income	14.2%	62.4%	62.9%	71.2%	78.0%
		Funds from previous year	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
		Total annual school revenue	13,104+	5,996+	10,265+	11,805+	4,286+
23	HOD-7	Total school fees	6,400	5,415	8,557	10,240	32,835
		Income paid by the state	0	0	0	0	0
		Other sources	10,780	30,714	9,012	14,613	1,894
		Total school income	17,180	36,129	17,569	24,853	34,729
		% of fees in total school income	37.3%	17.6%	48.7%	41.2%	94.5%
		Funds from previous year	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
		Total annual school revenue	17,180+	36,129+	17,569+	24,853+	34,729+
24	HOD-8	Total school fees	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	120,000
		Income paid by the state	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
		Other sources	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1,000
		Total school income	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	121,000
		% of fees in total school income	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	99.2%
		Funds from previous year	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	25,000
		Total annual school revenue	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	146,000
25	HOD-9	Total school fees	7,800	10,000	14,000	37,200	140,409
		Income paid by the state	500	600	700	1,200	1,320
		Other sources	5,136	1,300	1,799	3,797	1,676
		Total school income	13,436	11,900	16,499	42,197	143,405
		% of fees in total school income	58.1%	84.0%	84.9%	88.2%	97.9%
		Funds from previous year	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
		Total annual school revenue	13,436+	11,900+	16,499+	42,197+	143,405+
26	HOD-10	Total school fees	11,000	43,000	47,500	90,000	105,000
		Income paid by the state	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
		Other sources	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	7,000
		Total school income	11,000	43,000	47,500	90,000	112,000
		% of fees in total school income	100%	100%	100%	100%	93.8%
		Funds from previous year	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	65,000	85,000
		Total annual school revenue	11,000+	43,000+	47,500+	155,000	197,000
27	Private	Total school fees	7,912,926	9,511,715	11,020,153	12,508,163	14,343,000
		Income paid by the state	1,350,000	1,435,980	1,467,960	1,467,960	673,660
		Other sources	403,952	278,139	337,475	712,490	290,000
		Total school income	9,666,878	11,225,834	12,825,588	14,688,613	15,306,660
		% of fees in total school income	81.9%	84.7%	85.9%	85.2%	93.7%
		Funds from previous year	n.a.	157,210	823,056	1,394,026	1,360,964
		Total annual school revenue	9,666,878+	11,383,044	13,648,644	16,082,639	16,667,624



**Appendix 4: Annual school expenditure and percentage of remuneration for privately hired teachers against total annual school expenditure at sample public schools in Durban**

re#	ex-Dep.	School expenditure (Rand)	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998- $\alpha$
3	KDEC-3	Learning/teaching materials	26,580	31,158	18,569	28,386	37,072
		Sport & educational equipment	5,169	1,892	3,266	3,649	11,065
		Remuneration of non-G teachers	0	0	0	0	0
		Others- $\beta$	1,080	4,629	5,126	9,362	1,865
		Total annual expenditure	32,829	37,679	26,961	41,397	50,002
		% of remuneration of teachers	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
4	KDEC-4	Learning/teaching materials	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	9,200
		Sport & educational equipment	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	4,500
		Remuneration of non-G teachers	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0
		Others	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1,800
		Total annual expenditure	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	15,500
		% of remuneration of teachers	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0%
11	HOA-1	Learning/teaching materials	n.a.	45,228	42,888	40,890	40,000
		Sport & educational equipment	n.a.	27,550	44,418	28,571	35,000
		Remuneration of non-G teachers	n.a.	315,880	303,690	593,562	910,000
		Others	n.a.	222,337	357,109	329,640	371,250
		Total annual expenditure	n.a.	610,995	748,105	992,663	1,356,250
		% of remuneration of teachers	n.a.	52.7%	40.6%	59.8%	67.1%
12	HOA-2	Learning/teaching materials	81,000	110,000	142,000	162,000	195,000
		Sport & educational equipment	26,000	28,000	31,000	35,000	40,000
		Remuneration of non-G teachers	100,000	120,000	200,000	250,000	300,000
		Others	18,000	23,000	25,000	30,000	50,000
		Total annual expenditure	225,000	281,000	398,000	477,000	585,000
		% of remuneration of teachers	44.4%	42.7%	50.3%	52.4%	51.3%
13	HOA-3	Learning/teaching materials	n.a.	43,022	56,506	121,024	180,750
		Sport & educational equipment	n.a.	16,993	28,500	29,392	27,000
		Remuneration of non-G teachers	n.a.	98,184	60,000	94,830	160,000
		Others	n.a.	55,662	59,445	78,999	145,500
		Total annual expenditure	n.a.	213,861	204,451	324,245	513,250
		% of remuneration of teachers	n.a.	45.9%	29.3%	29.2%	31.2%
17	HOD-1- $\zeta$	Learning/teaching materials	400	500	600	600	800
		Salary for caretakers- $\zeta$	5,400	5,400	6,000	6,000	7,200
		Remuneration of non-G teachers	0	0	0	0	0
		Others	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
		Total annual expenditure	7,800	7,900	8,600	8,600	10,000
		% of remuneration of teachers	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
19	HOD-3	Learning/teaching materials	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3,500
		Sport & educational equipment	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0
		Remuneration of non-G teachers	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	9,174
		Others	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	6,823
		Total annual expenditure	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	19,497
		% of remuneration of teachers	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	47.1%
21	HOD-5- $\delta$	Learning/teaching materials	2,200	2,800	5,000	5,000	6,000
		Sport & educational equipment	0	0	0	0	0
		Remuneration of non-G teachers	0	0	0	0	0
		Others	600	1,000	4,000	4,000	9,400
		Total annual expenditure	2,800	3,800	9,000	9,000	15,400
		% of remuneration of teachers	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

(To be continued below)

rc#	ex-Dep.	School expenditure (Rand)	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998*
22	HOD-6	Learning/teaching materials	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	4.703	8.934
		Sport & educational equipment	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0	1.000
		Remuneration of non-G teachers	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0	0
		Others	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1.400	24.473
		Total annual expenditure	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	6.103	34.407
		% of remuneration of teachers	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0%	0%
25	HOD-9	Learning/teaching materials	0	0	0	4.067	18.996
		Sport & educational equipment	8.291	15.560	44.269	47.060	11.966
		Remuneration of non-G teachers	0	0	0	0	5.300
		Others	47.783	45.169	25.253	139.482	155.172
		Total annual expenditure	56.074	60.729	69.522	190.609	191.434
		% of remuneration of teachers	0%	0%	0%	0%	2.8%
26	HOD-10	Learning/teaching materials	9.000	7.000	7.000	40.000	52.500
		Sport & educational equipment	12.000	11.000	15.000	24.000	17.000
		Remuneration of non-G teachers	0	0	0	0	36.000
		Others	0	0	0	10.000	46.000
		Total annual expenditure	21.000	18.000	22.000	74.000	151.500
		% of remuneration of teachers	0%	0%	0%	0%	23.8%

Notes: α: 1998: The data of this column are projected figures.

β: Others: This category includes expenditure for maintenance, facility improvement, telephone fees etc.

γ: Salary for caretakers: In this school, the salary for caretakers forms the largest part of school expenditure. Therefore, this category is listed instead of the category 'Sport & educational equipment' which accounts for nil in this school.

δ: According to the response of this school, the following items were provided by the department (ie the State): text books, library books, stationery, and sport and educational equipment.

**Appendix 5: Pupil/State-Teacher ratio (excluding privately hired teachers),  
Pupil/Teacher ratio (in brackets, including privately hired  
teachers) and Pupil/Classroom ratio at sample schools in Durban**

re #	ex-Dep.	Type	P/state-T ratio (below including private-T)					P/C ratio				
			94	95	96	97	98	94	95	96	97	98
<b>Primary Schools</b>												
1	KDEC1	J. P. Co-ed	31.1	33.0	33.9	35.9	35.4	38.8	41.3	45.2	47.8	50.1
2	KDEC2	J. P. Co-ed	29.4	28.8	29.2	28.8	27.1	63.8	62.5	60.8	59.9	56.4
3	KDEC3	S. P. Co-ed	40.8	41.9	38.6	39.2	36.4	34.0	36.7	30.6	31.0	30.3
4	KDEC4	J. P. Co-ed	41.0	41.2	37.6	37.6	38.2	85.4	85.8	78.3	78.3	79.6
5	KDEC5	J. P. Co-ed	47.5	42.1	46.7 (44.8)	45.0 (43.3)	43.6 (41.9)	99.7	101.0	112.0	112.6	109.0
<b>KDEC Average</b>			38.0	37.4	37.2 (36.8)	37.3 (37.0)	36.1 (35.8)	64.3	65.5	65.4	65.9	65.1
7	DET-1	S. P. Co-ed	39.0	38.6	32.5	31.2	28.5	43.3	43.2	38.2	36.7	33.5
8	DET-2	P. Co-ed	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	35.5	37.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	39.4	39.1
9	DET-3	J. P. Co-ed	35.7	38.3	37.6	37.8 (34.2)	34.5 (31.2)	84.8	91.0	94.0	89.9	65.5
10	DET-4	J. P. Co-ed	44.9	42.4	42.5	42.9	41.4	48.1	48.4	48.6	49.1	50.3
<b>DET Average</b>			39.9	39.8	37.5	36.9 (35.9)	35.4 (34.5)	58.7	60.9	60.3	53.8	47.1
11	HOA-1	J. P. Co-ed	27.6 (18.8)	30.1 (19.6)	31.7 (19.8)	34.9 (19.5)	51.1 (20.4)	25.9	26.5	27.9	27.1	28.4
12	HOA-2	P. Co-ed	25.1 (23.0)	24.7 (20.8)	25.3 (20.3)	23.9 (19.4)	35.8 (24.4)	27.9	28.2	28.9	19.4	25.6
13	HOA-3	P. Co-ed	29.7 (27.6)	29.0 (27.0)	34.8 (30.6)	37.3 (32.4)	39.7 (33.8)	33.6	32.8	33.3	32.4	29.3
<b>HOA Average</b>			27.4 (23.1)	27.9 (22.5)	30.6 (23.6)	32.0 (23.8)	42.2 (26.8)	29.1	29.2	30.0	26.3	27.8
15	HOR-1	P. Co-ed	39.4	37.4	38.9	39.3	43.2	44.5	44.6	46.4	45.5	45.9
16	HOR-2	P. Co-ed	24.1	24.3	26.0	30.2	40.0 (36.4)	32.5	32.8	35.1	36.3	40.0
<b>HOR Average</b>			31.8	30.9	32.5	34.8	41.6 (39.8)	38.5	38.7	40.8	40.9	43.0
17	HOD-1	P. Co-ed	20.7	20.8	20.8	22.4	31.5	24.8	25.0	25.0	28.0	42.0
18	HOD-2	P. Co-ed	27.3	30.8	29.9	33.9	37.2	28.4	33.1	33.8	38.4	39.7
19	HOD-3	P. Co-ed	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	26.0 (24.0)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	26.0
20	HOD-4	P. Co-ed	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	28.4	39.3 (35.9)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	41.2	41.3
21	HOD-5	P. Co-ed	21.9	24.2	27.5	28.0	30.4	21.9	31.7	29.6	30.1	28.1
22	HOD-6	P. Co-ed	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	28.6	26.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	27.4	24.3
23	HOD-7	P. Co-ed	25.5	23.3	25.4	27.1	31.7 (30.0)	27.6	24.3	24.3	24.9	23.8
24	HOD-8	P. Co-ed	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	23.2	23.8 (22.9)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	21.6-α	21.3-α
25	HOD-9	P. Co-ed	25.0	23.3	32.9	32.9	36.6 (34.6)	23.9	24.3	31.4	32.9	28.6
<b>HOD Average</b>			24.1	24.5	27.3	28.1	31.4 (30.3)	25.3	27.7	28.8	30.6	30.6
<b>Secondary Schools</b>												
6	KDEC-6	Sec. Co-ed	32.0	31.2	35.7	28.5	22.6	44.8	47.5	61.2	55.6	44.1
14	HOA-4	Sec. Boys	22.0 (18.3)	22.0 (18.3)	27.5 (18.3)	34.3 (20.0)	34.3 (20.0)	24.4	24.4	24.4	26.7	26.7
26	HOD-10	Sec. Co-ed	24.4	25.1	27.9	26.2	29.2 (28.5)	34.1	33.7	36.4	34.2	34.0
<b>Independent school</b>												
27	Private	P.+Sec	(12.7)	(12.9)	(13.1)	(12.9)	(12.9)	17.2	17.7	18.4	18.4	18.4

Note: α: These figures are pupil/classroom ratios including specialist rooms.

**Appendix 6: Number of learners, repeaters (in brackets) and classrooms at sample schools in Durban**

re #	ex-Dep.	Type	Grade	# of Learners (# of repeater)					# of Classrooms				
				94	95	96	97	98	94	95	96	97	98
1	KDE C-1	J. P. Co-ed	1-4	466 (40)	495 (50)	542 (43)	574 (40)	601 (43)	12	12	12	12	12
2	KDE C-2	J. P. Co-ed	1-4	765 (108)	750 (74)	729 (96)	719 (125)	677 (114)	12	12	12	12	12
3	KDE C-3	S. P. Co-ed	5-7	816 (16)	880 (21)	734 (16)	745 (21)	728 (33)	24	24	24	24	24
4	KDE C-4	J. P. Co-ed	1-4	1025 (16)	1030 (12)	940 (8)	940 (10)	955 n.a.	12	12	12	12	12
5	KDE C-5	J. P. Co-ed	1-4	997 (74)	1010 (72)	1120 (66)	1126 (43)	1090 n.a.	10	10	10	10	10
6	KDE C-6	Sec. Co-ed	6-12	896 (90)	997 (112)	1286 (60)	1167 (40)	926 n.a.	20	21	21	21	21
7	DET-1	S. P. Co-ed	5-7	780 (18)	777 (15)	650 (12)	624 (9)	569 (6)	18	18	17	17	17
8	DET-2	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	709 (67)	703 (43)	18	18	18	18	18
9	DET-3	J. P. Co-ed	1-4	678 (71)	728 (52)	752 (38)	719 (12)	655 (13)	8	8	8	8	10
10	DET-4	J. P. Co-ed	1-4	674 (38)	678 (38)	680 (34)	687 (29)	704 n.a.	14	14	14	14	14
11	HOA-1	J. P. Co-ed	1-3	414 (0)	451 (0)	475 (4)	488 (4)	511 (5)	16	17	17	18	18
12	HOA-2	P. Co-ed	1-7	391 (23)	395 (24)	405 (26)	407 (29)	537 (35)	14	14	14	21	21
13	HOA-3	P. Co-ed	1-7+ Spec.	772 (10)	755 (9)	766 (6)	746 (0)	675 n.a.	23	23	23	23	23
14	HOA-4	Sec. Boys	8-12	1100 (8)	1100 (8)	1100 (7)	1200 (6)	1200 (6)	45	45	45	45	45
15	HOR-1	P. Co-ed	1-6	1380 n.a.	1384 n.a.	1438 n.a.	1455 n.a.	1469 n.a.	31	31	31	32	32
16	HOR-2	P. Co-ed	1-7	650 n.a.	655 n.a.	702 n.a.	725 n.a.	800 n.a.	20	20	20	20	20
17	HOD-1	P. Co-ed	1-6	99 n.a.	104 n.a.	116 n.a.	112 n.a.	126 n.a.	5	5	5	4	3
18	HOD-2	P. Co-ed	1-7	710 (17)	861 (0)	1015 n.a.	1151 (0)	1190 n.a.	25	26	30	30	30
19	HOD-3	P. Co-ed	1-7+ Rec.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	625 n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	24
20	HOD-4	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	n.a.	691 n.a.	699 n.a.	758 n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	20	20
21	HOD-5	P. Co-ed	1-7	197 (5)	412 (7)	385 n.a.	392 n.a.	365 n.a.	9	13	13	13	13
22	HOD-6	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	658 (0)	583 (0)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	24	24
23	HOD-7	P. Co-ed	1-7	662 (9)	582 (2)	584 (1)	597 (1)	570 (1)	24	24	24	24	24
24	HOD-8	P. Co-ed	1-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	604 n.a.	595 n.a.	28	28	28	28	28
25	HOD-9	P. Co-ed	1-7	549 n.a.	560 n.a.	723 n.a.	756 (28)	658 (24)	23	23	23	23	23
26	HOD-10	Sec. Co-ed	6-12	1295 (5)	1280 n.a.	1310 n.a.	1230 n.a.	1225 n.a.	38	38	36	36	36
27	Private	P.+Sec.	1-12	776 n.a.	798 n.a.	826 n.a.	827 n.a.	827 n.a.	45	45	45	45	45

## Appendix 7: Per capita annual school income (annual school income per learner) at sample public schools in Durban

re#	ex-Dep.		1994	1995	1996	1997	1998- $\alpha$
<b>Primary school</b>							
1	KDEC-1	Total school income (R)	16.300	16.900	17.200	22.200	26.700
		Total number of learners	466	495	542	574	601
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>35.00</b>	<b>34.14</b>	<b>31.73</b>	<b>38.68</b>	<b>44.43</b>
3	KDEC-3	Total school income (R)	16.320	17.600	18.350	16.702	36.400
		Total number of learners	816	880	734	745	728
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>20.00</b>	<b>20.00</b>	<b>25.00</b>	<b>22.42</b>	<b>50.00</b>
4	KDEC-4	Total school income (R)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	36.700	40.918
		Total number of learners	1,025	1,030	940	940	955
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>n.a.</b>	<b>n.a.</b>	<b>n.a.</b>	<b>39.04</b>	<b>42.85</b>
5	KDEC-5	Total school income (R)	15.000	18.500	18,000	21,000	60.300
		Total number of learners	997	1,010	1.120	1.126	1.090
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>15.05</b>	<b>18.32</b>	<b>16.07</b>	<b>18.65</b>	<b>55.32</b>
<b>Per capita school income, ex-KDEC av (R)</b>			<b>23.35</b>	<b>24.15</b>	<b>24.27</b>	<b>29.70</b>	<b>48.15</b>
11	HOA-1	Total school income (R)	n.a.	717.263	738.904	921.442	1.261.100
		Total number of learners	414	451	475	488	511
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>n.a.</b>	<b>1,590.38</b>	<b>1,555.59</b>	<b>1,888.20</b>	<b>2,467.91</b>
12	HOA-2	Total school income (R)	426.000	512.000	595.000	646.000	667.000
		Total number of learners	391	395	405	407	537
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>1,089.51</b>	<b>1,296.20</b>	<b>1,469.14</b>	<b>1,587.22</b>	<b>1,242.09</b>
13	HOA-3	Total school income (R)	n.a.	424.511	483.730	533.580	562.500
		Total number of learners	772	755	766	746	675
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>n.a.</b>	<b>562.27</b>	<b>631.50</b>	<b>715.25</b>	<b>833.33</b>
<b>Per capita school income, ex-HOA av (R)</b>			<b>n.a.</b>	<b>1,149.62</b>	<b>1,218.74</b>	<b>1,396.89</b>	<b>1,514.44</b>
17	HOD-1	Total school income (R)	1.808	1.764	2.130	3.304	3.850
		Total number of learners	99	104	116	112	126
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>18.26</b>	<b>16.96</b>	<b>18.36</b>	<b>29.5</b>	<b>30.56</b>
18	HOD-2	Total school income (R)	9.967	18.383	56.273	58.230	129.107
		Total number of learners	710	861	1,015	1.151	1.190
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>14.04</b>	<b>21.35</b>	<b>55.44</b>	<b>50.59</b>	<b>108.49</b>
21	HOD-5	Total school income (R)	13.104	5.996	10.265	11.805	4.286
		Total number of learners	197	412	385	392	365
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>66.52</b>	<b>14.55</b>	<b>26.66</b>	<b>30.11</b>	<b>11.74</b>
23	HOD-7	Total school income (R)	17.180	36.129	17.569	24.853	34.729
		Total number of learners	662	582	584	597	570
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>25.95</b>	<b>62.08</b>	<b>30.08</b>	<b>41.63</b>	<b>60.93</b>
24	HOD-8	Total school income (R)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	121.000
		Total number of learners	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	604	595
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>n.a.</b>	<b>n.a.</b>	<b>n.a.</b>	<b>n.a.</b>	<b>203.36</b>
25	HOD-9	Total school income (R)	13.436	11.900	16.499	42.197	143.405
		Total number of learners	549	560	723	756	658
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>24.47</b>	<b>21.25</b>	<b>22.82</b>	<b>55.82</b>	<b>217.94</b>
<b>Per capita school income, ex-HOD av (R)</b>			<b>29.85</b>	<b>27.24</b>	<b>30.67</b>	<b>47.43</b>	<b>105.50</b>
<b>Secondary school</b>							
26	HOD-10	Total school income (R)	11.000	43.000	47.500	90.000	112.000
		Total number of learners	1,295	1.280	1.310	1.230	1.225
		<b>Per capita school income (R)</b>	<b>8.49</b>	<b>33.59</b>	<b>36.26</b>	<b>73.17</b>	<b>91.43</b>

Note:  $\alpha$ :1998: Figures of this column are based on projected data.

## Appendix 8: School fees and change in the number of enrolment

re #	ex-Dep.	Annual school fees					Number of total enrolment and (repeaters)				
		1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
1	KDEC-1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	40	90	466 (40)	495 (50)	542 (43)	574 (40)	601 (43)
2	KDEC-2	20	20	20	20	50	765 (108)	750 (74)	729 (96)	719 (125)	677 (114)
3	KDEC-3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	20	50	816 (16)	880 (21)	734 (16)	745 (21)	728 (33)
4	KDEC-4	15	25	25	40	120	1025 (16)	1030 (12)	940 (8)	940 (10)	955 n.a.
5	KDEC-5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	30	120	997 (74)	1010 (72)	1120 (66)	1126 (43)	1090 n.a.
6	KDEC-6	50	50	60	75	100	896 (90)	997 (112)	1286 (60)	1167 (40)	926 n.a.
7	DET-1	30	30	50	50	80	780 (18)	777 (15)	650 (12)	624 (9)	569 (6)
8	DET-2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	45	60	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	709 (67)	703 (43)
9	DET-3	20	20	25	25	120	678 (71)	728 (52)	752 (38)	719 (12)	655 (13)
10	DET-4	30	30	50	50	100	674 (38)	678 (38)	680 (34)	687 (29)	704 n.a.
11	HOA-1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	2000	2900	414 (0)	451 (0)	475 (4)	488 (4)	511 (5)
12	HOA-2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1500	1700	391 (23)	395 (24)	405 (26)	407 (29)	537 (35)
13	HOA-3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	3000	3774	772 (10)	755 (9)	766 (6)	746 (0)	675 n.a.
14	HOA-4	2000	2000	2500	3500	4500	1100 (8)	1100 (8)	1100 (7)	1200 (6)	1200 (6)
15	HOR-1	pp70* p 90	pp70 p 90	pp70 p 90	100	150	1380 n.a.	1384 n.a.	1438 n.a.	1455 n.a.	1469 n.a.
16	HOR-2	75	100	200	250	300	650 n.a.	655 n.a.	702 n.a.	725 n.a.	800 n.a.
17	HOD-1	5	10	15	40	50	99 n.a.	104 n.a.	116 n.a.	112 n.a.	126 n.a.
18	HOD-2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	250	250	710 (17)	861 (0)	1015 n.a.	1151 (0)	1190 n.a.
19	HOD-3	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	300	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	625 n.a.
20	HOD-4	n.a.	50	50	50	225	n.a.	n.a.	691 n.a.	699 n.a.	758 n.a.
21	HOD-5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	25	215	197 (5)	412 (7)	385 n.a.	392 n.a.	365 n.a.
22	HOD-6	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	50	350	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	658 (0)	583 (0)
23	HOD-7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	25	80	662 (9)	582 (2)	584 (1)	597 (1)	570 (1)
24	HOD-8	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	25	240	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	604 n.a.	595 n.a.
25	HOD-9	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	60	370	549 n.a.	560 n.a.	723 n.a.	756 (28)	658 (24)
26	HOD-10	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	75	220	1295 (5)	1280 n.a.	1310 n.a.	1230 n.a.	1225 n.a.
27	Private-1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	10960a 12900b 15700c	12800a 15000b 18200c	776 n.a.	798 n.a.	826 n.a.	827 n.a.	827 n.a.

Note: pp: preprimary phase; p: primary phase; a: Grades 1-3; b: Grades 4-7; c: Grades 8-12

## Appendix 9: School fees exemption in 1997 and 1998 at sample schools in Durban

re #	ex-Dep.	Annual school fees and school fees exemption						Criteria of school fees exemption (as in 1998)
		1997			1998			
	Primary Schools	fees (R)	# of learners	amount or %	fees (R)	# of learners	amount or %	
1	KDEC-1	40	approx 40%	n.a.	90	approx 40%	100%	not adopted yet
2	KDEC-2	20	0 (but many do not pay)		50	0 (but many do not pay)		not adopted yet
3	KDEC-3	20	n.a.		50	n.a.		not adopted yet
4	KDEC-4	40	n.a.		120	n.a.		not adopted yet
5	KDEC-5	30	approx 30%	n.a.	120	approx 25%	n.a.	-unemployed parents -parents who earns less than R 1000/year -orphan children
7	DET-1	50	n.a.		80	n.a.		not adopted yet
8	DET-2	45	0		60	0		not adopted yet
9	DET-3	25	0		120	0		not adopted yet
10	DET-4	50	n.a.		100	n.a.		not adopted yet
11	HOA-1	2000	12	10-86%	2900	20	10-86%	-income -number of children
12	HOA-2	1500	0		1700	0		not adopted yet
13	HOA-3	3000	60	7.46 %	3774	70	6.75 %	not available
15	HOR-1	100	0		150	0		not available
16	HOR-2	250	84	100%	350	53 54	100% 50%	-earning less than 10x fees—100% exemption -earning less than 30x fees—50% exemption -earning less than R12000/y in 1998—sliding scale is used to calculate the % to be paid
17	HOD-1	40	0 (but many do not pay)		50	0 (but many do not pay)		-unemployed -salary below the bread line -letter of motivation by parnet to the SGB*
18	HOD-2	250	n.a.		250	2 3 4 5	90% 80% 70% 60%	-welfare client -unemployed
19	HOD-3	n.a.	n.a.		300	n.a.		not adopted yet
20	HOD-4	50	0		225	0		not adopted yet
21	HOD-5	25	0		215	0		not adopted yet
22	HOD-6	50	0		350	20	n.a.	not available
23	HOD-7	25	n.a.		80	90	n.a.	not available
24	HOD-8	25	0		240	50	n.a.	not available
25	HOD-9	60	n.a.		370	n.a.		not adopted yet
	<b>Secondary Schools</b>	<b>fees (R)</b>	<b># of learners</b>	<b>amount or %</b>	<b>fees (R)</b>	<b># of learners</b>	<b>amount or %</b>	
6	KDEC-6	75	n.a.		100	n.a.		not adopted yet
14	HOA-4	3500	n.a.		4500	n.a.		-interview with parents
26	HOD-10	75	20	n.a.	220	approx 10%	n.a.	not available
	<b>Independent school</b>	<b>fees (R)</b>	<b># of learners</b>	<b>amount or %</b>	<b>fees (R)</b>	<b># of learners</b>	<b>amount or %</b>	
27	Private	G1-3: 10960 G4-7: 12900 G8-12: 15700	0		G1-3: 12800 G4-7: 15000 G8-12: 18200	0		

Note: \*SGB: School governing body

## Appendix 10: Mode of travel and duration between the school and home of sample learners

School (ex-department)	Mode of travel- $\alpha$ *multiple answers								Duration (minute)- $\beta$									
	walk		car		bus/taxi		train	total	<5	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40+	n.a.	total
	a/u	s	a/u	s	a/u	s	a/u											
HOA-a	2	1	10	2	1	2	0	18	1	1	3	3	1	2	2	1	0	14
HOD-a	7	3	3	0	8	3	0	24	1	7	3	3	3	0	1	0	0	18
HOD-b	13	0	0	2	2	0	0	17	6	5	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	15
HOR-a	20	1	22	0	2	0	0	45	8	14	11	1	2	1	1	2	1	41
HOR-b	9	3	4	3	3	1	1	24	3	8	2	0	0	2	2	0	1	18
<b>Total</b>	51	8	39	7	16	6	1	128	19	35	21	7	7	5	6	4	2	106

Note:  $\alpha$ : 'a/u' stands for 'always or usually' and 's' stands for 'sometimes'. 'Lift-club' in the original data sheet is incorporated into 'car' category.

$\beta$ : This data is based on the estimation of respondents and not necessarily accurate.

$\chi$ : One of them sometimes walks, travels by car or uses bus/taxi. The time chosen here is that of walking.