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The Case for Catholic Schools, Volume 2

THE GUARDIANS OF SCHOOL CHOICE

CONTENTS

Introduction	2
The foundations of school choice	3
School choice in international law	3
Catholic Church teaching	4
School choice in an international context	5
School choice in Australia	7
Policy settings in Australia	7
School choice and public funding	8
Catholic schools: the guardians of school choice	9
The conditions for school choice	10
Why school choice endures	14
The reasons parents choose Catholic schools	14
Academic outcomes: choosing a better future	16
The benefits of choice and competition	17
School choice – a friend of equity	17
Competition and choice in Australia	19
Conclusion	20
Endnotes	21



INTRODUCTION

For 200 years, Catholic education in Australia has delivered on the aspiration and promise of school choice, which is made available throughout much of Australia thanks to the nationwide network of low-fee, Catholic schools.

The right of parents to choose an education for their children that supports their own values, beliefs and convictions is well-established in international and Australian law. School choice is a reliable hallmark of a free and pluralistic society, and governments have a responsibility to ensure that choice is real and authentic.

Real choice in schooling is more than an ‘across the road’ alternative to the government school. This paper presents three pre-requisites needed to sustain the promise of school choice: accessibility – readily accessible in a wide number of locations; affordability – a low-fee alternative, and availability – a consistent and reliable continuity of delivery.

It is because of Catholic schools’ custom of delivering on accessibility, affordability, and availability for 200 years, they are rightfully regarded as the guardians of school choice in Australia.

The reasons for choosing a Catholic, independent, or government school, are many and varied. Religious values are an important element in school choice, so too are academic standards, teacher quality, and school discipline. The available evidence demonstrates strong and continuing demand from parents for non-government, and specifically Catholic, education.

While support for school choice guarantees the exercise of an important human right, the tradition of school choice in Australia has also delivered a wide range of benefits; a social good that successive governments have recognised and upheld. Policy settings that support school choice will often produce better outcomes at a lower cost to government, while respecting parental rights, and meeting the diverse needs of students.

SCHOOL CHOICE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

Noting the diversity of approaches to school delivery, there is an almost universal consensus that children have a right to school education, and governments and parents together have the responsibility to guarantee it. Such education, as made clear by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), must be *“directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.”*¹

Beyond the rights and responsibilities aimed at ensuring every child receives an education, international law further enshrines **the right and freedom of parents to choose** an education for their children. The UDHR states at Article 26(3) that *“parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.”*

In 1966, the parties to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) further agreed to *“undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians, to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.”*²

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights also upholds this freedom, with signatories agreeing to *“undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and ... legal guardians to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to ... minimum educational standards ... and to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.”*³

The right of parents to choose an education for their children that conforms with their own religious and moral convictions is ultimately founded on the right to religious freedom. This right is articulated in the UDHR, the ICCPR and the *1981 Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief*.⁴

Australia is a signatory to each of these covenants.

These covenants clearly characterise school choice as a human right. It is also an acknowledgement that while governments make decisions for what is best for the system as a whole, parents are better positioned to know what is best for their children.

The role of government in parental decision-making is usefully explained by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), to ‘help parents make informed decisions’.⁵





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In discussing this issue, the OECD has also held that:

“School choice will only generate the anticipated benefits when the choice is real, relevant and meaningful, i.e. when parents can choose an important aspect of their child’s education, such as the pedagogical approaches used to teach them. If schools are not allowed to respond to diverse student populations, and to distinguish themselves from each other, choice is meaningless.”⁶

Buttressed by international law, it is clear school choice is not simply the ability to choose a higher-performing school, or one with alternate pedagogical approaches. It meets the far more fundamental need for parents to ensure their children are educated in accordance with their conscience, virtues and beliefs. Parents must therefore be able to choose an education that supports their convictions and suits their child’s needs. This choice is enshrined in international covenants to which Australia is a signatory, committing Australia to support this choice for all.

CATHOLIC CHURCH TEACHING

The Catholic Church expresses explicit support for the right of parents to choose a school that accords with their values. In the 1965 *Declaration on Christian Education*, it explains that parents are expected to fulfil their ‘primary and inalienable right’ to educate their children, and must have authentic liberty to choose a school for their children. The proper place of Catholic schools in a society is to fulfil ‘the right of each person to receive a suitable education of their free choice’.⁷ The declaration further states that for choice to be free, governments must ensure a fair system of public subsidies.

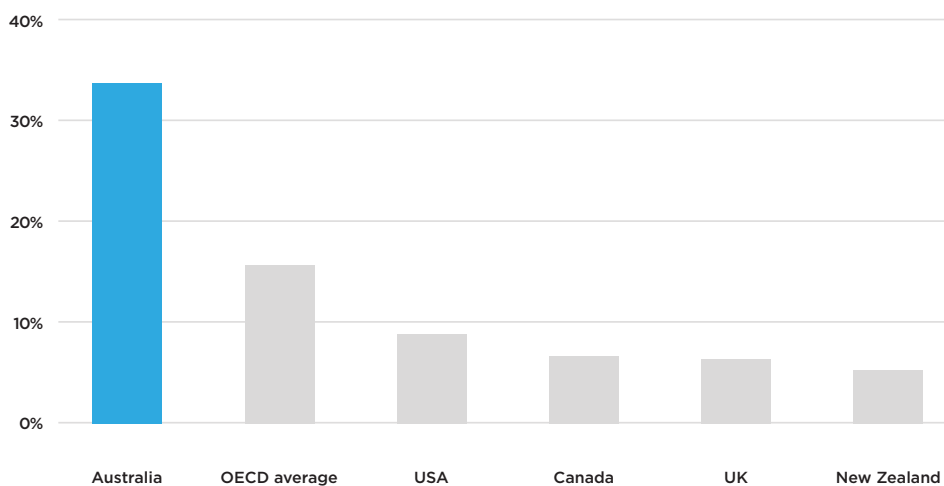
‘The Catholic School’, published by the Catholic Church’s Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education in 1977, further explores this defence of school choice. Here, the Catholic Church recognises that in many countries, government support grants parents the ability to freely choose a Catholic school, unencumbered by financial or social constraints. These circumstances have often arisen through a recognition of the service to society that Catholic schools provide.⁸



SCHOOL CHOICE IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

In OECD member countries, an average of 16% of students are enrolled in non-government schools. There is significant variation in the proportion of non-government school enrolments, with more than half of the total school population in countries such as Chile (62%), Belgium (57%) and India (51%) enrolled in non-government schools. On the other hand, more than half of OECD member countries have less than 10% of students at non-government schools.⁹

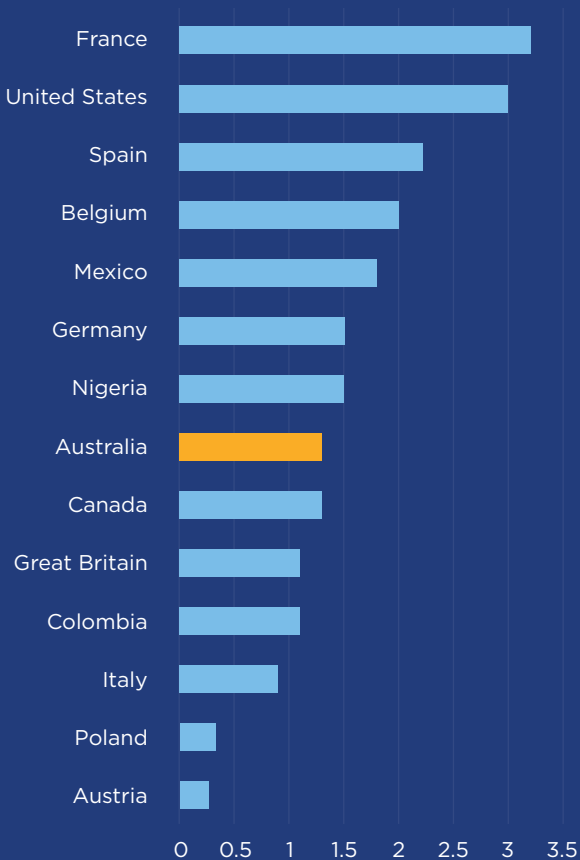
Figure 1: Non-government school enrolments in OECD member countries



Australia stands at more than double the OECD average, with 34% of school students enrolled in non-government schools. This highlights the comparative ease of access that parents have to non-government schools, compared to most other parts of the world. In NSW, 20.7% of students attend Catholic schools, with a total of 34.5% of students attending non-government schools (including Catholic schools).

It is the numerous systems of Catholic schools across the world that represent the largest non-governmental network of schools, with over 62 million students enrolled in Catholic schools. Despite Australia's relatively small population, Australia's Catholic schools have around 1.3% of global Catholic school enrolments. This is significant when compared to other members of the OECD with significantly larger populations, such as the United States, **which has a total population more than ten times the size of Australia and has just over twice the number of Catholic school enrolments; Germany, which has a population more than 3 times the size of Australia and 1.5% of Catholic school enrolments; and Great Britain¹⁰, which has a population of more than two and a half times the size of Australia and only 1.1% of enrolments.¹¹**

Figure 2: Percentage of global Catholic school enrolments by country



These figures mark the Catholic Church in Australia as a standout for its enormous historical and continuing contribution to school education in Australia over the past 200 years. This critical contribution will be expanded on later in this paper.



POLICY SETTINGS IN AUSTRALIA

Today, school choice is hardwired into Australia's educational landscape, evidenced by the growing proportion of enrolments in non-government schools. Relevant legislation and education policy, at state and territory level, recognises the right to school choice, though without expressing it explicitly.¹² Australian governments provide for the registration of non-government schools and financially support them, denoting official recognition for school choice.

School funding arrangements are a critical piece of the policy framework that supports school choice. The gradual reintroduction of public funding for non-government schools in Australia from the 1960s contributed to parents having real choices as to where to educate their children. Since then, there has been clear and bipartisan support for diversity in the Australian school sector.

Prime Minister Robert Menzies was a vocal advocate for school choice, arguing in 1963 that 'the greater the versatility of our educational system, the more people are encouraged to choose the school that they want for their children, the better for all of us.'¹³ Labor Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, spoke proudly of his government's support for non-government schools by 'giving more money to non-government schools than any Government before', explaining that financial assistance was essential to provide diversity of educational opportunity.¹⁴ It was another Labor Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, who first introduced recurrent funding for non-government schools.

Under Liberal Party Prime Minister John Howard, entrenching support for real parental choice became the philosophical basis of government funding for schools. In 1999, Howard stated that the federal budget was the most financially supportive of non-government schools that any government had delivered, and explained that such support rested on a 'simple principle in education and that is that every Australian parent has the right to educate his or her children according to their choice'.¹⁵

This support continues in the present. The Australian Labor Party's national platform released in 2018 emphasises the importance of a strong system of government schools, but also explicitly supports parents who wish to choose a non-government school. It states, 'Parents have a right to choose non-government schooling. Non-government schools should be supported by public funding that reflects need and is consistent with a diverse and inclusive society.'¹⁶ The 2019 federal election platform of the Liberal Party outlined a commitment to 'providing choice and quality in our schools', and referred to its 'record funding for government, Catholic and independent schools' as evidence of its support.¹⁷





The gradual reintroduction of public funding for non-government schools in Australia from the 1960s contributed to parents having real choices as to where to educate their children. Since then, there has been clear and bipartisan support for diversity in the Australian school sector.

Historically, the right to school choice was explicitly stated in Australian law. The now-repealed *Commonwealth Schools Commission Act 1973* wrote into law that it is ‘the prior right of parents to choose whether their children are educated at a government school or at a non-government school’. This was again recognised in the also now-repealed Australian *Employment, Education and Training Act 1988*.

However, a clear statement that parents have the ‘right’ to choose their children’s schooling appears to have disappeared from current Australian law. There is no explicit recognition of the right to choose, such as appeared in the aforementioned legislation. There is no apparent reason why this has happened after the right was so clearly expressed in the 1970s and 1980s. While it is more important that government in practice supports non-government schools, explicit legislative recognition of the right to choose might help to ensure that future generations acknowledge it and legislators and policymakers continue to support it.

More practically, relevant legislation at state and territory level continues to recognise the right to school choice.¹⁸ Provisions for the registration of non-government schools, together with public funding, represent official support for parents to choose a non-government education.

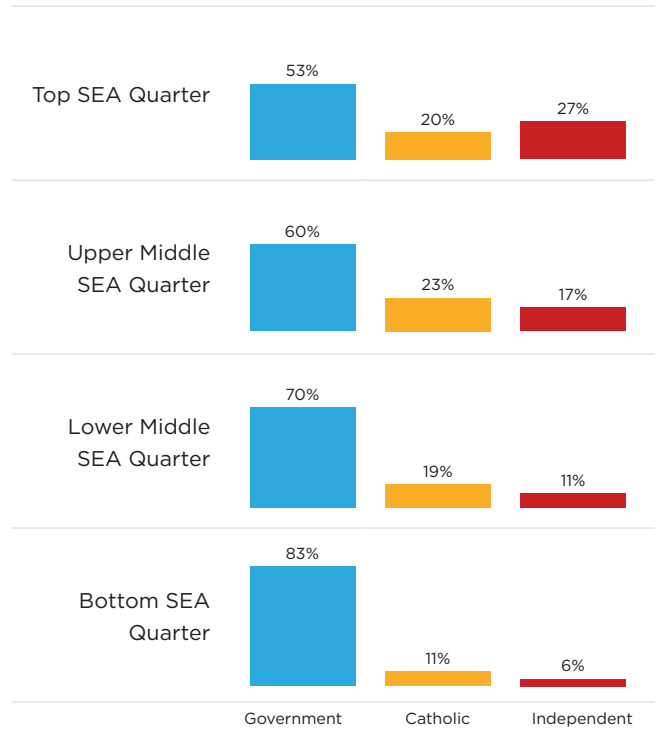
SCHOOL CHOICE AND PUBLIC FUNDING

For many families the ability to choose rests on having the financial means to access their preferred school. While school choice is officially supported, it can be limited by financial capacity. As a result, families with a lower socio-educational advantage (SEA)¹⁹ are less likely to attend non-government schools.

Analysis of the relationship between non-government schooling and the SEA of a student confirms this relationship between financial capacity and school choice. The lower the

SEA, the more likely it is a child will attend a government school (see Table 1).²⁰ Parents in the bottom quartile, with the lowest socio-educational advantage, were 30 percentage points more likely to have their children attend a government school than those in the top quartile.

Table 1: Australian school students by SEA quartile and school sector



The cost of a non-government school education is an important aspect of school choice. Multiple factors contribute to the lower representation of low-SEA families in non-government schools, but cost is an important element. A 2004 survey of parents conducted by the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) reported that a third of families with children at government schools would send them to non-government schools if the cost were the same,²¹ confirming the price barrier to entry denies choice to some who seek it. More recent research by the Centre for Independent Studies (CIS) also found that at least 22% of parents would send their children to a different school if cost were not a factor. The CIS also reported that 20% of parents thought they were ‘very limited’ in their choice of school, and 46% thought they were somewhat limited.²²

Clearly, cost weighs heavily on school choice, underscoring the importance of having a well-established network of low-fee non-government schools across Australia. The breadth and accessibility of this network enlivens school choice for hundreds of thousands of Australian families.

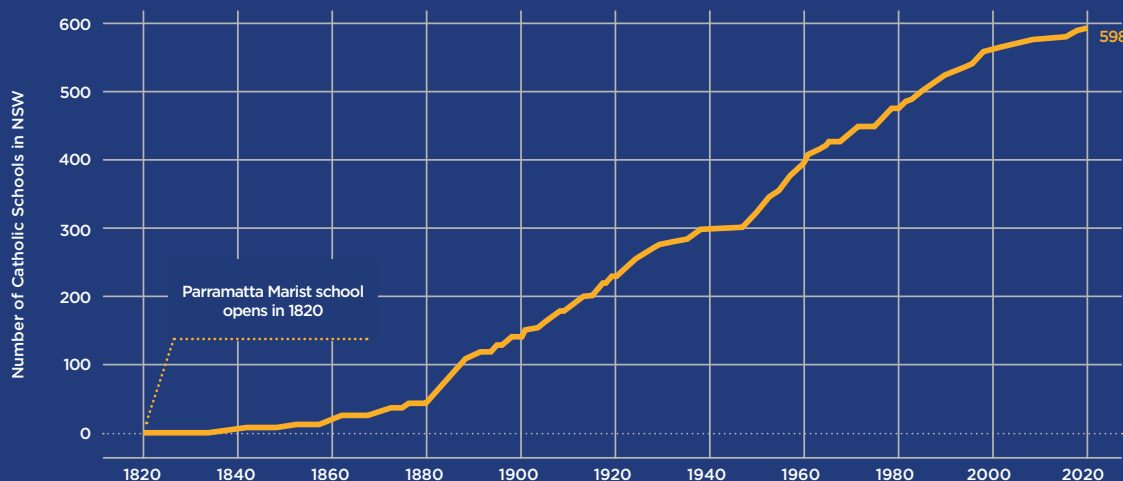
CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: THE GUARDIANS OF SCHOOL CHOICE

Catholic schools have been a part of Australian education for over 200 years. While financial support has come, gone and returned during this time, Catholic schools have provided school choice in an education environment where, for most of its history, government schools would otherwise have held a near monopoly.

The first Catholic school in Australia opened in Parramatta in 1820, nearly three decades before the opening of the first government school in NSW. The number of government schools has grown substantially since then, and so too has the number of Catholic schools (Figure 3), reflecting continuous and growing demand for Catholic education over its 200-year history in Australia.

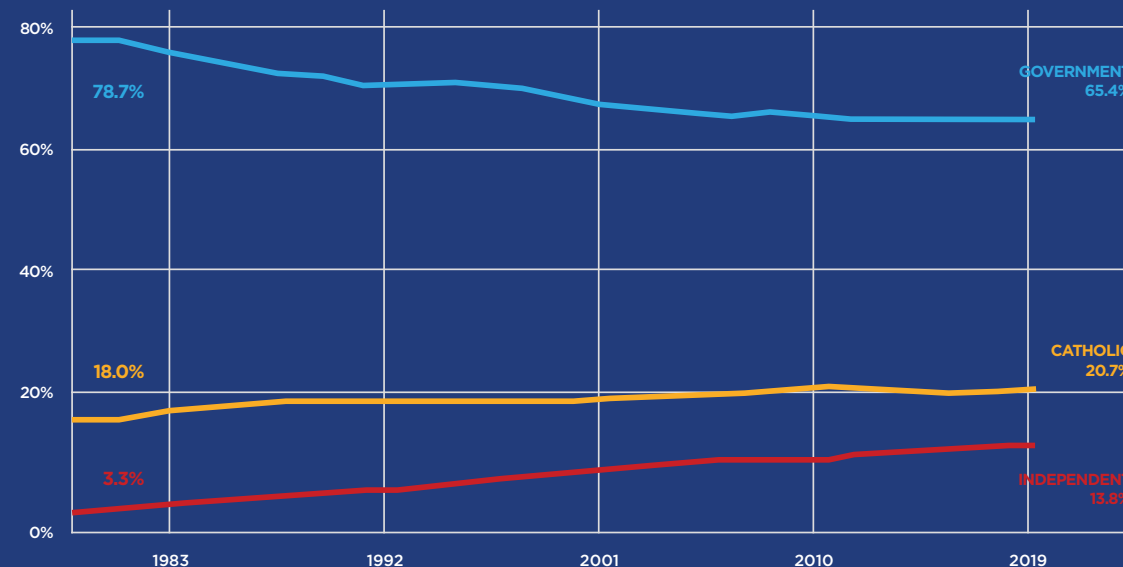
While enrolment data are not available for all of the history of Catholic education in Australia, student enrolment numbers for schools in NSW over the past 40 years show the critical role Catholic schools have played in giving parents school choice. In this period, Catholic schools have consistently educated around a fifth of students in NSW (see Figure 4). Growth in enrolments in independent schools over the same time is further evidence that parents value alternative school offerings.

Figure 3: The historical growth of Catholic schools in NSW, 1820–2020



Source: Catholic Schools NSW

Figure 4: Historical enrolments in school sectors in NSW



Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics



Three conditions are essential to delivering school choice: schools must be affordable, they must be accessible to people in their communities, and parents must have the assurance that they will continue to be available.

THE CONDITIONS FOR SCHOOL CHOICE

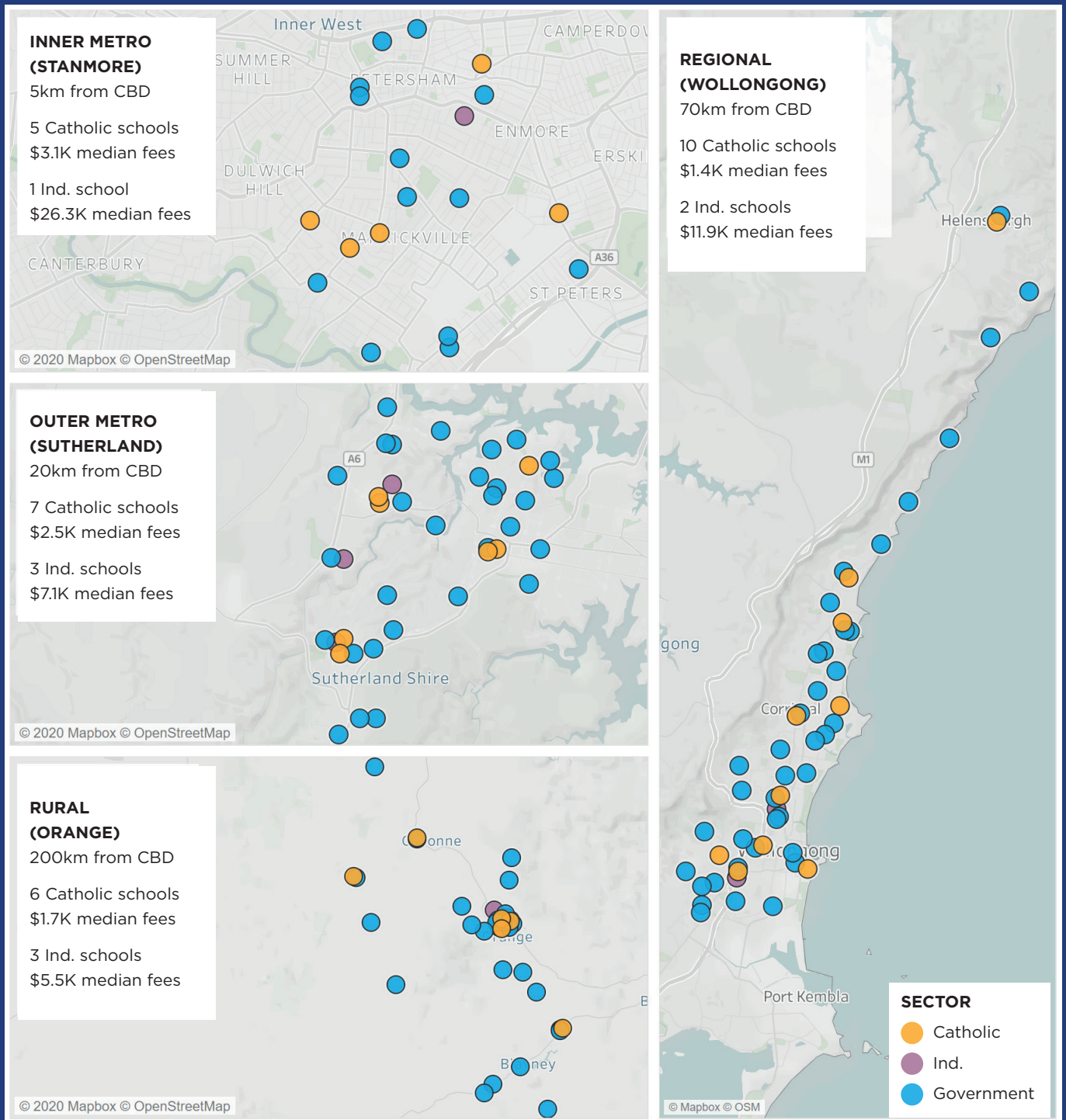
Having achieved a lasting policy settlement with respect to the role and contribution of non-government schools in Australia, it remains vital that the non-government school sector, in partnership with government, give practical effect to school choice, lest it remain a promise on a page. Three conditions are essential to delivering school choice: schools must be **affordable**, they must be **accessible** to people in their communities, and parents must have the assurance that they will continue to be **available**. Only the Catholic school system has been able to consistently sustain all three of these conditions for an extended period of Australian history, positioning Catholic schools as the guardians of school choice in Australia.

In a practical sense, school choice relies on generations of parents having access to affordable non-government schools in their local area. In NSW, this is delivered primarily via a state-wide system of low-fee Catholic schools. At Catholic schools, average fees are around \$2 000 per year for primary schools and \$5 000 for secondary schools. Over half of NSW Catholic schools have socio-economic scores below 100, and nearly 40% of students are from the bottom two SEA quartiles. This network of affordable Catholic schools across the state keeps school choice within reach for many NSW families.

Secondly, for school choice to be practical and meaningful, non-government schools need to be geographically accessible across towns and cities. Catholic schools do the heavy lifting in this regard, with a network of 1 750 schools across almost all parts of Australia and almost 600 in NSW. No other non-government provider matches the geographic coverage of Catholic schools, which can be found in one in five suburbs across NSW. Without Catholic schools, school choice would be severely limited in urban, regional and rural areas.

In Figure 5, a series of maps illustrate the role of Catholic schools in delivering against these three criteria of school choice in four representative NSW settings: **inner metropolitan, outer metro, regional and rural NSW**. In all these locations, Catholic schools provide the greatest choice of non-government schooling, which in some cases would otherwise be negligible.

Figure 5: Distribution of Catholic schools in representative inner metro, outer metro, regional and rural NSW districts



For example, without Catholic schools in Stanmore, there would be only one non-government alternative to the 11 public schools, and none with fees lower than \$5 000.²³ Without Catholic schools in Sutherland, Wollongong and Orange, each region would only have one low-fee alternative to government schools. Catholic schools have provided real choice in these regions over a long period: half of the Catholic schools there were founded before 1950, compared to only two of the other non-government schools. In these and many other locations, real school choice depends almost entirely on the presence of Catholic schools. This has been the case for much of Australia’s history.

Figure 6: Accessibility, affordability and availability of non-government schools across NSW



Figure 6 further makes this case, showing how in each of these same four areas, the local Catholic schools make school choice affordable, accessible and available. This is because in each of these areas, Catholic schools make choice accessible by providing a number of alternative offerings to government schools, they make choice affordable because of their comparatively low fees, and by being a continuous historical presence, have made choice consistently available.

Figure 7: Historical growth and spread of Catholic schools

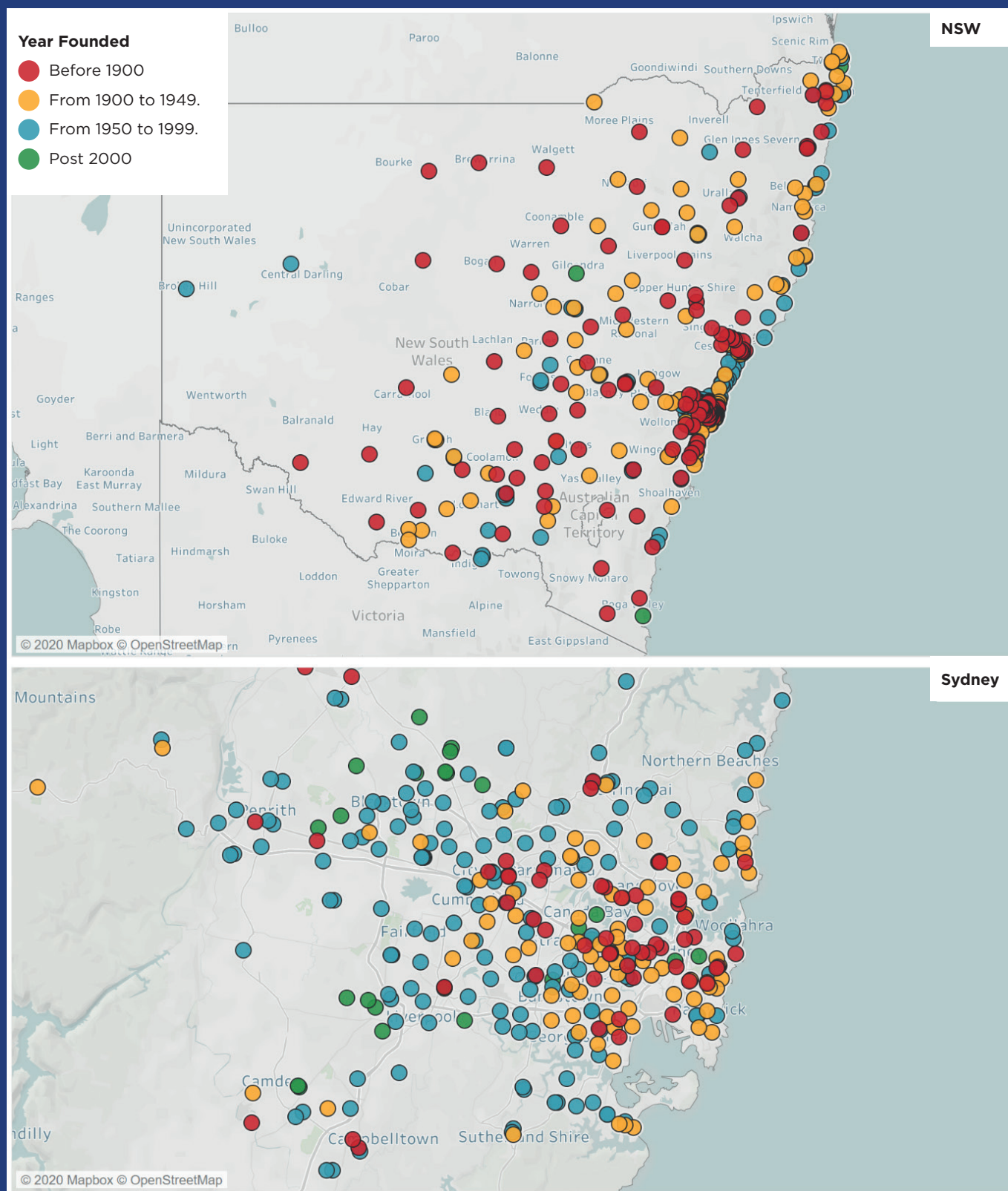


Figure 7 provides a further visual representation of the continuous growth and spread of Catholic schools throughout NSW. It is this continuity that has made real school choice available to many parents of the past 200 years.



WHY SCHOOL CHOICE ENDURES

THE REASONS PARENTS CHOOSE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

Sustained demand and 200 years of consistent enrolments have galvanised bipartisan government support for Catholic schools. The history of Catholic education in Australia shows that generation after generation of parents value and seek school choice. The available literature supports this.

A wide range of existing studies, discussed in this section, show that the issues parents see as most critical in choosing a school can vary, ranging from school location, academic performance, traditional values and religion, to quality of teachers, teaching methods and school discipline, among many others. This highlights the need for governments to ensure that a diversity of schools is available.

This observation is supported by a survey conducted by the National Catholic Education Commission (NCEC) in 2019, which examined the views of 1 662 parents from Catholic, independent and government schools, seeking to evaluate the key issues in school choice.²⁴ A key finding was that 90% of parents, including public school parents, agree it is important that parents can choose between different types of schools for their children. Parents across all three school sectors support the right of other parents to choose between non-government or government schools.

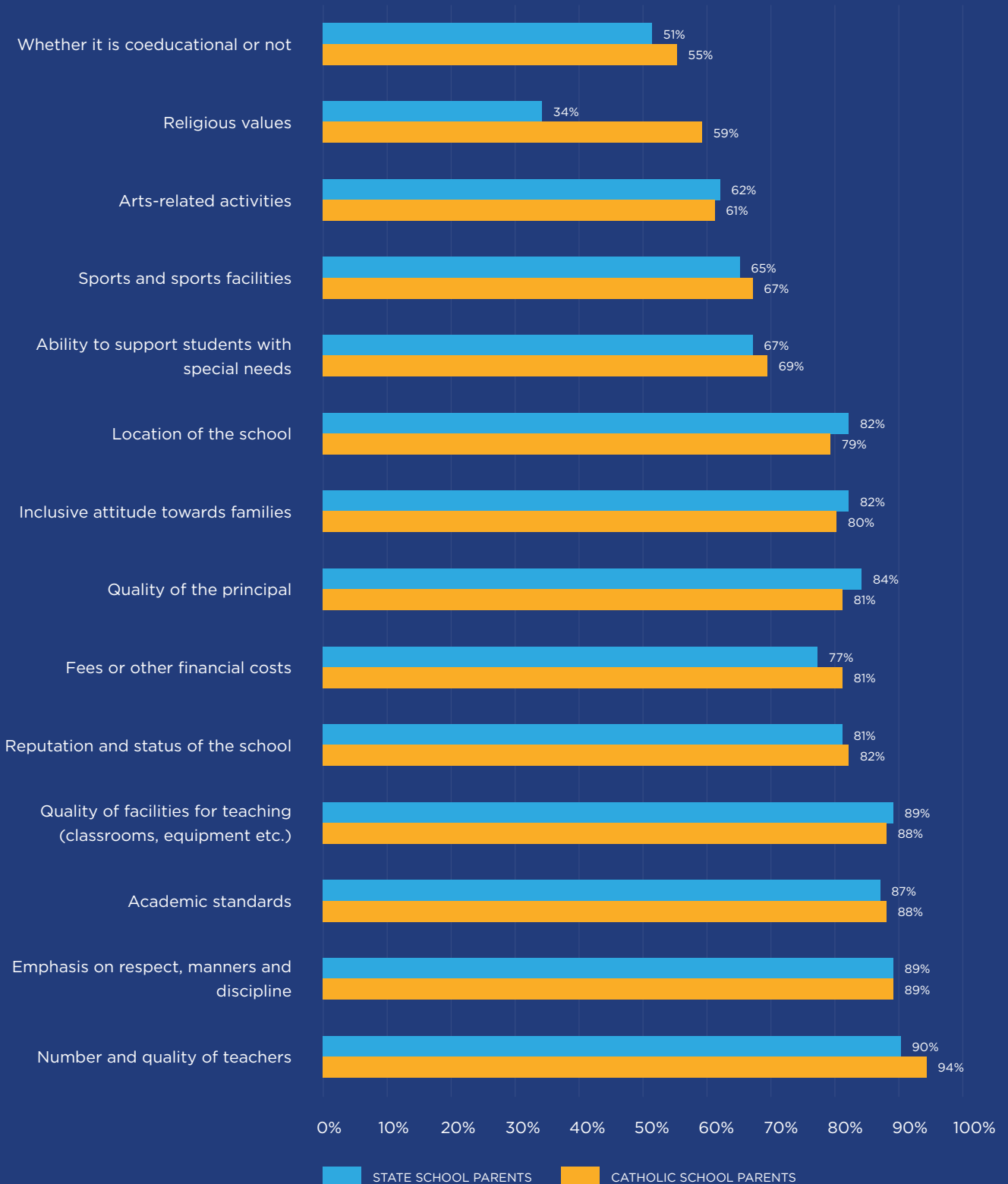
When the NCEC asked about key factors in school choice, approximately 90% of parents identified the number and quality of teachers, emphasis on respect and discipline, quality of facilities, and academic standards as being very important or extremely important. Other relevant factors included school reputation and location, class sizes, fees and religious values (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: School selection criteria for Catholic and state school parents

SCHOOL SELECTION CRITERIA FOR CATHOLIC AND STATE SCHOOL PARENTS

Percentage of parents that marked these factors as extremely important or very important.

Source: National Catholic Education Commission



Notably, 80% of parents consider school location to be extremely or very important. This means that for parents considering school choices, schools need to be geographically accessible.

As illustrated in this report, Catholic education delivers on these criteria through a nationwide network of schools, with almost 600 in NSW.

The most significant difference between the priorities of government and Catholic school parents is in the preference for religious values. This is the only factor represented in Figure 8 that less than half of a group of parents found very or extremely important. Only 34% of state school parents rated it at that level. However, 59% of Catholic school parents rated it that highly, showing parental demand for the teaching of religious values. Catholic schools meet this demand.

The results also show that Catholic schools meet a range of other (non-religious) demands (e.g., academic standards, emphasis on respect and discipline, and teacher quality) that an even larger proportion of parents find critically important. In fact, 31% of students at NSW Catholic schools are not Catholic,²⁵ indicating that a significant proportion of enrolling families value Catholic schooling for reasons other than, or in addition to, religion.

Another recent survey, published by the Centre for Independent Studies, asked parents their top two reasons for choosing a particular school. These reasons included location (49% of respondents), academic focus (34%), school facilities (29%), cost (25%) and school discipline (19%), with 8% also citing religion.²⁶

Other survey studies, by the Independent Schools Council of Australia (2008, 2017),²⁷ Independent Schools Queensland (2018),²⁸ the Australian Scholarships Group (2015)²⁹ and the Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) (2004)³⁰ found similar reasons were important. Taken together, they also reveal parents place importance on good teachers, a supportive and caring environment, preparation for later life, suitability to individual needs, teaching methods and philosophies, the presence of an anti-bullying policy, traditional values, and the wearing of uniforms.

The ACER study, in particular, found that choosing a school was most strongly influenced by a preference for traditional values to do with discipline, religion or morality. This emphasis on traditional values is supported by Dearden et al.'s 2011 study that identified a strong religious dimension in the choice of Catholic schooling.³¹



ACADEMIC OUTCOMES: CHOOSING A BETTER FUTURE

Noting the research highlights the importance of academic outcomes in school choice, it is no surprise that well performing schools are rewarded with enrolment growth. Parents use school choice as a well-travelled on-ramp to a better educational opportunity – they are drawn to educational excellence.

Research from Monash University found that for each standard deviation increase in NAPLAN scores at the local primary school, house prices climb by between 2 and 2.6%.³² Research from the Grattan Institute found a slightly positive relationship between NAPLAN scores and enrolments, with the relationship most pronounced when comparing a school's NAPLAN scores and enrolment growth against those of nearby schools. Internal research conducted by Catholic Schools NSW similarly shows that schools with better NAPLAN results than nearby schools tend to have higher enrolment growth,³³ confirming the importance of academic measures in school choice considerations.

However, the demand for school choice is propelled by more than academic performance, and parents seek particular (sometimes bespoke) features in their children's schooling. The variety of parents' views about what is important has meant policymakers have responded by maintaining a range of school choices.

THE BENEFITS OF CHOICE AND COMPETITION

While school choice is a widely supported human right, with the right policy settings it can also deliver tangible benefits to the whole school sector. Numerous international studies have confirmed that the effects of school choice and consequent competition in the education sector are often positive. While some variation in results is due to different methodologies and local contexts, much of the available literature shows that school choice has positive effects, particularly for public school results.

A 2010 study of Programme for International Assessment (PISA) data across 29 OECD countries found that higher proportions of non-government schooling had strong and statistically significant positive effects on student achievement. The study noted that much of the benefit of non-government school competition flowed to government schools.³⁴

Studies of schools in the United States have concluded that competition from non-government schools improved government school test results. An analysis of literature between 1972 and 2011, conducted by Belfield and Levin, examined the effects of competition in school education and found a positive correlation between competition and education outcomes.³⁵ A 2012 study that looked at the effect of Catholic school enrolment rates on public school performance found that increased enrolments in Catholic schools had a positive effect on the proportion of public school students passing the state exam in reading.³⁶

Another 2012 study of US data, by Misra et al., also identified non-government school competition as having a positive effect on government school results and efficiency.³⁷ Studies conducted by Couch et al. (1993),³⁸ Hoxby (1994),³⁹ and Greene and Kang (2004)⁴⁰ support this finding. A 2017 study of the effect of vouchers in the United States concluded that the effect of a voucher system was ambiguous, but also that competition benefits government schools where they seek to improve in response to the availability of non-government schools.⁴¹

SCHOOL CHOICE – A FRIEND OF EQUITY

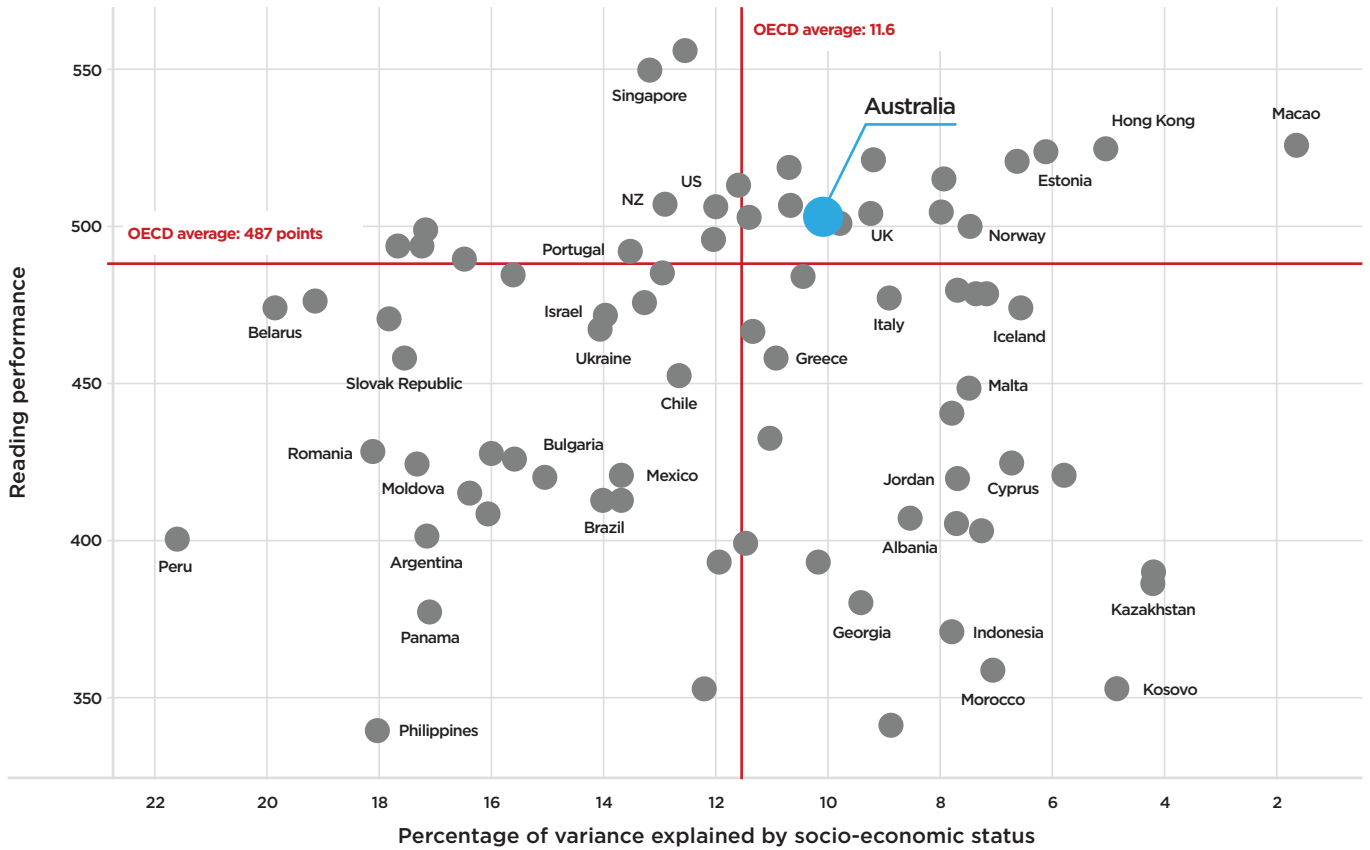
A common criticism of school choice is that it can decrease educational equity.⁴² This has not been the experience in Australia. Australia's school system is significantly above the OECD average in both equity and the proportion of private school enrolments. The OECD's report on 2018 PISA data found that 'students' performance in reading, mathematics and science was less strongly associated with socio-economic status in Australia than on average across OECD countries.⁴³ For example, in PISA reading tests, 13% of disadvantaged students in Australia scored in the top quartile, higher than the OECD average of 11%. At the same time, Australia is well above the OECD average in the proportion of school students enrolled in private schools (34% versus 16%).⁴⁴ Australia is therefore an example of how school choice can positively coexist with educational equity, and available data do not support claims to the contrary.



Figure 9: Association between socio-economic status and reading performance by country, PISA 2018

Source: OECD, PISA 2018 Database, Table II.B1.2.3

Countries in upper-right quadrant are **above-average** in both **reading performance** and **equity in education**.



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 While this analysis does not demonstrate that the effects of competition on educational outcomes are automatically positive, it makes a clear case that with the right policy settings, competition in education can stimulate improvements in schools.



COMPETITION AND CHOICE IN AUSTRALIA



facilitating greater competition in the human sectors would likely have the same benefits as competition brings to any other sector

Studies on school choice and competition have been difficult to replicate in Australia, partly because few recent policy changes have allowed researchers to observe any effects in local education markets. Some evidence suggests that competition has brought benefits to Australian schools, though it is more anecdotal than based on data.

The late 1980s Metherell reforms in NSW are instructive. Then NSW Education Minister, Terry Metherell, drove government school reform based on a stated aim of halting the drift of enrolments to non-government schools by improving the reputation of government schools. Despite arguing that government schools were better at education, he admitted that an increase in the share of enrolments in non-government schools was motivated by parental perceptions that government schools lacked in discipline, attention to basic skills, the commitment and attitude of their teachers, and ethical or moral values.⁴⁵ This is a working example of how positive attributes in one part of the school sector, prompted a catch-up response in another.

But while the aim of fixing NSW's government schools served their students well, the idea of government trying to grow its share of enrolments does not necessarily serve its constituents. The role of government is to ensure education for all, and to provide parents with a diversity of choice in pursuing their children's education. The choice of schooling belongs to parents, while the responsibility of providing options lies at least in part with government. Seeking to reduce the enrolment share of non-government schools risks cutting away choice for those parents who prefer them. As the Catholic Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith explained: 'Whenever the State lays claim to an educational monopoly, it oversteps its rights and offends justice ... The State cannot without injustice merely tolerate so-called private schools. Such schools render a public service and therefore have a right to financial assistance.'⁴⁶

The Australian Consumer and Competition Commission has also made a case for competition in the school education sector, in its submission to the Harper Competition Policy Review. While acknowledging the need to ensure equity and access to education, it argued that "*facilitating greater competition in the human sectors would likely have the same benefits as competition brings to any other sector*", and specifically identified the education sector as a potential beneficiary of competition.⁴⁷



CONCLUSION

School choice in Australia depends on three essential conditions: affordability, geographical accessibility and continuous availability. It has been, and still is, the Catholic school system that (in partnership with governments) has consistently delivered on all three pre-requisites across generations of families.

The growth and endurance of Catholic education over the past 200 years has made school choice a consistent reality for Australian parents; in this, Australia's school system is globally unique.

Much of what today's Catholic schools offer rests on the historical efforts of religious orders, clergy and laymen and women, who were determined to provide faith-based alternatives to public schools even where policy settings were not favourable. Through the past two centuries, parents have continuously demanded these alternatives, and Catholic education has responded. This practical support for parents' right to choose how their children will be educated has meant that Catholic schools are rightly seen as the guardians of school choice in Australia.

ENDNOTES

1. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Article 26(2).
2. *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, Article 18(4).
3. *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, Article 13(3).
4. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Article 18; *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, Article 18; *Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief*, Article 2.
5. OECD 2017, *School choice and school vouchers: an OECD perspective*, <<http://www.oecd.org/education/School-choice-and-school-vouchers-an-OECD-perspective.pdf>>, p. 3
6. *ibid.*
7. Cited in Congregation for Catholic Education 1997, *The Catholic school on the threshold of the third millennium*, 28 December, viewed 22 January 2020, <http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccatheduc/documents/rc_con_ccatheduc_doc_27041998_school2000_en.html>, para. 17.
8. Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education 1977, *The Catholic school*, 19 March, viewed 22 January 2020, <http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccatheduc/documents/rc_con_ccatheduc_doc_19770319_catholic-school_en.html>, para. 81.
9. OECD 2018, 'Education at a glance: share of enrolment by type of institution (edition 2018)', *OECD Education Statistics*, <<https://doi.org/10.1787/64c7eb20-en>>.
10. Catholic school enrolment numbers are aggregated for Great Britain, rather than the United Kingdom or the countries within. Therefore, the appropriate figure for Great Britain is included.
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