

Who chooses single sex schooling and why? Evidence from Ireland

Jose G. Clavel ^{a,*} and Darragh Flannery ^b

^aDepartment of Quantitative Methods, Universidad de Murcia, Murcia, Spain;

^bDepartment of Economics, Kemmy Business School, University of Limerick, Limerick, Ireland.

* Corresponding author:

Jose G. Clavel

Department of Quantitative Methods

Facultad de Economía y Empresa

Universidad de Murcia,

30.100 Espinardo. Murcia. Spain.

Telephone: +34 868883757

Fax: +34 868883789

Email: jjgarvel@um.es

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Abstract: A common decision parents face is the choice of school for their children. In Ireland, somewhat uniquely in an international context, this choice includes a large number of state funded single-sex schools, to the point that this can be considered a realistic option for many parents. Focusing on secondary level education and using the PISA 2018 dataset, we examine whether different parental attitudes help explain the selection of single-sex versus coeducational schools in Ireland. Focusing on those households that have a degree of choice in secondary school selection, we find that parents who place a greater emphasis on factors such as religious ethos and academic achievement rather than subject choice or the climate of the school tend to have children in single-sex schools. The importance of a school's academic achievement seems to be particularly relevant for those from higher socioeconomic backgrounds.

Keywords: single-sex school; PISA 2018; Ireland; parental involvement; school choice

Subject classification codes: I20, I28, I29, C25

1. Introduction

Different school characteristics may influence parents in different ways when choosing the type of secondary school their child attends. Much of the existing literature examining school choices has focused on the choice between private or public schooling (Poder and Lauri, 2022; Kumar and Choudhury, 2021; Rutkowski *et al.* 2018; Erickson and Holmes, 2017; Hoxby, 2003). However, there is growing interest in the potential choice between single-sex and coeducational school settings. While there is a limited number of previous studies that have examined the relationship between academic outcomes and single-sex schooling with somewhat ambiguous¹ findings, there is little evidence around the reasons behind the choice of this type of school.

Empirical research in the area of single-sex education has tended to be concentrated on a small number of countries due to the fact that in most countries single-sex schools are selective and the numbers attending them are small (Smyth, 2010; Doris *et al.* 2013). This is not the case of Ireland where a relatively high proportion of secondary school children attend a single-sex school with these schools largely state-funded and non-selective with respect to previous academic performance. In this context, this paper analyses the motivations behind the choice between having a child in a single-sex or coeducational school at post-primary level.

Ireland provides a useful study setting for this analysis as the choice of a single-sex school at post-primary level is a viable one for many households. In many countries single-sex schooling is seen as an exception, with few schools available and mostly fee-

¹ Some studies have found a positive impact of single-sex schooling (Lee *et al.* 2014; Jackson 2002; Park *et al.*, 2013); others found average null effects (Pahlke *et al.* 2014; Jackson, 2012) and no studies have found that single-sex schools hinder students nor that mixed-sex schools have positive academic outcomes

paying². However, in Ireland the number of single sex schools is large (roughly one third of all schools) and funding for many of these is through public (and not exclusively private) funds. This situation makes them a realistic option for many parents and creates an interesting context in which to study schooling choices involving single-sex versus coeducational schools.

Within this context, we formulate two hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant association between socioeconomic status and the choice of single-sex schooling in Ireland.

Hypothesis 2: In the Irish context, the factors that shape parental preferences for single-sex schooling are different to those that shape parental preferences for coeducational schools.

In terms of key findings, we find that, after controlling for a rich set of individual, parental and school level factors, the religious ethos of the school is strongly associated with attendance at a single-sex school, more important than geographical or financial aid matters. We also find that parents that place a greater emphasis on academic achievements are also more likely to have a child in a single-sex school rather than a coeducational school and this association is strongest for those from higher socioeconomic backgrounds.

Our study is structured as follows: Section 2 presents a review of the relevant literature; Section 3 describes the Irish education system; Section 4 presents our data and methods; Section 5 the main empirical results and Section 6 concludes.

2. Literature review

With respect to schooling choices, the issue of variation by socioeconomic status is of key concern. Teske et al (2007) found that most parents visit the schools, talk to teachers,

² Ireland does have a relatively small private school sector with 7% of all schools fee paying (Department of Education, 2022).

school officials, other parents, and others in their social networks as they make their choice. The evidence in these studies points towards the fact that parents who choose a certain school are actually different –have different socio-economic characteristics– than those who do not choose (i.e. those that stick to the assigned school). The most prevalent conclusion in the literature is that low-income families do not have as wide a choice-set, but rather, they send their children to the (public) school that is assigned to them according to where they live. This, in turn, results in segregation by income and/or social class. Hastings and Weinstein (2008) examined a natural experiment and a field experiment that provided direct information on school test scores to lower-income families in a public-school choice plan. They found that receiving information significantly increases the fraction of parents choosing higher-performing schools. Using random variation from each experiment, they found that attending a higher-scoring school increases student test scores. The results imply that school choice will most effectively increase academic achievement for disadvantaged students when parents have easy access to test score information and good options from which to choose.

Some studies suggest that parents who do choose are not basing their choice on objective test score indicators such as the ones released by public institutions; instead, families mention several complex reasons for choosing a particular school. This questions the traditional rational choice theory, which postulates that families decide based on clear value preferences (Hastings et al., 2005).

Ericson (2017) reviewed the literature on how parents select schools when participating in private choice programs in the United States. She found three general patterns in the literature: (1) There is great consistency in parents' stated preferences of school characteristics across choice programs; (2) Parents value academic quality, but it is not always their most prized school feature; (3) Parents make trade-offs among their

preferences when selecting a school. Glazerman and Dotter (2016) used data from the 2014 school lottery in Washington DC to explore how parents' preferences affect the sorting of students into schools under different policies. Families submitted rank-ordered lists of their preferred schools from a long list of options, including charter schools and traditional public schools. They found that, although parents generally prefer schools close to home, they also place significant weight on the academic performance of the school and the characteristics of its students, including their race and income. These weights vary somewhat across parents, with notable differences according to parents' race/ethnicity and income.

In Spain, Vega et al (2018) also centre their efforts on identifying the attributes and characteristics that make a certain school more desirable than others. Its work differentiates itself from others in the area not only because it uses PISA data and a conditional logit model for the estimations, but also because they consider additional explanatory variables and delve into the differences among Spanish regions. The main results indicate that the characteristics with the biggest influence on school choice are public/private, location, and reputation. As expected, some characteristics, like a school being private, and its socioeconomic composition, become more relevant as family wealth and parents' education level increases.

In the Irish context, the study by Buchanan and Fox (2008) examines several aspects of the Irish national primary school including education law and the role of parents and educators in the creation of new schools and its implications for school choice in Ireland, although theirs is more a descriptive paper. With a more quantitative approach but again analysing Irish primary educational system, Darmody and Smyth (2018) address the implications of institutional structure and school institutional identity for

school choice. Using the national Growing Up in Ireland study, they present the role of socio-cultural and religious factors in the choice of primary school.

Finally, it is interesting what happens once the parents have made their decision. Catt and Rhinesmith (2016) in their qualitative school choice research for the Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice, confirmed what previous researchers have found: when given the autonomy to choose, parents are satisfied with their chosen schools. The data come from an original survey of parents whose children were enrolled in private school in Indiana. According to the survey data analysed in their report, many parents choosing schools in Indiana value the religious environment their new private schools offer them.

3. The Irish Educational System: an overview

Ireland's education system is largely centralized³. Overall responsibility for education lies with the Minister for Education, who is a member of the Irish government and accountable to the National Parliament. The Irish education system comprises primary, post-primary, third level, and further education. Almost all primary and post-primary schools are state funded. Due to the age of the students analysed by PISA, we are interested in post-primary schools. The range of these post-primary school types include vocational schools, community schools, comprehensive schools, and secondary schools that are privately owned and managed. All school types have essentially the same curriculum, assessment, and evaluation frameworks as established by the Department of Education (DE)

Although state-funded, most schools are owned and managed by private organizations, mainly church authorities, or religious orders. According to the final data

³ Cullinan et al (2021) provide some further details on the Irish education system.

for the 2021/2022 academic year as of 1st of July 2022, published by DE (see Table 1a), out of the 728 post-primary schools aided by DE, 82 were community schools, 14 comprehensive, 385 secondary schools and 247 vocational schools. Most of the single sex schools are secondary schools, with about 60% of secondary schools being single sex. The total number of single sex schools in Ireland as of July 2022 was 226 (100 for boys and 126 for girls) representing 31% of the post primary education in Ireland.

(TABLEs 1a and 1b ABOUT HERE)

It is important to note that for the Academic Year 2021/2022, the Catholic Church covered all the secondary boys schools, 123 out of 126 secondary girls school, and 122 out of 502 mixed schools. In other words, 47.25% of the post primary system received, at least theoretically, some Catholic formation.

Specifically, regarding the number of students attending single sex schools, Table 1b shows provides the breakdown across gender and school type for this group. As we can see, the majority are female and attend secondary schools.

4. Data and Methods

The data for this analysis comes from the 2018 Irish wave of the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). The survey focused on reading, with mathematics and science academic outcomes with global competence as minor areas of assessment. It is also collects a vast array of student, school and (sometimes) parental level data.

Sampling

The desired base PISA target population in each country consisted of 15-year-old students attending educational institutions when they are approaching the end of compulsory schooling in most participating countries, and school enrolment at this level is close to universal in almost all OECD countries. In 2018 some 600,000 students completed the assessment representing about 32 million 15-year-olds in the schools of the 79 participating countries and economies.

In Ireland, the PISA main study was carried out in March and April 2018; 5577 students, in 157 schools, completed the assessment, representing 59,639 15-year-old students (96% of the total population of 15-year-olds), with students spread over five years levels: First/Second Year (1.9%), Third Year (61.6%), Transition Year (27.9%) and Fifth Year (8.5%).

The sample design used for the PISA assessment was a two-stage stratified sample design. The first-stage sampling units consisted of individual schools having 15-year-old students, or the possibility of having such students at the time of assessment. Schools were sampled systematically from a comprehensive national list of all PISA-eligible schools, known as the school sampling frame, with probabilities that were proportional to a measure of size. The measure of size was a function of the estimated number of PISA-eligible 15-year-old students enrolled in the school. In Ireland, schools in the sampling frame were assigned to mutually exclusive groups based on school characteristics called explicit strata. The explicit stratification variables were school sector (Community/Comprehensive, Secondary or Vocational) and school size (small schools had up to 45 PISA-eligible students enrolled, medium schools had between 46 and 85, and large schools had over 85), giving a total of nine strata (see PISA 2018 Technical Report. OECD, 2020). This type of sampling is referred to as systematic probability

proportional to size (PPS) sampling. In the second-stage sampling, up to 44 students were selected within schools and divided into two test sessions of up to 22 students.

Questionnaires

Computer-based tests were used in Ireland with assessments lasting a total of two hours. Test items were a mixture of multiple-choice questions and questions requiring students to construct their own responses. The items were organised into groups based on a passage of text describing a real-life situation.

Students also answered a background questionnaire, which took about 35 minutes to complete. The questionnaire sought information about the students themselves, their attitudes, dispositions and beliefs, their homes, and their school and learning experiences. There is a second context questionnaire completed by school principals that cover school management and organisation, and the learning environment including several questions on parents participation and available technology, for example.

Finally, in seventeen participating countries (Ireland included), there is a questionnaire for parents asking them to provide information about their children. Questions were focused on a range of topics relevant to students including: family background information; the child's home environment; views on the student's school; interest and enjoyment in reading; interest in political and environmental issues; and the student's educational pathway in early childhood.

Attending a single-sex school

The information on the type of school the students are attending comes from the principal's questionnaire. The question *What was the total school enrolment (number of students) on the 1st of February 2018?* inform on the number of boys and girls enrolled in each school. According to the information provided, 34.35% of the boys in the sample,

and 42.27% of the girls were attending an boys-only or girls-only school, something very close to the one third of the Irish post-primary student that are attending a single sex school. As noted before, Tables 1a and 1b shows the data on the total number of students attending post-primary education. Out of 391,698 students, 71,055 (18.14% of the total) were girls attending a single sex school. In the overall sample within PISA, of the 5,266 observations, 1,094 (20.7% of the total sample) were girls attending a single sex school. We do not have information on the private/public nature of the schools within the PISA data. However, given the relatively small size of this sector in Ireland it is not seen a major limitation to our analysis⁴.

Student and school characteristics

To help examine potential socioeconomic and cultural differences in schooling choice we utilise a student immigration status variable and a measure of the family wealth from the PISA data. The latter is more commonly known as the index of economic, social and cultural status (ESCS). In PISA 2018, this ESCS index was derived from three variables: home possessions (a composite of cultural, educational, and material possessions, and books in the home), parental occupation, and parental education, all derived from students' responses on the student questionnaire. For a complete review of the history of this measure and some innovative suggestions, see Avvisati, (2020). Figure 1 represents the ESCS distribution according to the type of school. Higher scores on the ESCS index indicate higher student economic, social and cultural status with notable differences seen across the different school types in Ireland.

⁴ For example, roughly 13% of single-sex schools are fee paying on a national basis (Department of Education, 2022)

(FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE)

Regarding the national background of the student, PISA 2018 offers three derived variables relating to the country of birth of the student, their mother, and their father. With the information provided, PISA 2018 obtains the index of immigrant background (IMMIG) that has the following categories: (1) native students (those students who had at least one parent born in the country), (2) second-generation students (those born in the country of assessment but whose parent(s) were born in another country) and (3) first-generation students (those students born outside the country of assessment and whose parents were also born in another country). In the PISA 2018 database for Ireland 82.30% of the students were native. From those 4,454 native students, only 28 were born in Northern Ireland, 90 were born in the United Kingdom, and 121 in other countries. It is interesting that the distribution of the non-native: 42.31% of the students born outside Ireland or UK chose a single-sex school, a percentage four points higher than the Irish native on choosing a single sex school.

There are also school level factors that may help shape the decision process that is of interest in our analysis. For example, school principals answered the question: *Which of the following definitions best describes the community in which your school is located?* The categories run from *A village, hamlet or rural area (fewer than 3,000 people)* to *A large city (with over 1,000,000 people, i.e. Dublin)*. We created the variable *rural* that includes populations with less than 15,000 people; it is around half of the sample. This may help control any availability issues with regard to single-sex versus coeducational schools.

Related to this issue of availability, to best examine the issue of choosing between a single-sex and coeducational school, it is important to note that we limit our sample to

situations where parents actually *have* a choice of school when considering post-primary education. This is achieved by utilising the following question presented within the parent's questionnaire *Which of the following statements best describes the schooling available to students in your location?* The responses range from *there are two or more other schools in this area that compete for our students* to *there is one* and finally *there are no other schools*. For our analysis, as we are interested in examining those parents that did face some element of choice, we restrict our sample to those that indicated one of the first two responses and remove any observations that indicated there were no other schools in their location.

Parent characteristics

Given the obvious roll parents play in our outcome of interest, we also utilise elements of the parental questionnaire for Ireland. Most importantly for our study, parents in the survey are asked a series of questions around the factors that helped shape the choice of secondary school for their child with the specific question as follows: *"How important are the following reasons for choosing a school for your child?"* Parents then responded using a four point scale ranging from 'not important' to 'very important' to the following options: *the school is at short distance to home (PA006Q01TA)*, *the school offers particular subjects (PA006Q03TA)*, *the school adheres to a particular religious philosophy (PA006Q04TA)*, *other family members attended the school (PA006Q06TA)*, *the school has financial aid available (PA006Q08TA)*, *the school has an active and pleasant school climate (PA006Q09TA)*, and *the academic achievements of the students in the school are high (PA006Q10TA)*. For our analysis, we create a dummy variable for each of these questions with a value of one indicating the parent responded that a characteristic was 'very important' in the decision process and zero if the parent provided

any of the other scale values. Finally, to help proxy further for socioeconomic factors, we have a variable that indicates the academic expectations of the parents for his or her child.

Table 2 below provides a detailed description of our chosen variables while Table 3 illustrates summary statistics of our key variables. From the latter we see differences across a range of factors between those in single-sex schools and those in coeducational schools. For example, those in single-sex schools tend to come from a higher socioeconomic background (indicated by a higher ESCS average). Furthermore, it shows that the types of factors that parents emphasise as very important when choosing a school are different for those that are in the different school types.

(INSERT TABLE 2 and TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE)

Method

Having a dichotomous outcome variable (to choose a single sex school or not) and to better examine our area of interest we use a logistic regression model, also called a logit model. It fits a logit model for a binary response by maximum likelihood. It models the probability of a positive outcome given a set of regressors and is specified below⁵.

$$P(single_sex = 1) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-(\beta_0 + \beta_1 STU + \beta_2 PAR + \beta_3 SCH)}}$$

5. Results

We report the baseline results in Table 4, where the whole sample of students with relevant parental questionnaires is included. Table 5 explores further heterogeneities,

⁵ All models in the paper are estimated using sample weights. For more detail on the PISA data sampling process, see chapter 8 of OECD. (2019).

where the ESCS is used to divide the sample in families in the top third and families in the lower third of the socioeconomic index. Both sets of empirical results are presented as marginal effects where the coefficients can be interpreted as percentage changes in the probability of having a child in a single-sex school as the explanatory variables change by one unit.

(TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE)

From Table 4, we see that if the child is female rather than male the probability of attending a single-sex school increases 10%, not a surprising result given the greater prevalence of these female-only schools in Ireland. Similarly, given the prevalence of single-sex schools in urban areas, the negative and significant marginal effect on our rural location is as expected with those in rural areas close to 30% less likely to attend a secondary school.

With regard to the potential socioeconomic gradient (hypothesis 1) in schooling choice, the positive and significant marginal effects for the ESCS and education expectations variables suggest such a gradient exists, even after controlling for other school level and parental level factors.

With respect to the reasons that are most important for the parents in choosing a school, it is notable that all the coefficients, with the exception of the availability of financial aid, are significant, although with different signs and magnitudes. For example, we find that those parents that indicate that a school adhering to a particular religious philosophy was a very important reason to choose a school are 8% more likely to have a child in a single-sex school. In a similar manner, parents that indicate that the academic achievements of a school as a very important reason to choose a school are also

8% more likely to have a child in a single-sex school. Interestingly, our results suggest that parents that place relatively more importance on the availability of certain subjects or the school climate are more likely to choose a coeducational school and this is after controlling for possible confounding factors such as socioeconomic background. This finding supports hypothesis two of our study.

To help examine whether the associations we see above are different across socioeconomic groups, we also conduct our analysis for two sub-samples. To achieve this, we divide our sample into two groups: those in the bottom third of the distribution for the ESCS index (our ‘low’ socioeconomic group) and those in the top third of the same distribution (our ‘high’ socioeconomic group). The results, presented again as marginal effects and with the same specification as that seen in our previous model, are presented on Table 5.

(TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE)

These results suggest differences in the decision process between those that attend a single-sex and coeducational school by socioeconomic level. For example, we find that the positive association between a parent placing very high importance on a school’s academic achievement and having a child in a single-sex school is only significant for those in the higher socioeconomic bracket. For those in the lower group, it is the emphasis placed upon religious ethos that presents as statistically significant.

6. Conclusions

The analysis presented here explores the reasons why parents choose a single-sex school for their child. We find that parents who place a relative emphasis on factors such as the

academic achievements and religious ethos of school are more likely to have a child in a single-sex school while those that focus more on subject availability and school climate tend to have children in mixed-schools. These results have a number of implications. Firstly, the analysis suggests that there is heterogeneity across parents in the factors shaping the choice of school for their child when examined from a single-sex/coeducational viewpoint. This implies that, in the Irish context at least, having a choice set available to parents (rather than a more homogeneous system in place) is important from the parental perspective. Secondly, given our finding around the significant socioeconomic gradient with respect to having a child in a single-sex school, if academic outcomes are significantly higher in these schools compared to coeducational schools, this may lead to an element of ‘cream skimming’ whereby the best schools attract children from the wealthiest household which this may have implications for from an educational inequality perspective.

Finally, given the relative importance placed on range of subjects and school climate for those that are in coeducational schools, our analysis provides an interesting avenue of future research to explore how these parental preferences may play out for outcomes later in life such as choices in higher education or labour market outcomes for those that attend coeducational schools versus those that attend single-sex schools.

In considering these results, we draw attention to some caveats. For example, our study is descriptive rather than causal and therefore we present our results as associations. Furthermore, in examining the factors that may shape parental choices around secondary schools we are limited by the questions asked within the PISA survey. While this list of questions is comprehensive, there may be other factors that are not considered here. Finally, our study setting is based solely on Irish data and thus it may be difficult to generalise our findings around school choice to other countries if these associations are

context specific. Despite this we believe that this analysis makes a useful contribution to the existing literature on school choice.

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Tables

Table 1a: Distribution of post-primary schools and students in Ireland by type of school for the 2021/2022 academic year

	Single-Sex		Mixed		Total	
	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools
Community	1,269	2	54,008	80	55,277	82
Comprehensive	-	-	7,974	14	7,974	14
Secondary	128,132	224	82,053	161	210,185	385
Vocational	-	-	118,262	247	118,262	247
Total	129,401	226	262,297	502	391,698	728

Source: Department for Education (2022)

Table 1b: Distribution of single-sex schools and students in Ireland by type of school for the 2021/2022 academic year

	Boys-Single-sex		Girls: Single-Sex		Single-Sex Totals	
	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools
Community	529	1	740	1	1,269	2
Comprehensive	-	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary	57,817	99	70,315	125	128,132	224
Vocational	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	58,346	100	71,055	126	129,401	226

Source: Department for Education (2022)

Table 2: Variable Descriptions

Variable	Type	Description
Outcome Variable		
Single sex	Indicator	= 1 if child attends single sex school; 0 else
Student and school Variables		
Female	Indicator	= 1 if student is female; 0 else
Economics, Social and Cultural Status index (ESCS)	Continuous	The ESCS is a composite score based on three indicators: highest parental occupation, parental education and home possessions including educational resources in the home. A higher value indicates a higher level of economic, social and cultural status.
Native	Indicator	= 1 if student was born in the country and at least one parent also born in the country; 0 else
Parents expect child to obtain a degree		
Rural Location	Indicator	School is located in a rural area (town of 15,000 or less) = 1; Else = 0
School Choice Factors		
Religion very important	Indicator	Religious ethos of the school was a very important factor in choosing a school for my child = 1; Else = 0
Distance very important	Indicator	The school being a short distance from home was a very important factor in choosing a school for my child = 1; Else = 0
Family very important	Indicator	Having a family member previously attend the school was a very important factor in choosing a school for my child = 1; Else = 0
Academic very important	Indicator	High academic achievements of the school was a very important factor in choosing a school for my child = 1; Else = 0
Subjects very important	Indicator	The offering of subjects in the school was a very important factor in choosing a school for my child = 1; Else = 0
Financial aid very important	Indicator	The availability of financial aid was a very important factor in choosing a school for my child = 1; Else = 0
School climate very important	Indicator	The school having a pleasant school climate was a very important factor in choosing a school for my child = 1; Else = 0

Table 3: Sample Descriptive Statistics

Variable		
	Single-sex	Mixed-sex
	Mean (SD) or %	Mean (SD) or %
Female	56%	47%
Economics, Social and Cultural Status index (ESCS)	0.26	0.10
Native	81%	84%
Parents expect child to obtain a degree	76%	66%
Rural Location	23%	55%
Religion very important	10%	7%
Distance very important	12%	15%
Family very important	13%	17%
Academic very important	53%	46%
Subjects very important	32%	40%
Financial aid very important	10%	13%
School climate very important	49%	51%
Observations	1,577	1,896

Source: Author's Calculations – PISA data, (2018)

Table 4: Logistic regression results.

Variables	Marginal Effects
Child is female	0.102*** (0.0162)
ESCS	0.0385*** (0.0104)
Native	0.00710 (0.0216)
Rural Location	-0.294*** (0.0163)
Parents expect child to obtain a degree	0.0737*** (0.0197)
Religion very important	0.0817*** (0.0303)
Distance very important	-0.0507** (0.0244)
Family very important	-0.0730*** (0.0227)
Academic very important	0.0839*** (0.0183)
Subjects very important	-0.0693*** (0.0181)
Financial aid very important	-0.0195 (0.0272)
School climate very important	-0.0494*** (0.0181)
Observations	3,456

Source: Author's Calculations – PISA data, (2018)

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 5: Logistic regression by ESCS quantiles. Results presented in Marginal Effects

Variables	Lower SES	Higher ESCS
Child is female	0.0753*** (0.0288)	0.142*** (0.0269)
ESCS	0.0145 (0.0340)	-0.0107 (0.0418)
Native	-0.0831** (0.0392)	0.0666* (0.0362)
Rural	-0.251*** (0.0287)	-0.332*** (0.0278)
Parents expect child to obtain a degree	0.0498* (0.0295)	0.0496 (0.0463)
Religion very important	0.108* (0.0579)	0.0436 (0.0463)
Distance very important	-0.0490 (0.0417)	-0.0469 (0.0421)
Family very important	-0.0923** (0.0382)	-0.106*** (0.0390)
Academic very important	0.0511 (0.0329)	0.0994*** (0.0299)
Subjects very important	-0.0615* (0.0325)	-0.0671** (0.0300)
Financial aid very important	-0.00687 (0.0391)	-0.0720 (0.0673)
School climate very important	-0.0273 (0.0329)	-0.0721** (0.0294)
Observations	1,094	1,234

Source: Author's Calculations – PISA data, (2018)

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figures

Figure 1: Distribution of economic, social, and cultural status (ESCS), by type of school

