

The Educational Expectations of South African Youth

*Ann M. Beutel**

University of Oklahoma

Kermyt G. Anderson

University of Oklahoma

Educational expectations, in particular the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational expectations, have been understudied in less developed countries. We use data from the Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS) to examine the educational expectations of black (African), coloured (mixed race), and white (European ancestry) youth in Cape Town, South Africa. The educational expectations of all three racial groups are high, although coloured youth are less likely than black and white youth to expect to complete postsecondary or postgraduate schooling. Supporting research on educational expectations in the United States and other more developed countries, our findings indicate that socioeconomic status and academic performance matter for educational expectations in South Africa, although their importance varies by racial group. In contrast to U.S. studies that have found effects of family composition for whites only, we found virtually no effects of family composition on the educational expectations of whites or nonwhites. Our findings suggest possible similarities and differences across social contexts in the processes shaping the educational expectations of youth from disadvantaged groups.

Because of their potential to influence educational outcomes, educational expectations have been of considerable interest to sociologists. A great deal of research has examined educational expectations in the United States and other more developed countries (e.g., Buchmann and Dalton 2002; Cheng and Starks 2002; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Hauser, Tsai, and Sewell 1983; Looker and Pineo 1983; Marjoribanks 2002; Sewell, Haller, and Portes 1969). Relatively few studies have investigated educational expectations in less developed countries (e.g., Adams, Wasikhongo, and Nahemow 1987; Forste, Heaton, and Haas 2004; Møller 1995; Post 1990), particularly the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational expectations. How educational expectations are formed in parts of the world with social structures that may differ from those in the United States and other more developed countries is not well understood.

*Direct correspondence to Ann M. Beutel, Department of Sociology, University of Oklahoma, 780 Van Vleet Oval, Room 331, Norman, OK 73019. E-mail: ambbeutel@ou.edu. Data collection was funded by grants from the National Institute for Child Health and Human Development of the U.S. National Institutes of Health (R01 HD039788) and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. The authors thank Trina Hope, Monica Kirkpatrick Johnson, and two anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions on earlier versions of this manuscript.

South Africa presents an ideal location for considering how context may influence educational expectations, as a number of social and economic features distinguish it from the United States and other more developed countries. One is the tremendous economic stratification of the country. Wage inequality in South Africa is among the highest in the world, and unemployment rates are as high as 40% (Burger and Woolard 2005; Kingdon and Knight 2001; Klasen 1997; Leibbrandt, Woolard, and Woolard 2000). As a result, there is tremendous variation in access to educational capital, which may influence educational expectations. Second is the nature of racial stratification in South Africa: under apartheid (the policy of extreme racial segregation practiced until the early 1990s), individuals were placed into one of three groups on the basis of race—an advantaged group composed of whites (those of European ancestry), a moderately disadvantaged group consisting of both coloureds (those of mixed race) and Asians (mostly from India), and a severely disadvantaged group made up of blacks (Africans) (e.g., Klasen 1997; Mwabu and Schultz 1996; Thomas 1996). Although *de jure* discrimination ended with the dismantling of apartheid, racial inequality persists in South Africa (e.g., Burgard and Treiman 2006; Burger and Woolard 2005; Charasse-Pouélé and Fournier 2006; Lestrade-Jeffeis 2002). By studying educational expectations in a country with a clearly defined racial status hierarchy, we may improve our understanding of the relationship between race and educational expectations. Third, South Africa provides a different schooling context in which to examine educational expectations. For example, school fees (tuition) are generally charged for school enrollment, even for primary and secondary education. Last, dramatic social changes have occurred in South Africa over the past fifteen years. One change has been the end of apartheid, which imposed many restrictions on nonwhite South Africans, including which schools they could attend, where they could live, whom they could marry, and which jobs they could hold. Another important event has been the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which has reduced life expectancy in South Africa (UNAIDS 2006). Black South Africans have been disproportionately affected by the epidemic: among 15–49-year-olds, 19.9% of blacks are infected, compared to less than 4% among other racial groups (Shisana et al. 2005). Thus, contemporary South Africa gives us an opportunity to study how youth form their educational expectations in a society that has recently experienced tremendous social upheaval.

To date, no large-scale study of educational expectations in South Africa has been conducted. In this paper, we examine the educational expectations of young South Africans using a representative sample of youth living in Cape Town, South Africa. There are two main goals to our study. First, we consider how well the status attainment perspective, so often used to study educational expectations in the United States and other more developed countries, explains the educational expectations of youth in South Africa, a less developed country.

Second, we investigate the relationship between educational expectations and race for the three largest racial groups in South Africa: blacks, coloureds, and whites. (These racial categories, which were legally enforced under apartheid, have become politicized and somewhat controversial in recent years, but they are still widely

recognized in South Africa.) We investigate possible racial differences in the level of educational expectations and in the determinants of educational expectations, utilizing status attainment and structural perspectives. In doing so, we consider possible similarities and differences between the United States and South Africa in the relationship of race to educational expectations. Different relationships between race and educational expectations for the two countries would not be unexpected. But as Møller (1995) argues, there are similarities in the experiences of black South Africans and African Americans. She points out that both groups have lived under oppressive social systems (e.g., slavery in the United States and apartheid in South Africa) and have had disadvantaged educational experiences (e.g., limited access to schooling and poor-quality schooling). Similarities between the educational expectations of black South Africans and African Americans might suggest similarities across social contexts in the process by which disadvantaged youth form educational expectations. Therefore, we draw upon the large body of theory and research about the relationship between race and educational expectations in the United States in the current study.

We begin by reviewing research on educational expectations in the United States and other countries that has been based on the status attainment perspective. We then discuss findings on the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational expectations and explanations that have been offered for these findings. Next, we provide an overview of the educational system in South Africa, which has implications for expectations formation. We then make predictions about educational expectations in South Africa. After describing the data used for this study, we present our findings and discuss their implications for future research on educational expectations in South Africa and other countries.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS

Status attainment models, such as the well-known Wisconsin model of status attainment, view family background and academic performance as key determinants of educational expectations, directly influencing the educational expectations of children and indirectly influencing their expectations via the expectations of significant others. Expectations then influence educational attainment (e.g., Sewell, Haller, and Ohlendorf 1970; Sewell and Hauser 1972; Sewell and Shah 1968). Family background typically has been measured in terms of parents' education, occupations, and income, that is, socioeconomic status (SES). Higher SES families hold high educational expectations for their children and provide an environment that encourages children to hold high educational expectations for themselves. Studies in the United States and other developed countries have shown that youth from high-SES families have higher educational expectations than youth from low-SES families (e.g., Buchmann and Dalton 2002; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Marjoribanks 2002; Qian and Blair 1999; Shavit and Williams 1985; Trusty 1998). Some studies in less developed countries have failed to find a significant association

between SES and educational expectations, which may be related to features of the educational system or the labor market in those countries (e.g., Adams et al. 1987; Forste et al. 2004).

More recent studies of educational expectations in the United States have included other family background measures, such as the number of biological parents in the household and number of siblings (e.g., Cheng and Starks 2002; Kao and Tienda 1998; Qian and Blair 1999). Children from single-parent families or families with a larger number of children might receive fewer resources than those from two-parent families or families with a smaller number of children, leading to lower educational expectations, but this has not received strong empirical support (Kao and Tienda 1998; Qian and Blair 1999). In contrast, the few studies that have examined family composition and educational expectations in less developed countries have found limited or no effects of family composition (e.g., Adams et al. 1987; Forste et al. 2004). The resources that extended kin and siblings might provide to youth in less developed countries could explain these findings. Kin networks might help single parents, thereby buffering any negative effects of an absent parent, and siblings might provide resources that facilitate, rather than hinder, other children's schooling (Buchmann and Hannum 2001).

Supporting status attainment models, research in the United States and other countries has usually found academic performance to be positively related to educational expectations (e.g., Buchmann and Dalton 2002; Cheng and Starks 2002; Marjoribanks 2002; Qian and Blair 1999; for an exception, see Forste et al. 2004). Academic performance has typically been measured in expectations research in terms of grade point average (GPA) and standardized test scores, but school enrollment and grade repetition may be important additional measures of academic performance. Kao and Tienda (1998), for example, found that having ever repeated a grade lowered college aspirations in a nationally representative sample of U.S. students.

Background variables that may influence educational expectations include gender, age, and grade level. Although some studies in the United States and other countries have found no association between gender and educational expectations (e.g., Forste et al. 2004; Marjoribanks 1986; Qian and Blair 1999), others have found significantly higher educational expectations among females (e.g., Buchmann and Dalton 2002; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Hossler and Stage 1992). With respect to age or grade level, youth may become more aware of the obstacles they are likely to face in fulfilling their educational goals as they grow older or advance in school. Supporting this, Kao and Tienda's (1998) longitudinal study in the United States found that educational expectations declined between the eighth and tenth grades, and Buchmann and Dalton (2002) found significant negative effects of age on educational expectations for the United States and some of the European and Asian countries they studied.

Race and Educational Expectations

Research in the United States has found that youth, regardless of race/ethnicity, have high educational expectations (e.g., Qian and Blair 1999; Schneider and Stevenson 1999; Solorzano 1992). However, nonwhite groups tend to have higher educational expectations

than whites, even when socioeconomic status is controlled (e.g., Cheng and Starks 2002; Kao and Tienda 1998; Morgan 1996; Qian and Blair 1999). Research in other countries has also found high educational expectations among youth (e.g., Buchmann and Dalton 2002; Forste et al. 2004), but has paid little attention to racial/ethnic variation in expectations. The few studies of race/ethnicity and educational expectations conducted outside the United States also suggest that less socially advantaged groups have higher educational expectations than others (e.g., Gupta 1977; Marjoribanks 2002) even when controlling for a variety of factors (e.g., Marjoribanks 2002).

It has been difficult for researchers in the United States to explain the educational expectations of nonwhites. Studies have found fewer effects or no effects of family income, parents' education, number of parents in the household, and number of siblings on the educational expectations of nonwhites compared with whites (Cheng and Starks 2002; Goyette 2003; Qian and Blair 1999). Significant but smaller effects of academic performance on educational expectations for blacks compared to other groups have also been reported (Qian and Blair 1999), and ethnographic research has found high educational expectations for blacks in spite of poor academic performance (e.g., Ogbu 1978; see also Mickelson 1990). Research on educational expectations in less developed countries generally has not considered whether the determinants of educational expectations vary by race/ethnicity.

In the United States, a number of explanations have been offered for the weak relationships between family background and academic performance and the educational expectations of nonwhites, particularly blacks. In his ethnographic study of low-income black and white youth, MacLeod (1987) found white youth had more exposure to the job market and, therefore, a greater sense of the limited options available to them, leading to lower educational expectations among poor whites compared to poor blacks. Mickelson (1990) posits that the high educational expectations of blacks, in spite of poor academic performance, is because of the abstract nature of their educational expectations, and that these expectations do not reflect the actual life experiences of blacks, such as inequitable returns on education in the labor market. Finally, social segregation might account for the weak relationship between academic performance and educational expectations. Kao and Tienda (1998) suggest that social segregation of whites and blacks in the United States, even when they attend the same classes in school, allows blacks to compare their performance in school to other blacks rather than to whites, enabling them to hold high educational goals even if their school performance is poor.

EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

To better understand educational expectations in South Africa, we must consider the nature of schooling in South Africa. During the apartheid era, black and coloured schools received less money per pupil than white schools, and in the postapartheid era they continue to have fewer resources, higher student-teacher ratios, and lower test scores (Case and Deaton 1999; Crouch and Mabogoane 2001; Thomas 1996). The current constitution of the Republic of South Africa, adopted in 1996, guarantees citizens

the right to a basic education, but schooling generally has not been free. School fees (tuition) have been assessed for virtually all schools, including primary and secondary school, and can be quite high. (In 2006, school fees began to be phased out, beginning with the very poorest schools.) Other expenses, such as uniforms, books, and transportation, contribute to direct out-of-pocket expenses for education. In spite of these costs, school enrollment in South Africa is high, much greater than in neighboring countries (Lloyd, Kaufman, and Hewett 2000). In 1996, for example, over 95% of blacks and coloureds and over 98% of whites ages 11 to 15 were enrolled in school (Africa, Budlender, and Mpetsheni 2001). But the expenses associated with school enrollment mean that poorer children (who are more likely to be nonwhite) are less able to afford to attend higher quality (more expensive) schools. As a result, many schools remain highly segregated by race, with nonwhites overrepresented in poor-quality schools and underrepresented in the best schools.¹

Primary and secondary schooling in South Africa consist of 12 grades. The final year of secondary school culminates in the matriculation examination, commonly referred to as *matric*. This is a national examination that determines one's eligibility for tertiary education. The main options for tertiary education have been technikons (typically trade or technically oriented institutions) and universities. (The two types of institutions were recently integrated.) In recent cohorts, the average completed schooling for blacks and coloureds is about grade 9, but for whites it is grade 12 (Anderson, Case, and Lam 2001). Several studies have reported that blacks and coloureds advance through school at a slower rate than whites (Anderson 2006; Anderson and Lam 2003; Anderson et al. 2001). Periodic nonenrollment—that is, temporarily dropping out of school for a year or more for such reasons as death or illness in the family, a household move, inability to pay school fees, and failing and repeating a grade are common experiences among blacks and coloureds (Anderson et al. 2001). In spite of these obstacles, most coloureds either complete or drop out of secondary school by age 19, as do most whites (Anderson et al. 2001). In contrast, a substantial fraction of blacks—one-third or more—remains enrolled in secondary school through their mid-20s (Anderson et al. 2001). Because blacks in their late teens and early 20s often have few employment opportunities (Burger and Woolard 2005), they have less to lose by choosing to remain in school.

Another racial difference in schooling experiences is that blacks are more likely than coloureds or whites to spend a portion of their youth attending schools away from their parents. Fostering—children living with relatives besides their parents—is a common practice among blacks in South Africa (Anderson 2006; Cichello 2003). It is a common practice in other sub-Saharan African countries as well (see Lloyd and Blanc 1996.) Fostering occurs for a number of reasons, including orphanhood and migration for wage labor by parents. Children may also be fostered because the recipient households live near better schools or have more resources to invest in children's schooling (Anderson 2005; Russell 2002; Zimmerman 2003). Thus, variation in family composition is not only the result of divorce or single parenthood (as it tends to be in a country like the United States) but is also the result of self-selection into households without parents that may offer greater benefits for the

child. This pattern of fostering may contribute to the relatively small effects found of father or mother absence on educational attainment among blacks in South Africa (Anderson 2006; Anderson et al. 2001; Cichello 2003; Zimmerman 2003), although limited effects of father or mother absence on educational attainment are also observed for whites and coloureds (e.g., Anderson 2006). Because of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, the rate of orphanhood in South Africa is projected to increase from approximately 10% to 14% by 2020 (Johnson and Dorrington 2006); child fostering is likely to increase as a result. To the extent that family composition influences educational expectations and attainment, the HIV/AIDS epidemic may thus have important effects on schooling in South Africa.

As a result of racial disparities in schooling experiences, blacks and coloureds are much less likely to complete secondary school and obtain tertiary degrees than are whites. The percentage of individuals ages 30 to 34 in 1999 who had completed secondary school or more was 28.5% for blacks, 23.2% for coloureds, and 83.3% for whites, while the percentage who had obtained a college degree or higher was 3.4% for blacks, 4.6% for coloureds, and 19.8% for whites (1999 October Household Survey, authors' calculations). In contrast to these racial differences, gender differences in educational attainment within racial groups are small, with females typically having only a slight advantage (Anderson et al. 2001; Case and Deaton 1999).

EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Guided by theory and research on educational expectations and by features of the South African context, we offer predictions about educational expectations in South Africa. Cross-cultural studies suggest South African youth are likely to have high educational expectations, although we may find racial differences in level of educational expectations. On the one hand, the racial disparities in schooling and employment opportunities that exist in South Africa could contribute to lower educational expectations among nonwhite youth, especially blacks. In addition, the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa, which has hit blacks the hardest, could limit the educational expectations of black youth by reducing the perceived benefits of higher education and the perceived lifespan available for schooling. On the other hand, research on race/ethnicity and educational expectations in the United States suggests we will find higher educational expectations among blacks and coloureds in South Africa than among whites. There is some evidence that black South African youth have high educational expectations. For example, Møller (1995) found high educational goals among urban black high school students in two South African provinces; because she studied only blacks, we do not know how the educational goals of blacks compared to those of whites and coloureds. In addition, blacks may have higher educational expectations than coloureds. Blacks experienced many more restrictions under apartheid than coloureds; with the end of apartheid and the promise of new opportunities for blacks, black youth may now hold very high educational expectations for themselves.

Based on cross-cultural studies of educational expectations and studies of educational attainment in South Africa, we predict age will have a negative effect on expectations, gender will have no effect on expectations or a small effect favoring females, and the effects of family background and academic performance on expectations will be weaker for nonwhites than for whites. Features of the South African context (e.g., child fostering among blacks, and social segregation of racial/ethnic groups) also lead us to expect smaller effects of family background and academic performance for non-white youth, especially blacks, compared to white youth.

METHOD

Data

To examine the educational expectations of young South Africans, we used data from Wave I of the Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS), a longitudinal study of youth and their families (Lam and Seekings 2005). CAPS is a joint project of the University of Cape Town and the University of Michigan. Both authors of this paper were involved in the design and implementation of the Wave I study. CAPS contains two major sources of data. The first is the household questionnaire, which collected demographic data on entire households. The second is the youth questionnaire, which collected detailed data on schooling, employment, sexual behavior, and fertility of household members between the ages of 14 and 22.

The target population of the survey is metropolitan Cape Town, an urban area of roughly two and a half million people located in the Western Cape province. Roughly 26% of the residents of metropolitan Cape Town are black, 50% are coloured, 22% are white, and about 2% are Asian or other (Lam and Seekings 2005). The methodology was a two-stage probability sample of households. The first-stage sample of census enumeration areas (EAs) was drawn using the 1996 census as a sampling frame. The second stage sampled households within each selected EA. Upon recruitment into the survey, the household questionnaire was administered to the person most knowledgeable about the household. Full-length youth questionnaires were given separately to up to three young people (ages 14 to 22) in the households.

The 2002 baseline wave of CAPS included 5,256 households containing 22,631 residents (42.3% black, 43.7% coloured, and 14.1% white). Detailed interviews were conducted with 4,752 young people (44.7% black, 39.5% coloured, and 15.7% white). Black and white households were oversampled with the goal of obtaining roughly equal numbers of black, coloured, and white youth. The response rates were 88.8% and 82.3% for black and coloured households with youth in CAPS, respectively. The response rate for white households with youth in CAPS was 48.2%. Lower response rates for whites compared to nonwhites are typical of survey research in South Africa (e.g., Pettifor et al. 2004; Shisana et al. 2005).²

The low response rate among white households with youth may introduce biases that are difficult to assess. Whites may perceive higher opportunity costs to participating than other groups if, for example, all household members are employed or

enrolled in school (and therefore have more constraints on their time) or if they perceive few benefits from participating in the study.³ If this is the case, then our sample may be biased in favor of households containing unemployed or nonenrolled individuals or individuals who place more value on survey research. Exploratory analysis indicated that, regardless of race, households that were contacted but refused to participate were no different from participating households in the probability of having a young person in the household. And when households did participate in CAPS, youth in those households usually participated as well. The response rate for the youth questionnaire (conditional on household participation) was high for all racial groups, ranging from 93.0% for blacks to 86.0% for whites.

We restricted the sample for analysis to those who had completed grades 7, 8, or 9 only by the time of the survey. This grade range was chosen to avoid ceiling effects in educational expectations that might be encountered if we included subjects with more education who were near the end of their schooling. Most respondents (83.1%) were enrolled in school at the time of the survey, but none had completed any schooling beyond grade 9. The sample size was 1,762, with 846 black, 740 coloured, and 176 white youth.

Measures

Educational Expectations. Youth were asked, "As it stands now, how much education do you think you will complete?" Responses to the educational expectations question were coded originally as twenty-five finely graded levels of schooling (e.g., grades 1 through 12, plus various forms of diplomas/certificates/degrees), but many of the cells had very small sample sizes. We recoded educational expectations as an ordinal variable with five categories: (1) less than grade 12, (2) grade 12 (i.e., pass matric), (3) some postsecondary schooling (diploma or certificate from institutions other than a technikon or university), (4) a diploma or degree from a technikon or university, and (5) a postgraduate diploma or degree (e.g., M.A., Ph.D.).

Family Background. We measured family background with variables for socioeconomic status and household composition. Socioeconomic status was measured with a dummy variable indicating whether any household member had passed matric (i.e., completed grade 12), a culturally important indicator that has significant effects on many socioeconomic outcomes such as income and employment (Africa et al. 2001; Lam 1999). Because household composition varies across racial groups in South Africa (e.g., black youth are less likely to live with one or both parents) and U.S. research suggests the effects of household composition on educational expectations may vary by race (Cheng and Starks 2002; Goyette 2003; Qian and Blair 1999), we included measures of household composition in our analyses. We used a set of dummy variables for number of biological parents in the household, coded as one biological parent or no biological parents, with both biological parents as the omitted category. We also included two variables measuring the number of youth in the household: the number who are 13 and younger and the number who are 14 to 22 (including the respondent). A dummy variable measuring whether multiple youth

from the same household were in the sample was not significant in preliminary analyses and was dropped.

Academic Performance. Grade point averages were unavailable in CAPS and might not be comparable across population groups because of the tremendous racial variation in school quality observed in South Africa (e.g., Case and Deaton 1999). To obtain a more objective measure of academic performance, we included scores from a literacy and numeracy evaluation administered to all youth respondents, who completed it without assistance in the presence of the interviewer. The literacy/numeracy score was calculated by summing up the number of correct responses to each question, with scores ranging from 0 to 45. Other measures of academic performance included the proportion of years enrolled in school that individual youths had failed by age 13 and whether they were enrolled in school at the time of the survey.

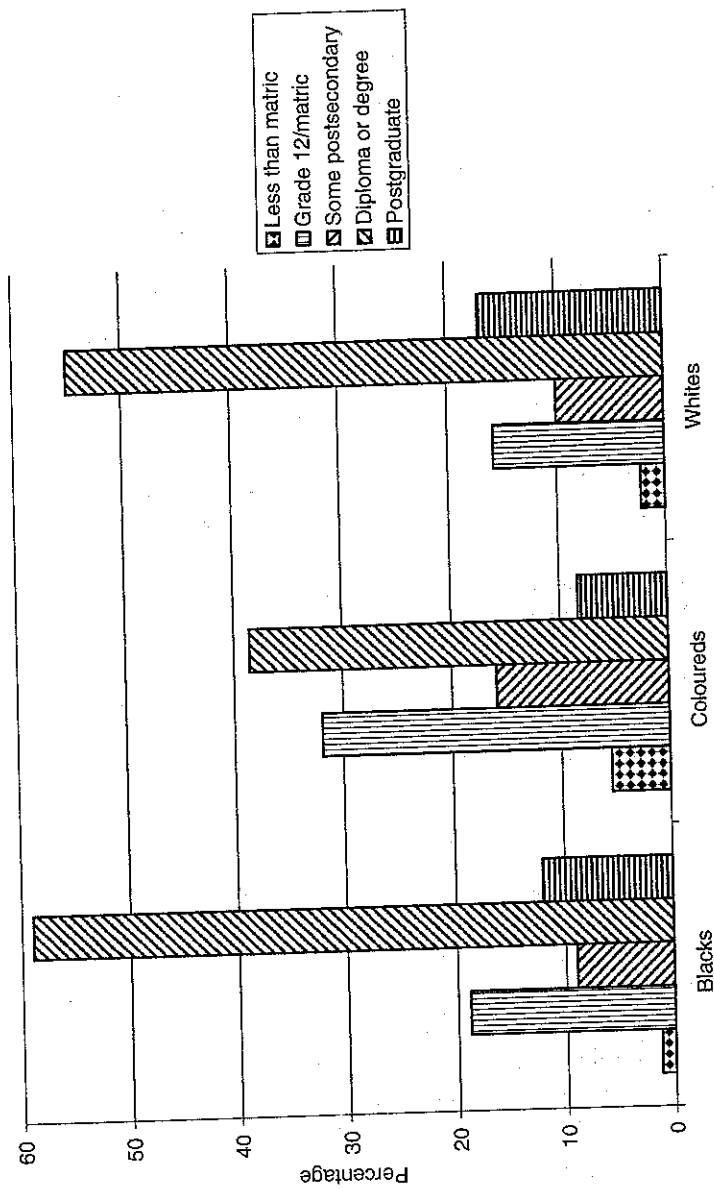
Demographic Controls. We also included variables for gender, age, and race. Gender was measured with a dummy variable coded "0" for females and "1" for males. Even though the sample for these analyses was limited to those who had completed grades 7 to 9 only, the age span of the sample was fairly wide, ranging from 14 to 22 for blacks and coloureds and from 14 to 18 for whites. This is because the sample included those not in school, and because blacks, in particular, remain enrolled in school at high rates through their mid-20s. Grade was not included as a control because, with age and school failure history present, the models would be overspecified. Finally, our analyses based on a pooled sample of respondents included separate dummy variables for coloureds and blacks, with whites as the reference group. (Because there were only nine Asians in our eligible sample, they were excluded from the analyses.) Other analyses were conducted separately by racial group.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

We analyzed educational expectations using ordinal multivariate logit regression. Means and regressions were performed using the "svy" commands in Stata SE 9.1; this procedure adjusts standard errors to account for the complex survey design of the data. Weights were used to adjust for oversampling of blacks and whites and for differential response rates of households and youth.

The frequency distribution of educational expectations for blacks, coloureds, and whites is shown in Figure 1. For each racial group, the percentages shown in the figure add up to 100%. A chi-square test revealed significant variation in educational expectations across racial groups ($p < 0.0001$). For all three racial groups, the modal educational expectation is a diploma or degree from a technikon or university. Blacks are the most likely to expect to receive a postsecondary diploma or degree (59.0%), with whites slightly less likely than blacks to expect this level of education (55.1%), and coloureds the least likely (38.5%). Compared to blacks and whites, a much higher percentage of coloureds expect to complete no more than grade 12 (31.9% for coloureds versus 18.8% for blacks and 15.8% for whites). Whites are the most likely

Figure 1. Frequency distribution of educational expectations, by race



to expect to receive a postgraduate degree (17.0% versus 12.0% for blacks and 8.3% for coloureds). Overall, Figure 1 shows that the educational expectations of coloureds are lower than those of blacks and whites. Nonetheless, nearly one-half of coloureds and nearly three-quarters of blacks and whites expect to attain a postsecondary diploma or degree or more. Given actual attainment in recent years for each group, these educational expectations are quite high.

Summary statistics for the independent variables are shown by racial group (black, coloured, and white) in Table 1. The *F* statistics (from adjusted Wald tests) reported in Table 1 indicate statistically significant differences across racial groups for almost every variable. Blacks in the sample are the least likely to be male. On average, blacks and coloureds are older than whites. Although the proportion of youth living with only one biological parent does not vary significantly by race, there is marked variation by race in the percentage of youth living with both biological parents or no biological parents. Nearly one-third (32%) of blacks do not live with a biological parent, compared to approximately 16% of coloureds and 2% of whites. (Nearly all black, coloured, and white youth not living with either parent are living with other relatives; results not shown.) Nearly all white youth live in households with someone who has passed matric while fewer than half of black and coloured youth do. Blacks and coloureds are more likely to have failed previous grades than whites, which contributes to the higher mean age for blacks and coloureds than for whites. All of the whites in the sample were enrolled in school at the time of the survey, but a portion of blacks and coloureds were not. Coloureds were somewhat less likely to be enrolled in school than blacks. Finally, the literacy/numeracy score is highest for whites and lowest for blacks, which is consistent with previous research on literacy and numeracy in South Africa (Case and Deaton 1999; Moll 1998).

We first examine educational expectations for a pooled sample of blacks, coloureds, and whites. These results are shown in Table 2. Gender is not significant but age has a significant negative effect, meaning older respondents have lower educational expectations. Family composition in terms of number of biological parents and number of youth in the household is not significant. Having a household member who achieved matric is associated with higher educational expectations. Blacks have significantly higher educational expectations relative to whites, but the educational expectations of coloureds are not significantly different from those of whites. (Rotating the reference group to black reveals that coloureds and whites both have significantly lower educational expectations than blacks; results not shown.) The proportion of school years failed by age 13 has a marginally negative effect on educational expectations. Current enrollment in school and a higher literacy/numeracy score are both associated with higher educational expectations.

We ran additional models for the pooled race sample that included interactions between race and each of the predictor variables (results not shown). None of the interaction terms was significant except race by literacy/numeracy score (discussed below).

Because the formation of educational expectations may vary by race, we also conducted our analyses separately for blacks, coloureds, and whites. Table 3 presents these

Table 1. Summary Statistics of Independent Variables

	Black (n = 846)		Coloured (n = 740)		White (n = 176)		F	p
	Mean	Std. Error	Mean	Std. Error	Mean	Std. Error		
Male	0.425	0.016	0.502	0.020	0.515	0.044	5.46	0.005
Age	16.932	0.074	16.091	0.099	14.978	0.074	172.52	0.000
Two biological parents	0.279	0.018	0.471	0.026	0.677	0.042	46.97	0.000
One biological parent	0.386	0.020	0.361	0.022	0.304	0.044	1.57	0.209
No biological parent	0.321	0.018	0.157	0.015	0.019	0.012	104.03	0.000
Number in household ages 0-13	1.556	0.051	1.463	0.069	0.505	0.054	113.48	0.000
Number in household ages 14-22	2.034	0.054	1.896	0.038	1.661	0.071	8.91	0.000
Household member with matric	0.398	0.023	0.450	0.028	0.926	0.026	126.94	0.000
Proportion of school years failed by age 13	0.067	0.004	0.055	0.003	0.014	0.003	63.75	0.000
Enrolled in school	0.834	0.014	0.780	0.022	1.000	0.000	122.04	0.000
Literacy/numeracy evaluation score	21.817	0.346	27.295	0.333	37.525	0.510	319.19	0.000

Standard errors are adjusted to control for complex survey sample design.

Table 2. Ordinal Logit Model of Educational Expectations

	Coeff.	Std. Error	<i>p</i>
Male	-0.077	0.105	0.464
Age	-0.166	0.033	0.000
Family composition (two biological parents = reference)	—	—	—
One biological parent	-0.040	0.118	0.734
No biological parent	0.041	0.138	0.767
Number in household ages 0-13	-0.038	0.040	0.333
Number in household ages 14-22	0.039	0.055	0.470
Household member with matric	0.345	0.111	0.002
Race/ethnicity (white = reference)	—	—	—
Black	1.416	0.244	0.000
Coloured	0.066	0.237	0.780
Proportion of school years failed by age 13	-1.101	0.641	0.087
Enrolled in school	0.594	0.170	0.001
Literacy/numeracy evaluation score	0.060	0.008	0.000
N	1762		
F	18.88		
P	0.000		

Standard errors are adjusted to control for complex survey sample design.

models. Gender is not significant for any group. Older youth have lower educational expectations than younger youth for all three racial groups, although the effect is only marginally significant for whites. The number of biological parents in the household is not significant for any racial group. (Because so few whites were living with neither parent, we tried several alternative specifications for number of parents in the household, none of which was significant.) The number of youth in the household is not significant except for a negative effect of the number of youth ages 13 and younger for coloureds. Having a household member who has completed matric is significant and positive for every group, although the effect is only marginal for blacks and coloureds. The proportion of school years failed has a marginally significant negative relationship with educational expectations for coloureds but is not significant for blacks and whites. For blacks and coloureds, current enrollment in school is significantly and positively associated with educational expectations; this variable was omitted from the model for whites because every white youth was enrolled in school at the time of the survey. Last, the literacy/numeracy score is a significantly positive predictor of educational expectations for every racial group. Separate interaction terms for blacks and the literacy/numeracy score and for coloureds and the literacy/numeracy score in a pooled race model were both negative and significant, indicating that educational expectations for both groups increase at slower rates, relative to whites, as literacy/numeracy score increases.

Table 3. Ordinal Logit Models of Educational Expectations, by Race

	Black			Coloured			White		
	Coeff.	Std. Error	p	Coeff.	Std. Error	p	Coeff.	Std. Error	p
Male	-0.188	0.135	0.166	-0.061	0.152	0.690	-0.032	0.374	0.931
Age	-0.120	0.043	0.007	-0.174	0.052	0.001	-0.392	0.221	0.079
Family composition (two biological parents = reference)									
One biological parent	0.132	0.194	0.499	0.032	0.171	0.850	-0.057	0.371	0.878
No biological parent	0.092	0.208	0.657	0.164	0.181	0.365	-3.714	3.263	0.258
Number in household									
ages 0-13	0.079	0.063	0.214	-0.123	0.055	0.026	0.341	0.217	0.119
Number in household									
ages 14-22	0.031	0.078	0.693	0.098	0.080	0.223	-0.249	0.207	0.233
Household member with matric	0.280	0.162	0.086	0.272	0.149	0.070	1.178	0.526	0.027
Proportion of school years									
tailed by age 13	0.392	0.817	0.633	-2.072	1.106	0.063	-5.202	3.289	0.117
Enrolled in school	0.599	0.236	0.012	0.647	0.240	0.008			
Literacy/numeracy									
evaluation score	0.035	0.012	0.007	0.067	0.011	0.000	0.125	0.034	0.000
N	846			740			176		
F	4.12			10.07			4.43		
P	0.000			0.000			0.000		

Standard errors are adjusted to control for complex survey sample design.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Consistent with previous studies in other countries (e.g., Buchmann and Dalton 2002; Forste et al. 2004; Schneider and Stevenson 1999), we found high educational expectations among youth in Cape Town, South Africa, although there is some variation in expectations by race. Like Møller (1995), we found high educational expectations among black youth in South Africa. Educational expectations were also high among coloured and white youth, but their expectations were lower than those of blacks with other factors controlled.

In keeping with a number of previous studies, age was negatively associated and gender was not associated with educational expectations (e.g., Buchmann and Dalton 2002; Forste et al. 2004; Majoribanks 1986; Qian and Blair 1999). The results of our multivariate analyses also indicate that socioeconomic status and academic performance, key components of status attainment models (e.g., Sewell et al. 1970; Sewell and Hauser 1972; Sewell and Shah 1968), matter, to some degree, for all the racial groups we examined. In contrast to some studies of educational expectations in less developed countries that have failed to support parts of the status attainment model (e.g., Adams et al. 1987; Forste et al. 2004), our study suggests future research should consider the usefulness of the status attainment model for understanding how educational expectations are formed in less developed social contexts.

Our results reveal both similarities and differences across race in the pattern of effects. For example, we found weaker effects of SES, as measured by household education, for nonwhites than for whites. And our tests for interaction effects with race revealed weaker positive effects of one measure of academic performance—the literacy/numeracy score—on the educational expectations of nonwhites relative to whites. These findings are consistent with those of U.S. research (Cheng and Starks 2002; Goyette 2003; Qian and Blair 1999). But in contrast to U.S. studies that have found effects of family composition on educational expectations for whites but not nonwhites (Cheng and Starks 2002; Goyette 2003; Qian and Blair 1999), we found virtually no effects of family composition for any racial group. Supporting our findings, other studies of educational expectations in developing countries have found no association between family composition and educational expectations (e.g., Adams et al. 1987; Forste et al. 2004). Furthermore, South African research has shown fairly small differences in schooling attainment or money spent on school fees between children living with one versus two biological parents, regardless of race (Anderson 2006; Zimmerman 2003).

Our mostly insignificant results for family composition might suggest that, for all racial groups, school factors matter more than family factors for educational expectations in South Africa. The relative importance of family versus school for educational outcomes in less developed countries has been debated, although relatively few studies in less developed countries have examined school factors directly (Buchmann and Hannum 2001). The CAPS project will eventually link youth data to official school-level data (e.g., student-teacher ratios and school resources). This will allow us to examine the potentially complex relationships among family background, school characteristics, and educational expectations.

Research in more developed countries has found high educational expectations among nonwhites even when SES and other factors are controlled (e.g., Cheng and Starks 2002; Kao and Tienda 1998; Marjoribanks 2002; Qian and Blair 1999). Our multivariate analyses revealed higher educational expectations among blacks, but not coloureds, relative to whites. There may be similarities in the processes by which black youth in South Africa and disadvantaged youth in other countries, such as blacks in the United States, form their educational expectations. For example, Mickelson (1990) argues that the educational expectations of African American youth are more abstract in nature than those of white youth. Along these lines, the educational expectations of black South Africans may reflect abstract attitudes toward education, whereas the educational expectations of coloured and white youth may better reflect the real-life experiences of those groups. Social segregation could also have similar effects across social contexts. Kao and Tienda (1998) suggest that de facto social segregation fosters high educational expectations among socially disadvantaged youth in the United States, and this may occur among blacks in South Africa as well. Even though apartheid has ended, de facto social segregation of the races continues, with blacks tending to live in different areas and attend different schools than coloureds and whites (Burger and Woolard 2005; Lestrade-Jefferis 2002). Social segregation in South Africa may allow black youth to compare their educational performance to their same-race peers, which may engender high educational expectations. Future research should investigate whether abstract attitudes toward education and social segregation are important mechanisms that facilitate the educational expectations of disadvantaged groups in different social contexts.

Factors unique to South Africa probably contribute to the high educational expectations of black youth. Although the experience of living under oppressive social systems is one that blacks in the United States and blacks in South Africa share, the end of apartheid in South Africa has been more recent than the end of certain race-segregated practices in the United States (such as segregated schooling and Jim Crow laws, to cite two twentieth-century examples). Educational opportunities under apartheid were severely limited for blacks, and schools were a focal point for antiapartheid protests and activism. As a result, black youth today may have a sense of educational entitlement, which may fuel their educational expectations. Because of the promises made by the postapartheid government to blacks (e.g., better housing, schooling, jobs, and wages) and the changes that have taken place so far (e.g., affirmative action policies and some integration of schools), black youth may feel quite optimistic about the future, and this could translate into high educational expectations.

The high educational expectations of black youth suggest that another important change in South Africa, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, is not influencing their outlook on the future. Youthful optimism, along with an unwillingness to acknowledge vulnerability to a disease that is highly stigmatized in South Africa (e.g., Kalichman and Simbayi 2004), may be responsible for the high educational expectations of black youth in spite of HIV/AIDS. Future waves of CAPS may help us to gauge the impact, if any, of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on the expectations of South African youth.

Kinship practices common among South African blacks, such as child fostering, may also promote high educational expectations by providing resources that facilitate schooling (e.g., by relocating youth to households in close proximity to good schools). Over time, however, the HIV/AIDS epidemic may overload the traditional kin-based fostering system, and black youth with one or no parents may fare worse in terms of educational expectations and attainment than others. Thus, we may see racial differences in the effect of family composition on educational expectations in the future.

Our findings provide further evidence that differences among disadvantaged groups may be important for educational expectations. Similar to MacLeod's (1987) study in the United States, we found members of a less disadvantaged group, coloureds, have lower educational expectations than members of a more disadvantaged group, blacks. Coloureds might not be as optimistic about the future as blacks, as they experienced fewer restrictions under apartheid than blacks and might not view the end of apartheid as changing their lives as much as blacks. Coloureds have also had more contact with the labor market than blacks (Burger and Woolard 2005) and may be more aware of the lesser returns to education that nonwhites still typically receive relative to whites. In addition, coloured youth may feel that certain postapartheid policies, such as recent affirmative action policies intended to assist blacks in the workplace, will further restrict the returns to education they receive on the labor market. Taken together, these circumstances may dampen the educational expectations of coloureds, although their educational expectations are nonetheless high given the actual educational attainment of coloureds in recent years. How differences in the experiences, perceptions, and culture of blacks and coloureds may contribute to differences in their educational expectations is an important avenue for future research.

Future studies in South Africa should also examine the stability of educational expectations over time, which we will be able to do using later waves of CAPS. It seems likely that the educational expectations of all groups in South Africa, especially those of blacks, will decline as the respondents grow older. Kao and Tienda (1998) found that U.S. black and Hispanic students were less able to maintain high educational expectations across the high school years than white and Asian American students, which was attributed in part to their generally lower socioeconomic background. We may find a similar pattern for black and coloured youth in South Africa. Finally, we will also use future waves of CAPS to examine the relationship between expectations and eventual attainment. This will enable us to test more rigorously the utility of the status attainment perspective for explaining educational outcomes in a less developed country.

In conclusion, we provide further evidence that, in spite of racial and economic inequality, youth from socially disadvantaged groups hold high educational expectations. Our findings indicate possible similarities and differences across social contexts in the processes shaping the educational expectations of youth. We also show how important it is to examine race/ethnicity when studying phenomena like educational expectations in less developed countries. Research that not only examines different

social contexts but also pays careful attention to race/ethnicity within those contexts will greatly improve our understanding of how educational expectations are formed.

Ann M. Beutel is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Oklahoma. Her research focuses on attitudes, values, and expectations during adolescence and young adulthood. She has published articles in such journals as the *American Sociological Review*, *Social Science Research*, and *Sociological Quarterly*. She is involved in the Cape Area Panel Study, a longitudinal study of youth in Cape Town, South Africa.

Kermyt G. Anderson is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma. His research focuses on educational outcomes, men's investment in children, and fertility, especially in South Africa. He has published articles in such journals as *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *Current Anthropology*, *Social Dynamics*, and *Human Nature*. He is currently involved in several studies examining HIV/AIDS health care delivery among minorities in the United States, as well as the Cape Area Panel Study, a longitudinal study of youth in Cape Town, South Africa.

NOTES

1. The integration of schools in South Africa has increased dramatically since the end of apartheid, with most of the "formerly white" schools now typically containing a significant fraction of nonwhite students. The black township schools, however, have not been integrated and remain exclusively nonwhite. Township schools are often reluctant to expel students who are unable to pay school fees because of the belief that all children in postapartheid South Africa are entitled to an education. However, it is widely acknowledged that the township schools are of much poorer quality than the formerly white schools (Anderson et al. 1999; Anderson et al. 2001).
2. For example, in a recent national survey of 15–24-year-old South Africans, the percentage of interviews completed with youth selected for the study was 82.7% for blacks and 71.2% of coloureds but only 37.7% for whites (Pettifor et al. 2004).
3. In our experience, blacks and coloureds were less likely to express reservations about being involved in the CAPS survey. Rather, they sometimes spoke of their participation as an obligation they needed to fulfill to make the country and their own lives better.

REFERENCES

- Adams, Bert N., Joab Wasikhongo, and Nina Nahemow. 1987. "Socioeconomic Status and Educational Aspirations in Uganda." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 21:222–230.
- Africa, Margaret, Debbie Budlender, and Yandiswa Mpetsheni. 2001. *Education in South Africa: Selected Findings from Census 1996*. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.
- Anderson, Kermyt G. 2005. "Relatedness and Investment in Children in South Africa." *Human Nature* 16:1–31.
- . 2006. "Family Structure, Schooling Outcomes, and Investment in Education in South Africa." Unpublished manuscript.

- Anderson, Kermyt G., Anne Case, and David Lam. 2001. "Causes and Consequences of Schooling Outcomes in South Africa: Evidence from Survey Data." *Social Dynamics* 27:37-59.
- Anderson, Kermyt G., Hillard Kaplan, David Lam, and Jane B. Lancaster. 1999. "Paternal Care by Genetic Fathers and Stepfathers II: Reports by Xhosa High School Students" *Evolution and Human Behavior* 20:433-451
- Anderson, Kermyt G. and David Lam. 2003. "Dynamics of Family Structure and Progress through School in South Africa: Evidence from Retrospective Histories" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Minneapolis, MN.
- Buchmann, Claudia and Ben Dalton. 2002. "Interpersonal Influences and Educational Aspirations in 12 Countries: The Importance of Institutional Context" *Sociology of Education* 75:99-122
- Buchmann, Claudia and Emily Hannum. 2001. "Education and Stratification in Developing Countries: A Review of Theories and Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 27:77-102
- Burgard, Sarah Andrea and Donald J. Treiman. 2006. "Trends and Racial Differences in Infant Mortality in South Africa." *Social Science and Medicine* 62:1126-1137
- Burger, Rulof and Ingrid Woolard. 2005. "The State of the Labour Market in South Africa after the First Decade of Democracy." Centre for Social Science Research Working Paper 133, University of Cape Town
- Case, Anne and Angus Deaton. 1999. "School Inputs and Educational Outcomes in South Africa." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 114:1047-1084.
- Charasse-Pouélé, Cécile and Martin Fournier. 2006. "Health Disparities between Racial Groups in South Africa: A Decomposition Analysis" *Social Science and Medicine* 62:2897-2914.
- Cheng, Simon and Brian Starks. 2002. "Racial Differences in the Effects of Significant Others on Students' Educational Expectations." *Sociology of Education* 75:306-327.
- Cichello, Paul I. 2003. "Child Fostering and Human Capital Formation in KwaZulu-Natal: An Economist's Perspective" *Social Dynamics* 29:177-212
- Crouch, Luis and Thaba Mabogoane. 2001. "No Magic Bullets, Just Tracer Bullets: The Role of Learning Resources, Social Advantage, and Education Management in Improving the Performance of South African Schools." *Social Dynamics* 27:60-78.
- Forste, Renata, Tim B. Heaton, and David W. Haas. 2004. "Adolescents' Expectations for Higher Education in Bogotá, Columbia, and La Paz, Bolivia" *Youth and Society* 36:56-76.
- Goyette, Kimberly A. 2003. "Correlates of Educational Expectations: Differences by Socioeconomic Status" Paper presented at the Population Association of America annual meeting, Minneapolis, MN.
- Gupta, Y. P. 1977. "The Educational and Vocational Aspirations of Asian Immigrant and English School-Leavers: A Comparative Study." *British Journal of Sociology* 28:185-98.
- Hao, Lingxin and Melissa Bonstead-Bruns. 1998. "Parent-Child Differences in Educational Expectations and Academic Achievement of Immigrant and Native Students" *Sociology of Education* 71:175-198
- Hauser, Robert M., Shu-Ling Tsai, and William H. Sewell. 1983. "A Model of Stratification with Response Error in Social and Psychological Variables" *Sociology of Education* 56:20-46
- Hossler, Don and Frances K. Stage. 1992. "Family and High School Experience Influences on the Postsecondary Educational Plans of Ninth-Grade Students." *American Educational Research Journal* 29:425-451.

- Johnson, Leigh F. and Rob E. Dorrington. 2006. "Modelling the Demographic Impact of HIV/AIDS in South Africa and the Likely Impact of Interventions." *Demographic Research* 14:541-574.
- Kalichman, S. C. and I. Simbayi. 2004. "Traditional Beliefs about the Cause of AIDS and AIDS-Related Stigma in South Africa." *AIDS Care* 16:572-580.
- Kao, Grace and Marta Tienda. 1998. "Educational Aspirations of Minority Youth." *American Journal of Education* 106:349-384.
- Kingdon, Geera and John Knight. 2001. "What Have We Learnt about Unemployment from Microdatasets in South Africa?" *Social Dynamics* 27:79-95.
- Klasen, Stephan. 1997. "Poverty, Inequality, and Deprivation in South Africa: An Analysis of the 1993 SALDRU Survey." *Social Indicators Research* 41:51-95.
- Lam, David. 1999. "Generating Extreme Inequality: Schooling, Earnings, and Intergenerational Transmission of Human Capital in South Africa and Brazil" PSC Research Report 99-439, Population Studies Center, University of Michigan.
- Lam, David and Jeremy Seekings. 2005 *The Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS): Technical Documentation for Wave 1 (2002)* Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town.
- Leibbrandt, Murray, Christopher Woolard, and Ingrid Woolard. 2000. "The Contribution of Income Components to Income Inequality in the Rural Former Homelands of South Africa: A Decomposable Gini Analysis." *Journal of African Economies* 9:79-99.
- Lestrade-Jefferis, Joyce. 2002 *The South African Labour Market: Selected Time-based Social and International Comparisons* Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.
- Lloyd, Cynthia B. and Ann K. Blanc. 1996. "Children's Schooling in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Role of Fathers, Mothers, and Others." *Population and Development Review* 22:265-298.
- Lloyd, Cynthia B., Carol E. Kaufman, and Paul Hewett. 2000. "The Spread of Primary Schooling in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for Fertility Change." *Population and Development Review* 26:483-515.
- Looker, E. Dianne and Peter C. Pineo. 1983. "Social Psychological Variables and Their Relevance to the Status Attainment of Teenagers." *American Journal of Sociology* 88:1195-1219.
- MacLeod, Jay. 1987. *Ain't No Makin' It: Leveled Aspirations in a Low-Income Neighborhood*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Marjoribanks, Kevin. 1986. "Australian Families and Adolescents' Aspirations: A Follow-up Analysis." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 17:333-348.
- . 2002. "Family Background, Individual, and Environmental Influences on Adolescents' Aspirations." *Educational Studies* 28:33-46.
- Mickelson, Roslyn Arlin. 1990. "The Attitude-Achievement Paradox among Black Adolescents." *Sociology of Education* 63:44-61.
- Moll, Peter G. 1998. "Primary Schooling, Cognitive Skills, and Wages in South Africa." *Economica* 65:263-284.
- Møller, Valerie. 1995. "Home Environment and Educational Achievement among High-School Pupils Living in Three-Generation Urban Black Households." *South African Journal of Sociology* 26:87-96.
- Morgan, Stephen I. 1996. "Trends in Black-White Differences in Educational Expectations: 1980-1992." *Sociology of Education* 69:308-319.
- Mwabu, Germano and T. Paul Schultz. 1996. "Education Returns across Quantiles of the Wage Function: Alternative Explanations for Returns to Education by Race in South Africa." *American Economic Review* 86:335-339.

- Ogbu, John U. 1978. *Minority Education and Caste* New York: Academic Press.
- Pettifor, Audrey E.; Helen V. Rees, Annie Steffenson, Lindiwe Hlongwa-Madikizela, Catherine MacPhail, Kerry Vermaak, and Immo Kleinschmidt. 2004. *HIV and Sexual Behaviour among Young South Africans: A National Survey of 15-24-Year-Olds*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Reproductive Health Research Unit, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Post, David. 1990. "The Social Demand for Education in Peru: Students' Choices and State Autonomy." *Sociology of Education* 63:258-271.
- Qian, Zhenchao and Sampson Lee Blair. 1999. "Racial-Ethnic Differences in Educational Aspirations of High School Seniors." *Sociological Perspectives* 42:605-625.
- Russell, Margo. 2002. "Are Urban Black Families Nuclear? A Comparative Study of Black and White South African Family Norms." Centre for Social Science Research Working Paper 17, University of Cape Town.
- Schneider, Barbara and David Stevenson. 1999. *The Ambitious Generation: America's Teenagers, Motivated but Directionless* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Sewell, William H., Archibald O. Haller, and George W. Ohlendorf. 1970. "The Educational and Early Occupational Process: Replication and Revision." *American Sociological Review* 35:1014-1027.
- Sewell, William H., Archibald O. Haller, and Alejandro Portes. 1969. "The Educational and Early Occupational Attainment Process." *American Sociological Review* 34:82-92.
- Sewell, William H. and Robert M. Hauser. 1972. "Causes and Consequences of Higher Education: Models of the Status Attainment Process." *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 54:851-861.
- Sewell, William H. and Vimal P. Shah. 1968. "Social Class, Parental Encouragement, and Educational Aspirations." *American Journal of Sociology* 73:559-572.
- Shavit, Yossi and Richard A. Williams. 1985. "Ability Grouping and Contextual Determinants of Educational Expectations in Israel." *American Sociological Review* 50:62-73.
- Shisana, O., T. Rehle, I. C. Simbayi, W. Parker, K. Zuma, A. Bhana, C. Connolly, S. Jooste, and V. Pillay. 2005. *South African National HIV Prevalence, HIV Incidence, Behaviour and Communication Survey, 2005*. Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.
- Solorzano, Daniel G. 1992. "An Exploratory Analysis of the Effects of Race, Class, and Gender on Student and Parent Mobility Aspirations." *Journal of Negro Education* 61:30-44.
- Thomas, Duncan. 1996. "Education across Generations in South Africa." *American Economic Review* 86:330-334.
- Trusty, Jerry. 1998. "Family Influences on Educational Expectations of Late Adolescents." *Journal of Educational Research* 91:260-270.
- UNAIDS. 2006. *2006 Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic*. New York: UN Publications.
- Zimmerman, Frederick J. 2003. "Cinderella Goes to School: The Effects of Child Fostering on School Enrollment in South Africa." *Journal of Human Resources* 38:557-590.