

**THE INFLUENCE OF TRANSPORT ON THE LIFE EXPERIENCES AND LIFE
CHANCES OF SCHOOL GOERS: A CASE STUDY OF THE
PIETERMARITZBURG DISTRICT**

BY

SHARMLA RAMA

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ABSTRACT

Literature and case studies on transport and school goers lacks analysis of the influence of transport on school goer's experiences and opportunities.

The research presented in this case study examines the extent to which transport - either private or public - determines school goers access to places, experiences and opportunities. The research was based on a study sample of about 1 474-school goers within a 45-kilometer radius of Pietermaritzburg. The study was sited at ten schools. School goers in grades one, four, seven and nine formed the study sample. Their ages ranged between 6 to 27 years.

Drawing on qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection this case study focused on the activities within the school and home environments. Data collect focused on analysing the modes of travel to and from school as well as recreational and sport activities that school goers engage in.

Findings and the review of literature in this case study show that the role of transport in the lives of school goers is linked to the daily activities they engage in. Accessing schooling, sporting, recreational and educational facilities increases school goer's experiences and opportunities. In rural and some remote urban settlements problems of accessibility and mobility limit and localise the experiences and opportunities for school goers. The challenge for transport

development is to improve accessibility and affordability through the use of appropriate modes of travel.

Time poverty
Fear based Exrly

PREFACE

I hereby declare that this whole dissertation unless noted otherwise is my original work and has not been submitted in part or in whole to any other university.

Shamla Rama

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ACRONYMS

AP	: Accessibility Approach
C A S E	: Community Agency for Social Enquiry
CODATU	: Conference for Urban Transport in Developing Countries
CRG	: Class, Race and Gender Research Programme
df	: Degree of Freedom
MSA	: Moving South Africa

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1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation sets out to examine the extent to which transport – either public or private- determines access to places, experiences and opportunities of school goers living within a 45-kilometer radius in Pietermaritzburg. This analysis focused on activities within the school and home environments by looking at modes of travel to and from school as well as recreational and sport activities that school goers engage in.

In this case study transport is shown to have a significant influence on the experiences and opportunities for school-goers. In rural and some remote urban settlements, problems of accessing schooling and, sport and recreational activities limits the opportunities, experiences and choices that school-goers have. In particular the differences in locality, race, social and economic backgrounds and gender can influence school goers access to opportunities, experiences and places. The review of literature indicates a lack of investigation and analysis of the role of transport in school goer's lives.

Transport is seen as a key factor affecting economic and social development. The provision of transport infrastructure is important to creating accessibility and mobility to facilities and services. The review of literature shows that accessibility and mobility problems lead to individual and community isolation. It is these issues that this case study has drawn on and debated, in determining what role transport has on school goer's lives. Particular emphasis was placed on the conceptualisation of transport development in South Africa, and on what implications this has for school goers.

In this case study the use of the categories - race, locale, gender, grade and age was important to the statistical analysis. Some of these categories need to be clarified. The term black is used to refer to African people, while white to people

of European origin. Below is a description of these terms that are used to categorise the locales:

Rural: describes those schools located in historically former bantustans areas and that serve the education needs of the rural community living within this area.

Farm: These schools historically served the black children living within the white owned commercial farming sector.

Urban Black: Historically black urban government schools

Urban White: Historically white urban government schools

Urban Private: Historically racially integrated privately funded urban schools.

The study is set out in the following way - In Chapter 2, I discuss a review of relevant literature, which contextualises the study within a broader development debate. Concepts that are integral to the study of transport and school goers such as accessibility, mobility, proximity and connectivity are discussed and examined. In Chapter 3, I present the methodological framework and study methods used. In Chapter 4, I describe the findings of the case study research on transport and school goers, based on quantitative and qualitative data collected at the ten selected schools within the greater Pietermaritzburg district. Chapter 5 is a discussion of the findings and some conclusions that were drawn about the role of transport in school-goer's lives.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a lack of literature on school goers and transportation in South Africa. The review of literature, presented in this chapter, focuses on the main arguments and issues that have emerged in papers and discussions on transportation in developing countries. The themes around urban and rural transportation in developing countries is significant to understanding the context in which choices for modes of travel exist, differences in infrastructure and how social and economic situations influence transportation. Finally in relation to this dissertation, the issues relevant to education and travel in rural and urban areas of developing countries and of South Africa is discussed. Two contrasting approaches to transportation in developing countries exists- the one focuses on the upgrade or construction of transport infrastructure, while the other on rural household travel demand. The relationship between education and transport needs are mentioned only in passing.

Accessibility and Mobility

The concepts of accessibility and mobility and how this impacts on commuting patterns in urban and rural areas of developing countries is prominently featured in research literature. Edmonds argues that focus on themes and approaches to access can be applied to all kinds of rural infrastructure, such as roads, water supply, and school and markets (Edmonds, 1998: 15 chap 1). The main objective of introducing these concepts and arguments on transportation in developing countries is its significance and relevance to South Africa and to the case study of school goers.

Crous argues that the concept 'accessibility' can be understood as being a combination of three aspects: mobility, proximity and connectivity (Crous cited in Jordaan, 1997: 2). The notion of 'connectivity' as used by Jordaan (1997: 2) refers to the transportation network or infrastructure that is available. Mobility is defined in terms of travel time. In the context of civil engineering he writes that,

“accessibility affords access to opportunities that are connected by a transportation network on which transport modes operate at certain levels of service” (Jordaan, 1997: 2). This definition has a specific link to land use and the use of motorised modes of transport. Yet, despite Jordaan’s use of it in a rural case study, he fails to include the use of paths and trails by the non-motorised modes of travel such as walking, carting, bicycles, head loading etc.

When applied to a social context, the concept ‘accessibility’ is understood to mean the ease or ability to reach, visit or use a facility or service so as to satisfy a need (Edmonds, 1998, 5 chap 1 and Ali-Nejadfard, 1997: 2). The term ease is understood to mean the time spent, cost and effort required in carrying out a specific need. Mobility refers to the ease or difficulty in travelling to the facility or service and proximity is understood in terms of location. Accessibility in this sense would refer to the ease with which people are able to reach, visit or use a particular service or facility, how far the service or facility is from the mode of travel used. It is within this approach that the use of non-motorised modes of travel and the need for trails and paths is examined.

Edmonds outlines a theoretical approach to accessibility, by introducing three elements: the location of the individual, the location of the supply, service or facility which the individual needs to access and finally the link to bring these two elements together (1998: 5 chap 6). He explains that these terms are mathematically calculated, by focusing on how time, distance, cost and number of facilities may impede the link between individual and facility. However this approach, Edmonds argues is more applicable to access problems within the urban areas where transportation infrastructure already exists (ibid.).

In rural areas of developing countries the lack of transport infrastructure led to the development of an approach to accessibility problems, namely Accessibility Planning (AP). AP is an approach that defines the access requirements of a rural household in terms of what supplies facilities and services are needed

(Edmonds, 1998: 7 chap 6). The household is seen as the unit of generation of transport journeys. AP is seen as an effective tool to determine what level of transport needs a rural community requires, as it takes into account the time taken and the manner in which access to facility or service is gained by focusing on the rural households domestic or daily activities. It is especially useful in rural areas where there is both a lack of transport infrastructure and a low ability to pay or afford transport services (ibid.). In this regard the use of non-motorised forms of transport, such as walking or carting and the trails or paths that are used become of particular importance.

The availability of transport or transport infrastructure can influence the wealth or poverty of a community. Transport services and infrastructures are important factors that determine what level of services and facilities a community or area can access and the mobility they have. It is the role of transport as a key factor for economic and social development that is discussed in the following section.

Transport as a Key Factor for Economic and Social Growth

The literature on the role of transport as a key factor for economic and social development is extensive (Ali-Nejadfard, 1997 1 to 3, Mbara and Bijl, 1997: 1 to 2). It is argued that the movement of goods and people over any distance by any means possible is necessary to facilitate the use of facilities and services, i.e. promotes trade and improves standards of living through access to health, education, markets etc. In this, it is held that the provision of transport infrastructure and services improves lines of communication and reduces the transport cost for the movement of passengers or goods (Department of Transport, 1998a: 1 chap 6).

The above notion explains some of the urban-rural differences in social and economic growth. As elsewhere, in South Africa urban-rural disparities in terms of infrastructure and development of transport are of particular significance. Unequal and uneven development characteristics of the colonial past contributed

to the disparities in the transport infrastructure, facilities and services for the rural and urban areas (Edmonds, 1998: chap 3 and Mbara and Bijl, 1997: 1-2).

Pwmbid good food Infrastructure
In many developing countries the extensive construction of transport infrastructure and services, in the form of rail and road, facilitated the flow of goods and raw materials from the hinterlands to the seaports for export in pursuit of the economic growth and trade needs of the colonial powers. This was often done without any resources directed to local requirements (Bryceson and Howe, 1997: 1715, Mbara and Bijl, 1997:2 and Bernstein, 1992: 66-67).

use this too
South Africa's legacy of apartheid perpetuated transport infrastructure imbalances within and between rural and urban areas in that it developed along racial lines. Transportation planning and development under the apartheid system was designed to ensure spatial separation of the race groups, in which transport infrastructure focused on white needs in the first instance and then on urban (Department of Transport, 1998a, 1 of Forward). This meant the vast majority of people did not have easy access or mobility to basic services. Instead transport was designed to get workers to the employment centers with little attention given to user ease (Freeman, 1998: 1).

In current debates on urban and rural transport in developing countries there seems to be consensus in the literature that developing countries are facing a 'crisis'. The argument is that in most instances poor accessibility and mobility, whether in the urban or rural areas, has the effect of limiting the social and economic growth of an area. It prevents people from effectively carrying out daily activities such as accessing resources, seeking or generating employment, attending school, hospitals and clinics etc.

The issues around urban transport in developing countries were recently addressed at CODATU VIII in Cape Town. The conference pointed out that the main function of a transport system is to provide accessibility and mobility

(CODATU Press Release, 1998: 1). The urban transport system (infrastructure, services and facilities) is seen as an integral part of urban settlement and planning and is specifically designed to facilitate travel by motorised public and private modes of travel (Williams, 1998: 1). At the conference there was consensus that the urban transport crisis is leading to significant problems of access and mobility (Press release, 1998a: 1). The point was that a physical separation of work and residence meant that people in the urban areas needed to commute daily between these sites, thereby increasing the demand for transport in both the private and public transport systems (ibid.).

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High proportions of household income are being spent on transport and low-income urban dwellers in developing areas could not afford the high costs of transport either public or private (CODATU Press Release, 1998a: 1 and Williams, 1998: 1). Williams cites the case of urban poor in Nairobi who are unable to pay for public transport and spend up to four hours a day walking between home and work (ibid.). He argues that inadequate transport reduces the quality of living, as access to employment opportunities and services are limited (ibid.) Freeman argues that the development of a sustainable and affordable transport system would reduce the household expenditure for transport costs (1998: 1). In fact in the absence of developing a sustainable transport system, it can be anticipated that daily access and mobility are likely to become a major problem. These issues are picked up in the **Moving South Africa** (MSA) report

The MSA strategy report, links the idea of transport as a key factor for economic and social growth and development to its transport planning vision for the next twenty years (Department of Transport, 1998a: chap 6). It holds that an efficient transport system can improve the competitiveness in trade and ensure that people's access and mobility to services and facilities is significantly increased (Editorial, 1998: 1). Also there needs to be a sustainable transport policy that addresses the changing transport needs of the country.

The MSA strategy report presents an extensive investigation and analysis of urban transport issues in South Africa. The report sets out to address the major imbalances in inefficient and unsustainable transport systems that characterised transport planning and development of the apartheid era. The key concern of this report is that of public transport and how to make it accessible, affordable and convenient to people no matter what travel distance they need to cover.

In terms of the analysis of the urban transport situation the report divided urban passengers into six categories, as set out in the table below.

They are the:

Figure 1: Urban Passenger Categories

Passenger	Description	Number in 1996 (in millions)
<i>Strider</i>	(prefers to walk/ cycle)	5.4
<i>Stranded</i>	(no affordable public transport available-school goers, unemployed and commuters)	2.8
<i>Survival</i>	(use cheapest mode of public transport),	4.1
<i>Sensitive</i>	(uses best option public transport)	2.1
<i>Selective</i>	(can afford car but prefers public transport)	4.1
<i>Stubborn</i>	(only uses private car)	3.0
Total		21.4

(Source: Department of Transport, 1998a: 1 chap 7.2)

Statistically 4 in 7 of an estimated 21 million urban passengers walk, use the cheapest mode of travel or in fact cannot afford public transport at present. As the table shows these have been characterised in the MSA analysis as Strider, Stranded or Survival urban passengers. These categories indicate that a large proportion of urban dwellers cannot afford public transport and that this may limit their access to services and facilities. It suggests that workforce and school

goer's mobility is restricted. More significantly of the three predominant modes of travel favoured by people: walking is the most likely affordable and cheaper mode and use of a car being the least likely choice (Department of Transport, 1998a: 6 chap 7.2).

The choice of mode of travel is largely an indication of income levels. The MSA report argues that the lower the household income the greater is the preference for cheaper modes of travel. Thus those households that earn less than R30 000 per annum tend to walk or use a minibus-taxi as the main mode of travel. Once the household income rises above R30 000 per annum the preference for motorised transport as the main mode of travel increases (Department of Transport, 1998a: 3 chap 7.2).

Turning to the issue of education and urban travel the MSA report does shed some light on this subject. The MSA categorises school goers in the stranded urban passenger category. Scholars make up 42% of the passengers who cannot afford basic access to services or facilities including travel to school (Department of Transport, 1998a: 2 chap 7.2). Indicating that this category of passengers has limited choice in mode of travel and that this impacts negatively on their access and mobility to services and facilities. This group is particularly affected by cost, travel time and choice of travel mode and is one of the significant challenges that has to be addressed (Department of Transport, 1998a: 4 chap 7.2 and 1 chap 10).

A strategy that is currently under consideration to address the problem of providing affordable transport for the stranded is that of subsidised public transport (Department of Transport, 1998a: 17 chap 10). The MSA report indicates that on average a public transport trip is 20km long, and includes travel by rail, bus and minibus-taxi (Department of Transport, 1998a: 6 chap 7.2). Subsidised transport exists only for the trains, municipal and long distance

buses, the minibus-taxi receives no subsidy as yet (Department of Transport, 1998a: 7 chap 7.2).

As highlighted at CODATU VIII, lack of finance or funding for the provision of infrastructure and services in developing countries is a critical issue (CODATU Press Release, 1998a: 1-2). In terms of the South African context Freeman argues that “the governments Rand is being stretched over housing, health and education with transport fairly low down the priority list, mainly because the implications of insufficient funding are not immediately obvious” (1998: 1). Therefore the issue of a subsidy for public transport in South African can be a contentious issue.

In the United States of America and Britain legislation for compulsory education was accompanied by statutory provision of free transport for children not living within walking distance of the school. Education departments in each area or region meet the cost for this by allocating a subsidy budget for school transportation.

This has not been the case in South Africa where the issue of subsidised transport for school children has been controversial, especially with regard to bus subsidies (Clarke, 1996: 3-4). Both the department of education and department of transport have refused to take responsibility on this issue, arguing that no statutory obligation exists for either department to get children to school (Clarke, 1996: 5). Up until now the cost of bus subsidy for school transport has been borne by bus operators. In 1995 the South African Bus Operators Association estimated the loss of income to be R180 million, this has grown in proportion to the increase in scholar numbers (Clarke, 1996: 5). This means that the bus industry has been left to absorb the huge financial losses as scholars take up full paying customers places during peak periods (ibid.)

The MSA report estimates that by the year 2020 the number of stranded passengers will rise by 28%. About 6.6 million people will fall in this category (Department of Transport, 1998a: 1-2 chap 7.2). The implications of the present transport situation for the stranded represents a crisis in poor accessibility and mobility. The above arguments on school bus subsidy is only a partial indication of the task facing the Department of Transport should it decide on private funding initiatives and subsidisation.

Turning to transport in rural areas of developing countries. The main argument centers on the problems of accessibility and mobility and how they contribute to the poverty and isolation of the rural poor.

“Access is an important factor in rural transport development because its existence or absence defines the opportunity that rural people have to improve their social and economic well being” (Edmonds, 1998: 1 chap 1). Poor access and isolation to services and facilities, Edmonds argues is a characteristic of poverty (Edmonds, 1998: 1 chap 1). Isolation occurs when there is an inability to access goods and services with ease (Mashiri, 1997: 1-2). Ali-Nejadfard argues that the huge burden of transport that rural communities bear to meet basic needs hinders economic and social development of such areas (1997: 1). Poor physical access can be a major constraint to the alleviation of poverty (Edmonds, 1998: 14 chap 1).

Poor access to health, education, water, energy or fuel sources and markets means that poor people in the rural areas often have to travel a considerable distance and expend a lot of energy and effort to reach any of these services or facilities (Maganya, 1997: 1-2). Transport in the rural areas consumes a major portion of the household time budget and involves a major physical burden where even shopping, schooling or working activities consume time and effort (Edmonds, 1998: 17 chap 2 and Maganya, 1998: 2). They argue that spending and expending time, effort and energy to meet basic everyday needs amounts to

unproductive and wasted time that could be utilised in a more productive form (ibid.).

Sexual Division of Transport Generating Domestic Chores

In the rural areas the sexual division of labour results in women bearing the greatest transportation burden in meeting basic needs (Edmonds, 1998, Ali-Nejadfard, 1997, Mbara and Bijl, 1997, Bryceson and Howe, 1993 and Mehretu and Mutambirwa, 1992). Bryceson and Howe argue that the customary and traditional role of women as transporters is inextricably linked to their role as the providers of the household's primary needs- food, water and fuel (1993: 1718-1719).

In recent years women's role in rural household transport has dominated research and planning of transport in rural areas (Bryceson and Howe, 1993: 1715). The studies indicate that collection of fuel wood, water, crop production and harvesting are mainly done by women and is undertaken on foot and involves head loading (Ali-Nejadfard, 1997: 6, Mbara and Bijl, 1997: 1-13, and Bryceson and Howe, 1993: 1716). In Africa and Asia given that these aspects of transport are largely borne by women rural men consider these transport problems to be of very little significance (1998: 17 chap 2).

Mehretu and Mutambirwa's case study of the Chiduku district in Zimbabwe revealed that female (wives, daughters and other females) participation in livestock-related chores is significantly lower compared to other domestic chores (1992: 1680-1681). In terms of percentages female household members logged higher participation rates for the trip-generating household chores. Wives logged the highest proportion of trip generation in the household- they did 62% of the water collection, 57% of the laundry activities, 63% of the fuel wood collection and 48% in each case of the local or regional market trips (ibid.).

The main finding of the study was that the mother of the household bore the greatest time and energy costs of transport related domestic chores, especially during school hours when the female school going children are not at home (ibid.). These studies show that girls in rural areas also bear a significant, albeit relatively smaller proportion of the burden of transportation in doing daily chores (Mehretu and Mutambirwa, 1992: 1681). Crehan argues that from an early age girls in the rural areas are socialised to do women’s work (1992: 118). Much of these jobs are carried out on foot and include head loading and it is the women that participate in most of these trip-generating activities. Similar findings emerged from the case study of Chiduku, where it is estimated that 70% of the trip-generating domestic household chores are done by women (Mehretu and Mutambirwa, 1992: 1682).

The chart below sets out the results of Mbara and Bijl’s case study, in Zimbabwe of the average distance travelled to meet basic household needs and services. Women or girls undertake most trips.

Figure 2: Average Distance Travelled to Use a Service

Service	Average Distance in km
Water Collection	1.4
Fuelwood Collection	1.8
Primary Education	2.7
Secondary Education	4.7
Grinding Mill	7.4
Commercial Centre	10.1
Health	19.8

Source: Mbara and Bijl, 1997: 7

The study found that in order to complete many of the daily activities or meet basic needs considerable distances are travelled, with basic service and

commercial sites being particularly remote from residential settlements. It also indicates that basic service such as health, education and commercial (market or trade activities) are located even further away from many rural settlements.

Mbara and Bijl's data on weekly travel burdens for a household indicate that on average a household spends 64 hours per week travelling, excluding any time that is spent on crop production or harvesting (1997: 7-10). Their results indicate that of all the trips rural households engage in the most time is spent on collecting water, education and fuelwood or energy collection. On average a rural household spends between 25 to 30 hours a week travelling to collect water, 10 to 15 hours on education and 5 to 10 hours on energy/ fuelwood collection (ibid.).

Services such as health, mill grinding, shopping, church, or others that are further away from the households and on average each contribute less than five hours of travel per week. This indicates that these are external long distance trips, as the results indicate that travel to health and commercial centers are mainly undertaken by bus (ibid. 8-9,12). Mbara and Bijl argue that average distances travelled by foot range between 10 to 16 kilometers and trips that exceed 35 kilometers are undertaken by bus (ibid. 13).

Comparatively, the review of literature indicates that location of services and physical characteristic of an area impact on the number of hours on average that a household will spend on travelling to meet subsistence or basic needs. Cecelski's review of literature on global trends for fuel collection reveals that there is a time variability of between one hour per week in a forested area of Nigeria to 38 hours in Uttar Pradesh (Cecelski cited in Bryceson and Howe, 1993: 1717). Bryceson and Howe also cite other case studies for water collection, and firewood that indicate the importance of physical terrain, seasonality and location on the number of hours per week a household spends meeting basic needs (ibid. also in Edmonds, 1998: chap 4).

The recent surge in literature around rural transport in developing countries has marked a change in emphasis in policy and planning from motorised modes of travel to that of rural household travel demands (Bryceson and Howe, 1993: 1715). This can directly be attributed to the influence of the Accessibility Planning approach that sought to highlight the significance of the non-motorised transport related household activities.

In many developing countries rural people depend largely on non-motorised transport and the ownership of motorised private or public modes of travel are limited in rural areas (Maganya: 1997: 3). The main mode of travel in the rural areas is walking, with only a few households owning bicycles or animals (Mashiri, 1997: 3 and Bryceson and Howe, 1993: 1716). Walking and travel by bicycle in developing countries are significant modes of travel largely because it is more affordable and cheap (Mashiri, 1997: 3-4). However walking is seldom seen as a significant mode of travel or transport for the rural poor. While in most developed countries in affluent communities the bicycle is used for sport and recreation, it is not regarded as an important mode of cheap affordable mode of travel that is faster than walking (Mashiri, 1997: 4).

At one level the literature seems contradictory in that having argued its implications for poverty and particularly with travel times, Bryceson and Howe argue that the rural travel patterns indicate the insignificance of the modern transport and motorised system of travel (1993: 1716). In the case study of rural transport needs of households in Zimbabwe, Mbara and Bijl argue that most of the person trips in rural areas are within the village and that the conventional transport systems are irrelevant (1997: 1). Their case study shows that 84 percent of all trips undertaken in the rural villages are internal trips- within the village (Mbara and Bijl, 1997: 6-7). Similarly, the case study of Ashanti, Volta and northern regions of Ghana, indicates that 76% of all trips are undertaken within the villages (Bryceson and Howe, 1993: 1716). This might suggest that the lack of motorised transport keep people localised and confirming isolation.

The way in which transport development and planning is now approached in rural areas has changed. On the one hand, by shifting focus to non-motorised modes new areas of concern and intervention are highlighted. Edmonds argues that footpaths are of greater importance to household traveling demands than that of tarred or modern transport infrastructure (1998: 10 chap 4). Similarly Mbara and Bijl argue that at village level the focus should be on improving the appropriate infrastructure such as footpaths, tracks and river crossings than on upgrading the road network (i.e. tarred or gravel access roads) (1997: 15).

South Africa has yet to catch up with this literature. The most recent research that has informed the MSA report focuses exclusively on road infrastructure in the rural areas. It has drawn on provincial studies emphasising the quality of existing roads and on improving the standard of the earth surface roads (service access roads) in the rural areas.

The MSA and its base document the CARNS reports are informed by civil engineering approaches. The approach is driven by the fundamental aim of maximising accessibility in rural areas. The main concern is that lack of access increases the travel time and expenses of travel for rural poor. This it is argued leads to their isolation from the wider society and from participation in the economic and social activities (Department of Transport, 1998a). The CARNS report argues that this approach to transport in rural areas will end the physical, social and economic isolation of the rural poor (KwaZulu/Natal Department of Transport, and CARNS, 1997: E1).

The CARNS report's particular emphasis is the provision and upgrade of access roads to improve the communities access to school and health service (KwaZulu/Natal Department of Transport, and CARNS, 1997: 1-1). Thus, for example of the 370 applications received for access roads in rural areas, 46% were for the provision of access roads to schools and these were given a higher

priority than any other services (KwaZulu/Natal Department of Transport, and CARNS, 1997: E3).

The KwaZulu/Natal Department of Transport has opted to implement the upgrade and provision of access roads to rural areas by establishing the Rural Roads Transport Forum (RRTFs) (KwaZulu/Natal Department of Transport and CARNS, 1997: E5). This approach they argue will create community based participation in the rural transport development. However, this approach to community consultation and the provision of access in rural areas is problematic. Consultation at the community level focuses on the approach to upgrade and provide transport infrastructure in rural areas than on the transport needs and immediate modes of travel that are being used. It discounts the communities use of non-motorised modes of travel.

Ali-Nejadfard's (1997) case study on rural travel and transport planning in Malawi presents a very different approach to that of the MSA or CARNS. A significant point to highlight is that the results and recommendations from this case study provided inputs for the National Policy on Rural Transport in Malawi (Ali-Nejadfard, 1997: 1). Unlike in the MSA or CARNS reports, the Malawi case study applied the concept of the rural household as the unit of trip generations in a rural village.

From earlier discussions, it was argued that rural transport development should focus on improving appropriate transport infrastructure such as footpaths, tracks and river crossings. In the Malawi case study, Ali-Nejadfard also argues that footpaths and footbridges were that most predominant transport infrastructure used by rural household (1997: 3). The Integrated Rural Access Planning approach implemented, in the Neno, Lobi and Embagweni districts of Malawi set out to find the most cost effective travel interventions to meet the actual travel needs and access demands of the rural village (ibid.). In effect the project successfully implemented the use of Intermediate Modes of Travel (IMTs), that is

wheelbarrows, bicycles, animal or bicycle drawn carts, and constructed timber bridges and improved paths (Ali-Nejadfard, 1998: 10-11).

The manner in which rural transport development is dealt with in the MSA report may suggest a community based input but the literature for Accessibility Planning has largely highlighted the problems of imposing rural transport infrastructure. The central question posed by Edmonds, Ali-Nejadfard, Mbarara and Bijl and others are who benefits and what benefits do road infrastructure and networks provide to the rural dweller? Is this a facilitator of social and economic development? Their case studies on rural transport in developing countries suggest otherwise.

Given the main concern of this dissertation, how transport influences the life experiences of school goers, it is notable that while there is consensus that access to education facilities in rural areas is largely lacking, not enough attention or focus has been given to this issue or to how school goers are affected.

School Goers and Transport

Literature and case studies on transport and school goers in rural areas are very limited. The focus on gender and domestic chore trip generating activities and on the effects of this on household time budget, women's health and child labour has dominated current literature and debates. From the little that is available, issues of education and transport have been mentioned.

The Zimbabwe case study indicates that the trips undertaken to school places huge transportation burden on adults and children (Mbarara and Bijl, see fig. 2). While both primary and secondary school children travel a considerable distance to school, it is the bigger children who share a heavier burden. Also, Mbarara and Bijl's results on weekly household travel burdens indicate that children spend about eleven hours per week travelling to education facilities, and that this trip is undertaken on foot (1997: 8).

As with other social and economic needs, getting to school places transportation burdens on children. Accessibility and mobility in rural areas for children who attend school needs to be considered of equal importance. Mashiri's case study of Winterveld in South Africa and Gutu in Zimbabwe indicates that the demographic characteristics of these rural populations generate a massive demand for school related travel (Mashiri, 1997: 3). The youth and school goers do not pay full fare and take up full paying adult space on public transport and this creates pressure for the need of subsidised school travel (ibid.). However Mashiri's case study like others only mentions the link between education and transport problems in rural areas.

Edmonds cites the case of school goers in Laos, where the mountainous physical terrain of the country results in some school children travelling up to three days just to reach a road network (1998: 15 chap 2). Edmonds points out that while Laos may be an extreme case, in many developing countries absenteeism and drop out rates are higher among school goers in rural areas (Edmonds, 1998: 14 chap 1). The long distances children have to travel to school and fear of safety means that many children enroll at school above the age norm.

In Christie and Gordon's article on poverty and education in rural South Africa some of these issues are discussed. They argue that the underprovision of schools in rural and farm areas in South Africa compounds the problems of access to schools (1992: 411). Christie and Gordon argue that living further away from school was a main reason why so many rural or farm children's late entry into schooling (ibid.). "Walking long distances to school not only resulted in fatigue or absenteeism on cold days, ... but teachers reported that girls feared abductions and mothers feared young children might be run over" (ibid.). Attending school in these areas, they argue, depended largely on the proximity of the school and the mobility within the community.

Clearly the most relevant arguments on education and transport of school children is that in the rural and farm areas the lack of accessibility, mobility and proximity to education facilities affects enrollment and attendance in schools. Walking is the main mode of travel for the school goers and some have to travel considerable distances to school. If public transport is available, in most cases, it is not affordable. The issue around subsidisation of school transport is a controversial issue both in the rural and urban areas.

The review of literature indicates that very little has been written on the influence of transport on school goer's lives, especially in rural areas. The results of the findings presented in this dissertation will cover the urban and rural contexts – and how school goers in both these locales travel to school, and engage in sport and recreational activities.

3. STUDY METHOD

The aim of this chapter is to outline the study methodology used in the fieldwork and research investigations of this dissertation. The data collection process and method has to be understood within the broader context of the aims and rationale of the **Class, Race and Gender Consciousness Research Programme (CRG)**. Following from this, is a description of the study sample, the choice of instruments, the process of data collection and the statistical packages used.

Research Design

This dissertation forms part of broader research programme undertaken in the greater Pietermaritzburg area of KwaZulu-Natal by the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg (UNP) and Community Agency for Social Enquiry (C A S E). It is a multi-disciplinary study combining specialists from the sociology, psychology and dietetics departments of the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, and is based at C A S E.

The CRG programme research design is longitudinal and cross-sequential. Beginning with the 1997 grade one intake of school goers, the CRG study will follow their progress through the ten years of compulsory education. The idea of the study is to follow children in several grades at different schools over a ten-year period. Thus school goers in each of the sentinel grades will be studied every time the field work episode is carried out.

For this study the selected schools were used as the site of investigation. The selected schools are located within a 45-kilometer radius of the greater Pietermaritzburg district. Selection of the schools was based on the physical location, the community or people, the socio-economic backgrounds and on the cross section of school going children to whom the schools provide educational needs. The choice of schools were determined by the grade one 1997 intake, as

it was probable that this group would remain for at least three or four episodes of the fieldwork over the ten-year period. The choice of high school was problematic especially in regard to those in the urban areas. The high schools were chosen based upon its proximity to the chosen primary school, as a likely feeder (Marcus, 1997: 2).

The ten schools participating in the study comprised of five primary schools and five high schools. The schools selected are not representative of the schools in the KwaZulu-Natal Province. This is due to the difficulties involved in the research design process and in determining appropriate criteria given the nature and scope of the study (Marcus, 1997: 2). The study did not extend into the children's home or engage with their teachers or education curricula given the financial and time management constraints of the CRG programme (Marcus, 1997: 2). Also, the research is not a study of the education system as such.

The CRG programme's main concern is to investigate the impact of structural and subjective conditions on the formation of social identity among school children. The aim is to explore the emerging and changing patterns of social identity and consciousness in childhood and adolescence. The research project is therefore concerned with issues of class, race and gender amongst school children.

Study Population

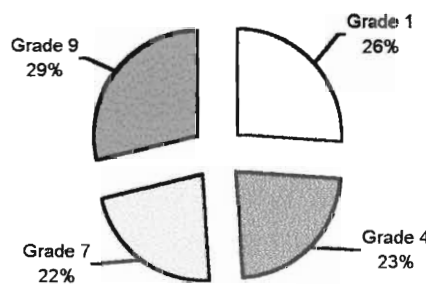
In the study, respondent's participation was obtained through written parental consent. The final sample size was influenced by parental or respondent unwillingness to participate in the programme, absenteeism and incomplete questionnaires. The findings presented in this study are based upon a study population, comprising of 1474 school children. More than a half of the respondents (53%) are female. 47% are male.

Overall this study is largely of black and white school going children. In terms of the racial composition, more than three-quarters of the respondents (77%) are Black and 18% are White. The proportion of Coloured (2%) and Indian (3%) respondent are significantly smaller than that of White and Black. This study is not representative of the Coloured or Indian population’s perceptions and attitudes.

The study sample consists of respondents from grades one, four, seven and nine. All school goers in grades one, four, seven and nine become part of the study sample, except in three schools- a primary and secondary urban black school and an urban white high school. The numbers of school children in each grade were significantly large to draw a random sample from.

The chart below illustrates the sample composition by grade.

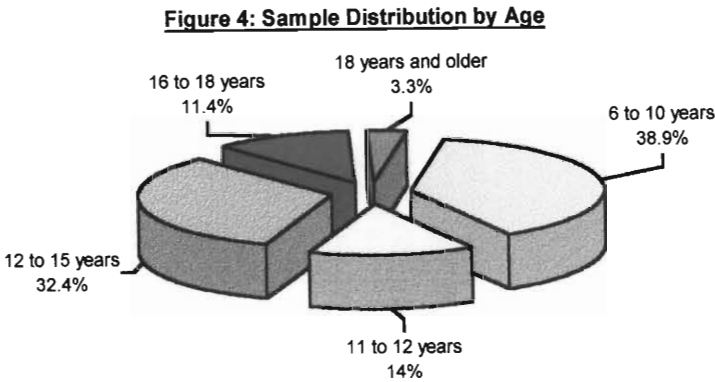
Figure 3; Sample Distribution by Grade



More than a quarter of the respondents are in grade one (26%) and grade nine (29%). 23% of the respondents are in grade four and 22% in grade seven. An important motivation for the grade selection was to demarcate groups of scholars within relatively narrowly defined age ranges of three to four years.

However this was not the case, as the spread of ages across each grade is much wider than was anticipated. The age range of the study population is 6 to 27 years.

However this was not the case, as the spread of ages across each grade is much wider than was anticipated. The age range of the study population is 6 to 27 years.



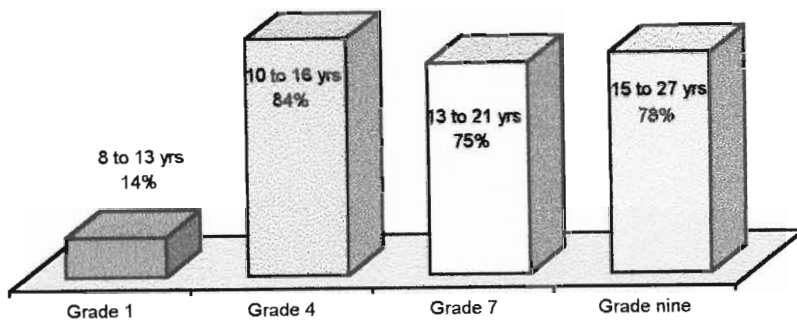
In the above chart, more than a third of the respondents (39%) are between 6 to 10 years. 14% of the respondent’s ages are between 11 to 12 years old. 32% are between 12 to 15 years. 11% are between 16 to 18 years old. The three percent of respondents who are older than 18 years are learning alongside school children in the primary and secondary school.

Figure 5: Grade by Age Range

GRADE	AGE RANGE FOR THE GRADE	AVERAGE AGE
One	6 to 13 years	7
Four	8 to 16 years	11
Seven	12 to 21 years	14
Nine	13 to 27 years	16

The chart above illustrates that there is a significant difference in the age range within the grades. Also, within each grade there is a proportion of respondents who are over the age norm (Marcus 1998: 3). The following chart looks at the proportion of the respondents that fall over the age norm and at the age range of these respondents within each grade.

Figure 6: Grade by Proportion of Respondents over the Age Norm



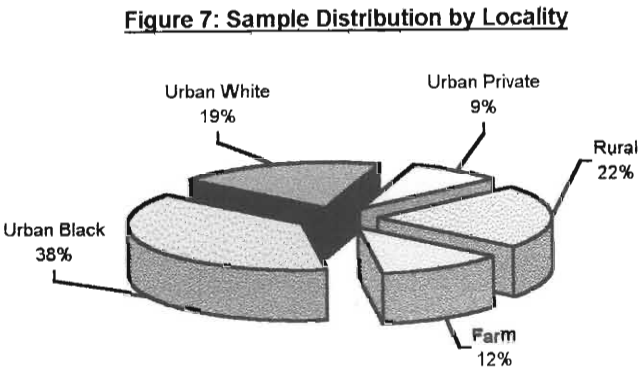
The above chart shows that in grades four, seven and nine most of the respondents are over the age norm. Only in grade one 14% of the respondents are above the age norm with 86% falling within the norm of 6 to 7 years. In grade four the age norm is 8 to 9 years and only 16% of the respondents fall with this norm. In grade seven 25% of the respondents fall within the age norm 11 to 12 years. 21% of the grade nine respondent are within the 13 to 14 year's age norm.

Marcus (1998 a: 4) points out that the reason that some respondents are above the age norm for the grade they attend could be attributed to either repeating years, late enrolment or some may have dropped in and out of school depending on outside or home circumstances. Also, Christie and Gordon point out that at farm and rural locales the long distances between site of residence and school results in school goers starting school above the age norm (1992: 411).

The selected schools were categorised in terms of locality, that is in terms of urban black, urban white, urban private, farm and rural. While the respondents attending the rural, farm and urban black schools are all black, in the urban white and urban private locales the respondents come from a racial cross section of the community. All the schools are co-educational, with the exception of one high school that is a single sex female institution. A lack of resources and financial

flexibility resulted in the CRG programme not being able to include schools that historically services Indian or Coloured school going children (Marcus, 1997: 3).

Two of the schools are historically private (primary and high), two are historically white, urban and two are historically black urban schools. Two of schools are historically rural black schools and two are farm schools. The chart below shows the sample distribution by locality.



More than a third of the respondents (38%) attend a public urban school in a black township. 22% of the respondents attend a rural school located in a former bantustans. 12% of the respondent's attend a farm school located within a historically white owned commercial farming sector. 19% of the respondents attend an urban white school. While the urban white school has some level of racial integration this is not the case in the urban black, rural and farm schools where all the school children are black. In the urban private school racial integration was introduced about a decade earlier than that of the public state administered schools. Nine percent of the respondents attend the urban private school.

Instruments

The survey, experimental and interpretative research methods used in the CRG programme facilitated for the capturing of a complex set of data on the complexities of life across a wide range of children whose ages and experiences

were and are very diverse (Marcus, 1997: 5). The instruments were therefore designed to explore children's understanding, perceptions and experiences of their worlds (Marcus, 1997: 5).

Social, physical and psychological measures of the school children's behaviours and attitudes toward themselves and others were obtained through the administering of fourteen multi-disciplinary instruments. The instruments were structured so as to collect both quantitative and qualitative data on the school children's socio-economic backgrounds, their daily activities and other relevant details. Financial, resource, time and data capture limitations constrained the possibilities of conducting qualitative research techniques on a larger scale (Marcus, 1997: 5).

For this research dissertation two of the fourteen instruments were selected. The questions covered by this dissertation explore and analyse issues relating to the influence of transport on school goer's life chances, experiences and opportunities. It sets out to understand and explore what relationships may exist between the availability of transport on the activities school children engage in both at school and in the home. Data for this dissertation was obtained from the demographic (appendix 2) and 12-hour activity recall (appendix 3) instruments.

The demographic instrument is a structured questionnaire dealing with the sociological aspects of the broader study. This instrument was designed to collect quantitative information about kin and household, dwelling type, space and places, amenities and services, religion and literacy, domestic work and residential and geographic mobility.

The activity recall instrument is a 12-hour recall of the school children's before school and after school activities and routines. This instrument adapted a qualitative technique which is open ended and allowed for the school goers to record the after and before school routines engaged in. Initially the 12-hour

activity recall instrument was structured so that the respondent provided as much information on after and before school activity. This proved problematic as respondents provided very little information around their daily routines. The instrument was improved by providing prompts for after and before school activities such as –do you go for aftercare? Before going to aftercare what did you do? Did you play sport, and how did you travel there? How and with whom did you go home/ to school with? The restructuring of the instrument in a more detailed manner proved far more effective and accurate for obtaining the relevant data.

Data Collection

The collection of data for the CRG research programme was undertaken at the beginning of 1997- March till June. The team of twenty to thirty fieldworkers were comprised of undergraduate and postgraduate students, lecturers, a fieldwork manager, Human Sciences Research Council fieldworkers and unemployed matriculated people. An intensive training workshop was conducted at C A S E offices, on interview techniques, translations into Zulu and on possible problems that may occur.

The data collection process was carried out in two waves. The first focused on capturing anthropometric information, consisting of weighing and height measuring of the respondents. The three instruments used in this dissertation were completed in the second wave of fieldwork. For the second wave the collection of data was scheduled over a two and seven school day period. A two-day period was allocated for the completion of the fourteen instruments for each grade. The reason for scheduling the fieldwork within this two part timeframe was to complete each task successfully, to fit into the schools scheduling and finally to be as unobtrusive as possible (Marcus, 1997: 8).

In order to successfully complete the fourteen instruments within the allocated timeframe the fieldwork exercises were divided into two groups. One entailed face-to-face interviews, where a fieldworker was assigned to individually interview two or three respondents. This technique proved effective in that the fieldworker was able to establish some kind of rapport with the respondent making it easier for both to complete the exercise. Each exercise lasted between twenty to thirty minutes, and respondents were alternated on completion of an exercise. The data for the demographic instrument was collected using the face-to-face interview technique.

The second was group-administered questionnaire, where a fieldworker assisted a group of respondents as they filled in the questionnaire. Eight exercises were identified as self-administrating instruments. The 12-hour activity recall instrument was identified as a self-administrating exercise.

Initially data collection for grade ones followed this two-phase procedure but this proved difficult and time consuming. In grade one, all the questionnaires were administered face-to-face. For grades four, seven and nine, the demographic questionnaire was done face-to-face and the activity recall as group-administered. The data collection process did take into account gender and race. Where possible the respondents were paired with a fieldworker of the same race and gender.

Data Capture and Statistical Analysis

Once the data was collected and all the exercises for the schools completed, the process of checking and cleaning up the data was conducted. The coding of qualitative and re-coding of quantitative data followed this. A relational database was set up in *Paradox for Windows* facilitating the capture of all the instruments. Data was analysed using the *Statistical Package for Social Science* and a more advanced package the *SAS* for analysing relationships between variables.

My involvement in the CRG programme included participating in the fieldwork episodes, data clean up, data capture, coding of qualitative data, managing the relational data base on Paradox, running relational queries on the data and creating a coding manual for all the sociological instruments.

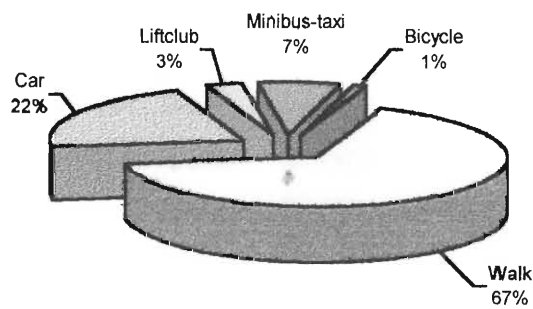
4. FINDINGS

Travel to School

A relevant starting point is to examine how children travel to school. Transport is an integral daily activity that school children engage in. It is also an essential aspect of school goer's access to places, experiences and opportunities.

In the chart below, the findings around mode of travel to school indicate that more than two-thirds of the respondents (67%) walk to and from school. A quarter of the respondents' travel by private vehicle, and this includes those that travel by car or by liftclub. The seven percent of respondents that travel by kombi, in almost all instances are using fare-paying minibus-taxi. A small number of the respondents (n=19) travel by bicycle.

Figure 8 : Modes of Travel to School



In general the chart shows that walking is the main mode of transport to and from school. It is useful to explore who uses these modes.

The relationship between locality and mode of travel to school (chi-squared 994.847, df 16) and race and mode of travel to school (chi-squared 911.533, df 120) is highly significant. These relationships re set out in the charts below.

Figure 9 :Mode of Travel to School by Locality

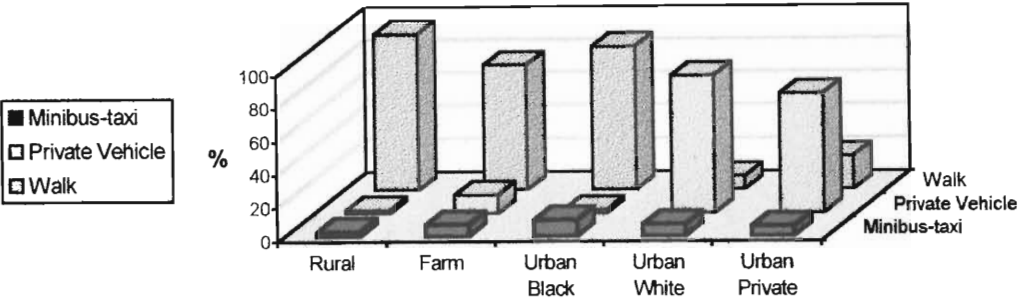
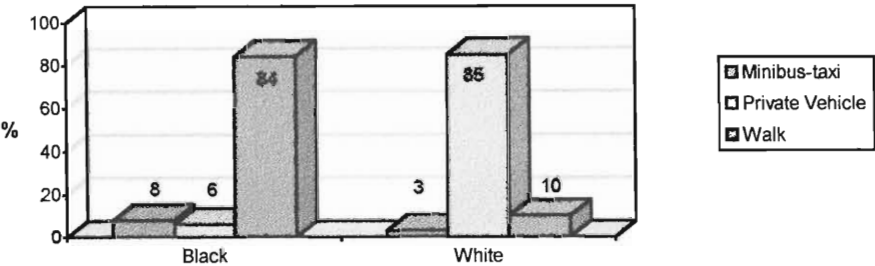


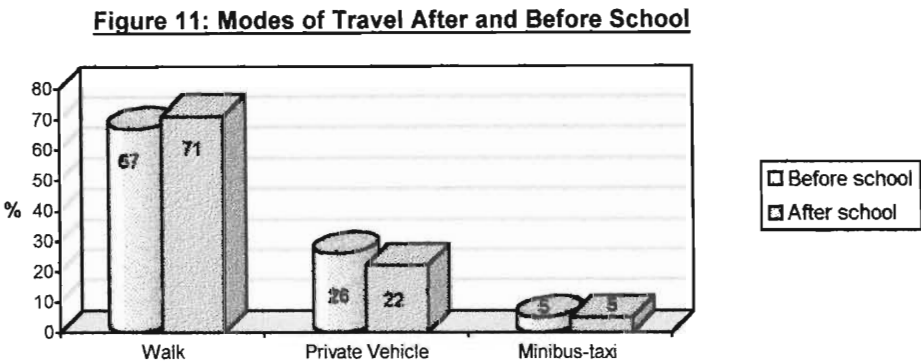
Figure 10 : Mode of Travel to School by Race



In the charts walking is the main mode of travel to school among black respondents (84%) at urban black (87%), rural (95%) and farm (76%) locales. Travel by private vehicle to school is highest among the white respondents (85%), at the urban private (72%) and urban white (83%) locales. Only 19% of the respondents that travel by private vehicle are black. At the farm locale (11%) travel by private vehicle is comparably higher than at the urban black (2%) and rural (2%) locales.

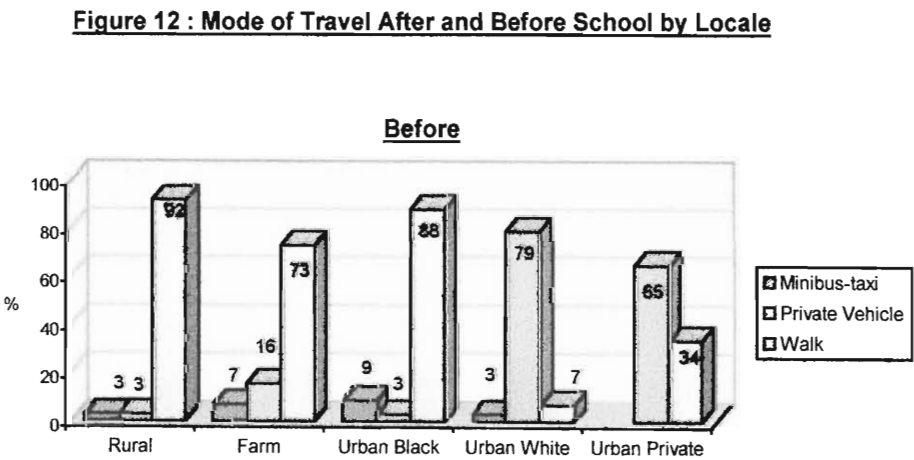
Turning to travel by minibus-taxi the respondents at urban black (53%), farm (12%) and rural (9%) locales that travel by minibus-taxi are referring to the fare-paying minibus taxis. At the urban private (8%) and urban white (18%) locales it is likely that some of the respondents that travel by minibus-taxi may be referring to a privately owned vehicle (Marcus, 1998: 17). More black (8%) than white (3%) respondents travel by minibus-taxi to school.

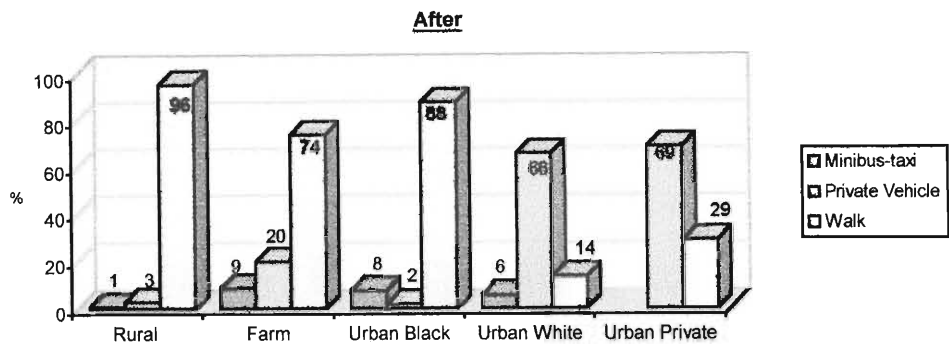
The following chart illustrates the findings on modes of travel in the 12-hour activity recall instrument.



In the chart above the walking is the main mode of travel after and before school. An interesting pattern in the above chart, the percentage of respondents that walked to school in the morning is slightly lower than for the after school data, suggesting that some children get a lift to school in the morning.

The following chart illustrates the relationship between the after and before school modes of travel by locality.



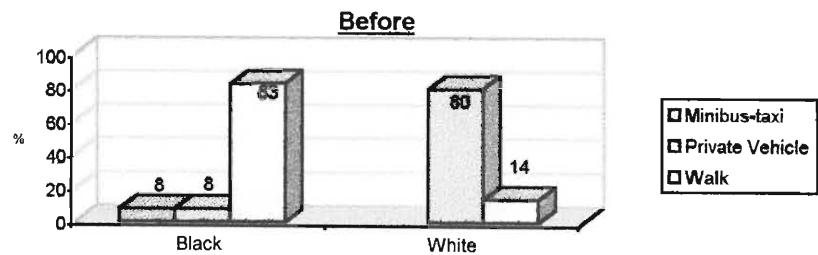


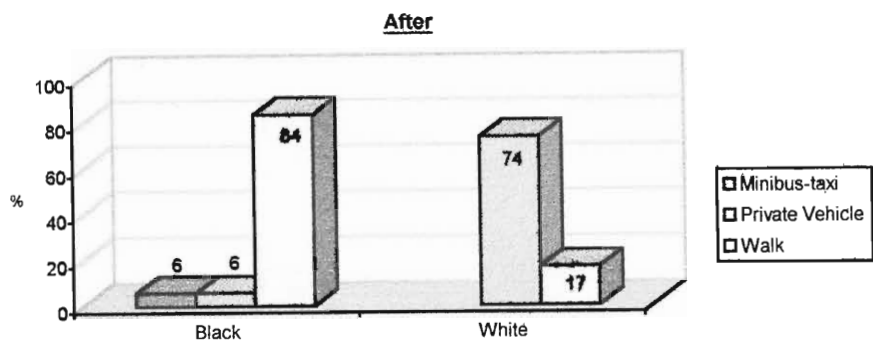
In the above charts, at urban white and urban private locales the main mode of travel to and from school is by private vehicle. For respondents at the urban black, rural and farm locales the main mode of travel to and from school is walking. At the farm locale travel by private vehicle is comparatively higher than at urban black and urban rural locales. None of the urban private respondent’s report that they travel by minibuss-taxi before or after school. Travel by minibuss-taxi is higher at farm and urban black locales for the after and before travel to school.

An interesting pattern for the after and before school modes of travel emerges. The data for travel by minibuss-taxi or private vehicle is higher for the before school data than the after school data. While the data for findings for walking home after school is higher than for before school. This suggests that a proportion of the respondents that travel by private vehicle or minibuss-taxi in the mornings may be walking home after school.

The following charts focus on the after and before school modes of travel by race.

Figure 13: Mode of Travel After and Before School by Race





There is a highly significant relationship between race and the after and before school modes of travel. It should be noted that the above charts do not take into consideration the mode of travel used to school by Indian and Coloured respondents (see page 23 for reason) – this will account for the above percentages not equaling to 100%.

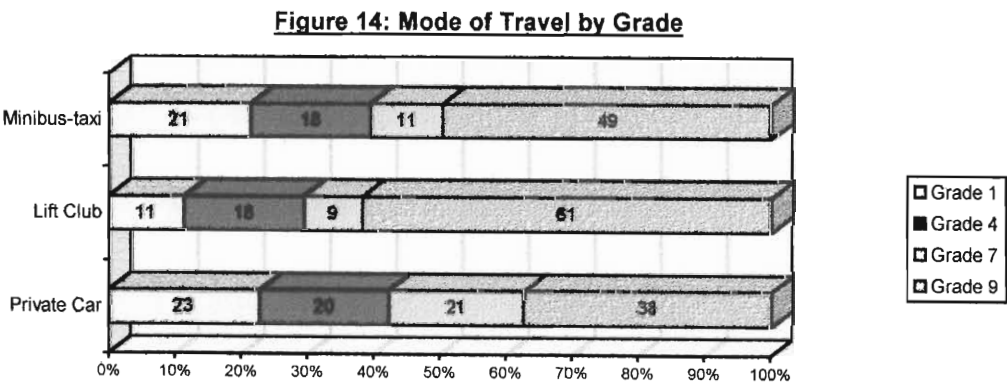
More black respondents walk to school, white respondents travel mainly by private vehicle. The chart illustrates that only black respondents use fare-paying minibus-taxi to travel to school. The after and before school travel by fare-paying minibus taxi is non-existent for the white respondents, an indication that the white respondents who report they travel by minibus-taxi are referring to the privately owned vehicle.

The findings for the before and after school mode of travel by race indicates that travel by minibus-taxi or private vehicle is higher for before school than for after school. This also indicates that the proportion of respondents that travel by minibus-taxi or private car is lower as more respondents walk home after school than before school and that race does not seem to influence this.

These findings suggest that there is a clear triangulation between the two methods of data collection in that they draw the same conclusions. There are three significant modes of transport used by school children- walking, travel by

private vehicle (car/liftclub) and travel by minibus-taxi. Of these walking is the main mode of travel. Characteristically more black respondents than white travel by minibus-taxi. While more white respondents travel by private vehicle to school.

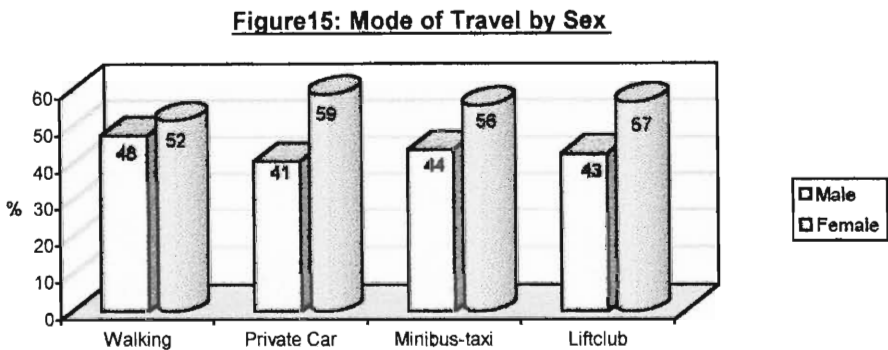
There is also a highly significant relationship between the mode of travel to school and grade (chi-squared 77. 564, df 12). Walking is the most common mode of travel for the total sample but by grade, it is really the most common mode of travel for respondents in grades one (72%), four (72%) and seven (71%). By contrast just over half of the grade nine respondents (53%) walk to school. This suggests that older children are less likely to walk to school. The following chart illustrates the relationship between grade and less common mode of travel to school.



In the chart above, more grade nine respondents travel by liftclub (61%), private car (35%) and by minibus-taxi (49%). More or less the same proportion of respondents in grades one (23%), four (20%) and seven (21%) travel by private car to school. Fewer grade one (11%) and grade seven (9%) respondents travel by lift club. Of the few respondents that travel by bicycle most are in grade seven (n=9) and nine (n=5). Only three respondents in grade one and two in grade four travel by bicycle to school.

There is a highly significant relationship between sex of the respondents and mode of travel to school (chi-squared 22.712, df 4). From the chart below it is

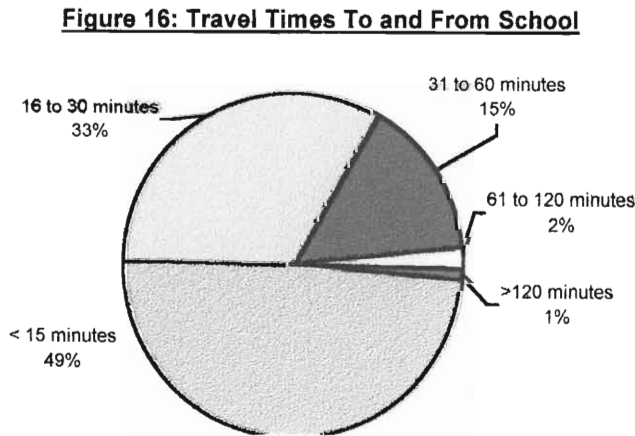
evident that more than half of the respondents that walk (52%), travel by private car (59%), by liftclub (57%) and by kombi (56%) to school are female. The exception is for travel by bicycle. Of the nineteen respondents that travel by this mode only one respondent is female. The findings suggest more girls use motorised transport to school than boys do.



In sum the relationship between mode of travel and gender and age, suggests that older school children and more girls than boys use motorised transport to and from school. Particularly among grade nines there is a slightly higher tendency to travel by liftclub or minibus-taxi.

Travel Times To and From School

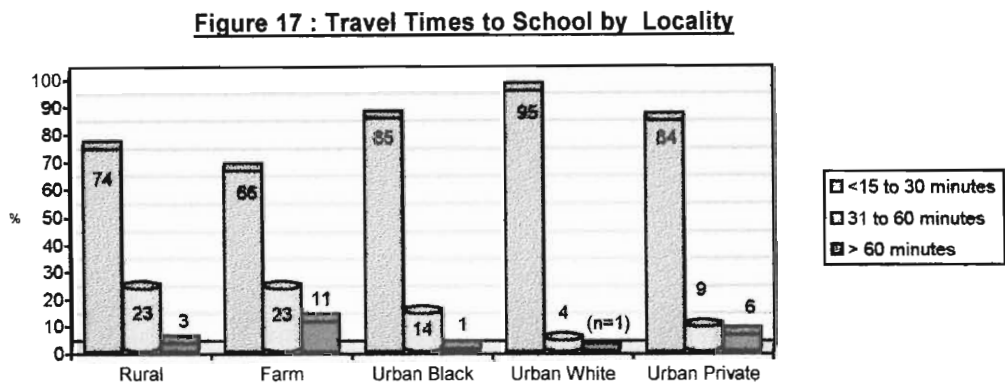
Three percent of the respondents that report they do not know how long it takes them to get to school, almost all of who are in are in grade one. The results presented below exclude the respondents that did not know how long it took for



them to get to school.

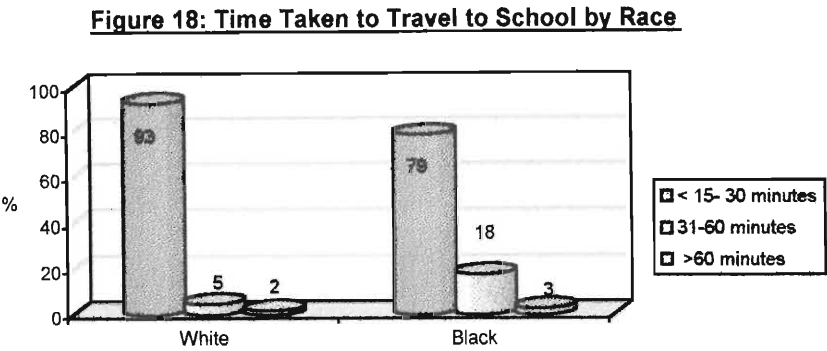
From the above chart most of the respondents (97%) take less than 15 to 30 minutes to get to school. Of these the majority of the respondents (82%) take less than half an hour to get to school. For 15% of the respondent's commuting time to school is between 30 to 60 minutes. Three percent of the respondent's take more than an hour to travel to school. In general only about less than a fifth of the respondents (18%) seem to be spending a lot of time getting to school.

A question that needs to be asked is who travels these times and from which locales. Locality and time are highly significantly correlated (chi-squared 206.549, df 20), as the chart below shows.



Most of the respondents at each of the locales take less than 30 minutes to get to school. However at farm locales the proportion of respondents that take more than 30 minutes is greater. Whilst almost every respondent at the urban white locale takes less than 30 minutes to get to school this drops to 66% of respondents at farm locale. At rural and farm locales the proportion of respondents (23% in each case) that take between 30 to 60 minutes to get to school is higher than at other locales. Interestingly of the minority of respondents that take more than an hour to travel to school, they are mostly at farm or urban private locales.

There is a highly significant relationship between race and the time it takes to travel to school (chi-squared 153.850, df 18) as shown in the chart below.



While most of the respondents take less than 15 to 30 minutes to arrive at school this proportion is a lot higher among white (93%) than black (73%) respondents. From the chart evidently more white respondents take less than 15 to 30 minutes to get to school. More black respondents (18%) take between 30 to 60 minutes to travel to school with only five percent of the white respondents who report taking that amount of time. Travel time of more than an hour is more or less the same for each race category- two percent for whites and three percent for blacks.

There is a highly significant relationship between time taken to travel to school and grade (chi-squared 123.095, df 180). More than three-quarters of the respondents in grades one (85%), four (79%), seven (82%) and nine (83%) take less than 15 to 30 minutes to arrive at school. Significance lies within those that take a particularly long time to get to school. It would seem that higher-grade take longer than grade ones to get to school.

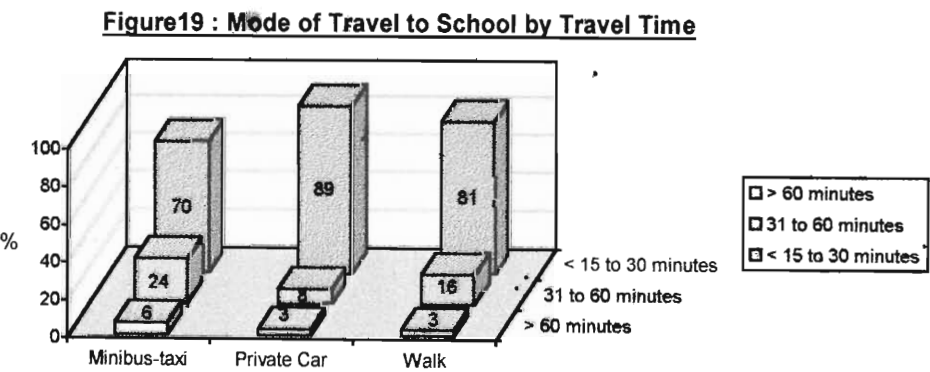
Age is highly significantly related to travel time to school (chi-squared 93.496, df 24). For the time interval less than 15 to 30 minutes age is not an influencing factor. However, more than one-third of the respondents (37%) that take more than 30 to 60 minutes to travel to school, ages range between 6 to 10 years.

Similarly, 30% of the respondents that take more than 60 minutes to arrive at school ages range between 6 to 10 years.

However it is probable that within this age category-estimating time may be a problem (Marcus, 1998: 18). This may be accounted for, in that smaller children may take longer to walk the same distances as older children. Therefore they report that they take a longer time to get to school.

No significant relationship exists between sex of the respondent and the time it takes for them to commute to school.

Mode of travel and the time it takes respondents to get to school is also highly significantly related (chi-squared 121.562, df 30). For all modes of travel most of the respondents spend less than 15 to 30 minutes commuting to school. However, mode of travel does influence travel time to school for the respondents that take more than 30 minutes. This relationship is set out in the chart below.



Proportionally more respondents that travel by minibus-taxi (30%) take more than half an hour to more than an hour to travel to school. Fewer respondents that travel by private car (11%) and that walk (19%) to school take more than half an hour to more than an hour to get there. What is notable from the chart is that those that travel by minibus-taxi are more likely to spend over half an hour to get to school, as those who walk or when compared to travel by private car.

In general the relationships between time and mode of travel indicate that: Many children who walk to school live in close proximity of the school except at farm or rural locales. Farm children tend to live further from the site of school than do the others. This could be true for those respondents that travel by private car to school, however having a private vehicle does significantly increase the mobility of the respondents and travel times to get to school. Therefore mode of travel can be said to inform both choice and mode of transport to school. Having established mode of travel and travel time implications that exist in terms of transport to and from school, it is useful to explore how is this experience perceived by the school children.

The next section looks at findings around how school children describe the trip to school. The intent is to determine whether travel to school, the time it takes to get there influences how school children describe the trip to school.

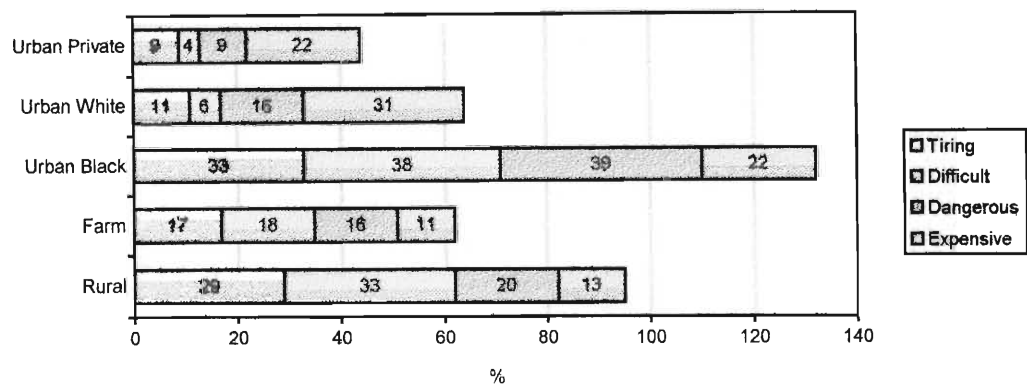
Description of Travel to School

Most of the respondents (81%) described their trip to school as fun, regardless of locality, race, age, grade or sex. A minority described their trip to school as tiring (22%), difficult (17%), dangerous (19%) and expensive (12%).

Analysing these data responses further to find out who perceives getting to school in these terms, a highly significant relationships exist between locality and the descriptions of the trip to school as tiring (chi-squared 31.786, df 40), difficult (chi-squared 59.971, df 4) and expensive (chi-squared 78.963, df 4).

Proportionally it is found that more of the respondents at the urban black locale describe their trip to school as tiring (33%) and difficult (38%) than those at the urban white (20%) and urban private (10%) locales. Three-quarters of the respondents that describe their trip to school as expensive are from the urban areas (black, white and private).

Figure 20: Description of Trip to School by Locale



While statistically no significant relationship between locality and description of the trip to school as dangerous can be found, in the chart above more respondents within the urban black locale describe their trip to school as dangerous (39%).

Turing to race, there is a highly significant relationship between race and the description to school as difficult (chi-squared 33.244, df 3) and expensive (chi-squared 48.771, df 3). More of the black respondents (20%) than white respondents (5%) describe their trip to school as difficult. By contrast 20% of the white respondents describe the trip to school as expensive and only nine percent of the black respondents use this description. It is probable that the white respondents are referring to cost their parents bear in taking them to school by private car, whereas black respondents are referring to the cost of travel by minibus-taxi.

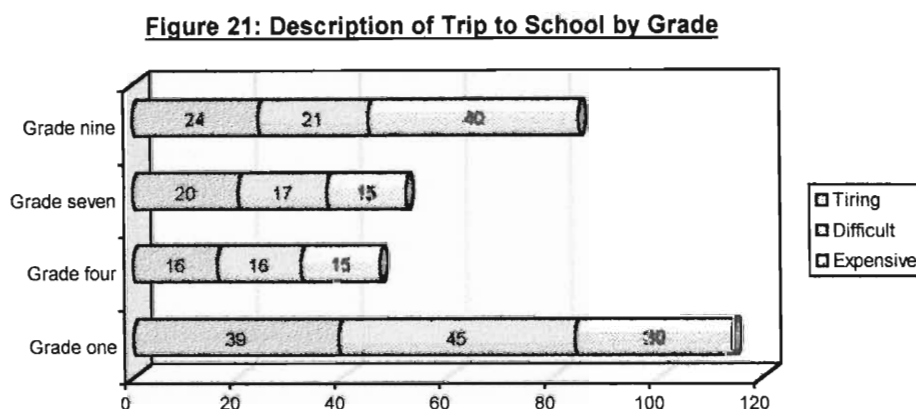
No significant relationship exists between race and description of the trip to school as tiring, fun and dangerous.

There is a highly significant relationship between sex of the respondent and descriptions of the trip to school as difficult (chi-squared 10.416, df1) and

dangerous (chi-squared 5.557, df1). More than half of the respondents that describe the trip to school as dangerous (53%) and difficult (56%) are male.

No significant relationship existed for sex of the respondent and the description of the trip to school as tiring, fun and expensive.

Grade and descriptions of the trip to school as tiring (chi-squared 37.953, df 3), difficult (chi-squared 356.149, df 3), fun (chi-squared 28.576, df 3) and expensive (chi-squared 21.802, df 3) are highly significant related as shown in the chart below.

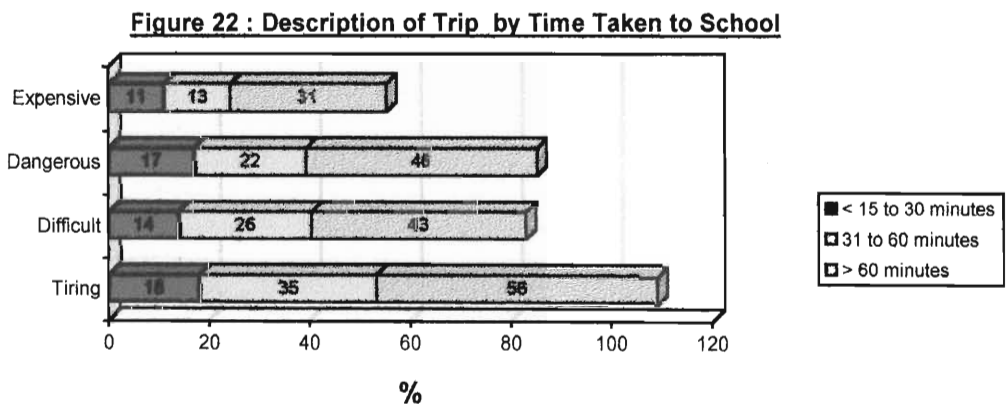


More than one-third of the grade one respondents describes their trip to school as tiring (39%) and difficult (45%), while 30% describe it as expensive. 40% of the respondents that describe their trip to school as expensive are in grade nine. Comparably fewer grade four and grade seven respondents describe their trip to school as tiring, difficult and expensive. No significant relationship between grade and description of the trip to school as dangerous exists.

In terms of mode of travel to school while no significant relationship exists between the variables tiring and dangerous this is not the case for the variables difficult (chi-squared 34.959, df 5) and expensive (chi-squared 164.213, df 5). Most of the respondents (81%) that walk to school describe the trip to school as

difficult. Just over a half of the respondents (52%) that describe the trip to school as expensive travel by private car.

Next, the analysis focuses on relationships between the time it takes for the respondents to arrive at school and whether this influences how the respondents describe the trip to school. No significant relationship exists between time taken to travel to school and the description of this trip as fun. There is a highly significant relationship between the time it take to travel to school and the descriptions of the trip as tiring (chi-squared 115.718, df 6), difficult (chi-squared 68.195, df 6), dangerous (chi-squared 35.246, df 6) and expensive (chi-squared 36.457, df 6), as indicated in the chart below.



From the above chart, it is clear that the longer the travel time to school is the more likely are the respondents to describe the trip as tiring. Similarly, the longer the time, i.e. it exceeds an hour, the greater is the school children’s sense of the difficulty and danger associated with the trip.

In sum those who associate the negative aspects of getting to school are very likely linked to a specific context. In a recent study of cross-town travel by school goes in Pietermaritzburg two-fifths of these respondents described the trip to school as dangerous and risky (Skosana, 1998: 18). For 15% of the respondents their trip to school is tiring and expensive (ibid.). It would seem that the choice of

mode of travel to school has implications on how respondents perceive their travel experiences. The majority of respondents travel to school by minibus-taxi (Skosana, 1998: 14). Also, the study found that 15% of the respondents take less than 30 minutes to get to school (ibid.). Most of the respondents (85%) take between 30 minutes to more than an hour to get to school, of these the majority (56%) report taking 30 to 60 minutes to get to school (ibid.). Whilst the study did not analyse the relationship between travel time and perception of the trip, the analysis of these variables in this dissertation has concluded that the greater the travel time to school the more likely is it for school children to describe their trip in a negative manner.

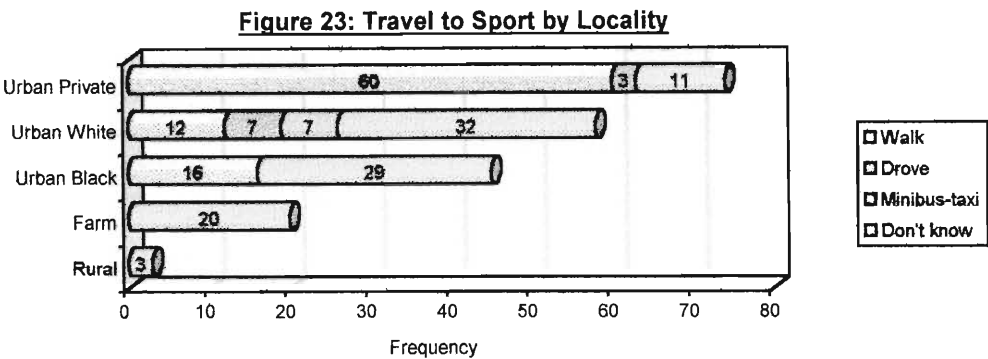
After School Sport Activities

Thus far the findings have focused on all the transport related issues of travel to school. The following discussion moves away from the travel related issues and looks at the issue of school children's exposure to sport activities and how they travel to these places. Few respondents report that they play sport after (14%) and before (2%) school.

There is a very specific profile to those who play sport after and before school. Of the respondents that report they play sport after school 20% at urban black, 29% at urban white, and 37% at urban private locales. Only few respondents at rural (2%) and farm (11%) locales report that they play sport after school. Most of the respondents that play sport after school are white (47%) and almost an equal number of males (n=97) and females (n=99) play sport after school. Most of the respondents that play sports after school are in grades seven (33%) and nine (37%).

In terms of how they get to their sporting activities most walk (87%) there. 10% drive and two percent take a minibus-taxi. Less than a half (48%) of those who play sport after school did not mention how they got to the sport activity.

From the chart below the relationship between locality and mode of travel to the sport activity or field is very clear.



At the urban private locale while most of the respondents (n=60) walk to the sport activity after school, all the sport fields or facilities are on the school premises. The rural and urban black schools have no sport fields, while the farm schools have a makeshift soccer and netball field. Only three of the respondents traveled by car to the sport activity in the urban private locale. At the urban black sixteen of the respondents that play sport walk to the sport activity. At the urban white locale twelve respondents walk to the sport activity. Almost equal number of respondents at the urban white locale drive (n=7) or take a minibus-taxi (n=7) to the sport activity.

48% of respondents did not mention how they traveled to the sport activity, and this could be accounted for as a methodological problem. At the farm and rural locales none of the respondents mention how they travel to the sport activity after school. More than a half of the respondents at urban white (n=32) and urban black (n=29) locales did not mention how they traveled to the sport activity. More than two-thirds of the black respondents (67%) and 26% of the white respondents did not mention the mode of travel they used to go to the sport activity. A smaller number of black respondents report that they traveled by minibus-taxi (n=1) and rode a bicycle (n=1). Nine white respondents went by private vehicle and four went in a minibus-taxi. It is probable that the white

respondents that went by minibus-taxi may be referring to the school and not the fare-paying minibus taxi.

While grade does not influence whether respondents walk to the sport activity, it does influence the less common modes of travel used. None of the grade one respondents travel by private car and only one respondent used a minibus-taxi. Four respondents in grade four, five in grade seven and one in grade one traveled by private car to the sport activity. The number of respondents in grade nine that travel by minibus-taxi ($n=11$) is higher than for the other grades. None of the respondents from grades four and seven travel by minibus-taxi to the sport activity.

Sex of the respondent does not influence the mode of travel to the sport activity. An equal proportion of males and females either walk, travel by private car or minibus-taxi to the sport activity.

The significance of these findings around modes of travel to sport activities and travel to school lies in the extent to which walking is a key mode of travel for school children. In most instances locality and race have a greater influence on the mode of travel.

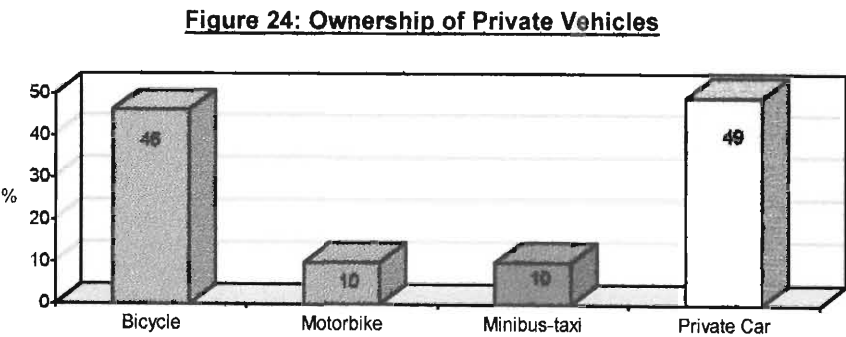
In sum the significant absence of sport activities from most of the school children's daily activities can be attributed to the lack of on site sport facilities and to the problems of access and opportunity to any of the facilities that may exist. For many school children at urban black and more especially at farm and rural locales the sport facilities are either non-existent or consist of makeshift or rudimentary spaces. Also, the availability and low affordability of transport services compound problems of access and mobility to and from the sport facilities.

The next section brings into focus the issues of ownership of private vehicles and the extent to which it may influence school children’s access to places, opportunities and experiences. This is already signaled in the different levels of sporting activities evident among black and white and at the various locales.

Privately Owned Vehicles

Having access to or ownership of a means of transport is not only a key signifier in determining material and wealth differences (Marcus 1998a) but in this study is significant to analysing the impact transport has on school children’s experiences and chances. This section focuses on the ownership of private vehicles and the influence it may or may not have on recreational activities school children engage in.

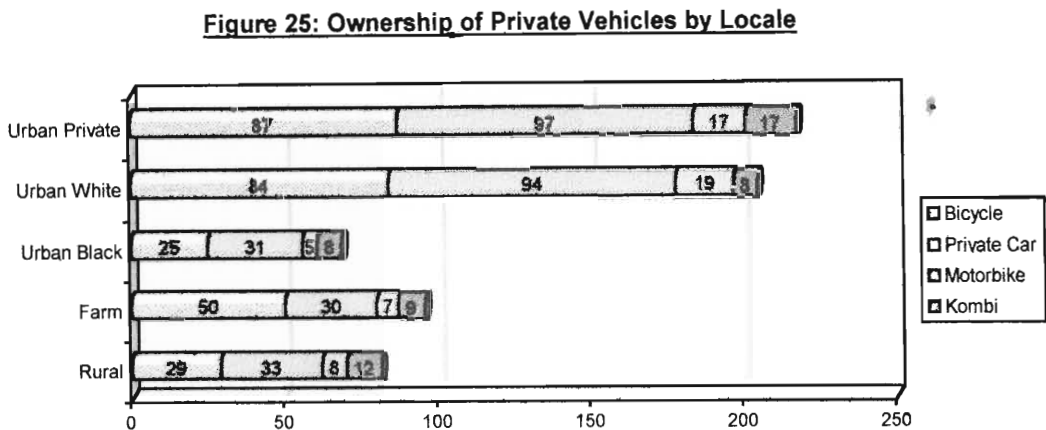
The chart below looks at the distribution of private vehicle ownership for the respondents.



Less than a half of the respondents say that there is a private car (49%) or bicycle (46%) in the home. Ten percent of the respondents own a motorbike or a minibus-taxi in the home.

There is a highly significant relationship between locality and ownership of a bicycle (chi-squared 377.032, df 4), motorbike (chi-squared 52.773, df 4), private car (chi-squared 468.525, df 4) and minibus-taxi (chi-squared 10.408, df 4). The

chart below sets out the relationship of the ownership of private vehicles by locality

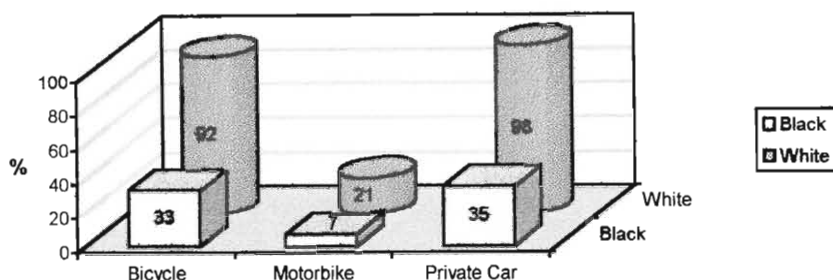


Most of the respondents at the urban private (87%) and urban white locales (84%) have a bicycle in the home. Comparatively more respondents at farm (50%) than rural (29%) and urban black (26%) locales own a bicycle in the home. Proportionally more respondents at the urban white (19%) and urban private (17%) locales own a motorbike in the home. At urban black (5%), farm (7%) and rural (8%) locales ownership of a motorbike is proportionally lower. Only 17% of the respondents at urban private and 12% at the rural locales own a minibus-taxi in the home. The ownership of a minibus-taxi at the urban white (8%), urban black (8%) and farm (9%) locales is proportionally smaller.

More or less an equal proportion of respondents at rural (33%), farm (30%) and urban black (31%) locales own a private car in the home. More significantly this finding concludes that most of the respondents at these locales do not own a car in the home. This signifies a marked difference to that of the urban private and white locales. Almost all of the respondents at the urban private (97%) and urban white (94%) locales own a private car in the home.

There is a highly significant relationship between race and the ownership of a bicycle (chi-squared 329.715, df 3), motorbike (chi-squared 54.288, df 3) and private car (chi-squared 412.513, df 3). No significant relationship exists between race and owning a minibus-taxi. The chart below illustrates these relationships.

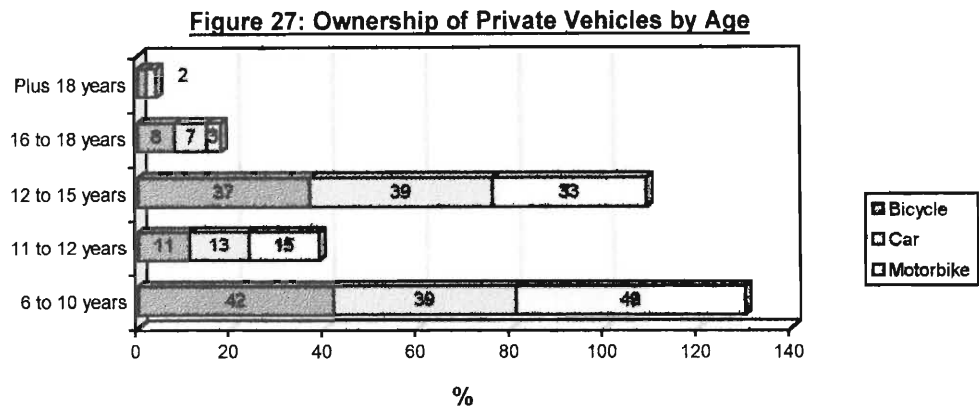
Figure 26: Ownership of Private Vehicles by Race



Amongst the white respondents the level of private vehicle ownership is very high, especially for the owning of a bicycle (92%) and private car (98%). By contrast for two-thirds of the black respondents there is no private car (67%) or a bicycle (65%) in the home. While owning a minibus-taxi is proportionally higher for white (21%) than black (7%) respondents, ownership is not as high as it is for private cars or bicycles.

There are no significant relationships between ownership of private vehicles and grade, and sex of the respondents, for ownership of a kombi and for ownership a motorbike by age.

However, age and ownership of a private car (chi-squared 49.359, df 4), a motorbike (chi-squared 18.192, df 4) and of a bicycle (chi-squared 34.882, df 4) are highly significantly related.



In the chart above, more than one-third of the respondents whose ages range between 6 to 10 years report that there is a bicycle (42%), car (39%) and motorbike (49%) in the home. Similarly in the age range 12 to 15 years more than one-third of the respondents report that there is a bicycle (37%), car (39%) and motorbike (33%) in the home. In the age range 11 to 12 years and 16 to 18 years proportionally fewer respondents report owning a bicycle, car or motorbike in the home. In the age range 18 years and older none of the respondents report owning a motorbike in the home. Only two percent of the respondents in this age range report owning a car or bicycle.

The findings indicate that some ambiguity exists between age and owning a motorbike in the home. 49% of the respondents that report they own a motorbike, ages range between 6 to 10 years, it is probable that they are referring to a molded plastic toy rather than the motorised fuel motorbike (Marcus, 1998: 13).

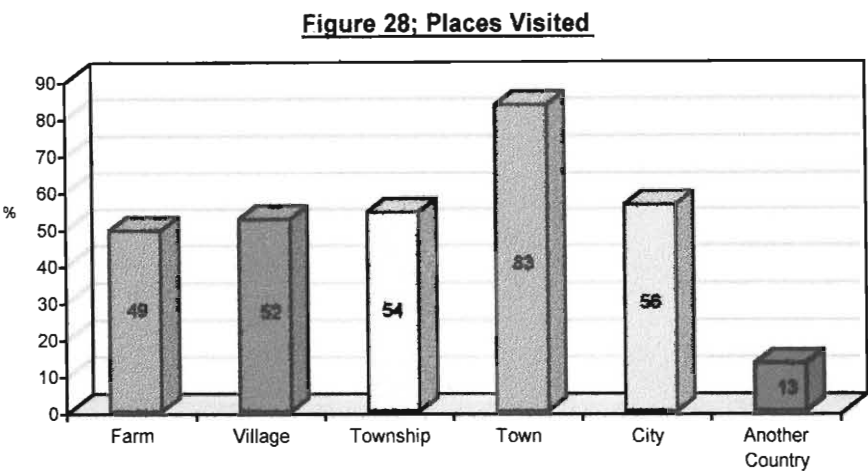
In sum there is an actual possession of a private car biased toward white homes. Only in a minority of black homes is there privately owned transport. What does this and how does this information relate to access to places and experiences of where the school children visited or went on holiday, is the focus of the next section.

The following discussion focuses on the school children's access to places and experiences by finding out which places children visit where and when they went

on holiday. It also looks at whether owning a private vehicle has any bearing on the places school children go to. In this case more emphasis is placed on the relationship of these variables to owning a private car in the home.

Places Visited

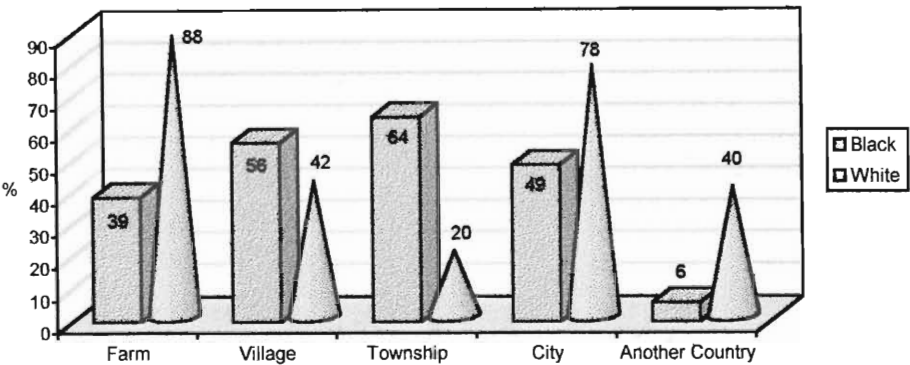
The findings on places respondents have visited are set out in the chart below.



Most of the respondents (83%) have visited someone that lives in a town. More than a half of the respondents have visited someone that lives in a village (52%), township (54%) and city (56%). Less than a half of the respondents (49%) have visited a farm. Only 13% of the respondents have visited another country. This general picture is substantially qualified when the data is analysed by race and locality.

There is a highly significant relationship between race and the respondents that report they visited a farm (chi-squared 209, 16, df 3), a village (chi-squared 34.128, df 3), a township (chi-squared 212.099, df 3), a city (chi-squared 91.058, df 3) and another country (chi-squared 236.710, df 3). No significant relationship exists between race and respondents that report they visited a town. These findings are set out in the chart below.

Figure 29: Places Visited by Race



Whereas most white respondents have visited someone that lives on a farm (88%) or city (78%), proportionally fewer black respondents have visited a city (49%) a minority have visited a farm (39%). More black respondents (64%) have visited a township than white respondents (20%). The same is true for visiting a village, with more black (56%) than white (42%) reporting this. When it comes to visiting another country substantially more of the white respondents (40%) have travelled abroad whereas only six percent of black respondents have.

There is a highly significant relationship between locality and respondents visiting a farm (chi-squared 342.562, df 4), a village (chi-squared 40.369, df 4), a township (chi-squared 154.506, df 4), a city (chi-squared 101.497, df 4) and another country (chi-squared 218.871, df 4).

Most of the respondents at farm (81%), urban white (77%) and urban private (80%) locales visited a farm by contrast only a minority respondents at urban black (28%) and rural (32%) locale visited a farm. Visiting a village is more common for urban (54%), farm (52%) and rural (63%) black respondents compared to those at urban white (38%) and urban private (45%) locales. Approximately two-thirds of respondents at rural (60%), farm (62%) and urban black (66%) locales have visited a township while only between 26% and 34% of

the respondents at urban white (26%) and urban private (34%) locales have visited a township.

The chances or experiences of visiting a city is far greater for respondents at urban white (74%) and urban private (82%) locales whereas less than a half of the urban black, rural (46%) and farm (47%) schools have visited a city. And the experience of visiting another country is largely an urban white (33%) and urban private (37%) experience, with a minority of respondents at the rural (4%), farm (4%) and urban black (6%) locales visiting another country.

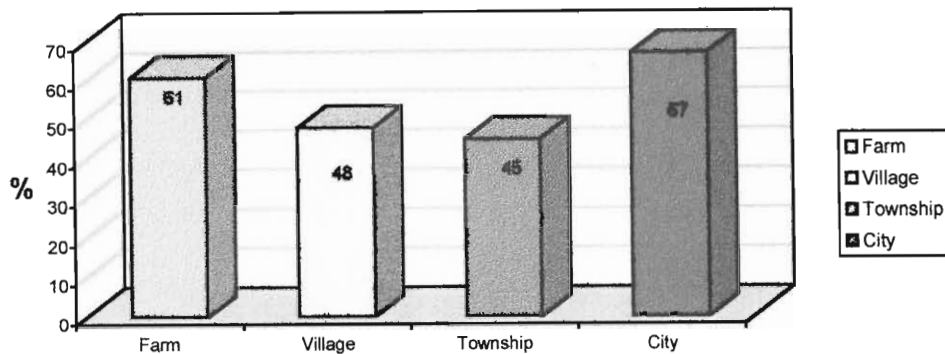
No significant relationship exists between locality and respondents that visited someone that lives in a town.

In sum locality and race influence the boundary of physical space with greater accessibility to various and distant places, seemingly more characteristic of respondents of white, urban white and urban private locales. The physical boundary space of those at rural, farm and urban black locales are restricted and limiting.

The question that needs to be posed is whether owning a private vehicle has any influence on the places visited and inter alia the mobility of school children.

Statistically a higher significant relationship exists between owning a private car and minibus-taxi and visiting places beyond the usual site of residence. There is a highly significant relationship between owning a private car and visiting a farm (chi-squared 68.244, df 1), a village (chi-squared 7.251, df 1), a township (chi-squared 40.836, df 1) and a city (chi-squared 67.016, df 1) and owning a kombi and visiting a farm (chi-squared 18.242, df 1) and a city (chi-squared 16.256, df 1).

Figure 30: Ownership of Private Car by Places Visited



The above chart indicates that owning a private car influences respondent's mobility more strongly, it would seem to visiting a farm or a city. More than a half of the respondents (54%) that visited a village do not own a private car. Owning a private car in the home does not necessarily influence whether respondents visited someone in a village or a township. More than a half of the respondents that (58%) do not own a private car have visited someone that lives in township.

No significant relationship exists between owning a private car or minibus-taxi and respondents that visited a town.

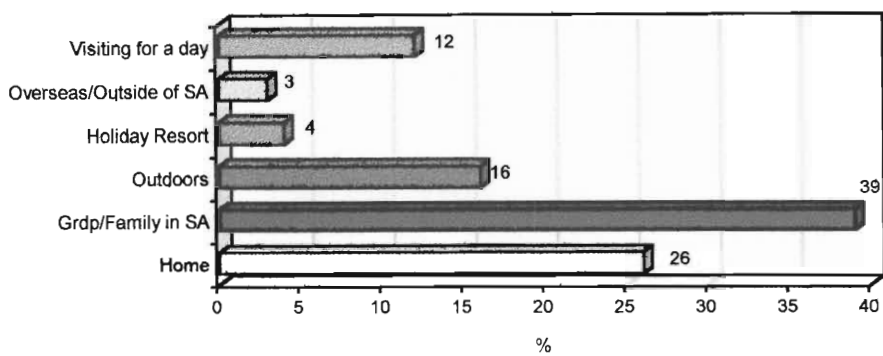
In sum owning a private vehicle in the home plays some part in influencing accessibility particularly to more remote places, although in fact other social factors are likely to be more influential to the places people visit and have access to. This can be seen in the next section when we look at where school goers spend their main holidays.

Holidays

In looking at the boundary of physical space and accessibility to places and experiences the question of where school children spent the main school holiday (either in June/December) is significant to the broader argument. The following

chart looks at the places that respondents went on holiday to during the main school holiday

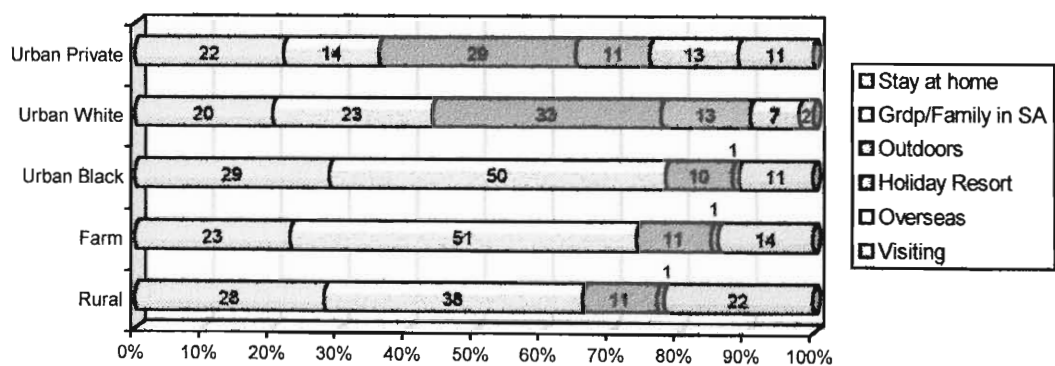
Figure 31: Places Respondents went on Holiday to



65% of the respondents either spent the holiday with grandparent or family (39%) or at home (26%). Only 16% of the respondents spent their holiday at the sea, on a farm or in the mountains, four percent stayed at a holiday resort while three percent traveled overseas or outside of South Africa. Another twelve percent of the respondents did not go on holiday but visited places within South Africa.

But looking at the generalised data by locality a more nuanced pattern of holidays emerges. The relationship between locality and where respondents spent their school holiday highly significant (chi-squared 400.046, df 20).

Figure32: Places Respondents went on Holiday to by Locality

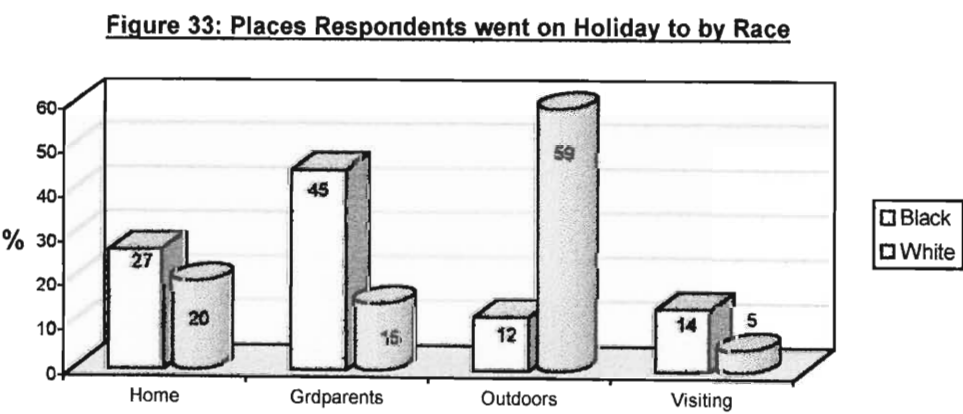


Between 20% to 29% of the respondents at each locale stayed at home during the main school holiday. More respondents at urban white and urban private locales spent the main school holiday away from home, i.e. is outdoors, at a holiday resort or overseas. Whereas the respondents at urban black, farm and rural locales spent the main school holidays either at their grandparents or family's homes or with a smaller minority that went visiting.

Over half of the respondents that spent their main school holiday with their grandparents or other family members in South Africa are from the farm (51%) and urban black (50%) locales. This practice is somewhat less widespread for those at rural (38%) locales.

There is a highly significant relationship between race and where respondents went during the main school holiday (chi-squared 343.492, df 15). 27% of the black respondents and 20% of the white respondents report that they stayed at home.

The following chart illustrates this relationship between race and the places where respondents spent their holidays.



There is a marked difference in terms of where white respondents compared to black respondents spent their main school holidays. Nearly half of the black respondents (45%) went to grandparents or family homes in South Africa, compared to only 15% of the whites. More than a half of the white respondents (59%) spent the main school holidays either outdoors (36%), at holiday resorts (13%) or overseas/ outside of South Africa (10%). By contrast only 12% of black respondents spent the main school holidays either outdoors (11%) or at holiday resorts (1%). Five black respondents spent the holiday overseas/ outside of South Africa. 14% of the black and only five percent of the white respondents visited some place, township or city for the main school holiday. From the chart it is evident the places or people to whom white respondents go to for the holiday is not kin related, whereas holiday places or people to which black respondents go to are mainly kin related.

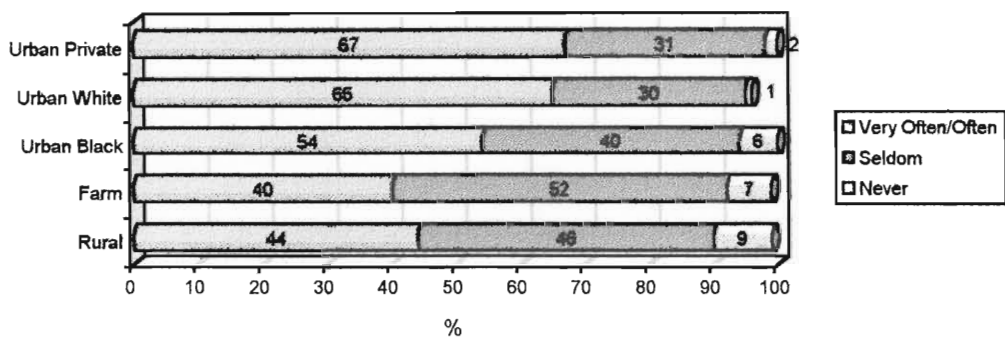
The relationship between grade and where respondents spent their main school holiday is highly significant (chi-squared 36.468, df 15). The significance is largely in respect to visiting kin, where grade nine respondents are less likely to visit kin than those in lower grades.

No significant relationship exists between sex of the respondents and where they spent the main school holiday.

Apart from where school children spent their holidays how often they go on holiday is important. Only six percent of the respondents say they never go on holiday. Overall 53% of the respondents say they go very often (13%) or often (40%) on holiday. 40% say they seldom go on holiday.

Looking at locality there is a highly significant relationship between locality and how often respondents go on holiday (chi-squared 91.629, df 12). The chart below illustrates this relationship.

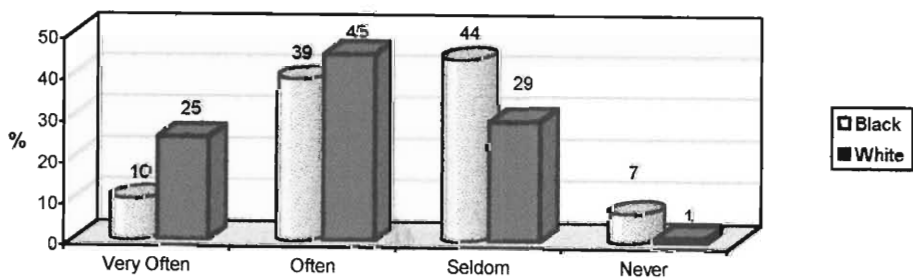
Figure 34: How often Respondents Go on Holiday by Locality



Comparably more respondents at the urban white, urban private and urban black locales go very often or often on a holiday. There is consistent higher proportion ranging from 54% to 67%, for the urban group (black, private and white) who say they go away often or very often on holiday, when compared to the rural or farm respondents who are least likely to go very often or often on a holiday. Whereas just over half of the respondents (52%) at the farm locale say they seldom go on holiday while only between 30% at urban white, 31% at urban private, 40% at urban black and 46% at rural say they seldom go on holiday.

There is a highly significant relationship between race and how often respondents go on holiday (chi-squared 84.910, df 9) as the chart shows.

Figure 35: How Often Respondents go on Holiday by Race

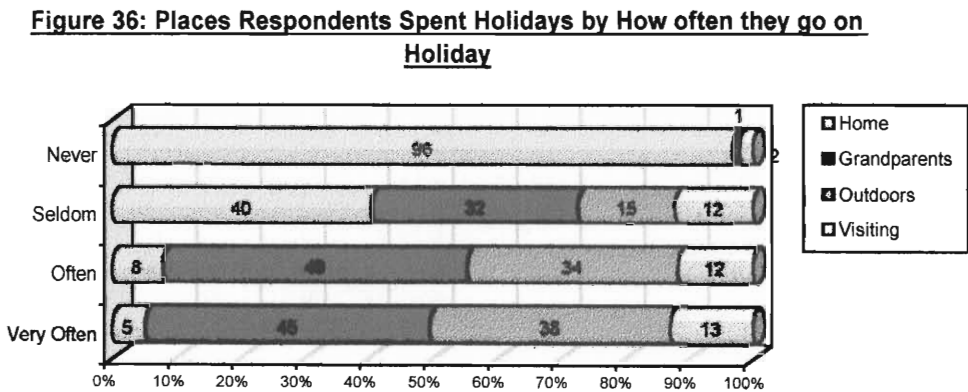


White respondents are more likely to go away very often (25%) or often (45%) on holiday than the black respondents are. Whereas black respondents are more divided between the majority (57%) who tend to go away seldom or never and more than two-fifths (49%) who say they go very often or often on holiday.

A statistically significant relationship exists between grade and how often respondents went on holiday (chi-squared 17.637, df 9) largely refers to the proportion who never go on holiday. More grade one respondents say they never go on holiday than other grades.

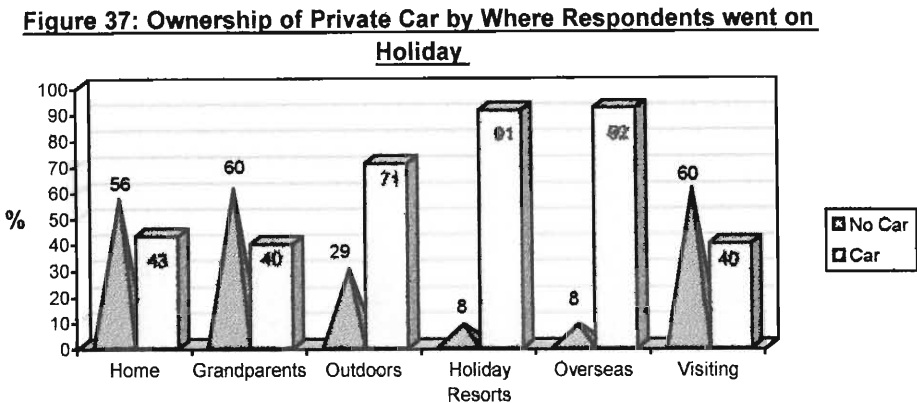
No significant relationship exists between how often the respondent went on holiday and age or sex of the respondents.

There is a highly significant relationship between where the respondents went on holidays and how often they went on holidays (chi-squared 444.395, df 15). The result in the chart below shows this relationship.



Most of the respondents that say they never go on holiday stayed at home during the main school holiday. From the chart it is clear that most respondents that go very often, often or seldom on holiday go away to family or kin's homes. Only a small proportion of those that go very often or often on holiday stayed at home during the last main school holiday.

The relationships between owning or not owning a car and where respondents went on holiday (chi-squared 146.255, df 5) and how often the respondents went on holiday (chi-squared 36.425, df 3) is highly significant.



Two-thirds of the respondents that spent the main school holidays with their grandparents or family do not own cars in the home. Whereas 65% of the respondents that report they very often and 51% of respondents that report they go often on holiday own private cars in the home. Taking owning a car as an approximation for relative wealth or poverty, the findings show that in poorer family's where there are no cars most go to kin based homes than those who are richer and own a car. These findings might appear confusing but where school children go on holiday and whether there is a private vehicle in the home are the variables that tell about relative wealth and poverty and its influence on mobility of the school children.

Daily Activities

In terms of the daily routine and the 12-hour activity recall, the following discussion looks at the places respondents have access to- the services and facilities used before and after school.

Only four percent of the respondents report that they went to the shops before school. Most of the respondents (n=53) that report they went to the shop in the morning before school started are black and a smaller number (n=4) are white. In terms of shopping before school of the minority that did this most are from the farm (n=31) and to a less extent at urban (n=23) and rural (n=5) locales.

16% of the respondents went to the shops after school. Of these most (72%) report that they went alone and the remainder (28%) went either with friends or relatives to the shops. And they were equally divided amongst boys and girls. Most of the respondents that went to the shops are in grade nine (41%) and to a less extent in grades one (17%), grade four (24%) and grade seven (17%). Whereas most of the respondents (n=147) they went to the shops after school are black only a smaller number of white respondents (n=11) report this. Most of the respondents that went to the shops are from the rural (n=31), farm (n=44) and urban black (n=71) whereas fewer respondents from the urban white (n=16) and urban private (n=2) locales.

Only sixteen respondents report that they went to the library after school. None of the farm or rural respondents went to the library. All the respondents that went to the library are from the urban locality. Of the respondents that went to the library three are from the urban black, eight from the urban white and five from the urban private locales. Eight of the respondents are black and six are white.

In terms of grades, eleven of the respondents that went to the library are in grade nine, three in grade one and two in grade seven. None of the grade four respondents report that they went to the library after school. Thirteen of the respondents are female and only three male respondents went to the library.

Only fifteen respondents report that after school they went to a medical or religious centre. Six of the respondents are black and four are white. In terms of locality most of the respondents that report they went to a medical or religious

centre after school are from the urban areas. Of these respondents seven are from the urban white locale, three from the urban black and three from the urban private. Only one respondent in each instance is from the rural and farm locales.

Eleven percent of the respondents visited either family or friends after school. Most of the respondents (74%) visited their friends. Just over a quarter of the respondents (26%) visited their grandparents or other family members, most of whom are black (66%).

After school most respondents go home with only a few going to medical or library services. This could be accounted as a methodological problem. However from the results, accessing shopping facilities is higher among black, rural, farm and urban respondents, whereas accessing medical or library services is higher in black and white urban respondents.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation sets out to examine the extent to which transport – either public or private determines access to places, experiences and opportunities for school-goers. From the review of literature and the description of data on transport and school-goers several issues warrant discussion. In terms of the findings presented in this paper there are three main issues I will address - mode of travel to school, ownership of privately owned vehicles and school goer's engagement with sport, recreational and leisure activities. The question of what role or influence transport has on the lives of school-goers is critical to the discussions in this section.

There are three main modes of travel that school-goers use - walking, travel by private car and travel by minibus-taxi. The findings show that choice of mode of travel is highly related to race and locale. Walking, followed by travel by minibus taxi, is higher among black school-goers and at rural, farm and urban black locales whereas travel by private car is higher among white school-goers and at urban white and urban private locales.

Literature on modes of travel for rural areas of developing countries and for school travel in rural areas of South Africa confirm this data, namely that walking is the main mode of travel at these locale. For school-goers at urban black locales walking is also the main mode of travel. In South Africa, and elsewhere, thinking and understanding of transport in urban areas has largely been conditioned by emphasis on motorised modes of travel, accounting for a gap in the literature on choice of mode of travel at urban black locales. South Africa needs to examine current trends in rural transport development, namely Accessibility Planning. The review of literature on Accessibility Planning has shown that the key to the rural transport development process is to establish what the transport needs of a community are.

Non-motorised forms of travel such as walking, travel by bicycle, carts, animal drawn carts or animal are often ignored. Current research into rural transport development has shifted emphasis towards household trip generating chores, as this accounts for most of the travel generating patterns and demands of rural area where predominantly non-motorised travel is used.

However absent from this body of literature is that of travel needs of school-goers. While walking is categorised as a non-motorised mode of travel very little attention has been paid to it. This is an area that requires attention, especially in light of the findings on school-goers that walking is critical to their ability to access schooling.

The review of literature presented and the findings of this research case study have shown that in the urban areas the ownership of private vehicles is higher than of that in the rural or farm areas. More specifically findings of this research have shown that there is a significant relationship between ownership of private vehicles and race- white respondents showing higher ownership levels than black respondents. This has significant implications for the questions that this dissertation has sought to analyse.

Accessing resources, seeking or generating employment, attending school, hospitals or clinics depends on the modes of travel available, the proximity of the facilities and the ease at which these can be reached. Accessibility and mobility problems in rural areas leads to isolation, in that it limits access to social, commercial and economic activities and therefore to choice and possibilities.

The lack of or limited services for black school goers at rural, farm and urban black locales leads to individual and community isolation. This situation is not evident amongst school goers at urban white and urban private locales (Marcus,

1998b: 24). It is held that access and mobility problems limit people's exposure to the 'world' and creates a situation of isolation.

The self-same argument could be extended to school-goers and their accessing of sport, recreational and entertainment facilities. The findings of this dissertation has shown that locale and race have a significant influence on where or whether respondents have visited or stayed in places other than their home and this applies to the analysis of holidays (see pages 55-61). The absence of after school sporting or recreational activities creates a void –what to do? At rural, farm and urban black locales this void is taken up by domestic chores (Marcus, 1998b: 19). This is especially the case for girls. Literature on household division of labour shows a bias toward girl children, confirming the data that girls bear significant domestic chore burden after school.

What does this isolation mean for school-goers? Primarily, it is school-goers at rural, farm and urban black locales that have limited access to social, recreational and educational activities. And that these children and young people are black. Data for after school sport activities indicate that school goers at the urban locales (black, white and private) are more likely to play some sport after school. This signals a difference in access, proximity and mobility of services and facilities between the urban locales and the rural and farm. In most instances sporting facilities for school goers at rural and farm locales is either non-existent or consists of rudimentary spaces for soccer and netball. While significant differences in availability and access to facilities exist between rural and urban locales, the disparities between urban black and urban white and private access to facilities cannot be overlooked.

A problem of how to open up the experiences and opportunities for school-goers who have limited or no access, to sport, recreation and entertainment opportunities becomes a challenge to how transport is conceptualised and developed. In South Africa the construction or upgrading of roads has been seen

as the key solution to meeting access and mobility needs. Whether roads are constructed to increase accessibility, connectivity between individuals and facilities, the question that needs to be asked is who benefits?

To what extent does transport infrastructure improve the quality of life for the community? This case study and review of the literature has established that ownership of motorised modes of travel is significantly lower in rural and farm compared to urban areas. Constructing a road in the rural area means that it will be underutilised by local people. Instead of improving accessibility, mobility and increasing connectivity, development of this nature may only have limited benefits and not necessarily benefit those in need of it at particular locality.

Turning to how problems of school transport are addressed, the Laos and South African case studies indicate that at rural and farm locales road infrastructure for the community carries with it fear for safety-the danger of being run over. This is often cited as a reason why smaller children do not begin schooling at school age, i.e. 6 or 7 years old. This shows a clear need for the development of a system for appropriate transport. This is one dimension of the problem of school transport.

Another dimension is affordability and who should pay. There is a continual emphasis on bus subsidisation for public transport. The MSA report for example recommends that subsidised bus transport be provided for school-goers. However the issue of bus subsidisation for school transport is highly controversial in South Africa. In effect it can be said that the recommendations in the MSA are outdated and not in touch with the actual set of choices of travel modes. This has significant implications for the transport of school-goers.

Current thinking and practices for public transport on developing countries focuses on appropriate and actual transport needs of the rural and urban passenger. It realises that public transport bus services accrue huge operational

costs and that state funding and subsidisation diminishes with time leaving private operators with the burden of transport provision. This aptly describes the current situation in South Africa, of which school transport is seen as unprofitable to the operator. But the lack of alternate modes of travel for school children means that they are effectively stranded- particularly in rural and more remote areas of urban settlement.

Apart from the operational cost of bus transport, there is a realisation that problem of accessibility and mobility cannot be addressed in this manner especially if there is general poverty in the community using the service. Income levels have been shown to affect choice of mode of travel, with low-income earners often opting for the cheapest mode of travel- walking. Whether bus or minibus-taxi can be seen, as the solution to accessibility problems is doubtful. As long as transport costs 'consume' large proportions of the household income people are going to opt for the cheapest mode of travel.

Where does the answer to affordable and appropriate transport lie? A good place to begin is to look at current practice. In many Asian and African countries traditional non-motorised modes of travel are used in both urban and rural areas (IFRTD Forum News, 1997: 5). In urban areas non-motorised modes of travel are normally used for accessing narrow or congested roads or motorised modes of travel. These modes of travel not only improve access and mobility but also promote local economic and social growth through the employment it generates, as well as the higher level of use. The following cases illustrate the viability of this option.

In Sri Lanka the deployment of the cycle trailer in rural areas has improved access and mobility within rural communities largely because they are affordable and have a high level of use. The cycle trailer is a two-wheeled iron cart attached to a bicycle. Its use has ranged from trip generating domestic chores, to transporting passengers, emergency services, as a mobile library for children to

income generating self-employment schemes. In Nairobi the 'border border' or bicycle taxi has improved access to a whole range of services and facilities and succeeded in generating employment opportunities for many people. In Peru the tricycle has had the same effect. It has allowed for the movement of goods and people at an affordable cost for user and operator.

The use of non-motorised modes of travel has a lateral impact in that it stimulates improvement of footpaths, trails and sidewalks. This means that rural people are most likely to benefit more broadly from this approach to local transport development than from, for example from the upgrade of access roads to tarmac quality. In addition it has the potential to reduce the high levels of subsidisation modes of travel such as buses or minibus-taxis require given their high operational and maintenance costs.

So what implication does this have for addressing accessibility and mobility problems in South Africa? We know that the problems of accessibility and mobility, especially in rural areas, leads to isolation. It also means limited and localised mobility for the people at these locales.

Introducing a non-motorised modes of travel such as the bicycle would require a change in perception of this mode as a recreational activity to one that views the bicycle as an efficient, faster and cheaper (used here to mean cost on time, physical exhaustion, comfort etc) mode of travel than walking. The challenge is to test acceptability and suitability to the usage at specific locations.

The discussion of the issues of transport problems for school goers and rural communities presents only a glimpse of the transport problems that have not even featured in the MSA report. The scientific approach to transport problem solving does not include non-motorised modes of travel. Imposing self-same solutions to transport problems at urban and rural contexts creates a future situation for unsustainable development and a distortion of the choice of modes

of travel. Non-motorised modes of travel presents a whole new approach to debates and need for efficient and affordable public transport.

The role of transport in the lives of school children is inextricably linked to their daily activities and to their experiences of the world. Access to transport – whether private or public, is linked to home and school activities. Getting to and from a service or facility with ease increases school-goer's experiences and opportunities. The availability and affordability of transport can serve to change the experiences of childhood, particularly for the sections of our society who are poor and remotely located. In such areas potential intellectual, academic and sport benefit can be derived for the community.

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7. APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: TABLE OF SAMPLE USED

APPENDIX 2: DEMOGRAPHIC INSTRUMENT

APPENDIX 3: ACTIVITY RECALL INSTRUMENT

APPENDIX 1

THE TABLE OF SAMPLE USED

The ten schools participating in the study comprised of five primary schools and five high schools. The findings presented in this study are based upon a study population, comprising of 1474 school children. The table below illustrates the sample used in this thesis. The study sample consists of respondents from grades one, four, seven and nine. All school goers in grades one, four, seven and nine became part of the study sample, except in three schools- a primary and secondary urban black school and an urban white high school. These schools are denoted by an asterix (*). At these three schools the number of schoolchildren in each of the grades were significantly large to draw a random sample from.

TABLE OF THE SAMPLE USED

School Name	Locale	Grade 1	Grade 4	Grade 7	Grade 9	Total
Henley	Rural	115	77	95	-	287
Mtholangqonda	Rural	-	-	-	42	42
Lidgetton Primary and High	Farm	44	26	46	61	177
Sanzwili *	Urban Black	146	157	87	-	390
Georgetown*	Urban Black	-	-	-	168	168
Carter High*	Urban White	-	-	-	110	110
Northern Park Primary	Urban White	48	57	62	-	167
Epworth Primary and High	Urban Private	35	28	29	41	133
Total		388	345	319	422	1474

APPENDIX 2:
DEMOGRAPHIC INSTRUMENT



Talking About Tomorrow Together Today

Respondent Name.....	_ _ _ _ _ _ _
	Respondent Number

Interviewer

CRG - 1 - QUESTIONNAIRE

(Instructions to the interviewer are in bold. Please remember to fill in the respondent number at the top of each page)

(Read Out)

Hello, my name is **(write in your name)**.....
..... and I want to ask you some questions about yourself and your feelings. There are no right or wrong answers, and everything you say is important. We really want to know what you think and how you feel. Try and answer as accurately as you can. Remember, no one will ever be able to find out what you said.

D4	Who, of any of the above, would you say is the head of your house?	1 Mother 2 Father 3 Step-mother 4 Step-father 5 Brother 6 Sister 7 Aunt 8 Uncle 9 Grandmother 10 Grandfather 11 Nobody 88 Other (specify).....
D5	How many brothers do you have?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
D6	How many sisters do you have?	<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>
D7	Are you the first born, middle or last born child in your family?	1 first born 2 middle born 3 last born
D8	How often do you see your father?	1 Daily/nearly daily 2 Once or twice a week 3 A few times a month 4 Once a month or less 5 Once a year or less 6 Hardly ever 7 Never/ never knew him
D9	How often do you see your mother?	1 Daily/nearly daily 2 Once or twice a week 3 A few times a month 4 Once a month or less 5 Once a year or less 6 Hardly ever 7 Never/ never knew him

D10	<p>Who do you spend most time with at home?</p> <p>mother 1</p> <p>father 2</p> <p>sisters 3</p> <p>brothers 4</p> <p>grandmother 5</p> <p>grandfather 6</p> <p>aunt 7</p> <p>uncle 8</p> <p>somebody (not a relative) 9</p> <p>school friends 10</p> <p>nobody 11</p> <p>all the family 12</p> <p>neighbourhood friends 13</p>	
D11	<p>When you have problems with your school work, who usually helps you?</p> <p>mother 1</p> <p>father 2</p> <p>sisters 3</p> <p>brothers 4</p> <p>grandmother 5</p> <p>grandfather 6</p> <p>aunt 7</p> <p>uncle 8</p> <p>neighbour 9</p> <p>school friend 10</p> <p>nobody 11</p>	
D12	<p>If you wanted something unusual or special, who in your family would you go and ask?</p> <p>mother 1</p> <p>father 2</p> <p>step mother or father 3</p> <p>sister 4</p> <p>brother 5</p> <p>grandmother 6</p> <p>grandfather 7</p> <p>aunt 8</p> <p>uncle 9</p> <p>any one 10</p> <p>nobody 11</p>	

	Can we talk about your beliefs?	
D13	What religion or church do you belong to? (do not read out) Anglican, Church of the Province of SA, Church of England Apolistic, Assembly of God, Pentecostalist Baptists, Full Gospel Catholic, Roman Catholic Gereformeerde, Hervormde Hindu Islam/Muslim Jewish Lutheran Methodist Presbyterian NGKA (African) NGKA (Sending) ZCC or other Zionist Churches Other African Independent Churches Traditional African None Other. (specify)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 88
D14	How Often do you go to a place of worship?	1 Every day 2 Once a week 3 2-3 times a week 4 2-3times a month 5 Once a month 6 Seldom/Main festes 7 Never
	Lets go back to where you live?	
D15	Which situation best describes who lives in your dwelling (house/hut/flat) (read out) only my family lives there we share with other relatives we share with another family(not relatives) we only have a room in the house other (specify)	1 2 3 4 88

	I would like you to tell me about the building where you live.					
D16	Which of these best describes the dwelling where you presently live					
	a house with a yard	1				
	a house without a yard	2				
	a shack	3				
	a flat	4				
	a room	5				
	a shelter on the street	6				
	a hut	7				
	a kraal	8				
	other (specify).....	88				
D17	At the dwelling where you live, how would you describe the toilet? Is it					
	an inside, flush toilet	1				
	an outside flush toilet	2				
	an outside VIP (drop) toilet	3				
	chemical	4				
	pit	5				
	bush/none	6				
	other (specify).....	88				
D18	Does the dwelling where you live have electricity?		1 yes ⇒ go to D17 2 no 3 don't know			
D19	If there is no electricity, what does your family mostly use (read out) for light?		Candles Paraffin Gas Wood Generator			
	for	1	2	3	4	5
	for cooking?	1	2	3	4	5
	for heating?	1	2	3	4	5
D20	At the dwelling where you live where do you get water from?					
	a tap inside the house	1				
	a tap in the yard	2				
	a pipe in the street	3				
	a river, well or stream	4				
	a water vendor	5				
	a borehole	6				
	a tanker	7				
	Lets talk a bit about the space you have in the house?					
D21	In the dwelling where you live do you have your own room?		1 yes⇒ go to D23 2 no			
D22	How many people share your room with you?		<input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>			
D23	Do you have your own bed?		1 yes⇒ go to D25 2 no			

D24	How many people share your bed with you?	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
D25	Is there a table or desk in the house for you to do your homework at?	1 yes 2 no
Can we talk about other things in your home?		
D26	In the dwelling where you live is there (read out) a television that works? a radio that works? a fridge that works? a telephone that works? a computer that works? books? magazines and newspapers?	yes no 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2
D27	In the dwelling where you live does anybody have(read out) a bicycle a motorbike a car a kombi	yes no 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2
Lets talk about getting to and from school.		
D28	How do you usually get to and from school?	1 walk 2 bicycle 3 car 4 kombi 5 lift club
D29	How long does it usually take you to get to school ?	1 <15 mins 2 16-30 mins 3 31-45 mins 4 46-60 mins 5 61 -120mins 6 >121 mins
D30	Would you describe getting to and from school as (read out) tiring difficult fun dangerous expensive hard	yes no 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2
Now lets talk a little about work in the house.		
D31	Do you have a maid who works in your house?	1 yes 2 no 3 don't know

D32	<p>Apart from the maid, can you think of anybody else who does a lot or most of the work in the house?</p> <p>self</p> <p>mother</p> <p>father</p> <p>aunt</p> <p>uncle</p> <p>brother</p> <p>sister</p> <p>non-relative</p> <p>shared between us all</p> <p>other (specify).....</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>6</p> <p>7</p> <p>8</p> <p>9</p> <p>88</p>
D33	<p>I want to ask you what work you usually do in the house? Do you regularly (read out).....</p> <p>clean floors/weep/polish or vacuum</p> <p>make beds</p> <p>wash and iron clothes</p> <p>clean the bathroom or toilet</p> <p>wash dishes</p> <p>cook</p> <p>shop for food</p> <p>look after children</p> <p>garden</p> <p>look after animals</p>	<p>yes no</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p> <p>1 2</p>
D34	<p>When do you usually do this kind of work?</p>	<p>1 before school</p> <p>2 after school</p> <p>3 before & after school</p> <p>4 anytime I am free</p> <p>5 at weekends</p> <p>6 when the maid's away</p> <p>7 when my mum's away</p> <p>8 in the holidays</p> <p>88 other</p> <p>specify.....</p>
D35	<p>Comparing the housework you do with other family members, would you say you do most, more, the same, less or least?</p>	<p>1 most</p> <p>2 more</p> <p>3 same</p> <p>4 less</p> <p>5 least</p>
	<p>I want to talk about moving house now?</p>	
D36	<p>Have you always lived in the dwelling where you presently live?</p>	<p>1 Yes⇒ go to D41</p> <p>2 No</p> <p>3 Don't Know</p>

D37	In your life time, how many times would you say that you have moved house?	□□	
D38	When you last changed house did you move to another dwelling (read out)	Yes	No
	in the same area	1	2
	in another area	1	2
	on another farm	1	2
	in another village	1	2
	in a township	1	2
	in a town or city	1	2
	in another township	1	2
	in another town or city	1	2
	in another province	1	2
	in another country	1	2
D39	Last time you moved what were the two main reasons for changing your dwelling place? (read out)	Reason One	Reason Two
	father changed	1	1
	job	2	2
	mother changed job	3	3
	father looking for work	4	4
	mother looking for work	5	5
	schooling	6	6
	bought another/bigger house	7	7
	family break up	8	8
	conflict and violence	9	9
	health	10	10
	death in the family	11	11
	money	88	88
	other (specify)	77	77
	don't know		
D40	When you moved last time did you (read out)	Yes	No
	go with your whole family?	1	2
	only go with some family members?	1	2
	go alone ?	1	2
	go to a relative?	1	2
	go to a stranger?	1	2
	go to a hostel?	1	2
	other (specify)	1	2

	Can you tell me about holidays?	
D45	<div>During the main school holidays in June or December where did you go last year? (do not read out)</div> <div><div>stayed home</div><div>away to the sea</div><div>away to the mountains</div><div>away to a farm</div><div>away to grandparents in a village</div><div>away to grandparents in another town or city</div><div>to a holiday resort in South Africa</div><div>overseas</div><div>home to my family (in SA)</div><div>home to my family (outside SA)</div><div>other (specify).....</div></div> <div><div>1</div><div>2</div><div>3</div><div>4</div><div>5</div><div>6</div><div>7</div><div>8</div><div>9</div><div>10</div><div>88</div></div>	
D46	How often do you go on holiday?	<div>1 Very Often</div> <div>2 Often</div> <div>3 Seldom</div> <div>4 Never</div>

APPENDIX 3:
ACTIVITY RECALL INSTRUMENT



Talking About Tomorrow Together Today

Respondent Name.....

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|

Respondent Number

Interviewer.....

ACTIVITY RECALL

Please write down everything you did from the time the bell rang at the end of the school day, yesterday until the time you got to school this morning.

Do not write long sentences-just the things you did. For example, *“I changed for sport”, “I played soccer”, “I ate a biscuit”, “I went to aftercare”, “I played games with friends”, “Mum fetched me and drove me home”* and so on. Also please remember to write down how you did something, for example, *“I walked home”* or *“I went home by car”*. Try to remember each thing that you did and write them down one after the other, in order that you did them. Please don’t write down *“I went to the door” “I opened the door” etc.*

Lets Begin...

“After the school bell rang at the end of the day, yesterday,...”

(First write down what you did before you went home or before you went to aftercare. If you did nothing go to the next section)

“Before aftercare or before going home I...”

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

“ At Aftercare, I...” (If you never went to aftercare, go to the next section)
(Did you do anything at aftercare/ Did you play with anybody at aftercare? During Aftercare did you go for any extra lessons?)

<hr/>	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>

Did you stay at aftercare all afternoon or only for some of the afternoon?

(Put a cross through the answer that is accurate)

When you went home, how did you go home-walk, car, kombi, or liftclub?
If you went by kombi, *WRITE* how many kombis did you have to catch?

Who did you go home with?

If somebody was at home when you got there, who was there?

<hr/>	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>

What did you do as soon as you got in?

<hr/>	<hr/>
<hr/>	<hr/>

What did you do later on?

Did you bath before or after supper? (Mark a cross over the correct one)

What else did you do?

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

If you can remember, write down what time it was that you went to bed?

Now do the same thing for the things that you did from the time you woke up this morning until the time the school bell rang for the first lesson

“When I woke up this morning, I...”

After you went to the bathroom, did you do anything at home before you set off for school? *(If you had breakfast, say if you prepared it yourself? Did you prepare a snack for school? Did you tidy your room, do other housework, play games, do homework or watch TV?)*

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

How did you get to school? *(walk, car, kombi, liftclub)*

_____	_____
-------	-------

(If you went by kombi, how many kombis did you have to catch?)

_____	_____
-------	-------

Who did you go to school with?

_____	_____
-------	-------

If you stopped on the way to school, say where and why?

_____	_____
_____	_____

If you played games, sport or had extra lessons before school, say what you did?

_____	_____
_____	_____