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A case study of Learners at two Schools in Cape Town, 2013-2015



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Declaration and Acknowledgement

I declare that this thesis is an original report of my research, has been written by me and has not been submitted for any previous degree. The experimental work is almost entirely my own work; the collaborative contributions have been indicated clearly and acknowledged. Due references have been provided on all supporting literatures. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

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Abbreviations

ANA- Annual National Assessments

ANC's- African National Congress

CAPE- Council for American Private Education

CEMIS- Circuit Education Management Information System

DBE -Department of Basic Education

DOTPW- Department of Transport and Public Works

EMA- Education Management Area

GR- Grade

HOA- House of Assembly

MEC- Member of the Executive Council

MRC- Medical Research Council

NCES- National Centre for Education Statistics

NHTS- National Household Travel Survey

RDP- Reconstruction and Development Programme

SA- South Africa

SACG- South Africa Child Gauge

SASA- South African Schools Act

SCE- Senior Certificate Examination

SGB- School Governing Body

SPSS- Statistical Package for Social Science

UK- United Kingdom

UN- United Nations

WC- Western Cape (WC)

WCBED-Western Cape Basic Education Department

Westridge High School: WHS

Zwaanswyk High School: ZHS

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Abstract

Since the deracialisation of schools in the 1990s, a large number of South African children travel on a daily basis to schools that are relatively far from their homes, a phenomenon which some scholars term “learner migration”. Learner migrants in Cape Town typically spend more than 30 minutes or more travelling from other disadvantaged areas to attend better schools in upmarket areas. The aim of this study was to explore school choice, time spent on travel, travel costs, travelling experiences and impacts for learner migrants at two schools in Cape Town. The study was completed using both qualitative and quantitative data acquired from a survey and self-enumerated interviews. The results show that significant numbers of learners travel from outside the school catchment area; they spend a considerable portion of family income on travel; the predominant mode of transport is the taxi and the private car, Although learners at the sampled schools do not report “major challenges” when travelling, it is evident that travelling has many negative side effects. Teachers and support staff at both schools revealed a strong awareness of learner migration as an issue. These issues could escalate given Cape Town’s worsening traffic problems.

Keywords: Learner migrants, Cape Town, township jumping; commuting, subjectivities, social construction, policy, education, transport mode, policies, access to equality

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

School choice in South Africa is a newly acquired right since 1994. Parents choose to send their children to far off schools for a variety of reasons, including the quality of education anticipated and their children's preparation for the future. Several researchers have noted the parents' desire for a well-rounded education, would be to include academics, sports and social life as stated by Kennedy (2008). The changing education geography and landscape and the diverse learners which schools attract have become debatable topics specifically because of the distances travelled by learners. The knock-on effect from pupils and parents looking for better schools takes the form of learners leaving township schools for suburban schools, and pupils leaving 'ex Model C' schools for private schools.

Although the financial requirements are burdensome, parents make the commitment and sacrifices to provide the best possible education for their children. Researchers have noted that it is fairly common for families to make holiday and other luxury sacrifices to afford a better school or a private school education (Kennedy, 2008). There are numerous studies that cited parent satisfaction for choosing a private school education however, the research is less clear on detailing how and why parents chose private schools and that the trade-offs might especially be for the opportunities lost through travelling to better schools. After school programmes for example might have to be forgone by learner migrants.

The main motivation for this study is to shed more light on an under-researched social and policy issue relating to learner migrants and also reflect on the "crisis in public education".

There is not enough on-going research on learner migration; previous studies need to be updated and their methodological weaknesses addressed.

Research Questions

The objective of this exploratory qualitative study is to interrogate the new geographies of education after 1994 in relation to the experiences and perceptions of learner migrants. We explore questions such as:

- What drives school choice?
- What is the time spent on travel?
- What are the approximate travel costs per learner when travelling to and from school?
- What are the experiences (anxieties etc.) when travelling to and from school?
- What benefits and disadvantages that might be encountered by this subgroup of learners?

Is there any evidence of wider socio-cultural impacts on educational performance and after school programmes? For the study, qualitative and very limited quantitative data was collected. The sample population was both male and female learner migrants at two schools in Grade 10. A qualitative study was conducted, using a case study method. I have used a questionnaire as a tool to collect the primary data I required. 114 questionnaires addressed to these migrants provided basic information. The learner questionnaire had many similar findings for travel experiences but this was purely because of the age category in terms of response they are not the most reliable to respond to a face-face questionnaire. If I had chosen another method of collection for this particular age category I believe the results would have been different. I interviewed teachers and a principal at one school to ascertain if there are any observed

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differences between migrants and local learners. According to Oterre (1995) the formulation of any questionnaire geared for children whether young or older children, needs to be approached with care. According to Borgers and Hox (2002:1) “because children are in the process of developing their cognitive and social skills, it is expected that answering questions in surveys bring along additional problems concerning response quality. So far methodological expertise on surveying children is scarce, and researchers rely on ad-hoc knowledge from other fields such as educational testing or on methodological knowledge on surveying adults.” To avoid additional complexities, the data was collected using a self-response questionnaire whereby learners in their class rooms and during class time completed the questionnaire while the researcher was in the room with the teacher.

Background

Historically under apartheid, different schools were provided for different “population groups” aligned to their place of residence or assigned “group area”. The Population Registration Act (PRA) of 1950, which classified the entire population into four racial types, was a significant piece of legislation that formed the basis of the apartheid system. White schools were better resourced and africans were compelled to attend schools that were underfunded and inferior. These township schools were seen as providing “gutter education”. Towards the end of the formal apartheid era some white schools opened their doors to african pupils and parental choice became possible for african parents who were of the means to send their children to private or semi-private schools.

According to Hunter (2010: 2646) since 1994 the African National Congress (ANC's) approach toward former white schools

bore many similarities to the state's strategy in the late apartheid era. Largely to preserve white privilege, the late apartheid state had decentralized authority to white schools and required them to collect fees. The new government retained this general approach for two main reasons: to promote a new african middle class group and to deter richer South Africans from abandoning the public education system for fully private schools. Former white schools called “ex-Model C” therefore continued to be quasi-private, increasingly dependent on fees, although legislation forced them to exempt poor students from payment.

In 2015, parents sending their children to Westville Boys had to pay R41 000 a year, while Grey High charged R40 700 and Parktown Boys’ High School in Johannesburg charged R39 900 (*News24* 1 November 2015). These schools typically offered up to 15 after school sports activities and fees were higher than most universities. On the other hand, under-resourced township schools faced basic issues such as fixing broken windows and had to receive additional funding for only maintenance costs. In 2006 government also declared certain poor schools as ‘no-fee’ schools with additional state support.

Since the deracialisation of schools in the 1990s, a study at the Department of Basic Education (DBE, 2003d: 98) has shown that a large number of South African children travel on a daily basis to schools that are relatively far from their homes, a phenomenon which some scholars term “learner migration” and others term ‘learner mobility’ in their research (Sekete et al 2001). As Sekete et al (2001: 2) put it, learners and parents are ‘voting with their feet’ as they seek access to ‘better’ educational opportunities, and this has major effects on the educational system. South African parents with the financial means, try to put their children in ‘good’

schools exercising what is now termed “parental choice” hoping this will provide a passport to a better life (Hunter 2010). Desegregation in South Africa has seen competition between schools, higher fees and greater distances for pupils wanting to access sought after former white schools (Lemon 2004). “Most parents cannot afford to buy houses or relocate closer to good schools so they appear to use other “spatial strategies” (Hunter 2010).

In 2008, the National Department of Education director-general, Duncan Hindle said a tendency for township pupils to desert schools in their areas was a serious concern and presented the authorities with difficult planning issues to deal with.

"We do give pupils and parents choices as to where to go for schooling, but we can't force pupils to go to township schools. Our emphasis during the course of this year will be a broad approach of injecting additional resources and improving the quality of education in the poorest schools in our communities." (IOL 5 January 2008).

There`s a debate in literature about the apartheid legacy in the current education system and the challenges of African families, one such example is the distances learners travel to access good schools. School choice in South Africa is a newly acquired right since 1994, but most african people still live in townships with poor schools. This has resulted in a cynical and cruel self-fulfilling prophecy of learner migration through schools to avoid what is seen as inferior township schools while trying to get an education to lift themselves out of poverty. But those learners who are in a position to migrate to better schools from townships require the financial means to do so as well as sacrificing valuable opportunities and time. The interplay between learner choice, travel patterns, economics, inequality and achievement is vital in terms of understanding injustice and inequity in SA.

Section 29(1) (a) of the South African Constitution states that “everyone has the right to a basic education”, and section 29(1) (b) says that “everyone has the right to further education”, and that the state must make such education “progressively available and accessible”.¹ Article 11(3)(a) of the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child says “States Parties to the present Charter shall take all appropriate measures with a view to achieving the full realisation of this right and shall in particular provide free and compulsory basic education”.² Article 28 of the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child recognises “the right of the child to education” and also obliges the state to “make primary education compulsory and available and free to all”.³

The City of Cape Town (2016) argues that

Currently, many providers of scholar transport do not meet the requirements for operating legally. Many parents do not have access to scholar transport solutions that are workable or affordable, especially if they are in the low to medium income bracket of our population and do not have access to a private car.

¹ Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996

² Secretary General of the Organisation of the African Union (1990) *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child*, OAU resolution 21.8/49. Addis Ababa: OAU

³ Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights (1989) *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, UN General Assembly resolution 44/25. Geneva: United Nations

Numerous studies in the area of transport have shown that access to education is often hindered by a lack of viable transport systems.⁴

Proper roads and access to public transport may contribute to enrolment rates in education institutions and possibly education attainment. Poor access to these amenities has multi-fold implications for females. Lack of proper transportation systems to education facilities is a security risk for females as it predisposes them to sexual assault and other forms of abuse. (City of Cape Town; Gender Series Volume III: Gender Patterns in Transport, 2013:27)

The common view of the education landscape presented in the press paints a dismal picture. Monare (IOL 12 December 2011) writes,

The desperate parent, who cannot even afford to live in these suburbs, risk the lives of their children by allowing them to be crammed in dangerous jalopies to access suburban schools. It's a sad, double punishment. These parents were punished by the racist apartheid system of the segregated education system. And now their children continue to feel the brunt of the same system and bad policy-making decision made by the new

⁴ Asian Development Bank (2013). Gender tool kit: Transport—Maximizing the benefits of improved mobility for all. Mandaluyong City, Philippines.

government.....we are still faced with the legacy of segregated schooling.

Unfortunately, parents at some of these schools will– like their township counterparts sending their children to suburban schools – vote with their feet for private schools.

Learner migrants are defined as pupils residing outside the catchment area of a school and living more than 30 minutes travel time from a school (NHTS: Statistics South Africa 2006). As the South Africa Child Gauge report SACG, (2008/2009: 86) also confirms, “the school the child attends is regarded as ‘far’ if a child has to travel more than 30 minutes to reach it, irrespective of mode of transport”. Despite the South African Schools Act (SASA) No. 84 of 1996, which stipulates that all learner admissions should be based on whether the learner falls within the feeder zone, learner migration is increasing. In fact, this has become a new social phenomenon since 1994. It is common to see taxis and private transport filled with thousands of such learner migrants as stated by Soudien (2010).

Learners’ travel patterns and modes of transport

Of the 1.6 million learners attending an educational institution in Western Cape, 70% resided in metro areas, followed by urban areas 25, 7% and 3, 9% in rural areas. About 98% of learners attending educational institutions attended classes while only 2% were distance learners. In terms of modes of transport used, slightly more than a half 50, 5% of learners walked all the way to get to their educational institution, followed by 25, 3% who were passengers in a car/truck and taxis 10, 7%.

Learners' travel time

In the Western Cape, seventy-five per cent of learners left their place of residence between 07:00 and 07:59, followed by those who left between 06:30 and 06:59, accounting for 12,5%. Then, 7, 6% left at 08:00 or later. The majority of learners that is 96,3% walked up to 15 minutes to their educational institution after getting off the transport in Western Cape, while 3,7% learners walked for more than 30 minutes according to recent research in the NHTS (2014: 3-4).

The Behrens & Muchaka (2011) article reports on research conducted amongst school children aged 7-15 years, and their parents, aimed at exploring independent child mobility in the context of Cape Town among selected towns and rural settlements within its hinterland. A survey of 1494 pupils conducted by the Centre for Transport Studies in 2009 found that, amongst nine participating schools in Rondebosch, which serve predominantly middle- and high-income communities, trips to school by foot or bicycle had declined to 8% and 7% on foot and 1% by bicycle, trips by public transport had declined to 3%, and trips by car had **increased to 87%** (Behrens & Van Rensburg, 2009: 168).

Research done by Children's Institute based at the University of Cape Town (2003) reflects that learners and parents spend much time and money to access better schools. Many children have to travel long distances to reach their nearest school: 17% of children live far from their nearest primary school and this increases to 29% for high school learners. Many families, who do not have the resources to travel long distances and pay high school fees, still engage in school choice in a more local context, according to Chisholm (2004). Equal Education (2016) argues that "Nationally there were only 360 248 learners benefitting from scholar transport

programmes, while more than half a million (517 000) learners walk for more than an hour to get to school, with a further two million learners walking for between 30min and an hour to get to school”.

South Africa has made significant strides in improving access to education with an attendance rate of 97% in 2007 but outcomes are notoriously poor by SA Child Gauge (2012: 81). It is fair to assume that resource and quality differentials across schools, and geographies of travel might be strongly connected to racial inequality and poor performance. The vast majority 83% of white children are driven to school in private cars, and live closer to “good” schools, compared to only 12% of african children. These figures illustrate pronounced racial disparity in learner mobility and means of access to school.⁵

The WC has devised a game changer namely the after school programme but this “game changer” is affected by the problem of scholar transport.

“The Game Changer will result in more than doubling the participation of learners from disadvantaged schools in after school activities, and ensuring regular attendance by significantly improving the attractiveness and quality of such programmes for learners.

⁵ (<http://www.childrencount.org.za/indicator.php?id=6&indicator=46>)

The target is 112,000 learners participating regularly in quality programmes – 20% of learners in no and low fee schools. This is a joint Game Changer in partnership with the City of Cape Town and a number of NGO's." <http://www.iol.co.za/atlantic-sun/news/when-getting-to-school-is-a-challenge-6432670>.

In keeping with global trends set by developed countries, South Africa is increasingly becoming part of a broader move towards school choice policies. As Raywid (1992) explains, there are different “choice orientations”: education-driven, economics-driven, policy-driven, and governance-oriented. The education policy debates tend to polarise around choice and transport to make choice possible versus proving good education and living conditions for all closer to where pupils stay.

Structure of this study

- Chapter two will cover the literature review and conceptual framework
- Chapter three is about the methodology and discussing the approach taken:
(a) Sample Approach; (a) grade selection (b) the selection of schools for the case study; (c) the interviews; (d) the questionnaires; (e) and the validity and reliability of this study.
- Chapter four is the policy section, consisting areas of examination, analysis of policy related research.
- Chapter five and six are the results section, consisting areas of examination, stemming primarily from data as provided from the questionnaire.
- Chapter seven consists of implications and conclusions, which utilises the conceptual framework developed in chapter two to draw conclusions from the data. This chapter is shaped

by a series of concluding findings, based on evidence from the data analysis. It is divided into sub-sections, discussing issues relating to school profiles and the travel selection employed and also particular attention is focussed on what the findings of this study means in terms of the school travel policy in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND SA

CONTEXT

Local and International literature

In framing this study I draw on the writer's reviews but also wish to situate my study broadly within critical geography and specifically work on public goods and the distance-decay effect and specific geography and location are key forces shaping inequality. It is also important to remember that apartheid was essentially a geographical project. Townships ironically were also called "locations" meant to actively produce inferiority (and to retribalize the 'Native' while civilized standards were applied for "Europeans). It also has implications for city planning and for Nimbyist (not in my backyard) movements. The latter is especially rife in SA whereby the middle class will organise to keep unwanted facilities away from their areas and ensure that these remain in "African" townships⁶, while keeping other facilities close. I start with the South African context and then will move onto review the academic debates.

⁶ The terms "African, coloured and white" are used in the rest of this thesis without scare quotes. However the researcher does not accept these terms as unproblematic since they are inherited categories from the apartheid era.

South African Policy Context

Rich in gold and diamonds, modern day South Africa attracted a relatively large white settler community that, utilizing African labour robbed of its land, oversaw the growth of the largest industrial economy in the continent. Apartheid refers specifically to the post-1948 period when the National Party, elected in that year, embarked on a draconian social engineering project that rigidly segregated urban areas and sought to devolve power to ‘traditional’ leaders in rural ethnic ‘homelands.’ In the 1950’s and 60’s, whites were largely untouched by ‘Group Areas’ zoning, remaining located in central and nearby suburbs. Africans who, through birth or employment, were allowed to live in the city—and thousands were removed to rural ‘homelands’—were rehoused in townships, the biggest of which became Soweto, Mitchells Plain, Khayelitsha, Umlazi, located miles away from the city centre. “Coloureds” (very broadly those of ‘mixed-race’) were removed from mixed areas such as District Six and “Indians” (mostly descendants of indentured labourers employed in Natal’s sugar industry) were located in the places such as Wentworth and Merebank or Chatsworth.

Schooling resources followed this racial hierarchy. African learners in overcrowded schools were taught by underpaid and under-qualified teachers; at the other end of the educational spectrum, whites benefited from a generous education system, enjoying small class sizes, well-equipped science labs, and well-paid teachers. Indian and coloured education was funded somewhere in-between these two poles (for overviews on apartheid education see Hyslop, 1999; Kallaway 2002).

After 1994 most former white schools adapted. Sayed and Soudien (2003) suggests that, “research in the ‘white’ schools indicates that they had largely taken on-board the

‘inclusionary’ thrust of educational policy. ...many schools were exaggerating their degree of inclusiveness” As Sayed and Soudien (2003) argues, school sometimes articulated a “Christian ethos, seeing the school’s ‘family’ culture as an extension of its Christian identity. Much of the symbolic work, the rituals and practices sought to engender an inclusive climate by emphasising the Christian values of family, care, and belonging. Racial integration and inclusion were effected by creating a language and an ethos of ‘family’ in which all belonged but with differing roles”.

What does the empirical literature say about the extent of learner-migrant in South Africa and their experiences and effects of travel? A case study by De Kadt et al (2014) of learner mobility in contemporary urban South Africa provides data regarding school choice and distance travelled to school in Soweto-Johannesburg, De Kadt (2014) shows that, overall, primary school children in Soweto-Johannesburg are shown to be travelling substantial distances to school on a daily basis. Over a third travel more than 3 km one way to school, (60%) attend schools outside of the suburb in which they live, and only 18% attend their nearest school.

His study also provides evidence of high levels of school choice in Johannesburg-Soweto, and that “families and children are making substantial investments in pursuit of high-quality educational opportunities. Even though they are attending schools relatively close to home, they are not attending their nearest school, and are often travelling to schools that are not located in the same suburbs as their homes according De Kadt et al (2014: 3).

Scholars agree that “the major determinant of mobility seems likely to be the ability to pay higher fees and additional transportation, and it is probably strongly linked to socio-economic status” De Kadt et al (2014: 173). So it appears that higher income households in townships

opt to send their children to better but far off schools. The current policy is that the department provides transport only to learners further than five kilometres from school.

The South Africa Institute of Race relations (2011) noted,

In 2009 (the latest year for which the Institute has figures) the national matric pass rate in former 'Model C' schools was 94%, compared to an overall pass rate of 60%. The pass rate for each race group was also higher than the overall pass rate. This was true of Africans in particular. In 2009 the matric pass rate for Africans in former 'Model C' schools was 88%. The overall pass rate for African pupils in that year was 55%. For coloured pupils in 'Model C' schools the pass rate was 88%, compared to an overall pass rate of 76%. For Indian and Asian pupils attending former 'Model C' schools the pass rate was 98%, compared to an overall pass rate of 92%. The pass rate for white pupils in former 'Model C' schools was 99%. This was also the pass rate for white pupils overall. This is not surprising. Of the 42 000 white pupils who wrote matric in 2009, some 88% did so in 'Model C' schools.

Former 'Model C' schools need to be supported. They are cases of excellence in the desert of mediocrity that is our public education system, and provide pupils with quality educations. Thus parents choose to pay for a model C school hoping to ensure their children might pass well enough to get into university.

<http://www.politicsweb.co.za/opinion/model-c-schools-need-to-be-supported>

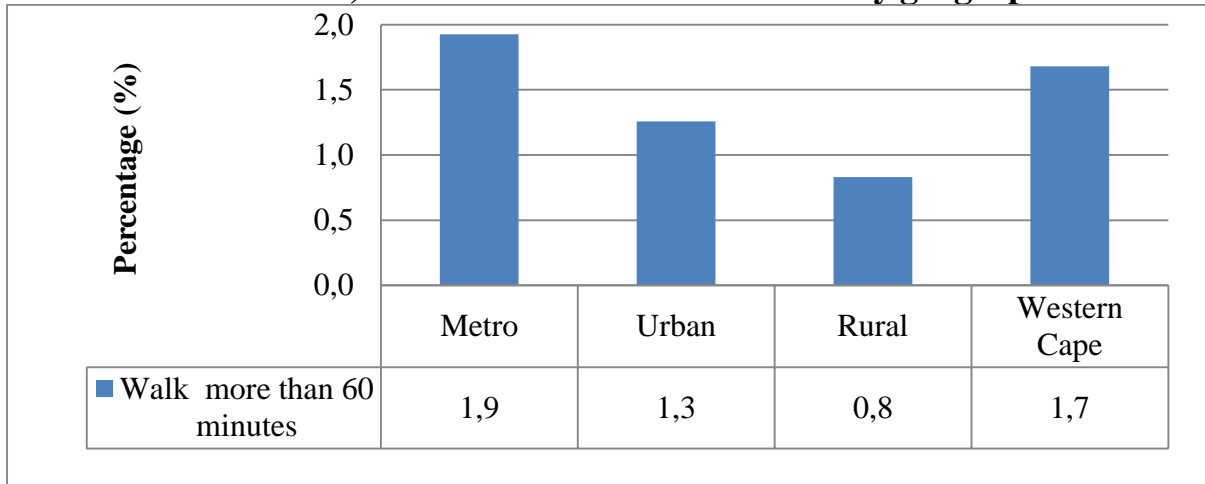
According to the Western Cape National Household Travel Survey (WCNHTS, 2014) conducted in 2014, 1, 6 million learners attending an educational institution in Western Cape,

70% resided in metro areas, followed by urban areas 25, 7% and 3, 9% in rural areas. In other words, Cape Town Metro accounted for 70% of all learners, that is 1,1 million school going children.

Data on travel expenses by mode of transport shows that a private vehicle was the most expensive mode of travel in Cape Town with an average monthly cost of R1 405. However a lift-club using a car spent R557. The bus average expenditure was R474. The train turned out to be the cheapest with the average monthly cost of R348. WCNHTS (2014: 53)

The WCNHTS (2014) also provided data on learners walking to school. About 52 percent of the provinces learners walk all the way to school. Those who walk all the way to school in the WC, generally do so within 19 minutes. In Cape Town, 92% of learners walking all the way do so within 1 to 30 minutes of leaving home (WCHNTS, 2014: 30). The data showed (see figure 2.1) that a very small percentage of learners only 1.7% spend more than an hour walking to school. The learners who are of concern are the 1,7% walking more than 60 minutes to school since they may be physically exhausted and this might lower their attention levels at school.

Figure 2.1: Percentage of learners in Western Cape walking all the way, for more than 60 minutes, to their educational institution by geographic location



Source: WCNHTS (2014)

One can of course ask why the 60 minutes cut-off was chosen in the survey and why not 45 minutes?

In South Africa, few will deny that there is a “white’-wards movement” of learners because many ‘african’ learners move to ‘white’ schools, but there is almost no movement of ‘white’ learners to ex-‘coloured’ or ‘african’ institutions (Hammett 2007: 213). Fataar (2009: 13) coined a useful term, “township jumping” to describe how african learners move from poor African township schools to poor Coloured township schools. Learner migrants in Cape Town typically engage in what might be called “racial jumping” from African to coloured and from coloured to white. They all desire to get out of disadvantaged areas to attend better schools in historically white areas (Fataar 2009).

In the Cape Town context, learners commute from as far as Mitchell's Plain and Macassar to upmarket schools in Rondebosch and Bergvliet according to Hill and Bekker (2014). Some

interesting work on the subjectivities of learner migrants has been done by Fataar (2009, 2010). A school psychologist, Anneliese Brandt, noted that many of the pupils at her school arrive at school already traumatised simply because of what they experience every day. Many of the pupils were also tired by the time they arrived at school (<http://www.iol.co.za/atlantic-sun/news/when-getting-to-school-is-a-challenge-6432670>).

The Annual National Assessments (ANA) report of 2011 captures elements of poor performance in township schools, although there are exceptions. The percentage of learners, who demonstrated acceptable competencies in the various domains and across all the grades, ranged between 10 to 49 percent; certainly below 50% a detailed analysis of what learners could or could not do in the tests showed common trends across the grades and across the subjects. The majority of learners seemed not to be developing beyond elementary levels of knowledge and skills. The learners concerned displayed unacceptably low levels of reading with the required comprehension across the grades. Numeracy scores were lower than those of other subjects.⁷

Given the perception or reality of poor township schools many pupils migrate. In rural areas lack of high schools in village and small towns is also an issue. Over 200 school pupils from

⁷ Report On The Qualitative Analysis of ANA 2011 results: Published by the Department of Basic Education, 2011

various rural and farm schools in the Cape Winelands and Boland demanded an amendment to the five kilometre transport policy for rural youth.⁸

“About 62% of the children have been robbed on the way to school - either they have been robbed themselves or they have had friends in their group that had been robbed. These robberies aren't just taking money from learners but learner has their hair cut off, they have been thrown with stones, beaten with sticks.” (WCED 2014)

A critical dimension of the emergence of new policies and visions was the fact that they were produced in the context of conflict between old and new social forces, and amongst new social forces, over the direction that the new society and its education policy should take (Chisholm 2004). The new legislative and policy context that was created was very much the result of compromise and negotiation between these different and conflicting social forces. According to Hunter, May and Padayachee (2003: 25), spending on public education is definitely not,

“Pro-poor, since the share going to the poor and the ultra-poor is substantially smaller than their share of the population. In South Africa education should be free, but in practice schools require school fees and other costs (such as uniforms, school books and stationery, but also transport to school) are making it increasingly more difficult

⁸ SABC [Monday 29 June 2015 19:22]

for the poorest to access basic education. A clear strategy from Government is required in this regard, as it is increasingly evident from the delivery of other services, particularly health care, that user fees and transport costs are hampering the access to these services of those most in need.”

According to the MEC Debbie Schäfer, Department of Education Western Cape, every child is required to have access to education one way by in meeting this target is by providing a subsidised learner transport system that is sustainable. She states,

In order to assist over 50 000 learners in our poorer rural areas to get to and from school, we have allocated over R277 million for learner transport.⁹Western Cape Education (2015)

In Cape Town a project namely Safe Travel to School was initiated in 2015 which was aimed to help improve the safety of children travelling to school has shown the potential to reduce road-related deaths as well as a marked increase in improved driver education. The programme was the first of its kind to involve school bus drivers and was a partnership between Discovery Insure, the Child-Safe South Africa, Cape Town’s school bus industry, Cape Town schools and

⁹Western Cape Education -More on: Budget: Provincial Education Budget Vote 2015/2016; March 2015

the Department of Transport supports the programme and the Red Cross Children's Hospital.¹⁰

(Ngwenya 2015)

According to Ngwenya (2015), a total of 75 school bus drivers were involved in the pilot programme which focused on improving driver education and awareness around driving and the transportation of children each day. The school bus drivers all drive minibuses – the same vehicles as taxi drivers. This was the finding of the first phase of the 12-month pilot Safe Travel to School programme which was conducted under the auspices of the Medical Research Council (MRC).

While the Western Cape has comparatively good infrastructure, major infrastructure challenges remain. Likewise, in many areas, public transport services are inefficient, inaccessible, unsafe, unaffordable and fragmented.¹¹

Local and International literature on scholar mobility

My motivation for this study is to extend the existing research completed by various authors such as Fataar (1997) and Hall (2012) and also address the on-going social consequences for learners and reflect on policy debates on “inclusion” in education (Sayed and Soudien 2003).

¹⁰ News/south-africa/western-cape / 30 July 2015 at 18:12pm By: Jabulile S. Ngwenya)

¹¹ Western Cape: Provincial Strategic Plan 2014- 2019 (p.51)

Fataar (1997) argues that the new system of school “choice” is broadly delineated in terms of a privileged schooling sector (comprising private as well as high-fee public schools) serving a minority on one side with an under-resourced largely poor quality public system serving the majority on the other. This means that while the formal opportunity of school choice is presented to all, most learners and parents will not enjoy the opportunity to attend the school he/she chooses.

Recent work by Hall (2012: 128) stresses that,

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

Fataar (2009: 10) is highly critical of choice and scholar mobility in South Africa. He suggests that once those children end up in their schools of “choice”, whether in the townships or the suburbs, the schools mostly work to assimilate them in their hegemonic ways of being without any substantial adjustments in their cultural repertoires. According to Fataar (2009) experiences of inclusion are thus simultaneously accompanied by experiences of exclusion. These hegemonic scripts, he argues, are mostly perpetuated by “race blind” or “race neutral” teachers unwilling or unable to negotiate the different incoming groups on the schools’ campuses.

According to Fataar (2009: 16) fragmented lived space in the post-apartheid city has meant that the neighbourhood’s children often do not attend the same school. These children make cross-spatial associations with others at their school who, like them, come from all over the city.

Another critical source of scholarly work is these studies on learner migrants is by Hunter (2012). He had a four phased research approach namely: he stayed in Durban townships for 9 months to do direct observations, and undertook a survey, interviews, and ethnographic observations mainly in the area of Umlazi. He extensively interviewed pupils at a number of different types of schools and households with learner migrants. Like Fataar (1997, 2010), he situates his analysis within an understanding of the apartheid city and the role of education in reproducing racial and class hierarchies in SA. At the core of his article is the schooling landscape, and what we become in interaction with this landscape, and how we live in the city. This can be understood analytically as the outcome of a spatial dialectic: the imbrications of physical space, representational space, and spatial representation (or lived space). Using Lefebvre and Harvey (2006). “lived space” refers to how people live in particular sites, how they are wired into their geography, and how they transcend this geography. Lived space focuses on what people become when engaging their geographies, appropriating space, and inventing new practices. People’s educational choices are “invested with readings that draw on notions of the rapidly changing city and the spatial provenance they expect their choices to provide” (Fataar, 2009: 2).

According to Mbembe and Nuttall (2005:199), “indeed motion is what we want to capture, while at the same time exploring the splintering quality of the metropolitan experience itself”. For Fataar (2009: 3) schooling subjectivities, constructed in motion, involve complex readings and navigations of the city’s environs, often by children who have to travel long distances in precarious transport arrangements. Fataar (2009: 3) goes on to describe, the perception of the

township school as repulsive popular image, shunned by many who live in its immediate surrounds.

Another South African academic study that looks at learner's perception to travelling to school is Soudien (2010). Soudien's work (2010) focusing on a few former white schools, argues that an asymmetry continues to exist in the context that takes place between white and african.

Hall's work in Child Gauge (2011/2012), she notes that children who travel extensively face high cost, more risks and spend more money and effort to travel to school. These factors may affect the frequency of absenteeism as well as involvement in extracurricular events. Clearly, children who travel long distances wake up very early and also run the risk of coming late. Another aspect may be physically exhaustion suffered after a cramped ride in a taxi that has traversed townships and other places where multiple pick-ups or drop-offs have taken place. All this might drain the child's energy and enthusiasm for learning and after school activities.¹²

The WCED has recently launched an after school "game changer" programme.

¹² K Hall & W Sambu Analysis of General Household Survey 2014, Children's Institute, UCT <http://www.childrencount.org.za/indicator.php?id=6&indicator=46>

Prior to 1990 school choice decisions within the South African milieu primarily involved a choice between a private and public, schooling system. The opening of all school doors to all learners' has altered the way in which school choice decisions are being made.

There have been a range of critical interpretations of the implications of parental choice. Vally argues that,

Parental choice reforms with its ostensible concern for academic excellence, transfers the power to assign children to particular schools away from local authorities, to parents and individual schools (1996: 1).

Why do parents send children to distant schools? Although this is not my primary interest, I think it is important to review the literature in the context of learner migration and education choice generally. The enduring impact of the apartheid legacy on education in the new democracy is that the majority of african learners attend local schools that have inadequate resources. Fifty percent of learners enrolling into poor schools do not continue to high school graduation according to Bloch (2009) and Jansen (2009). Another study Van der Berg et al (2007), which analysed variation on numeracy and literacy test scores among african school children using data from the 1993 Living Standards and Development Study, confirmed strong correlations between the students' test performance and their socio-economic background. Van der Berg et al (2007: 305) argued that their findings offered support for the need to improve the quality of historically african schools.

Lemon and Lennard (2011) argue that spatial inequalities of educational provision encourage considerable movement of pupils from outside traditional catchment areas. To explore the socio-economic context of such choices, and the costs of making them, they use survey data

from two secondary schools with differing apartheid histories in different socio-economic neighbourhoods, and with differing racial compositions. However, a study by Timaeus et al. (2013) questions Lemon and Lennard's (2011) findings arguing that educational disadvantages of african children are also accounted for by household poverty and by these parents own limited education.

Kahn's (2005) analysis of african learner's math and science performance on the Senior Certificate Examination (SCE) revealed that the majority of african learners who performed well in math and science on the SCE had access to elite (formerly White) schools that charged high fees. Kahn's analysis offers empirical confirmation of the presumed link between students' access to "good schools" and their measured academic performance. He makes the case that, with a few exceptions, high-level math and science skills are being developed by schools to which most disadvantaged students do not have access.


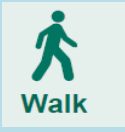

Better transport can be a catalyst for development or help in mitigating apartheid spatial distortions as the NDP RSA (2012) argues. It follows from these that the priorities in providing and using the transport system should be consistent with those that have been set for the country as a whole. These priorities are summed up in the elements of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), namely meeting basic needs, growing the economy, developing human resources, and democratising the state and society.

Having looked at some of the local literature, international literature shows that in the mid-1980s the mean distance travelled to school by 11-16 year olds in the United Kingdom (UK) was just over 2 miles (about 3 kms); by 2013 this had almost doubled, increasing to 3.7 miles (5 km) according to the UK Department for Transport, (2013). Secondly, the sub-urbanisation

and decentralisation which has occurred in many cities has dispersed some school-aged children to housing on the outskirts which involves both longer travel distances and an urban form that favours car use (Dieleman et al. 2002).

A third factor that has also influenced the length of children's journey to school is legislation promoting “parental choice”, which has encouraged the selection of out-of-area schools (see for example Parsons, 2000). In recent studies it has been estimated that less than half of all school- age children in England now attend their nearest school. (Ferrari, 2015:1)

Table 2. 1: Average time comparison by mode of transport for different countries

Comparison of standard distance per country to travel to school	  	
Country	Distance	Time taken to travel
<i>South Africa</i>	5 km	30 minutes
For the schools in South Africa the average length of a trip to school has remained the same for all children (30minutes)		
Country	Distance	Time taken to travel
<i>England</i>	5 miles= 8,05km	25 minutes
For the schools in England the average length of a trip to school has slightly increased to 3,4 miles in 2014 for secondary school children (25 minutes)		
Country	Distance	Time taken to travel
<i>Japan</i>	2 miles= 3,22km	15 minutes
For the schools in Japan the average length of a trip to school has remained the same for all children(15 minutes)		

Source: Internet Source (International travel times and Google maps distance calculator)

Table 2.1 above shows that in England the average time spent travelling to school has remained remarkably stable for both age groups, around 13 minutes per trip for primary school children and 25 minutes for secondary school children. Secondary school children travel consistently further and longer to go to school than primary school children, which is probably because there are far fewer secondary schools. The National Travel Survey is the Department for Transport's key source of data.

In Japan the prevalence of childhood obesity has increased. Although Japan is not an exception, it boasts a relatively low level of childhood obesity compared to other countries of similar income.¹³ Wang Y, Lobstein T. A possible contributing factor could be the walk-to-school practice that has been implemented in Japan for over 50 years.

In several international studies, it is notable to find policies that encourage learners to walk to school given the increasing factor of obesity amongst children. Childhood obesity is one of the most serious public health issues worldwide. The Asian walk-to-school policy can be considered as a valuable opportunity to give impact on children's physical activity level, and may possibly have an impact on prevention of childhood obesity. Walking is a means or mode of transport that should be considered as a non-burdening financial strain on households and

¹³ Wang Y, Lobstein T. Worldwide trends in childhood overweight and obesity *International Journal of Pediatric Obesity*.2006;11:11-25

this concept above has impact on my study. We should explore different policies to aiding learners to get to school safely but also promoting a healthy lifestyle for children and to reduce financial burdens on households.

To help assist with reducing obesity the Japanese government adopted the concept of the walk-to-school practice that has been implemented in Japan for over 50 years. This investigation of the walk-to-school practice revealed several key factors. First of all, we should ascertain the availability of schools within walking distance for children, particularly in urban areas. In Japan the districts and distances to and from school are decided based on the local characteristics of each municipality. Secondly, there are highly established safety measures in place in Japan.

(Mori et al., 2010).¹⁴

Walking to school is one way of increasing physical activity. Active travel to school, such as walking and cycling has been identified as an important source of physical activity in children. Many developed countries are now promoting walking to school as a way to increase physical activity, aiming to tackle the epidemic of childhood obesity.¹⁵

¹⁴ <http://www.who.or.jp/>

¹⁵ National Center for Safe Routes to School of the University of North Carolina Highway Safety Research Center. International walk to school. Available from: <http://www.iwalktoschool.org>.

There are those scholars with a more free market approach who view parental choice of schools as an empowering action, while there are those who do not. Levin and Riffel (1997) explain that advocates of parental choice of schools believe that choice will result in schools improving the quality of education they provide in their attempt to maintain or increase enrolment. According to these advocates, schools will improve if there is competition. Westoby (1989) states that numerous key requirements can be seen as linked to parental choices, taking effect mainly through competition between schools. At the most direct level is the competition for pupils. He explains that there are some broad similarities between the features of schools which parents cite as desirable: practical features such as geographical convenience, traditional academic qualities, reputation of the school and good discipline, which are generally viewed as more important for secondary schools.

Fundamentally there are two main arguments relating to school choice namely, proponents of school choice believe that an education system organised around choice will promote educational performance by enhancing competition amongst schools (Westoby 1989). Opponents of school choice claim that it reinforces divisions and inequalities (see Smith and Meier 1995). Bah, Bowe and Gewirtz (1996) believe that parental choice is not susceptible to

one definitive analysis, but rather that there are recurring themes and patterns like the multifaceted -relationship between social class and choice. They argue that,

Almost without exception the disconnected choosers are working class; the privileged skilled choosers are almost exclusively professional, middle class (public professionals and human science occupations are over-represented within this group); but the semi-skilled choosers tend to be from a variety of class backgrounds (Bah, Bowe and Gewirtz 1996: 92).

Just as the different choice-makers, (parents or learners) choose schools inversely, so, too, schools are differentially affected and not all have equal power to select. According to Whitty et al (1993), there is some evidence, the opinion of parents and learners, schools gain in terms of their image if they have a defining feature that sets them apart from others, regardless of the precise nature or quality of the difference. In the opinion of Glatter et al (1997), there are differences between schools in terms of the reasons parents are drawn to see them as their first choice.

Conclusion

Education is widely regarded as a passport to upward social mobility. It is evident that families will invest extraordinary resources to get quality education often in former white schools, even with enormous costs. The literature on scholar mobility has policy implications for urbanisation and spatial forms. On the one side there are those who decide on choice of schools and a competitive approach and then there are those who favour universal standards, equitable access and social equality as well as a more rational planned approach to urban life.

The South African literature shows that the problem is embedded in spatial and racial issues. There are course deep issues involved related to the apartheid legacy and spatial strategies used by the poor and african middle class to improve the future of their children. International literature also shows increasing concerns about distances leaners have to travel.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter will explain how the research was designed and the methods used for my research. The chapter will motivate the selection of the cases and provide details of how the research was done. The research approach engaged in for this study is that of a comparative case study.

There were three stages to this research procedure. The first necessitated the selection of two schools in the Western Cape, which function as the basis for the two in-depth case studies. The researcher will compare the two schools in different socio-economic areas. One school is seen as prestigious (former white school) and the other, a township school, carries negative stereotypes and is seen as less desirable. The second stage of research involved data collection through self-enumerated interviews with the migrant learners in Grade 10 only at the two sampled schools, as well as the educators and principal involved with these learners including one principle at one of the sampled schools.

The researcher was served a directive from the Western Cape Basic Education Department (WCBED) which stipulated clearly defined timelines in which to complete the data collection. The Department did not allow too many interruptions during the school day therefore I was afforded a specific period and day to complete my interviews. The abstract and the questionnaire tool was requested and sent to the Department of Education Research Ethics Committee before I received approval to complete my interviews at the two schools. The rest of this chapter will give specific explanations to each of the stages mentioned above. Due to the constraints placed on choosing of schools, I received feedback from the two schools only and therefore went ahead and concluded this as my sample. I had sent request out to schools

within the Metro South Education District, but it is difficult getting access to schools during specific periods of the year.

The researcher has investigated the quantitative and qualitative factors involved with learner migrants who travel to the two High Schools sampled within the City of Cape Town area. For this study, mainly qualitative data was collected using a case study design. Although cognisant of existing literature, the study will avoid imposing a particular preconceived interpretation of learner migration so as rather to probe the learner's own views.

Social Constructionism

The theoretical approach to be used in this study was based on social constructionism. Here it is argued that reality does not exist "out there" but that different actors make different sense of the world through different socio-cultural lenses. What seems obvious for the external observer needs to be interrogated through coming to grips with how actors make sense of their world. A social constructionist approach will uncover deeper meanings that actors attribute to social practices and intervention. Meanings/rules or ways of seeing and the common sense that are shared was probed through in-depth interviews.

Gergen writes,

It is thus that social constructionism seeks to replace the individualistic ideology of the traditional conceptions of knowledge with a communal concern. It is out of community that rational articulation is achieved, and without such articulation there is simply no means of presuming the individual self. (in Steffe and Gale 1995: 24).

For Steffe and Gale (1995) social constructionism is about social relationships, being centrally concerned with “negotiation, cooperation, conflict, rhetoric, ritual, roles, social scenarios, and the like”. In this theory, meaning in language is context dependent.

Research was done from the viewpoint of research subjects emphasising context and interconnectedness of processes and events. The “life-world” of the learner was explored in the context of the two sampled schools.

Design of the study: Case Study Approach

A case study is a type of in-depth descriptive research in which data are gathered directly from individuals (or individual classes) in their natural settings in order to study interactions, attitudes, or characteristics. Yin (1994) is of the opinion, that a case study is a practical survey that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. When to employ each of these case study strategies, explains Yin (1994), depends on the conditions, such as the type of research question posed; the extent of control the investigator has over events; and the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events.

Designing the study as a comparison based on differences enabled an exploration of paradoxes and led to deeper investigation and questioning the different dynamics. The schools selected and studied are very different. Westridge is a Cape Flats school that has lost pupils and Zwaanswyk was a conservative middle-class mainly Afrikaner, white school but now attracts scholar migrants. The limitation of a case study is that the results are not generalizable.

Sample Size and Selection of Sample

In the research, the researcher used a questionnaire (*see Appendix 3*) on a sample of learners. In order to select the sample I requested that only those considering themselves to be learners who travel to fill in the form. In other words at Zwaanswyk, there were 147 grade 10 learners, but only 100 volunteered as “travellers” and thus 100 questionnaires were handed out. Only 68 out of 100 responded. At Westridge where there was a total of 250 learners; here only 44 completed the questionnaire because they were part of a smaller population of “migrant’s learners” whereas the rest lived close by. The learners wrote their responses to the questions in the classroom under supervision of the researcher and the teacher.

Six teacher/educator questionnaires including one principal questionnaire was administered to address questions about migrant learners. The sample frame included both male and female learners across the grade 10 classes at the two sampled schools. The case study included a small number of educators for the Grade 10 migrant learners at the two sampled schools. The reason for Grade 10 being sampled was to establish the travel pattern perception given for at least two years.

The first requirement for the designated sample was to complete a request letter to be sent to the schools in the Metro-South Education Management Area (EMA). Schools were required to grant permission to the researcher to conduct interviews with both the learner and educator but the stipulation was that the school had to state that they were willing to participate in this study.

The instrument used was a structured questionnaire as a tool to collect the primary data which included both open-ended and closed questions. Questionnaires were addressed to migrant learners; the information collected from these respondents would provide the profile of the

learner who travels. Interviews were conducted with those migrant learners in grade 10 learners, those available at the time of the interview date at both schools but not all learners participated. I used data collected from the learners to detail the stories for the psycho-social and emotional aspects of travelling to and from school. Because the questionnaire is a totally impersonal probe, it must be designed to fulfil a specific research objective and the language must be clear.

I interviewed six educators and a principal at the two sampled schools since these schools had committed to completing the educator questionnaires and the results had indicated how they perceive the relationship between migrant learner travels and school activities. The questionnaire was a way of collecting three types of data: (a) the demographical profile of the migrant learner; (b) the reasons for choosing the particular school and; (c) the travel patterns of the migrant learners. The focus of the questionnaire extracts the experience of school travels, one half of the questionnaire centred on the demographics and residential address of the learner, while the other half concerned itself with the issue of travel choice and experiences and the time spent travelling.

The researcher had challenges in data collection, one was the fact that some learners had been absent during the particular day of data collection. The learners absent on the day of the questionnaire completion process simply did not receive one, since a clearly defined time-frame had been established. Initially, after analysing the completed questionnaires, I was left with approximately a hundred or more different experiences. Since this is a big number, it was decided to re-categorise these experiences into five themes (a) Absenteeism, (b) Forget things, (c) Tiredness, (d) Late coming, and (e) no response.

For the proposed study, qualitative and very limited quantitative data will be collected. The sample population was both male and female learner migrants, aged between 15-18 years of age at the two sampled schools specifically Grade 10. The qualitative study was conducted, using a case study method. The tool used was a questionnaire whereby I collect the primary data I require. 114 questionnaires addressed to these migrants will provide basic information. I interviewed teachers and a principal at one school to ascertain if there are any observed differences between migrants and local learners. Actual data collection was completed in the 1 month allocated by the Department of Education. The designated scheduled date granted by the Western Cape Department of Basic Education (WCED) was the second week in January 2016. Various sources of data were used during the deliberations and they were used to substantiate my findings.

Data Management

Using a scientific approach the data was put through the SPSS package for analysis and graphical representation with narratives on the data provide. The Google maps programme was used to table distances for sampled learners. I proposed to use Google maps to measure distances of learner migrants but only a sample was used to provide insight into time spent travelling between school and homes of learners that have been verified. Secondary and primary data is used to complete the study specifically using official data sources obtained from Statistics South Africa and the Western Cape Department of Education. Most the data presented in this study was descriptive.

It is important to note that the variables (time, money, age, gender, and race) were used descriptively and no correlation or inferential analysis was done.

Validity and reliability

In concluding the chapter on methodology, attention was paid to the validity and reliability of this study. According to Yin (1994), there are three ways to ascertain whether a research study is valid or not: (a) construct validity; (b) internal validity; and (c) external validity. As has already been discussed, this case study involves two strategies - firstly, the use of multiple sources of evidence, in a manner encouraging convergent lines of inquiry, which is relevant during data collection. A second tactic is to establish a chain of evidence, also applicable during data collection.

With regard to the first tactic of construct validity, this case study has made use of three types of data collection methods: quantitative data; qualitative data and desktop data. Through the employment of these methods a chain of evidence, concerning the logic of transport mode choices, as well as reasons for school choice were established. However, the methodology, as well as the debates surrounding school choice as discussed in the paper, could be similarly used to shape the same research question at other schools in South Africa. The purpose of the case study is to develop a way of understanding an issue, which can then be used to frame a question elsewhere. The purpose, ultimately, is to develop theory regarding school demography in relation to who travels to school and how they choose to travel.

Variability of accounts in the interviews, especially at ZHS suggests the responses were authentic. At Westridge Secondary the accounts by the principal and the educators for grade 10 regarding the experiences of migrant learners and their thoughts about government policies input were captured. The validity and reliability of the interviews, therefore, lies in the differences between the accounts, rather than in their similarities. In other words, the very

inconsistencies between accounts are explanatory. This does not necessarily mean that interviewees were not truthful, but rather that there are different versions - official and unofficial and different understandings of experiences.

Conclusion

This, then, concludes the discussion on the methodology investigated in this case study. I have explicitly outlined the operational framework of this study and elaborated on what is to be discussed, and analysed. The next chapter will focus on the actual data, which has been collected through the two case studies, the interviews, and the questionnaires.

CHAPTER 4: CASE STUDY AREAS

The next chapter will consist of elucidation of the case study areas and immediate feeder areas in which the two schools are situated (history, geography and demography followed by details of the schools). It will explain the broad demographic characteristics of each case study school. I will start with Bergvliet and surrounds and then look at Westridge. The Census 2011 and School data sourced from CEMIS will be used in this chapter. I begin with a brief sketch of Cape Town.

Cape Town

Apartheid as a system was obsessed with separating the citizens of South Africa on a racial basis. This was done to foster white superiority and to entrench the minority white regime at the expense of the african majority. Significant pieces of legislature were passed in this regard such as the Land Act of 1913, the Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 as well as the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950. All these acts were designed to bring about the separation of 'races'. This intention was futile, as there were many urban areas where african and White South Africans lived side by side. On 27 April 1950, the Apartheid government passed the Group Areas Act. This Act enforced the segregation of the different races to specific areas within the urban locale. It also restricted ownership and the occupation of land to a specific statutory group. This meant that africans could not own or occupy land in white areas. While the law

was supposed to apply in converse, it was essentially land under African ownership that was appropriated by the Government for use by whites only.¹⁶

When the Group Areas Act became enforced most of the people, who once lived in the so called white areas had been moved to the Cape Flats (Athlone, Bonteheuwel, and Grassy Park) and to Mitchell's Plain. Since the 1990s Cape Town has grown rapidly to close to 4 million people and also changed its racial profile with more Africans moving here as well as high income whites from Gauteng and overseas. By 2011 whites made up 16%, coloureds 42% and Africans 38% (Statistics South Africa 2011).

Cape Town has become more congested making it the 48th worst city in the world. "Car ownership among Capetonians is higher than ever before. Due to the demand and population growth, many residents spend about three hours on the city's arterial routes during the peak-hour traffic periods on week days" (IOL 5 August 2016).

Of the 1,6 million learners at an educational institution in Western Cape, 70% resided in metro areas, followed by urban areas 25, 7% and 3, 9% in rural areas. Just more than half or 50, 5% of learners walked all the way to get to their educational institution, followed by 25, % who were passengers in a car/truck and taxis 10, 7%. Most scholars who were passengers in a cars

¹⁶ <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/south-african-government-passes-group-areas-act> :
Last updated: 27-Apr-2016

came from City of Cape Town accounts for 43, 7%. With regard to scholars using taxis, the same pattern emerged. Scholars using the buses were more like to live in City of Cape Town - 39, 8%. NHTS (2014: 34). In City of Cape Town, the highest percentage of learners used taxis - 52, 2%, followed by trains 26,9% and those who used buses 20, 9% as their mode of travel (NHTS 2014: 23). “Of all the modes of travel, trains were the least expensive for learners to use with a mean of R336 a month. Travel costs were the highest for those who drove cars/bakkies/trucks (R1 022) as their mode of travel, and for bus users (R541)” (NHTS, 2014). The TomTom Traffic Index 2017 estimated that Capetonians wasted 163 hours (or six days) on travel every year. Aside from the frustration and stress that traffic congestion causes, the economic and productivity losses to citizens and the region are enormous. (<http://www.focusontransport.co.za/index.php/regulars/focus-on-bus-and-coach/bus-and-coach/3182-saving-cape-town-from-congestion.html>).

The NHTS (2014) reported that “Reckless driving by taxi drivers 10, 1% was the main problem mentioned in the province. City of Cape Town (12, 0%) and Cape Winelands DM 8, 1% complained about reckless driving by taxi drivers as their main problem, followed by Eden DM 5, 8%. Crime was also mentioned as a problem in the province 8, 9%. Households in City of Cape Town 10, 6% and Cape Winelands DM 10,3% were the most likely to identify this problem.” About 32, 9% of households complained that travel cost was the biggest determinant of transport mode choice, while travel time was important to 22, 2% of households.

Bergvliet and nearby wards

Zwaanswyk High School, on the southern border of affluent Bergvliet, draws most pupils from Wards 73 72 and 71. The researcher used the population and household numbers as the official numbers for these Wards for 2011. The population of ward 73 is predominantly white 62%. In ward 71, 22 are African and 18% are coloured,

The results from the Census 2011 data show that a small majority of this community in Bergvliet have pursued higher education. The other interesting fact is that 95% of the total population is employed. Table 4.1 shows demographic data for all three wards.

Table 4.1: Highest Education level Ward 071, Ward 72 and Ward 73

	City of Cape Town Ward 71		City of Cape Town Ward 72		City of Cape Town Ward 73	
None	0,60%	117	0,80%	152	0,20%	45
Some Secondary	16,50%	3,074	35,30%	7,058	16,90%	3,432
Grade 12 (Matric)	37,90%	7,063	43,50%	8,690	45,10%	9,152
Undergrad	17,30%	3,221	7,50%	1,493	18%	3,647
Post-grad	12,20%	2,275	3%	604	11,80%	2,397
N/A	10,50%	1,953	0,90%	182	4%	810

Source: Census 2011

The table above displays the three wards education levels showing us that the majority of the population has completed Matric and that Ward 73 shows 18% with undergrad and 11 % post grad while Ward 71; 17% under grad and 12% post grad. This proves to be a population striving for better education levels unlike some other areas in Cape Town but it also leads us to deduct that this is a predominantly working class group and most the population earn an income. The table below shows incomes in these wards.

Table 4.2:¹⁷ Annual Household income level Ward 071, Ward 72 and Ward 73

	City of Cape Town Ward 71		City of Cape Town Ward 72		City of Cape Town Ward 73	
R 0	9.40%	816	10.60%	800	8.70%	863
Under R4800	0.70%	62	0.50%	37	0.40%	37
R5k - R10k	0.90%	78	0.50%	39	0.60%	56
R10k - R20k	3.60%	310	7.60%	570	4.50%	441
R20k - R40k	7.30%	631	10.40%	786	5%	492
R40k - R75k	8.50%	737	12.40%	935	9.50%	937
R75k - R150k	14%	1,216	18.10%	1,362	15.70%	1,551
R150k - R300k	17.80%	1,550	19.80%	1,496	20.70%	2,051
R300k - R600k	20.30%	1,760	14.80%	1,114	20.60%	2,043
R600k - R1.2M	12.20%	1,056	4.50%	338	11.10%	1,100
R1.2M - R2.5M	3.70%	324	0.70%	50	2.50%	251

Source: Census 2011

Table 4.2 the annual income categories display comparative figures highlighting that most households within the wards earn a salary of between R10k-R75K annually which then we

¹⁷ We calculate the figure by finding the median income band, and then using the middle of that band's income. For example, if the median income band is "R153 801 - R307 600", then we use R230 700 as the average household income. The median income band is the band at which the incomes of half of households are at or below.

deduce that these household are poor and the household earning an income of more them R150K we perceive as middle income earners.

Table 4.3: Language spoken in Ward 071, Ward 72 and Ward 73

Language	City Of Cape Town Ward 71		City Of Cape Town Ward 72		City Of Cape Town Ward 73	
English	60.90%	15,493	71.20%	19,848	83.60%	21,945
Afrikaans	13.80%	3,503	22.10%	6,170	8.80%	2,318
Other	10%	2,537	4%	1,104	3.10%	802
IsiXhosa	8.80%	2,228	1%	266	2.40%	619
Sesotho	3.70%	952	0.40%	120	0.80%	205
IsiNdebele	0.80%	202	0.40%	97	0.30%	88

Source: Census 2011

In table 4.3, the predominant language spoken in all of the wards is English and then Afrikaans coming in second. These are the two most spoken languages in Western Cape too. English is the most prominent language spoken in these Areas.

Table 4.4: Primary access to internet Ward 071, Ward 72 and Ward 73

	City of Cape Town Ward 71 (%)	Number	City of Cape Town Ward 72(%)	Number	City of Cape Town Ward 73 (%)	Number
From cell phone	12.50%	803	30.20%	1,426	12.10%	885
From elsewhere	2.60%	167	10.20%	482	2.70%	194
From home	72%	4,606	44.10%	2,079	69.70%	5,082
From work	12.20%	781	14.40%	681	14.20%	1,035
No internet access in institution	0.30%	16	0.10%	5	0.20%	13

Source: Census 2011

Table 4.4 shows this area has very high-end income earners and we can see with the access to internet that most individuals access the internet from their home. We can conclude that data or broadband is an expensive expenditure item within household but here we see it is highly used within these homes. Ward 71, 72% of the population access from home, then Ward 72 being 44% and the Ward 73 is at 69%. Westridge and key facts about the area

On 27 April 1950, the Apartheid government passed the Group Areas Act. This Act enforced the segregation of the different races to specific areas within the urban locale. It also restricted ownership and the occupation of land to a specific statutory group. This meant that africans could not own or occupy land in White areas. The WHS is situated in Westridge, Mitchells Plain, what used to be the middle class core coloured area of Mitchells Plain, created through the Group Areas Act. Today the area around WHS consists of a predominantly coloured middle class community with a small african middle class component.

In Ward 81 an area close to WHS , the coloured population group is the dominant grouping which accounts for close to 37000 individuals followed by the african group of 1000. Wards 78, 79, 81 has a predominantly coloured population group residing in these wards.

A Special Issue of the *PlainsMan* (29 June 2016), a local newspaper featured a number of short pieces by well-known educators on the travails and struggles of the area. One principal (Achmat Chotia) noted,

Many pupils were latch-key children, who had to take care of themselves as both parents were out working to make ends meet. It was expensive to live in Mitchell's Plain. The launch of the United Democratic Front at the Rocklands civic centre in 1983 heralded in the new decade of political upheaval and struggle. During the 1980s, the

Mitchell's Plain Student Congress (MIPSCO) and Western Cape Teachers Union (WECTU) were at the forefront of the struggle for democracy; exposing gutter education and highlighting people's education.

In the 1990s teacher rationalisation ... led to the loss of about 30 percent of teachers at schools in Mitchell's Plain. Overcrowded classes became the order of the day. This contributed to a lack of discipline, absenteeism and high failure rates. ... This meant that many parents opted out (if they could afford it) and sent their children to ex-Model C schools. This resulted in Mitchell's Plain schools suffering an exodus of its top pupils and role models, further exacerbating the challenges in education in the area.

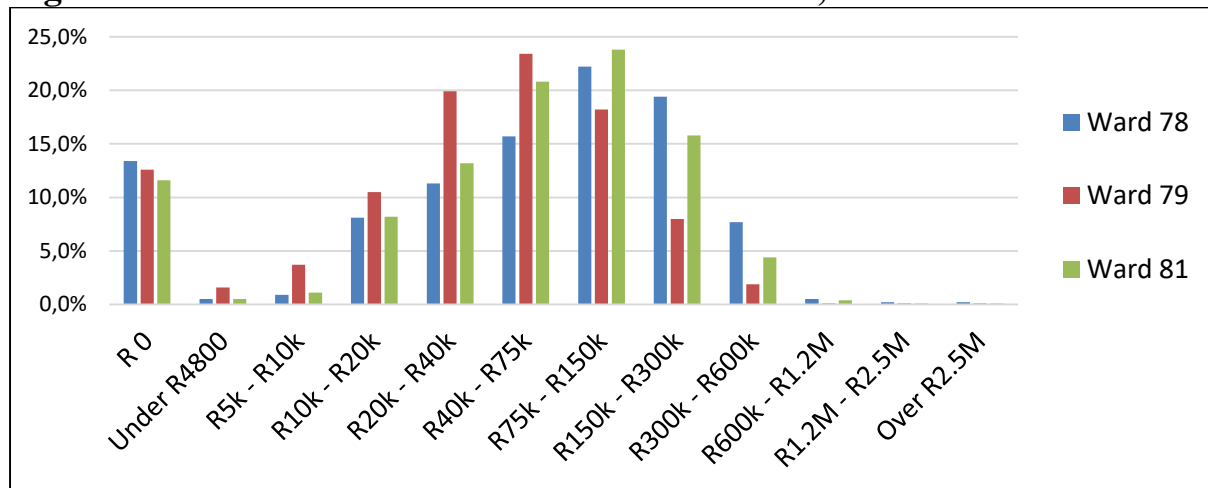
The principal went on to note new

problems would include integration of different cultures, English as the language of learning and teaching, gangsterism, drug abuse, vandalism, crime, unemployment and many other challenges. Despite this, Mitchell's Plain has shown great resilience and co-operation among all role-players and has made tremendous strides, among them the improvement in numeracy and literacy levels at primary school level. Now, among the successes we can celebrate, are improved matric results, the roll-out of computer classrooms and the construction of numerous school halls, with Spine Road High School having the largest school hall in South Africa? (Achmat Chotia is the principal of Glendale Secondary School, a trustee of the Mitchell's Plain Bursary Fund and Role Model Trust and an executive member of the Progressive Principals' Association.

Westridge High (WHS) has instability in terms of its learner body; their staff has changed and is still changing. The School, on the other hand, has always catered for a more middle class

coloured community. Like other schools in the area WHS has faced gangsterism and drugs. “There have been several incidents of violence at several Mitchell's Plain schools last year where pupils had to deal with the trauma of pupils who had been killed – in some cases, on the school premises. Pupils in Mitchell's Plain begin their schooling at a disadvantage....We are planning to work far more closely with police. We need to have a better response time than 15 minutes. It’s usually all over after 15 minutes”. (Principal of Spine Road HS, Van Harte cited in Groundup 13 January 2015).

Figure 4.1: Annual household Income for Ward 78, 79 and Ward 81



Source: Census 2011

Figure 4.1 indicates that in 2011 the annual household. In all of the wards we have more than 10% per ward having no income and very few people fall into the very high income category. We have 55,4% in Ward 81 are categorised in the low income category, Ward 79 we have 71% in the low income category and in Ward 78 we have 4,9% in this category. These figures include those with a salary of up to R75k per annum. Very few fall within the middle income category. These salary brackets also links with the low education levels where most of the

population have just Matric and only 2% according to Census 2011 has an undergraduate education.

Westridge and surrounding areas being one of the established middle-income estates in Mitchells Plain. Mitchell's Plain, according to the racist authorities, was created in the 1970's to alleviate the housing shortages in the Coloured community of Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2006: 40). In 1975 it was estimated that there were well over 30,000 inadequately housed families in Cape Town. The need for an area like Mitchells Plain was envisaged in the 1960 the first proposal was tabled by the apartheid City Engineer in 1965.

Table 4.5: WHS by population group

Secondary School	Population groups					
	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Other	Total
Westridge	80	906	0	1	0	987

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCBED

In the table 4.5 above, the majority of the learners at WHS have always been Coloured middle class. This picture has not changed much at all. It is still a predominantly Coloured middle class at WHS with a small african middle class component.

Table 4.6: Population by areas (Bergvliet and Westridge)

Population group	Bergvliet	Westridge
African	2143	818
Coloured	5835	30998
Indian or Asian	459	135
White	15051	23
Other	797	190
Totals	24285	32164

Source: Census 2011

The table above shows a comparison of the population with areas close to the two samples schools (WHS and ZHS). The predominant population groups in Westridge is Coloured at

30 998 (96%) and then in Bergvliet it is the white population group being more prominent at 15051 (64%). However, noteworthy is that there are three more Africans in Bergvliet than in Westridge wards. Surprisingly Bergvliet is much less homogenous in racial terms than Westridge. Only 23 whites have moved to Westridge.

Table 4.6 will be discussed in more detail in the next chapters, however it is important to note that there are more African learners at Zwaanswyk HS. WHS is almost completely coloured (91%).

Table 4.7: Two sampled schools (Zwaanswyk & Westridge High) population groups, 2016

Secondary School	Population groups					
	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Other	Total
Westridge	80	906	0	1	0	987
Zwaanswyk	113	496	7	10	2	628

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCDBE

In table 4.7 above data of the WCBED shows the population breakdown in 2017 for the two sampled schools. The figures show that at Zwaanswyk Secondary the learner breakdown by population group is 496 coloured learners followed by 113 african learners and 10 white learners, therefore we can assume that even if the majority of the learner body is of coloured descent at the school, the school attracts more coloured learners from outside the community. The direct community of ZHS is in a predominantly white area. But paradoxically most of the school going children in this wealthy area do not attend this particular school, because they migrate to more upmarket schools in Rondebosch for example (Fataar, 2009, also see table 4.7 below).

On the other hand, the population breakdown at Westridge Secondary School shows the predominant group as Coloured equalling 906 coloured learners followed by the African group equalling 80 African learners.

Table 4.7 shows that among the sample group (grade ten) learners a similar picture is evident. It is very strange that only a single white learner out of 147 attends ZHS. The problem of white flight is thus starkly evident at the same time as coloured enrolment is increasing. Effectively ZHS is a “coloured” school.

Table 4.8: Grade 10, 2016 pupils at the two sampled schools by population group

Secondary School	Grade	Population groups				
		African	Coloured	White	Other	Total
Westridge	10	12	211	1	0	224
Zwaanswyk	10	30	116	1	0	147

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCDBE

Table 4.8 indicates that at Westridge Secondary the dominant population group in Grade 10 would be Coloured which accounts for 211 learners in the Grade 10 group that is Coloured. At Zwaanswyk Secondary the dominant population group for the Grade 10 learners would be Coloured totalling 116 out of the 147 Grade 10 learners. The other irony is that WHS has a small African component although it has an African township on its doorstep, on the other hand we have a bigger African component at ZHS.

Conclusion

This chapter has contrasted two geographical areas and the high schools located within these areas. Significant changes and continuities are evident. The white area has changed significantly and been deracialised to an extent whereas the coloured area (Westridge) surprisingly showed more continuity and insulation despite being close to Khayelitsha. So called township jumping from African to coloured areas seems to be less pronounced.

WHS officials complain of an exodus of good pupils to model C schools with the school feeling that the neighbourhood is deeply distressed by crime and drugs. However, there has been a struggle to recover lost ground and keep the school functional and some signs of improvement are evident. There is pressure on the school to accept more numbers. Fees at WHS (around R1800) are five times less than ZHS (R9600).

ZHS in 2015 still had several white teachers (8) and a white principal – reminders of its past. Rugby is one of the more prominent sports being played at ZHS. This is the reason we have so many kids wanting to enter the school because of this sport. This sport has been known to be a white only sport but as the year's progress so does sport integration for all races become evident. We have a predominantly coloured and African learner component currently at ZHS.

CHAPTER 5: ZWAANSWYK HIGH SCHOOL

This chapter will present the findings about the Zwaanswyk High School (ZHS) migrant learners and their experiences while travelling and how it affects them while at school. The information analysed in this section is based on the data gathered from the interviews, the questionnaires, and through database analysis. The data of each school is analysed separately, followed by comparative comments on the two respective schools (in the final chapter). All the data relating to school choice, such as the reasons for school choice were obtained via the questionnaire. Based on the data, which was extracted from the respondent answers, significant issues were raised with regard to the travelling and how they affect each learner differently at each school. In this chapter, I will explore migrant learners' understanding of the travel patterns. We will also discuss the accessibility to schools, mode and time including distance of travel. For the purposes of this study, the term of transportation choice will be used exclusively in terms of learner travel patterns to school. The school and transportation selection of learners will be determined by logic of school choice in interplay with the logic of transport selection in South Africa must be understood in the context of broader school choice debates. The data proves that at ZHS 24% of migrant learners within the Grade 10 sample travel by private transport and that will strengthen the argument in the change of travel mode. There is a significant high number of learners who travel by taxi since it is said to be the cheapest mode next to the train mode. The other factor is the fact that the perception is that the taxi is a faster mode of transport therefore most individuals opt for this mode although the data shows an increase in private transport, this could be the factor that most parents perceive using private transport as a safer option.

ZHS Profile

ZHS was established under the Whites only education department, known as the House of Assembly (HOA). This meant that ZHS was equipped with everything deemed necessary by an institution of learning; on the other hand, WHS did not enjoy the same resources. When ZHS was first established it was dual -medium meaning that lessons were offered in both English and Afrikaans. It was well known for its militaristic pose as school cadets would parade across the rugby field during the heyday of apartheid and the state of emergency.

Approximately 75% of the learners at ZHS are drawn from the coloured lower middle class (Table 5.1) and working class areas called Retreat, Lavender Hill and Steenberg across the railway line (meaning that they are in former coloured group areas and would otherwise have attended a coloured neighbourhood school such as Crestway or Sibelius High School).

ZHS is a former Afrikaans medium white school situated in a former white area (Bergvliet) which gradually by the 1990s became a mixed area. However, when ZHS first became an open school, the number of Afrikaans-speaking learners started to dwindle to such an extent that the school gradually became mostly English medium.

Table 5.1: ZHS by population group in 2016

Secondary School	Population groups					
	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Other	Total
Zwaanswyk	113	496	7	10	2	628

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCDBE

Notably the school fees are four times higher than township schools such as Crestway or Sibelius. The nearest fully private school to ZHS is Reddam House in Tokai.

Table 5.2: Administrative and Fees Profile of ZHS

School Profile: Annual Survey 2016	
Name	Zwaanswyk HS.
Education District and Circuit	Metro South(09)
District Council/Municipality	City of Cape Town
School Type	Secondary School
Language of Teaching	Dual Afrikaans/English
Physical Address	Hoofweg 370, Bergvliet
Telephone	021-7127712
Principal	Dr A de Bruyn
Average School Fee per Learner	R9600.00

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCBED

Table 5.2 shows the administrative profile of Zwaanswyk High School. It is located in the Metro South Education District area and has a school fee structure of R9600 for the 2016 year. The school medium is dual meaning the teaching instruction is both in English and Afrikaans. Table 5.3 provides data for the population groups' breakdown . It should be noted that the school only has 628 learners and presumably could accommodate more but the learner-teacher ratio is 1:38.

Table 5.3: ZHS Learner Numbers by Population and Grade

	GR 8	GR 9	GR 10	GR 11	GR 12	Totals
African	26	21	30	19	17	113
Coloured	112	95	116	96	77	496
Indian	2	3	0	1	1	7
Other	0	2	0	0	0	2
White	3	2	1	3	1	10
Totals	143	123	174	119	96	628

Source: WCBED CEMIS, 2017

At ZHS with 628 pupils in 2016, the dominant population group is coloured but with a significant african presence. Paradoxically, the former white school is less homogenous than WHS with a larger proportion of africans (at 20%) although white flight is evident. At WHS africans make up 5% of grade ten. The subjects taught are listed in the table below. The range is limited compared to other model C schools. The enrolment per subject is also provided in the table 5.1.

Table 5.4 (below) shows data for ZHS detailing all subjects that are offered at the school. It is evident that not many matriculants will achieve a bachelor's pass since the majority of student are doing maths literacy and not pure Maths. The Grade 10`s have a choice of 13 subjects but not a wide variety in terms of career pathing, this makes career choices limited for these kids at ZHS. Information Technology, Pure Maths and Physical Science are deemed as complicated and less achievable pass rate subject choices and it is clear subjects are chosen in order to achieve a positive pass.

Table 5.4: ZHS Subjects Offered and Take Up

Description	Gr10	Gr11	Gr12	Total
Accounting	48	30	27	105
Afrikaans First Additional Language	115	88	60	263
Afrikaans Home Language	30	31	35	96
Business Studies	85	86	57	228
Computer Applications Technology	55	29	36	120
Consumer Studies	70	59	52	181
Design	1	3	0	4
English First Additional Language	30	31	35	96
English Home Language	115	88	60	263
Geography	29	48	38	115
History	32	16	1	49
Life Orientation	145	119	95	359
Life Sciences	88	64	58	210
Mathematical Literacy	75	74	59	208
Mathematics	70	45	36	151
Physical Sciences	28	23	16	67
Visual Arts	2	1	1	4

Source: WCBED CEMIS, 2017

The school does not have a wide offering or a music department and there are no extra languages. Only 4 students do art.

The table 5.5 looks at an elite Model C school in Newlands called Westerford in order to contrast with ZHS. This table shows that ZHS is not a highly ranked for academic subjects as Westerford HS might be where almost all senior pupils do “pure” Mathematics. (see table below) and where Mandarin, German, French are offered.

Table 5.5: Westerford HS Subject and Take up

Description	Gr10	Gr11	Gr12	Total
Accounting	38	28	43	109
Afrikaans First Additional Language	178	166	168	512
Arabic Second Additional Language	0	1	1	2
Dramatic Arts	4	6	2	12
English Home Language	186	177	178	541
French Second Additional Language	17	22	19	58
Geography	68	71	62	201
German Second Additional Language	0	0	1	1
History	87	82	107	276
Information Technology	0	9	1	10
IsiXhosa First Additional Language	6	10	9	25
IsiXhosa Second Additional Language	13	14	6	33
Italian Second Additional Language	4	0	3	7
Life Orientation	186	177	178	541
Life Sciences	142	147	143	432
Mandarin Second Additional Language	1	1	0	2
Mathematical Literacy	10	22	27	59
Mathematics	176	155	151	482
Music	13	10	8	31
Physical Sciences	142	118	118	378
Visual Arts	35	41	26	102

Source: WCBED CEMIS, 2017

Table 5.6: ZHS: Room Types (As Per Annual Survey 2016)

CLASSROOM	SCIENCELAB	SPECIALIST	WORKSHOP	COMPUTER	LIBRARY
21	2	2	0	1	1

Source: WCBED CEMIS, 2016

In table 5.6 it shows the type of classroom available at the school, therefore also displaying the positive resources available to learners at this school and therefore also leading to the assumption that learners at this school will achieve better results.

Table 5.7: ZHS 2016 Educators by population, gender and age and years of service

Rank	Race	Gender	Age Group	Years' Service
Teacher	C	M	50-54	6.06
Teacher	C	F	30-34	1.06
Teacher	C	M	25-29	1.06
Teacher	C	M	60-64	3
Teacher	C	M	50-54	15.06
Teacher	C	M	25-29	4.06
Teacher	C	M	50-54	4.06
Teacher	C	F	30-34	1.06
Departmental Head	C	F	50-54	9.06
Deputy Principal	C	F	45-49	16.06
Teacher	W	F	30-34	7.06
Teacher	W	M	55-59	7.06
Teacher	W	F	50-54	1.06
Teacher	W	F	55-59	10.06
Teacher	W	F	25-29	5.06
Departmental Head	W	F	50-54	9.97
Departmental Head	W	F	30-34	5.06
Principal	W	M	60-64	13.06

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCBED

Table 5.7 above shows the data for educators at ZHS in 2016. The data shows that the school has two white Departmental Heads, one coloured Departmental Head and one white Principal in this table. The other data describes 13 educators of which 4 are white and 8 are coloured, seven males and six females. Educators have 15 years and below years of service in the profession of education. The educator age categories are ranging from 25-64 years of age in this table, the youngest educator in the category 25-29 years of age. The Principal is a white male and holds 13 years of service in the education profession in the age category 60-64, close to pensionable age.

ZHS achieved around 92% matric pass rate compared to South Peninsula (a historically “coloured” school in Diep River) which had 100%; Steenberg High (in a township) had 90%; Crestway High (in the coloured township) had 76% and Lavender Hill around 58% in 2011. (<http://www.education.gov.za/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=ah59UwgTOHk%3D&tabid=422&mid=1325>). In terms of ranking ZHS is lower than South Peninsula. Many parents have tried to get into SP (ZHS teacher interviews).

Table 5.8: ZHS Grade 10 pass rate for 2011-2016: Percentage

Year	School Name	Pass Gr10	Failed Gr10	Pass % Gr10
Yr 2011	Zwaanswyk Hs.	89	39	69.5
Yr 2012	Zwaanswyk Hs.	83	26	76.1
Yr 2013	Zwaanswyk Hs.	118	15	88.7
Yr 2014	Zwaanswyk Hs.	95	25	79.2
Yr 2015	Zwaanswyk Hs.	92	34	73
Yr 2016	Zwaanswyk Hs.	112	30	78.9

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCDBE

The table 5.8 above displays data for grade 10 passes and failures as of 2011-2016. The school in the upmarket area had a lower pass rate but charged 4 times lower in school fee prices, than other schools in the area. ZHS each year since 2011 has been doing well with grade 10 pass rates except in 2015, where the results decreased by a phenomenal 6% from 2014 which is significant looking at the timeline of results. In 2016 they reached an exceptional 78, 9 %. These results are contrary to South Peninsula that is seen as one of the top schools in the south metro district.

The table below shows that males are more or less equally represented until they reach grade 12 when there is a significant falloff when males only make up 40%.

Table 5.9: 2016, ZHS Learners by gender for Grade (GR) 10- 12

2016 Learner Numbers by Gender and Grade						
Gender	GR 8	GR 9	GR 10	GR 11	GR 12	Totals
Female	62	75	76	64	49	326
Male	65	75	71	45	33	289
Total	127	150	147	109	82	615

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCBED

In table 5.9 the 2016 figures for male and female are males 40% and females 60% of the totals learner population at Zwaanswyk. Grade 10 respectively has 51% females and 49% males at the school, the pattern looks the same throughout the grades, except in Grade 11 and 12. Grade 11 has a total of 58% females and 41% males. Grade 12 has majority females accounting for 59% female and 41% males.

Learner migrants at ZHS

Zwaanswyk has 147 grade ten learners. Of the 100 questionnaires issued to the Grade 10 migrants, 68 completed questionnaires returned (68 percent response rate and about half the total in the grade).

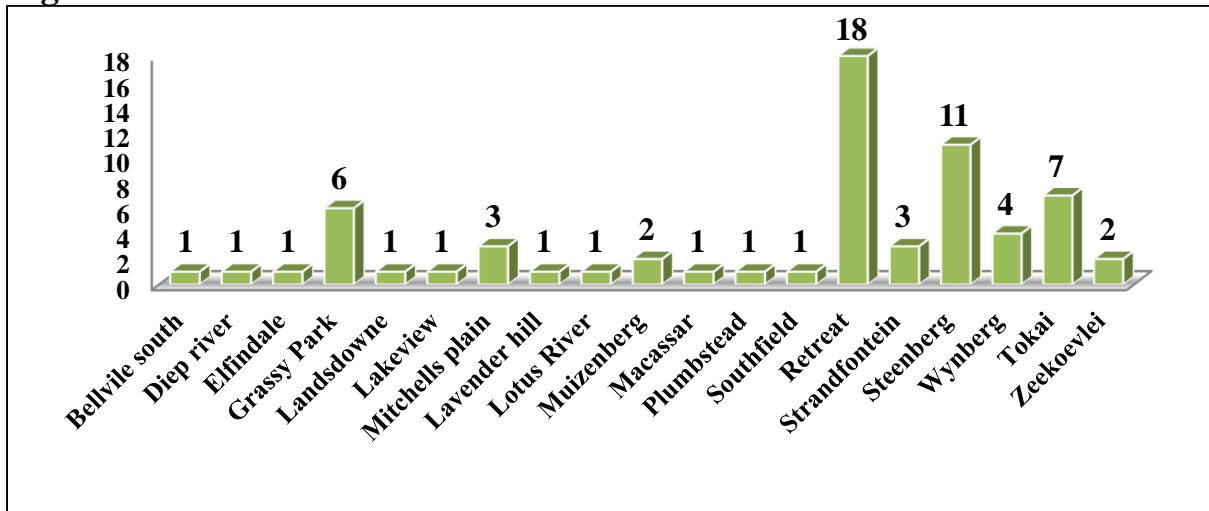
Table 5.10: Sample characteristics: age category in the sample, Zwaanswyk High

		Frequencies(Number)	Percentage (%)
Age	15 years	39	57%
	16 years	22	32%
	17 years	6	9%
	18 years	1	1%

Source: Author Survey, 2016

Looking at table 5.10, 57% of the sample was 15 years old while 32% account for 16 year olds. A very small number of the learners are 17 years and older they account for 10%. This might be unusual since the norm is 15-16 for this grade.

Figure 5.1: Areas from where children travel

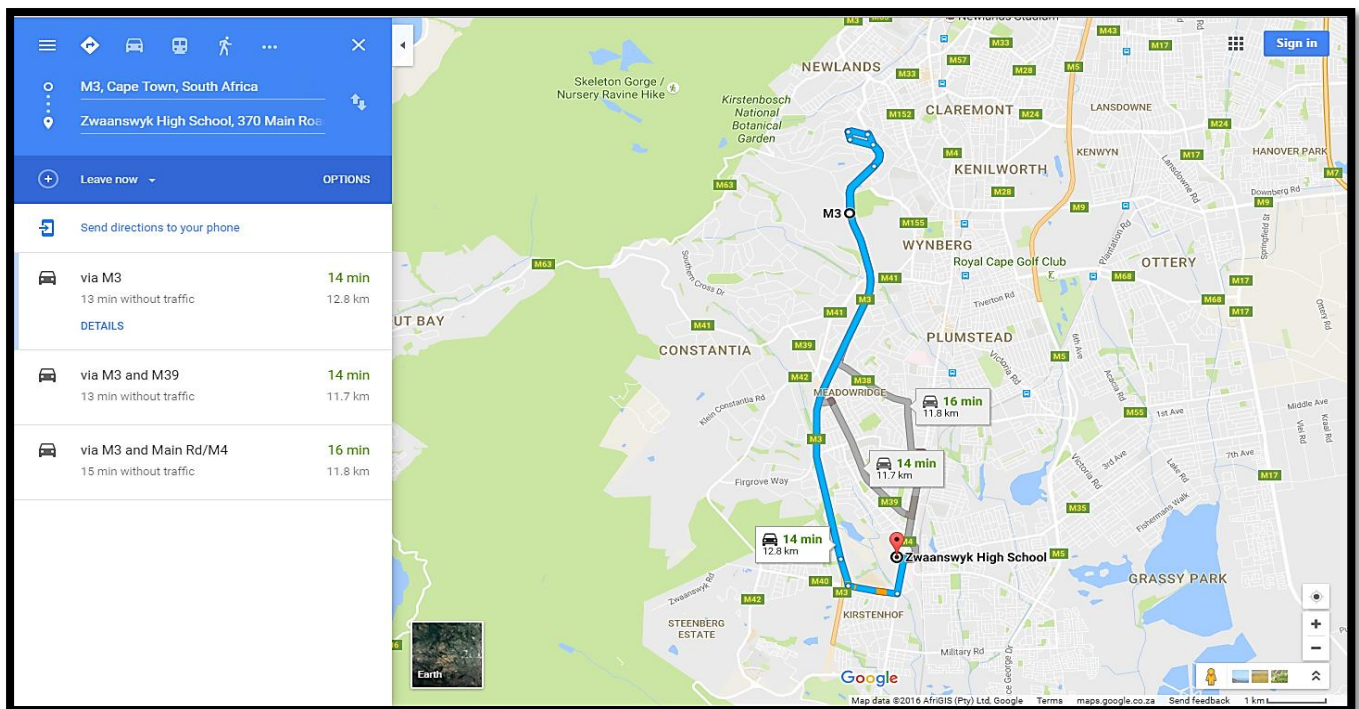


Source: Author Survey, 2016

Figure 5.1 shows that learners travel from all over Cape Town – from as far as Bellville and Mitchells Plain to the nearer coloured area of Retreat to attend Zwaanswyk Secondary School. The majority of the Grade 10 learners reside in the low income areas but because of wanting a better education they leave their areas to attend schools in the more affluent areas. Most of the Grade 10 learners reside in Retreat (18 learners); followed by Steenberg (11 learners) then Tokai (7 learners) and respectively Grassy Park (6 learners).

In Figure 5.2, the map displays the learners have access to the School in many ways like the M3, the train station being Retreat station which is 300 m away from the school. The taxi and bus route goes through Tokai main Road and there are stops in front of the school gates. The M3 highways provide rapid access for the City (see Google map below).The school is connected to all modes which make this school appealing.

Figure 5.2: Areas surrounding Zwaanswyk High School



Source: Google maps: 2016 imagery

Time

In table 5.11, we see that several learners in Grade 10 travel from the areas such as Grassy Park, travelling 12 min by car and 1h43 min should the learner walk. However travelling times are significantly extended in heavy traffic – the norm for the southern suburbs.

Table 5.11: Transport Time and Modes of Migrant Learners travelling home from ZHS School

From School	Route of travel Home	Time to destination by car (without traffic)	Walking
ZHS	Grassy Park	12 min	1hr 06 min
		5.3km	5.3km
ZHS	Kirstenhof	6 min	18 min
		2.7km	1.5km
ZHS	Bergvliet	3 min	24 min
		1.9km	1.9km
ZHS	Bellville South	1hr 12min	5hr 46 min
		35.2km	35.2km
ZHS	Diep River	9 min	37 min
		2.9km	2.9km
ZHS	Southfield	11 min	59 min
		4.3km	4.8km

Source: Google maps: 2016 imagery (Distances generated using google maps)

One of the furthest areas that a learner travels from is Bellville South. This learner travels 1hr12 minutes without traffic to school using a car but in heavy traffic, times may double.

Table 5.12: Travelling to ZHS (Bergvliet) from far-off areas: Google Times

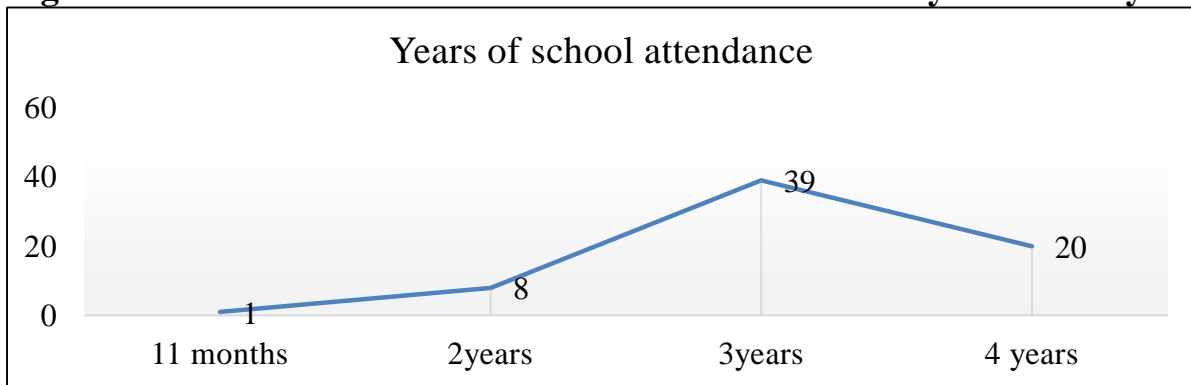
Areas travelling from	Google distance and time (walking)	Google distance and time (driving)
Bellville South	5hr 54min	42min
Lansdowne	2hr 20min	19min
Mitchells Plain	4hr 10min	39min
Macassar	7hr 5min	46min
Strandfontein	3hr 16min	32min

Source: Author Survey, 2016 and Google Maps

The SACG (2008/2009: 86) also confirms, “the school the child attends is regarded as ‘far’ if a child would have to travel more than 30 minutes to reach it, irrespective of mode of transport”.

We could therefore conclude that the Bellville South Learner travels too far to attend a school but there may be circumstances to why he or she attends a school out of his/her area.

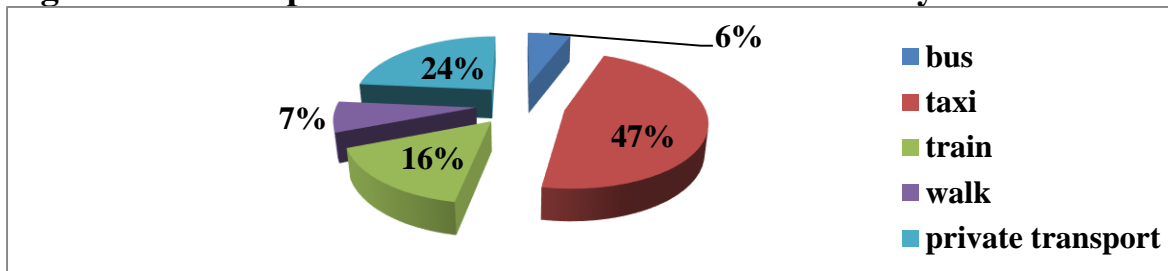
Figure 5.3: Years learners attended this School: Zwaanswyk Secondary



Source: Author Survey, 2016

The data in figure 5.3 indicates that Grade 10 learners attend this school for up to a maximum of 4 years which indicates that 20 learners have repeated a Grade; the norm would be 3 years from Grade 8 to Grade 10 if you have not repeated a Grade. The transfers from other schools are a significant amount (8 learners) attending for 2 years and (1 learner) being a new learner only attending for 11 months. There are unknown reasons to why such a high percentage has repeated the Grade but since the academic standard is high this can be concluded to be the most logical reason.

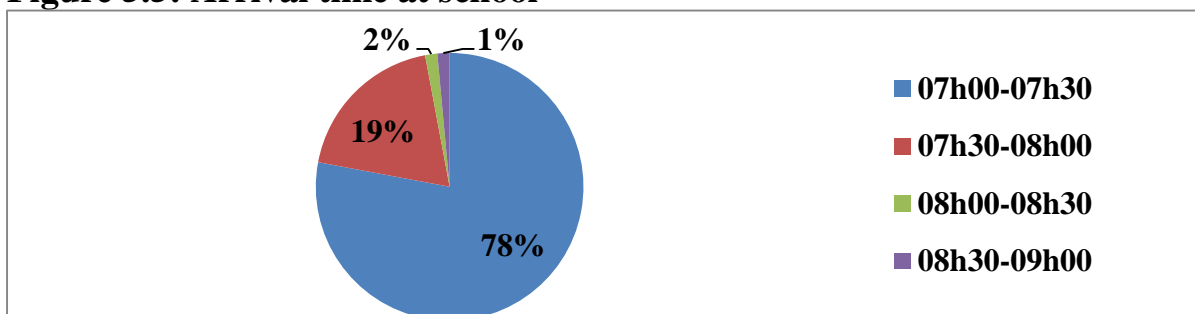
Figure 5.4: Transport used to and from school: Zwaanswyk



Source: Author Survey, 2016

It is significant that taxis (identified in the NHTS as worryingly reckless) are the most often used mode of transport. The data in Figure 5.4 indicates the largest portion of learners use a mini-bus taxi to travel to and from school. They account for 47% of Grade 10 learners that completed the questionnaire. The learners using private transport account for 24%. The Grade 10 learner respondents that travel by train constitute a total of 16%. Only a small percentage of learners travel using other modes (e.g. bicycles) and these equal 13%.

Figure 5.5: Arrival time at school



Source: Author Survey, 2016

Figure 5.5 shows the arrival time learners take to reach school. The highest number of learners (78%) arrive at school between 07h00-07h30am. While this can be seen as good, it also raises the questions such as how they spend the half hour before school. About 19% of these learners arrive at school 07h30-08h00 am. School starts at 08h00 am therefore most learners arrive on time at school. Learners arriving late made up 3% of all the respondents in

Grade 10. The late comers arrive between 08h00-09h00am, this is either due to transport related challenges or they overslept.

Arrival at home is relevant because it means that after school, family and homework hours are compromised by excessively late arrivals.

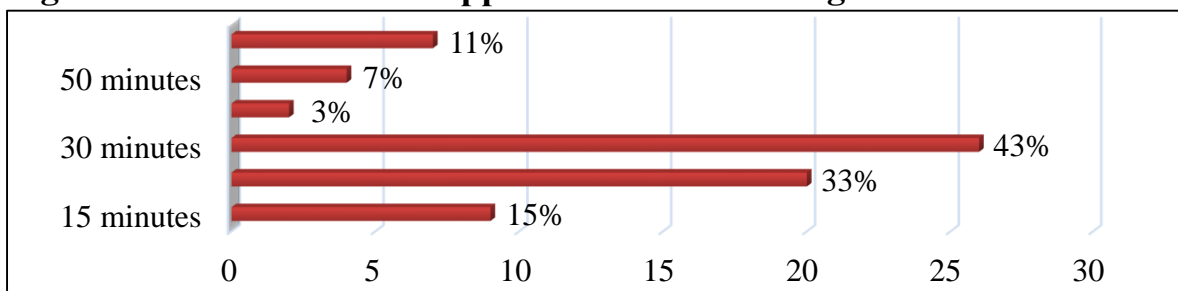
Table 5.13: ZHS: Arrival time at home (no of respondents)

Arrival time at home	
did not indicate time	1
15h00-15h30	47
15h30-16h00	6
16h00-16h30	14

Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

Table 5.13 above indicates the times learners arrive at home after the school day, the arrival time is dependent on the mode of transport and also whether or not the learners has after school activities. A large proportion of learners choose *not* to do after school activities since the school day is long and they are tired. They reported that parents prefer them not to stay after school. Most learners (47) arrive home between 15h00 pm-15h30pm and those that arrive home later say it is mainly either distance travelled or the fact that they stay for after-school activities.

Figure 5.6: ZHS Learners' approximation of average travel time to school



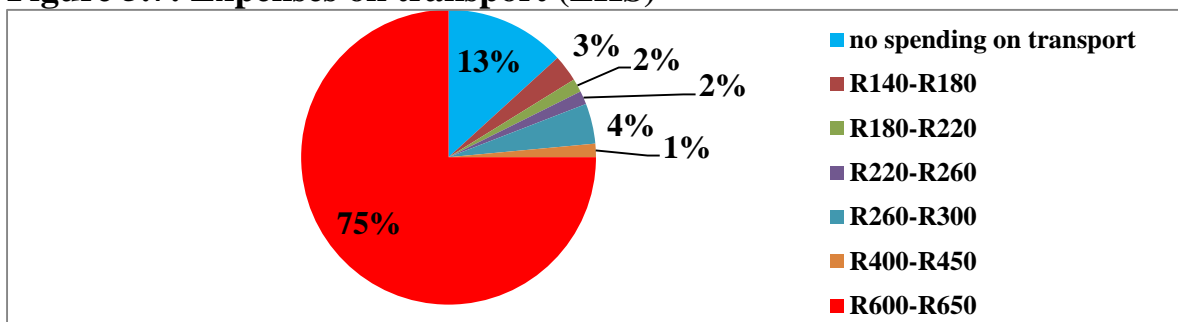
Source: Author Survey, 2016

At ZHS it is clear from the above figure 5.6 that almost 43% of the learners travel 30 minutes one way. About 33% manage in under 20 minutes. The international norm is not more than 30 minutes should be travelled by a learner to get to a school, therefore we can conclude the majority of learners in this Grade do not exceed the normal time to school. We therefore presume looking at the data that the majority of learners manage to get to school within 30 minutes. The research shows 21 % travel 40 minutes and more to school. These long travelling times could be indicative of why these learners said they are always tired.

Money

The cost of travel is a major concern with most learners spending R600 upwards per month.

Figure 5.7: Expenses on transport (ZHS)



Source: Author Survey, 2016

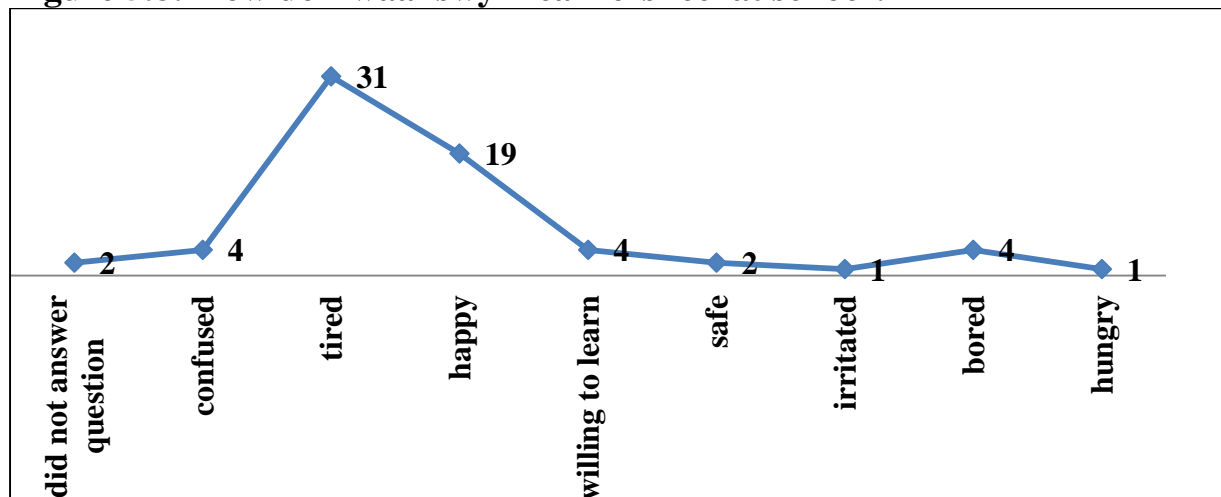
Figure 5.7 shows the expenditure patterns on transport for the 68 learners have been displayed. As indicated (13%) of the learners spend nothing on transport and this is because these learners walked to school. If we look at the largest amount calculated (75%) spend R600-R650 for transport to and from school. The rest of the learners (12%) spend between R140-R450 per month on transport to and from school.

The average spending per learner in the majority of cases is R30 per day for a two-way trip. The high expenditure could be related to the possibility that learners' parents prefer to use private transport (lift clubs and door-to-door taxis) that are more expensive but which guarantee safety of the children

The learners from Retreat and Steenberg typically come from poor to moderately poor households. The average annual household income for the ward was around R115 000 (Census 2011).

Experience

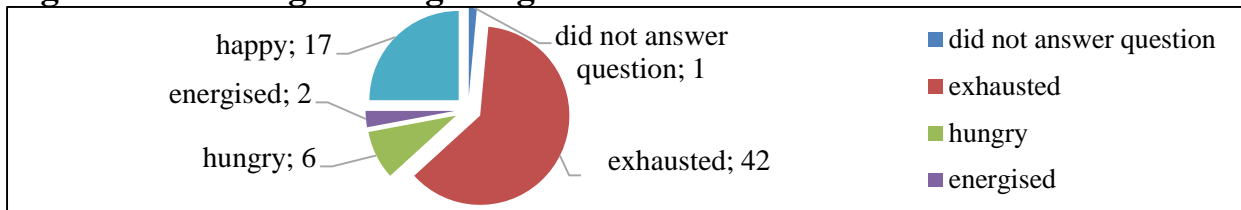
Figure 5.8: How do Zwaanswyk learners feel at school?



Source: Author Survey, 2016

The Figure 5.8 on how learners feel while at school is depicted by 31 learners feeling tired, 19 feeling happy while 4 were confused; 4 were willing to learn and another 4 bored. The reasons for tiredness might also have to do with poor sleeping habits.

Figure 5.9: Feelings when getting home



Source: Author Survey, 2016

Figure 5.8 will not differ much in response to when learners were at school. Here we determine similar feelings are displayed. A large number (42 learners) feel tired when getting home. They are exhausted.

Table 5.14: What do learners do while travelling?

What learners do while travelling	
did not answer question	19
Sleep	5
Read	2
Talk	13
listen to music	29

Source: Author Survey, 2016

The table 5.14 above indicate that most learners who travel listen to music. Therefore we could conclude that most learners carry their cellphones on them. The other learners sleep, read or talk to others while travelling while 19 learners did not answer the question.

ZHS: Six Learner responses to the question: Has anything bad happened while travelling?

Learner 1: Tyreeq states (15 yrs.. old) says “I had a bad experience by not getting my change and I was forced to walk home to Steenberg from school one afternoon”. This is risky since the school is about 40 minutes’ walk from where he lives.

Learner 2: Zoe La Vita says (15 yrs.. old) ” She takes the train that is delayed most of the time so she is mostly late, it is bad when you late because of unreliable transport.” She is from Southfield.

Learner 3: Cheyenne Human says (15 yrs.. old), “Once I travelled with a taxi and I was in an accident, this is very scary but I still travel by taxi currently.” She does not have any other means of transport from Retreat.

Learner 4: Shinyo Kalaya (15 yrs.. old) says” “ I am from Wynberg. I was on a taxi one afternoon, the taxi ran out of fuel, do they not check fuel levels”.

Learner 5: Liam Van Gee (15 yrs.. old) from Diep River says “I was on the taxi one afternoon and as we were driving the taxi door fell off, it was scary.”

Learner 6: Angel Mjonono (14yrs.. old) says, “Last year while going on the taxi travelling to school, there was taxi violence in our area and then a guy started throwing bricks at the taxi, we had to get out and walk in the rain”.

Table 5.15: How often does each of the following problems occur with you at school?

What problems occur with you at school	
indicated nothing	3
forget things	8
late coming	1
Tiredness	56

Source: Author Survey, 2016

The Table 5.15 proves we are required to understand the different cultures and the attitudes towards different environments. We can conclude that 3 learners indicated no problems occurred while at school, 8 learners indicated they forget things,1 indicated late coming as a

problem while 56 learners indicated they had a problem with tiredness while at school. They therefore struggle to stay alert while being educated.

Table 5.16: Reason for attending school: Zwaanswyk Secondary

Reason	Total Number of learners
better education	7
I chose the school	1
close to home	19
family there	3
friends there	2
good school	16
parents' choice	7
Sports	7
to make a difference at the school	1
has no comment	5

Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

This table 5.16 indicated the reason for attending this particular school, as previously mentioned not all learners are financially by the means to attend this school but even with all of their financial problems they attend and perform. Most of the learners chose the school because it is close to home (19 learners) and (16 learners) chose it because they perceive it as an academically good school.

Impact of afterschool programmes

Although transport from school is a challenge we still find the minority of learners staying after school to play their favourite sport activity. The challenge is that school dismissed at 14h50 and learners play until 16h30, this increases the risk in terms of safety issues and they also only have a minimal amount of time to complete homework. The long day impacts not only their safety but also the physical impact of what is termed as too tired to do anything else.

What is interesting is that learner's express need to get home because they have commitments such as "looking after granny, siblings, security related issues like burglaries, other crime related challenges and chores.

Educators' Perceptions at ZHS-

In this section I describe the responses of teachers to questions raised in interviews.

I asked teachers "Name a few problems occurring during school hours with the children who travel to school by public transport?"

Respondent 1: Late coming.

Respondent 2: Coming late, disrupting classes. Miss out on lessons and important information.

Respondent 3: Punctuality is negatively impacted; many learners arrive late after school had started. If a learner is injured at school parents take long to come and fetch these learners.

What are the attitude differences between the children that travel and those that don't?

Respondent 2: There is a lack of responsibility among children that travel. There is also a "blaming" attitude on transport; it's more like looking for an excuse.

Respondent 3: The majority of the learner population use public transport and so the attitude is it's not their problem to be late, it's like a shared response.

What should be implemented by the department of education for fair distribution of resources?

Respondent 1: Free text books

Respondent 2: A better transport system.

Respondent 3: Because schools are reluctant to accept learners not from the surrounding areas, schools in the low-income areas should make it more appealing to the learners in the area. Or maybe the WCED could contribute money to travelling for these kids.

Educator student ratio: 1: 38

Principal at School B: Should government spend more on poor schools or should they spend money on the more fortunate schools

Money should be spent where it is necessary.

Conclusion

ZHS is a small school with 628 pupils in 2016. The dominant population group is coloured with a significant african presence at 20%. The majority of the Grade 10 learners live in the low-middle income areas but because of wanting a better education they leave their areas to attend schools in the more affluent areas. The findings for ZHS (sample of 68 respondents) show that most learners manage to get to school in less than 30 minutes by using taxis. However a significant proportion (20%) spend about 40 minutes getting to school. The average transport spend is around R600 per month (or R30 per day). Mini-taxis are used by almost half the learners. Pupils perceive a “good school” as important enough to warrant the effects of distance-decay (tiredness and high costs of travel). There are a handful of white pupils at ZHS. The notion of a good Model C is relative since other model C’s have a more direct academic and university orientation. Thus the benefits of attending a non-neighbourhood ex-model C sometimes outweigh costs.

CHAPTER 6: WESTRIDGE HIGH SCHOOL

LEARNER MIGRANTS

This chapter will present the findings about the Westridge High School (WHS), the extent of pupil migration, migrant learners and their experiences while travelling and how it affects them while at school. The information analysed in this section is based on the data gathered from the interviews, the questionnaires. The data of each school is analysed separately, followed by comparative comments on the two respective schools (in the final chapter). In this chapter, I will explore migrant learners' understanding of the travel patterns. We will also discuss the mode and time including distance of travel. For the purposes of this study, the term transportation choice will be used exclusively in terms of learner travel patterns to school. It is important because WHS is seen as "less desirable" or in a less desirable, less safe area, it has not been attracting but losing "good" pupils. It is therefore in some ways the opposite of ZHS.

WHS Profile

WHS as the first secondary school in Mitchell's Plain to open in January, 1977 with Mr. Peter Petersen as the first principal, and six other staff members. The first assembly in 1977 held for 240 learners from all over Cape Town in grades 8 and 9. By the end of 1977, the enrolment

increased to 380. The first matric class of 26 learners matriculated at the end of 1979, with only one failure¹⁸ (News24 2014).

By the end of 1979, the school enrolment had tripled enrolment to 1347. In 1981 matriculant, Joshua Human, became the first learner from Mitchell's Plain to pass with an "A" aggregate and featured in the top ten. In 1983, WHS became the first school in Mitchell's Plain to participate in the "A" section of the athletics competition and completed second behind Belgravia Secondary School. This showed that the school was well organised and had a tradition of after school activity required to prepare athletes.

The school also had its first full variety concert with much success and acclaim. In 1984, six prefab classrooms were added to accommodate the increased student enrolment. In 1985 the school was caught up in the widespread school protests, and soon becomes a prime venue for student protest rallies with the police always present.

In 1987, WHS became the first school in Mitchell's Plain, and only the 5th school overall, to win the "A" section athletics competition at the Athlone Stadium, bringing an end to Belgravia Secondary School's 10 year domination. This achievement had coincided with the school's 10th anniversary celebrations (News24, 2014).

¹⁸ News24 article; 28 May 2014

In the 1990s the school began to lose its former glory. In 1993 several experienced educators took severance packages and exited the profession. Mr. Petersen retired as principal and was succeeded by Mr. Lennie Paulse. Mrs. Barbara Samaai became the third principal of the school after Mr. Paulse in 1996. As noted in a previous chapter, the trickle of good pupils became an “exodus”. In 2005, WHS and Agnieten College in Holland, established a partnership with a view to exchanging information of common interest and forging ties via e-mail. In 2007 WHS celebrated a 30th anniversary with various events. In 2010, the school hall was built. The school's library had limited resources and no access to computers nor the Internet, making project research difficult. In 2012, Mrs. B. Samaai handed over the reins to the current principal, Mrs. W. Vergotine. (http://westridgess.net/?page_id=13139-Feb, 2016).

In 2015,

“The youth sought to bring about a lasting change to the lives of their school peers of all grades and set out on a mission to achieve their goal, which they affectionately named, Project Tech Book 1 & 2. Today, the library boasts 12 new computers, each with access to the Internet, an updated collection of books and a very inviting look and feel”. (“Mitchells Plain youth leave a lasting learning legacy”, SA WNS 2016)

Table 6.1: WHS by population group in 2016

Secondary School	Population groups					
	African	Coloured	Indian	White	Other	Total
Westridge	80	906	0	1	0	987

Source: WCBED CEMIS, 2016

In the table 6.1 above, the majority of the learners at WHS have always been Coloured middle class. This picture has not changed much at all. It is still a predominantly Coloured middle class at WHS with a small african middle class component.

Table 6.2: Administrative Profile of School 2016

School Profile: Annual Survey 2016	
Name	Westridge Sec.
Education District and Circuit	Metro South(01)
District Council/Municipality	City of Cape town
School Type	Secondary School
Language of Teaching	English
Physical Address	Silversands Avenue, Westridge, Mitchells Plain
Telephone	021-371 7161
Principal	Mrs WJ Vergotine
Average School Fee per Learner	R1800.00

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCBED

This is an institution which per annum receives between 300 and 400 applications for grade ten alone. Although the total number of grade ten learners in 2016 was 362, there are only enough places for 238. In 2015 the school fees were R1000 but increased to R1800 in 2016.

Table 6.3: Learner totals per pop for Grade (GR) 10- 12 at WHS

	Black	Coloured	White	Total
Gr 8	25	200		225
Gr 9	16	175		191
Gr 10	12	211	1	224
Gr 11	17	179		196
Gr 12	10	141		151
Grand Total	80	906	1	987

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCBED

From Table 6.3, it is evident that the matric class has very few learners taking more challenging subjects like Physics and Mathematics that typically allow one to enter a good university. Learners may not be getting the quality they hoped for. Table 6.4 shows data for WHS detailing

all subject that is offered at the school. The majority of students are doing maths literacy and not pure Maths. Information Technology, Pure Maths and Physical Science are deemed as complicated.

Table 6.4: WHS Learners per subject

Subjects	Gr10	Gr11	Gr12	Total
Accounting	0	14	16	30
Afrikaans First Additional Language	223	193	144	560
Business Studies	89	123	75	287
Computer Applications Technology	27	54	39	120
Economics	47	76	49	172
English Home Language	223	193	151	567
Geography	196	124	94	414
History	133	81	144	358
Information Technology	0	1	0	1
IsiXhosa Home Language	0	13	7	20
Life Orientation	223	193	151	567
Life Sciences	43	36	43	122
Mathematical Literacy	180	154	124	458
Mathematics	43	39	27	109
Physical Sciences	43	23	26	92
Tourism	91	47	58	196

Source: CEMIS, 2017 WCBED

Table 6.5 shows the type of classroom available at the school, therefore also displaying the positive resources available to learners at this school and therefore also leading to the assumption that learners at this school will achieve better results.

Table 6.5: WHS: Room Types (As Per Annual Survey 2016)

Classroom	Sciencelab	Specialist	Workshop	Computer	Library
29	2	0	0	2	2

Source: CEMIS, 2017 WCBED

Table 6.6 displays data for educators at WHS in 2016.

Table 6.6: WHS 2016 Educators by gender and years of service

Rank	Race	Gender	Age Group	Years' Service
Teacher	B	F	30-34	3
Teacher	B	F	35-39	0.02
Teacher	C	M	55-59	9.06
Teacher	C	F	45-49	25.97
Teacher	C	M	60-64	6.06
Teacher	C	M	50-54	5.06
Teacher	C	M	45-49	5.06
Teacher	C	F	20-24	0.06
Teacher	C	F	40-44	10
Teacher	C	M	50-54	5.06
Teacher	C	F	45-49	5.06
Teacher	C	F	30-34	1.06
Teacher	C	M	45-49	22
Teacher	C	M	45-49	4.06
Teacher	C	M	50-54	27.06
Teacher	C	F	50-54	32.06
Teacher	C	M	50-54	27.06
Teacher	C	F	25-29	0.06
Teacher	C	F	40-44	2
Teacher	C	F	40-44	4.06
Teacher	C	F	50-54	4
Teacher	C	F	60-64	0.02
Departmental Head	C	F	50-54	28.06
Departmental Head	C	F	45-49	23.06
Departmental Head	C	M	60-64	35.06
Departmental Head	C	M	50-54	28.06
Deputy Principal	C	M	50-54	29.06
Principal	C	F	55-59	32.06

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCBED

The data shows that the school has four Coloured Departmental Heads, two female and two males. The other data describes 22 educators, 13 Females and 9 Males of which 2 are african and 20 being Coloured. Educators have 35 years and below years of service in the profession of education. The educator age categories range from 25-59 years of age in this table, the youngest educator in the category 20-24 years of age with less than a year educator experience.

The Principal is a coloured female and holds 32 years of service in the education profession in the age category 55-59, close to pensionable age.

Pass rates for grade10 below show 2012 to be a bad year.

Table 6.7: WHS Grade 10 pass rate for 2011-2015: Percentage

Year	School_Name	Pass Gr10	Failed Gr10	Pass % Gr10
Yr 2011	Westridge Sec.	109	44	71.2
Yr 2012	Westridge Sec.	123	69	64.1
Yr 2013	Westridge Sec.	213	61	77.7
Yr 2014	Westridge Sec.	209	35	85.7
Yr 2015	Westridge Sec.	151	31	83
Yr 2016	Westridge Sec.	165	47	77.8

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCDBE

The table 6.7 above displays data for grade 10 as of 2011-2016. The school in the less upmarket area had the higher pass rate but charged 4 times less in school fees. Westridge High improved from 71% in 2011 to 77, 8% in 2016. The Grade 10 results improved every year except in 2012.

Table 6.8: Learner totals per gender for Grade (GR) 10- 12 at WHS

2016 Learner Numbers by Gender and Grade						
	GR 8	GR 9	GR 10	GR 11	GR 12	Totals
Female	113	88	96	82	85	464
Male	101	104	142	108	81	536
Total	214	192	238	190	166	1000

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCBED

Table 6.8 shows by 2016, with a total learner body of 1000, the school is predominantly a male component (536), with a smaller female component (464). Per annum (p.a.) the school receives approximately 400 Grade 10 applications, of which only 238 is accommodated. In 2016 the school fees for each learner – was at R1800 per annum. The subjects offered at WHS are

different to those at ZHS School therefore attracting more learners from outside the catchment areas.

The schools transport system is indeed advance since the school is surrounded by all modes which makes accessibility one key component that is not a challenge when it comes to WHS.

Learner migrants at WHS

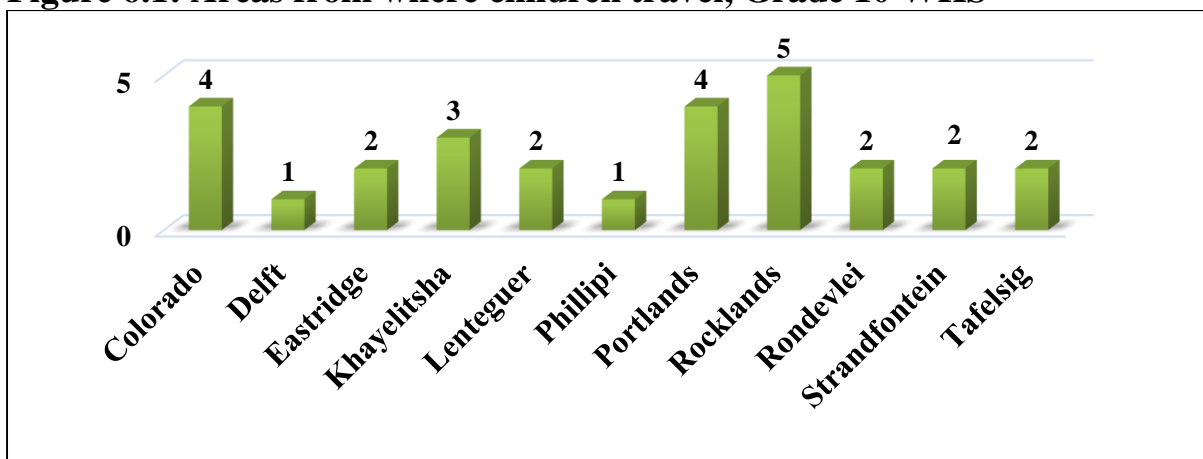
I surveyed 44 pupils, mostly 15 year old and found limited evidence of distance from the school (figure 6.1).

Table 6.9: Sample characteristics: age category in the sample, Westridge High

		Frequencies(Number)	Percentage(%)
Age	15years	39	89%
	16 years	4	9%
	17 years	1	2%
	Total	44	100%

Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

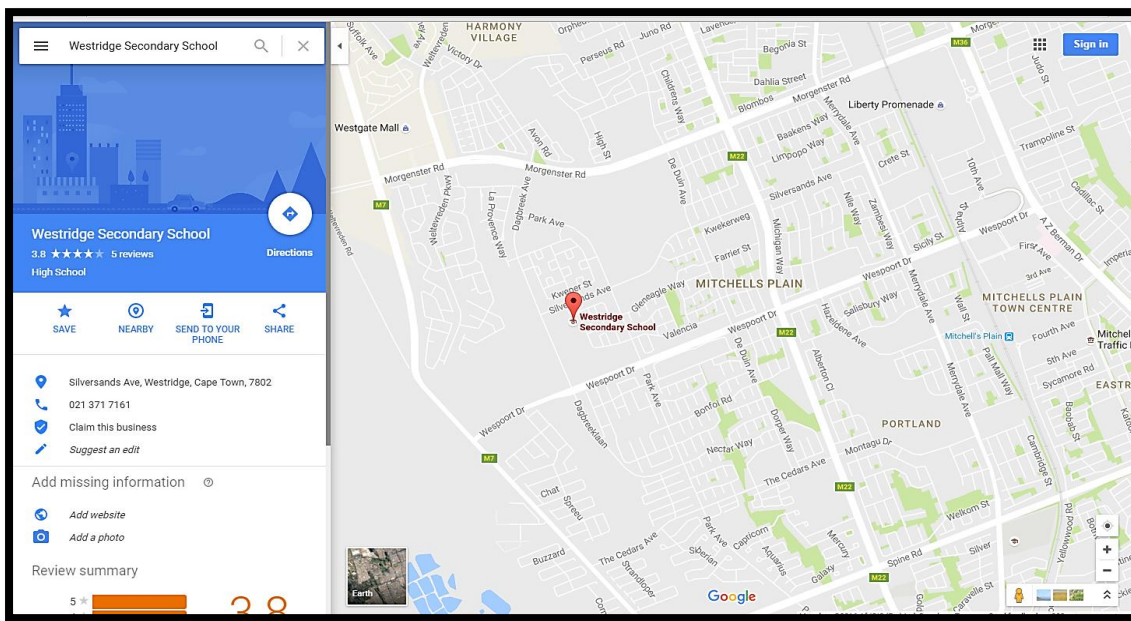
Figure 6.1: Areas from where children travel, Grade 10 WHS



Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

Figure 6.1 shows the number of learners travelling from areas in Mitchells Plain and immediate surrounds to attend schools. Most of the Grade 10 learners reside in Rockland's (5 learners); followed by Portland's (4 learners) then Colorado (4 learners) and respectively Khayelitsha (3 learners). Significantly low numbers of Grade 10 that attend Westridge Secondary reside in these outer areas beyond the 5km feeder zone radius to the school.

Figure 6.2: Westridge High School



Source: Google maps with Distances generated using google maps, 2016 imagery

In Figure 6.2 we see the learners have access to the Secondary School from Morgenster road, Westpoort road, Eisleben road and Spine Road. The taxi and bus route goes through all these main roads and there are stops close to the school gates.

The data at Westridge High however shows a different picture where by the most used transport mode at Westridge high school would be taxi, whereby 39% of learners use the taxi mode. This is due to the fact that it is the cheaper option for transport. It is also the fact that other modes

might not be as accessible in the areas that learners live and the taxi is accessible at the point of pickup. Ease of access to transport is also a factor to discuss in a further study.

Table 6.10 shows data for WHS detailing all subject that is offered at the school, it is evident that not many matriculants will achieve a bachelor's pass since the majority of student are doing maths literacy and not pure Maths.

Table 6.10: WHS Subjects Offered and Take Up

Subject	Gr10	Gr11	Gr12	Total
Accounting	0	14	16	30
Afrikaans First Additional Language	223	193	144	560
Business Studies	89	123	75	287
Computer Applications Technology	27	55	39	121
Economics	47	76	49	172
English Home Language	223	193	151	567
Geography	196	124	94	414
History	133	81	144	358
IsiXhosa Home Language	0	13	7	20
Life Orientation	223	193	151	567
Life Sciences	43	36	43	122
Mathematical Literacy	180	154	124	458
Mathematics	43	39	27	109
Physical Sciences	43	23	26	92
Tourism	91	47	58	196

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCBED

The Grade 10`s have a choice of 15 subjects but a wide variety in terms of career pathing, this makes career choices limited for these kids at ZHS. Information Technology, Pure Maths and Physical Science are deemed as complicated and less achievable pass rate subject choices and it is clear subjects are chosen in order to achieve a positive pass.

Time

Table 6.11: Transport Time and Modes of Migrant Learners travelling home from WHS School

From School	Route of travel Home	Time to destination By car(without traffic)	Walking
From Westridge Secondary	Portland's	7min	24min
		3.0km	1.9km
From Westridge Secondary	Westridge	4min	14min
		1.5km	1.1km
From Westridge Secondary	Eastridge	8 min	47min
		5.1km	3.8km
From Westridge Secondary	Rocklands	8min	43min
		4.1km	3.5km

Source: WCBED CEMIS, 2016

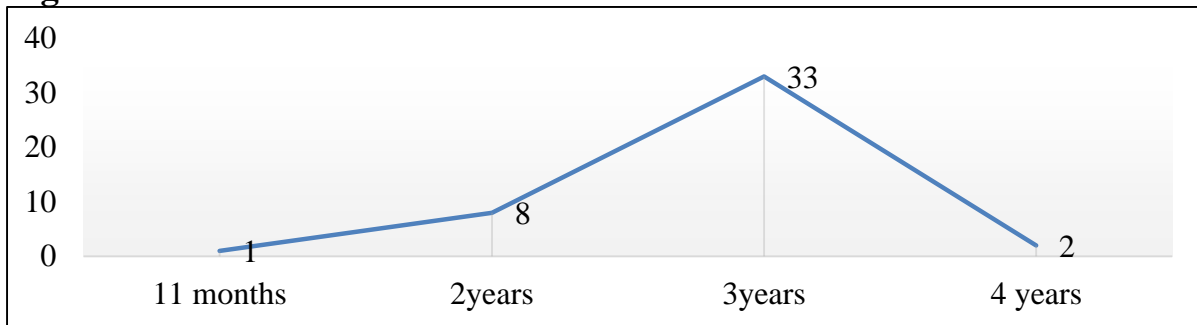
Table 6.11 displays the learners transport patterns from their homes to the school and it compares the distance travelled by two modes of transport namely walking and by car. It shows a distinct difference in time travelled. Walking showing a longer time for distance travelled. The school is surrounded by all modes which makes accessibility one key component that is not a challenge when it comes to WHS.

Table 6.12: Travelling to WHS (Westridge) from far-off areas: Google Times

Areas travelling from	Google distance and time(walking)	Google distance and time(driving)
Delft	2h52 min	20 min
Khayelitsha	1h54 min	18 min
Strandfontein	1h21 min	12min
Philippi	1h13 min	11 min

Source: Author Survey, 2016 and Google Maps

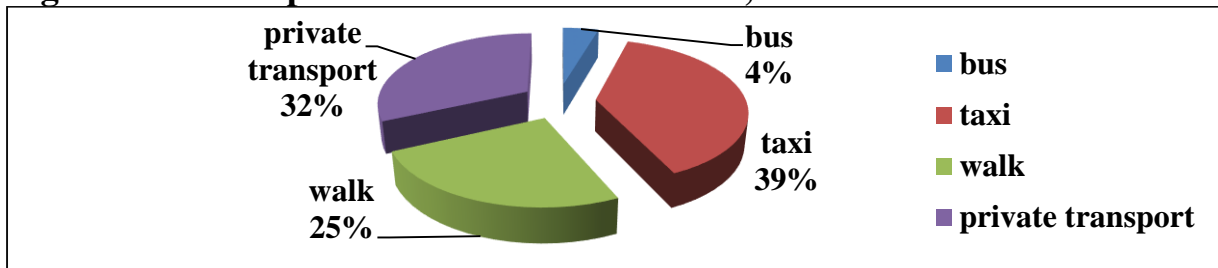
Figure 6.3: Years learners attended this School in Grade 10 WHS



Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

The data in figure 6.3 indicates that Grade 10 learners attend this school for up to a maximum of 4 years which indicates that 2 learners have repeated a Grade; the norm would be 3 years if you have not repeated a Grade. The transfers from other schools are a significant amount (8 learners) attending for 2 years and (1 learners) being a new learner only attending for 11 months.

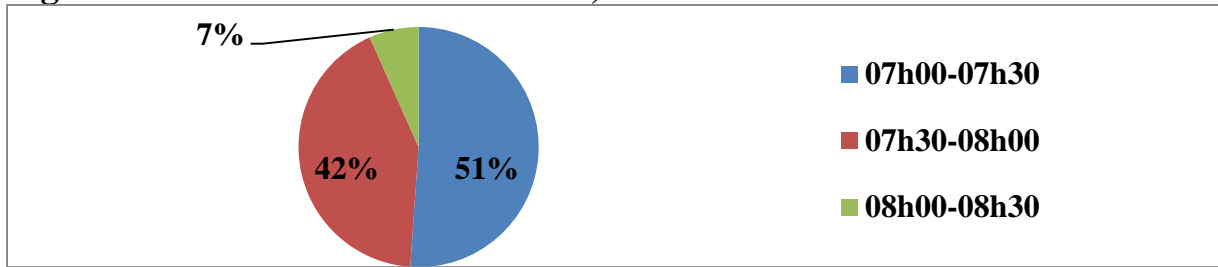
Figure 6.4: Transport used to and from school, WHS



Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

In figure 6.5, the largest portion of learners use a mini-bus taxi to travel to and from school, they account for 39% of the Grade 10 learners that have completed the questionnaire. The learners using their private vehicles accounts for 32% learners and 25% walk to school.

Figure 6.5: WHS Learners Grade 10, time arrival at school



Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

Figure 6.5 describes the arrival time when learners reach school. The highest percentage of learners in Grade 10, arrive at school between 07h00-07h30 am, this can be attributed to the fact that most parents have to leave home early to go work. While 42% of these learners arrive at school 07h30-08h00am. School starts at 08h00am therefore most learners arrive on time at school. Learners arriving after 8:10am would be considered as late comers which is a small fraction of the total learner migrant group arriving on time, late coming is either due to transport related challenges or they might have overslept.

Table 6.13: Arrival time at home for WHS

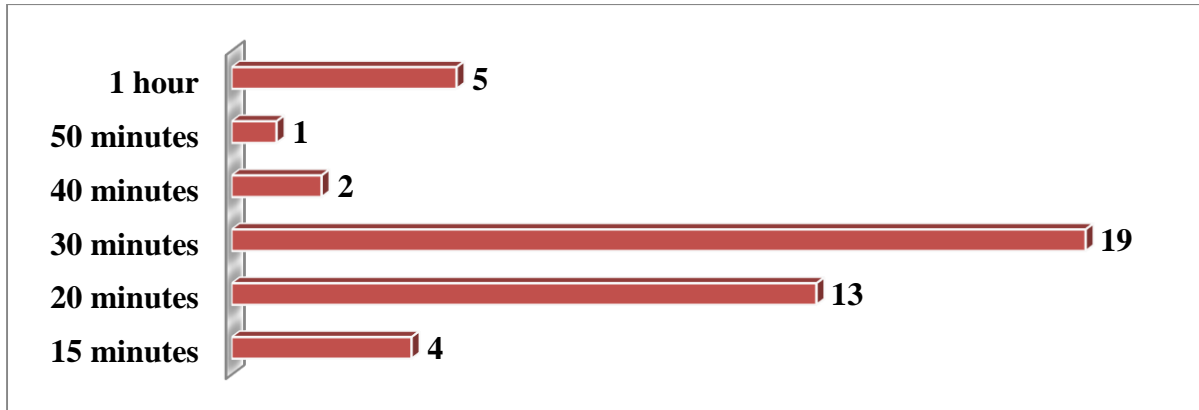
15h00-15h30	34
15h30-16h00	5
16h00-16h30	5

Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

Table 6.13 above indicates the times learners arrive at home after the school day, the arrival time is dependent on the mode of transport and also whether or not the learners has after school activities. A large proportion of learners choose not to do after school activities since the school day is long and they are tired and the fact that most parents prefer them not to stay after- school.

Most learners (34) arrive home between 15h00-15h30pm and those that arrive home later it is mainly due to either distance travelled or the fact that they stay for after-school activities.

Figure 6.6:WHS Learners’ approximation of average travel time to and from school

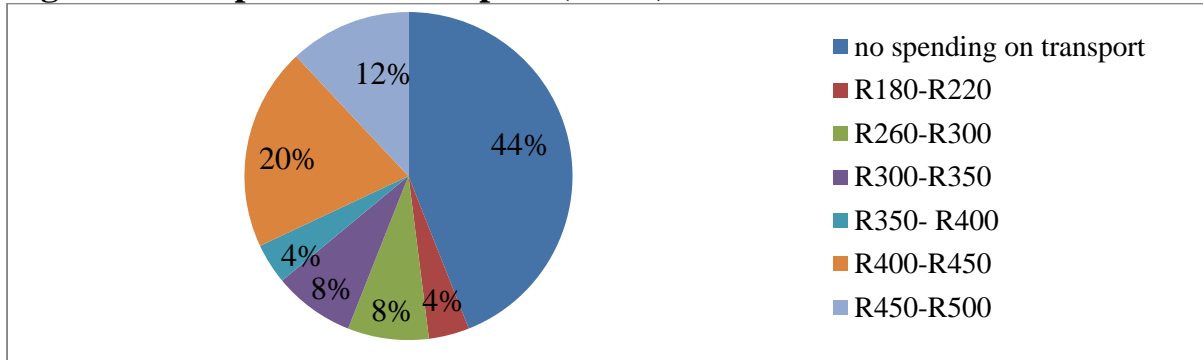


Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

Figure 6.6 shows that at WHS this figure is clear that most of the learners travel 30 minute and less to and from Westridge Secondary which is not regarded as excessive and therefore will not be a strain on the learners. The problem would come about where there learners travelling more than 30 minutes to an hour to and from school.

Money

Figure 6.7: Expenses on transport (WHS)



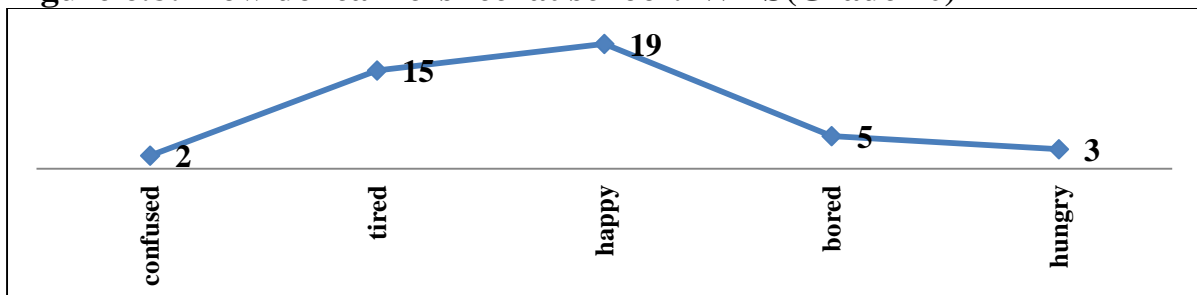
Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

As figure 6.7 shows the expenditure patterns on transport for the 44 learners in the sample have been displayed. We have 44% of the learners spending nothing on transport and this is linked to the learners that walk to school. The largest amount is R450-R500 for transport to and from school spent accounting for 12% of the sample. The rest of the learners, namely 20% spent R400-R450 per month on travelling while 4% spent between R180-R400 per month on transport to and from school.

At the high end this amount (R500) represents two social grants or half and old age pension. As a proportion of school fees it is also a large amount.

Experience

Figure 6.8: How do learners feel at school? WHS(Grade 10)



Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

In Figure 6.8 the common standard derived from the figure on how learners feel while at school is depicted by 15 learners feeling tired, 19 feeling happy while 2 were confused and another 4 bored while others (3) feel hungry.

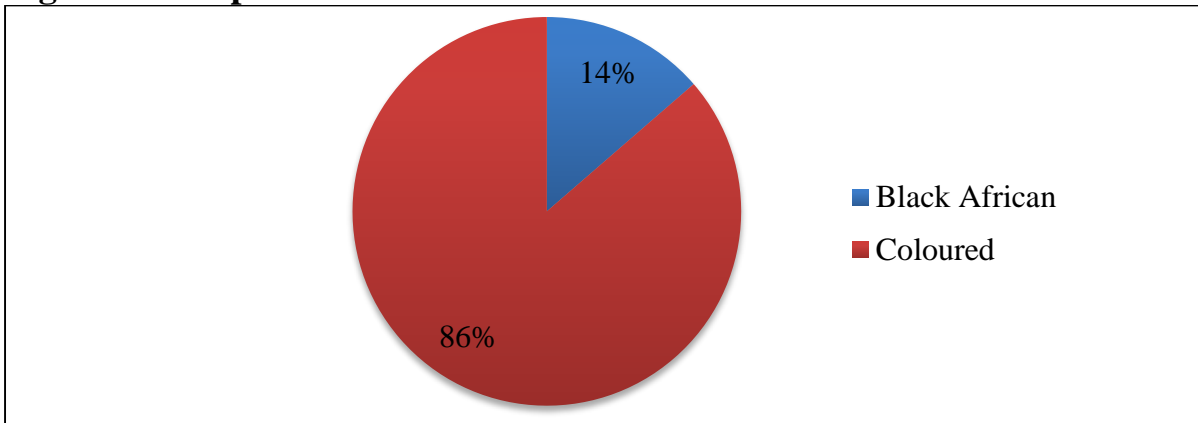
Table 6.14: What learners do while travelling? WHS (Grade10)

did not answer question	27
Read	1
Talk	4
listen to music	12

Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

In table 6.14 figures show that the learners while travelling listen to music. The other learners read or talk to others while travelling and 27 learners did not answer the question this could be attributed to the fact that they walk to school.

Figure 6.9: Population breakdown for WHS



Source: Authors own Survey, 2016

Figure 6.9 indicates the racial profile for the migrant learners in Grade 10 showing 86% are coloured learners while 14% are african learners – a surprisingly low number of african learner given the proximity of major african townships.

WHS Five Learners experiences to the questions of: Has anything bad happened while travelling?:

Learner 1: Alex Roland (15 yrs. old) says from Colorado” I walk to school , it takes me 25 minutes but one day I nearly got robbed but I manage to run away and guy could not catch me.”

Learner 2: Sameeg Jonson (15yrs. old) says, Once I travelled with a taxi and I was in an accident while ravelling from school.” She does not have any other means of transport from Eastridge.

Learner 3: Rafeeq Hendricks (15 yrs. old) says from Woodlands” I walk to school , it takes me 20 minutes but one day I got robbed on my home from school.”

Learner 4: Britney Mitchell (15 yrs. old) from Morgans Village says, “While walking to school I got robbed.”

Learner 5: Nuraan Sakildien (15yrs. old) from New Woodlands says that while travelling on a taxi, “they almost shot me and almost threw me with a stone”.

Table 6.15: How often does each of the following problems occur with you at school?

What problems occur with you at school	Number	Percentage (%)
indicated nothing	2	5
forget things	3	7
Absenteeism	1	2
Tiredness	36	82
falling asleep	2	5
Total	44	100

Source: Authors own Survey, 2016

In table 6.15 we can conclude that 2 learners indicated that no problems occurred while at school, 3 learners indicated they forget things, 1 indicated absenteeism as a problem while 36 learners 82% indicating they had a problem with tiredness while at school. They therefore struggle to stay alert while being educated. Two learners indicated they fall asleep while at school and this can be attributed to various things it might be a medical condition or psychological would require further investigation. The other 2 indicated they had no problems while at school. According to the NHTS (2014:3) slightly more than half 50, 5% of learners walked all the way to get to their educational institution, followed by 25, 3% who were passengers in a car/truck and taxis 10, 7%.

Table 6.16: Reason for attending school, WHS

Reason	Total Number of learners
close to home	9
family there	2
good school	24
parents' choice	2
Sports	6
want to learn Afrikaans	1

Source: Authors Own Survey, 2016

Table 6.16 indicated the reason for attending this particular school relative to their local schools. Twenty four learners chose the school because it is a good school and others (9 learners) chose it because it is close to home although 6 learners chose it because of the sports and only 2 learners indicated it was their parents' choice, while the other 2 indicated they have family members there. There was one exception with 1 learner who indicated the reason for attending WHS is because they want to learn Afrikaans.

A large number of learners, (27) learners feel exhausted when getting home, 11 feel happy while 1 was energised and 5 were hungry. Although transport from school is a challenge we still find the minority of learners stay after school to play their favourite sport activity (perhaps an advantage compared to (ZHS) The long day impacts not only their safety but also the physical impact of being too tired to do anything else.

Educators' Perceptions at WHS

In this section I describe the responses of teachers to questions raised in interviews.

I asked teachers "Name a few problems occurring during school hours with the children who travel to school by public transport?"

Respondent 1: Late arrivals. Want to leave before dismissal time. Arrive at school before any personnel. Respondent 2: Late arrivals due to transport doing multiple trips. Late arrivals due to protest action on routes. Respondent 3: Late coming. Sleeping in class.

What are the attitude differences between the children that travel and those that don't?

Respondent 1: They are anxious when completing tasks because they are dependent on transport. Often they do not complete. Respondent 2: Learners who travel are more anxious about being late or punctual than others. They are more stressed. Respondent 3: Travellers are quieter at times.

What should be implemented by the department of education for fair distribution of resources?

Respondent 1: Quarterly surveys regarding needed resources, followed by an official who follows up regarding the use of these resources. Respondent 2: Individual needs assessment needed per WHS regard to transport. A database/Information should be constructed about

trends about travelling should be established. Socio-Economic information should be collected/geographical location from where travelling should be captured. Quintile system is ineffective, should be reviewed. School exemption, subsidies provide some support.

What in your opinion makes your school to be the school of choice?

“Our school has a proud history of academic results, outstanding sporting achievements and a good rapport with learners, parents and a well-functioning School Governing Body (SGB) who supports the school in all its endeavours.”

Conclusion

WHS is still a predominantly Coloured middle class school that draws almost 95% of its pupils from within a five km radius. It has a surprisingly small african middle class component at only 8%. Few of Grade 10s that attend Westridge Secondary reside in outer areas beyond the 5km feeder zone radius. Almost half spend under R450 per month on transport. This still represents two social grants and as a proportion of school fees it is also a large amount. This is a troubling aspect.

Distance to the school is not a major issue but safety while walking to school or when in transit is a major concern. Several respondents reported being robbed or harassed while walking to school.

The school has tried to regroup through concerted fundraising efforts, improved facilities and a principals' forum.

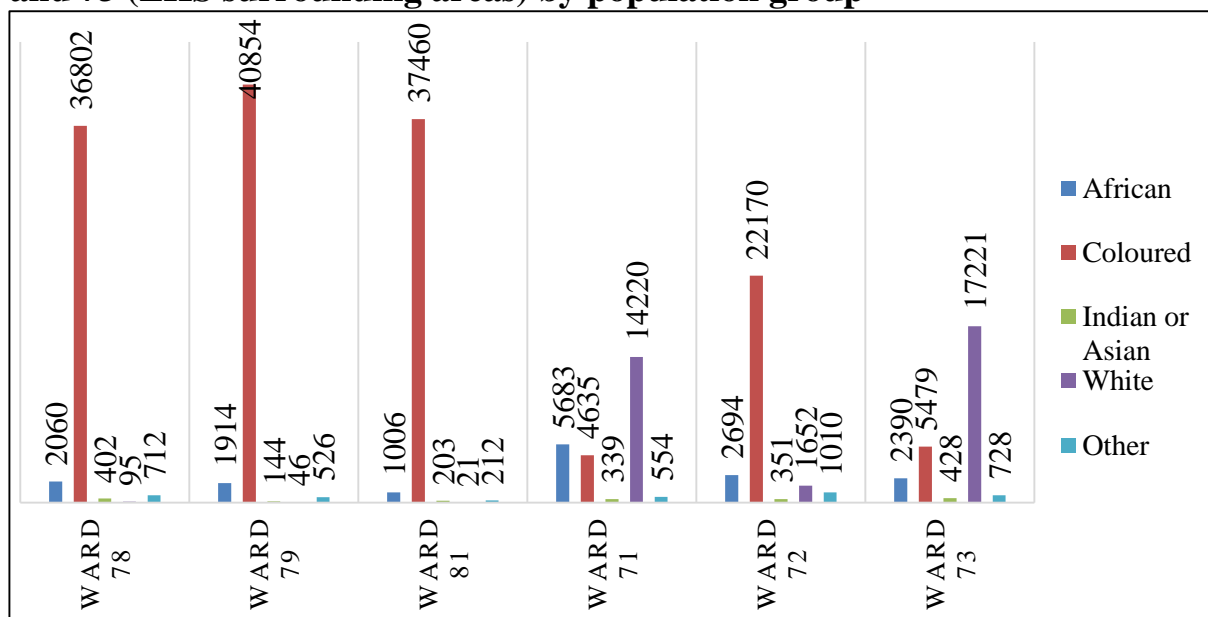
CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The objective of this exploratory qualitative study was to interrogate the new geographies of educational mobility after 1994 in relation to the experiences and perceptions of learner migrants by studying two cases. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an analysis despite the limitation of only having two schools as a source of data. In this chapter, we compare the two schools keeping in mind the general educational-geographies in different contexts and trying to draw out significant trends for time, money, experience and impact. ZHS is seen as desirable school in a “white suburb” whereas WHS is regarded as a township school lacking prospects. Policy debates polarise around whether to enable flight out of townships (choice) or whether to fix up these schools and improve the neighbourhoods they are in. The WC government introduced the after school programmes as a game changer but much of this hinges on scholar transport and issues of congestion.

The acceptable travel time to a school would be under 30 minutes, not longer. According to many researchers such as the South Africa Child Gauge report SACG, (2008/2009: 86), “the school the child attends is regarded as ‘far’ if a child would have to travel more than 30 minutes to reach it, irrespective of mode of transport”. I found that for more than 50% of learners at the two schools, the school is within 30 minutes reach. WHS has a higher proportion living close to the school. A considerable number of learners however travel for more than 40 minutes one way and those are the learners that should be considered for scholar transport subsidy and other assistance. The cost of travelling varies from area to area with the mode of transport being a factor.

Findings for ZHS show an African footprint (20%) that is relatively big. Interestingly, comparatively few Africans have moved into Westridge wards (78-81, see table 4.6 in chapter 4 and table 7.1 below). If anything African parents able to afford to relocate are jumping over coloured areas. Ward 71 has 14000 whites and 5600 african people living in this area (almost 22%) while coloureds are at 18%. The demographic shifts and the school choices when looked at together reveal interesting trends when disaggregated by racial group.

Figure 7.1: Ward 78, 79 and 81 (WHS surrounding areas) and Ward 71, 72 and 73 (ZHS surrounding areas) by population group



Source: Census 2011

In Figure 7.1 the biggest population in all of the areas surrounding WHS is overwhelmingly coloured meaning it has not changed much from the apartheid era. While at ZHS former white wards (71 and 73) the areas surrounding this school are significantly changed demographically. The two wards being around 60% white has greater diversity.

Learners at ZHS and WHS

The majority of the learners at ZHS in the 1990s used to be predominantly Afrikaans-speaking White, with 'roughly equal proportions of white middle and working class. I found that white pupils and parents had deserted the ZHS. Only ten white pupils attended ZHS in 2016. The data provided by WCBED shows the population breakdown in 2016 for the school, ZHS. The figures shows that at ZHS (628 enrolment) the learner breakdown by population group is 496 coloured learners followed by 113 african learners and only 10 white learners in a total learner composition of 628. In 2016, the school had a learner body which is predominantly coloured middle class with a significant african middle class and a few whites. The fact is that ZHS is a migratory school in a predominantly white community but it is isolated from its environment because few whites attend the school. Where ZHS is an island, WHS, on the other hand, is a predominantly Coloured school rooted in a predominantly Coloured community. On the other hand the population breakdown at WHS shows the predominant group as Coloured equalling 906 coloured learners followed by a relatively small african group equalling only 80 african learners – a surprise given the proximity to Khayelitsha.

Table 7. 1: Matric pass rate for the two case studies 2015: Percentage

School Name	School Matric Pass Rate in 2015 in percentages
ZHS	93.3%
WHS	75.8%

Source: CEMIS, 2016 WCDBE

Most of the WHS Grade 10 learners reside in Rockland's (5 learners); followed by Portland's (4 learners) then Colorado (4 learners) and respectively Khayelitsha (3 learners). Significantly

low numbers of Grade 10 learners reside in these outer areas beyond the 5 km feeder zone radius to the school.

The two sampled schools display different socio-economic statuses because of fees. This brings us to the fee payment for schools, at Zwaanswyk the school fees are R9600 per annum whereas at WHS the fees are R1800 per annum.

The educators within each school displays different characteristics, namely at Westridge High the main category is Coloured, no whites are employed at the school and what is interesting is the fact the educators have a long service history at the school. It shows that educators are passionate and have invested more than half of their lives to Westridge high. At Zwaanswyk however the (white) Principal is the longest serving educator at the school, all other educators a basically new to the school.

The matric pass rates are different at the two schools due to the fact that the schools are set in different environments. Zwaanswyk High in 2015 attained a higher matric pass rate than Westridge High. Westridge High has 238 Grade 10 learners as at 2016 equating to 36 learners in a class. At Zwaanswyk High however the Grade 10 has a class size that equates to 32, therefore allowing the educators to zoom in on learners and therefore the school attains a better pass rate.

Zwaanswyk has 17 subjects in Grade 10 while at Westridge High they have 14 subjects. The choices are larger at Zwaanswyk High than at Westridge High. The differences in subject choice are as follows, Zwaanswyk High has Economics, History, Tourism and IsiXhosa which are not offered at Westridge High although Westridge High has Visual Arts that is not offered at Zwaanswyk High.

Understanding transport patterns and the migrant learner

The transport problems in South Africa have resulted from its irrational spatial legacy and the privatization of education which provides invidious choice. Knowledge about how children travel to and from school is growing. However, little is understood of child travel behaviour beyond the school trip, and of the degree to which children travel alone and have constraints imposed upon their independent mobility.

The fact that some township schools are fighting back and that principals in areas such as Mitchells Plain are more organised might be evident in a regroupment of forces against the panacea of chasing increasingly expensive former white schools in far off places. The fact that government is putting the squeeze on the underutilised ex-model C school to take more pupils is also perhaps a helpful move.

The concluding recommendation for further research would be to review the learner transport policy nationally and provincially to be more integrative and universal in application instead of focussing on the learner who survives on a grant or those who reside in the rural areas, the study has proven to be beneficial in terms of perception and experiences captured from the learner perspective as well as the educator perspective in terms of challenges. According to “The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) provides in the Bill of Rights that everyone has a right to a basic education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively available and accessible. “

According to the Basic Education Rights Handbook (2016:285) – Education Rights in South Africa – Chapter 16: Scholar Transport, “The Western Cape’s policy states that for transport to be provided, there must be at least ten learners who require transportation”

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Appendix 1- Interview Tools

Questionnaire-Learner



School name					
Name		Surname			
Population Group		African	Coloured	Asian	White
Age					
Residential Address					
Contact Details:					
Cell:					
Alt Contact no:					
Comments					
In which grade are you and how long have you attended this school?					
Why are attending this particular school?					

What type of transport do you use to get to school?

What time do you arrive at school?

Hours

Minutes

Seconds

How long does it take you to get there?

Hours

Minutes

Seconds

What is the average time you spend travelling to and from school?

If you do use transport how much do you spend on a trip to and from school?

Do you participate in after-school activities? If so explain.

What time do you get home?

How do you feel during the day at school?	
How do you feel when you get home?	
What do you do while travelling in the taxi?	
Specify if anything bad has happened on your way to school or back home from school while travelling in the taxi.	
How often does each of the following problems occur with you at school? If the behaviour occurs, how severe a problem does it present?	


Questionnaire-Educator

School Name					
Name		Surname			
Population Group		African	Coloured	Asian	White
Age					
Residential Address					
Contact Details:					
Cell:					
Alt Contact no:					
Comments					
1. Name a few problems during school hours with the children who travel to school by public transport?					
2. What are the attitude differences between the children that travel and those that don't?					
3. What should be implemented by the department of education for fair distribution of resources?					
4. What is the teacher to learner ratio in your class?					

Questionnaire-Principal

School Name					
Name		Surname			
Population Group		African	Coloured	Asian	White
Age					
Residential Address					
Contact Details:					
Cell:					
Alt Contact no:					
Comments					
1. Should government spend more on poor schools or should they spend money on the more fortunate schools?					
2. Which policies are geared to bridge these inequalities?					
3. What in your opinion makes your school to be the school of choice?					

Appendix 2- Research Approval letter

 <p>Western Cape Government Education</p>	<p>Directorate: Research</p>
	<p>Audrey.wyngaard@westerncape.gov.za tel: +27 021 467 9272 Fax: 0865902282 Private Bag x9114, Cape Town, 8000 wced.wcape.gov.za</p>
<p>REFERENCE: 20151007-4030 ENQUIRIES: Dr A.T Wyngaard</p>	
<p>Mrs Vanessa Wiener 2 Denne Close Westridge Mitchell's Plain 7785</p>	
<p>Dear Mrs Vanessa Wiener</p>	
<p>RESEARCH PROPOSAL: EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF LEARNER MIGRANTS OF COMMUTING TO AND FROM SCHOOL: A CASE STUDY OF LEARNERS AT TWO SCHOOLS IN CAPE TOWN, 2013 - 2015</p>	
<p>Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:</p>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.4. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.5. The Study is to be conducted from 18 January 2016 till 28 February 20166. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr A.T Wyngaard at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number?8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal where the intended research is to be conducted.9. Your research will be limited to the list of schools as forwarded to the Western Cape Education Department.10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Research Services.11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to: The Director: Research Services Western Cape Education Department Private Bag X9114 CAPE TOWN 8000	
<p>We wish you success in your research.</p>	
<p>Kind regards. Signed: Dr Audrey T Wyngaard Directorate: Research DATE: 07 October 2015</p>	
<hr/> <p>Lower Parliament Street, Cape Town, 8001 tel: +27 21 467 9272 fax: 0865902282 Safe Schools: 0800 45 46 47</p>	<hr/> <p>Private Bag X9114, Cape Town, 8000 Employment and salary enquiries: 0861 92 33 22 www.westerncape.gov.za</p>