

RACE AND THE EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN: The Case of South Africa

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South Africa, a country that is highly stratified by race, is an important location for studying the relationship between race and educational expectations. Using a longitudinal data set, we examine the educational expectations of black (African), colored (mixed race), and white (European ancestry) parents and children in Cape Town, South Africa. We find that parents and children have high educational expectations regardless of race, but black parents and children have higher educational expectations than coloreds and whites once socioeconomic and other factors are controlled. We also find that parents' and children's expectations tend to agree more and are more closely correlated among coloreds and whites than blacks. We test two explanations for the educational expectations of parents and children, finding more support for the status attainment perspective among coloreds and whites than blacks and support for the family social capital perspective among blacks and coloreds only.

Little attention has been paid to the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational expectations outside the United States and other more developed countries. South Africa is an important location for studying this relationship because of the extreme racial stratification that has existed there. Under apartheid, the official policy of racial segregation that ended in the early 1990s, individuals were placed into one of three groups on the basis of race: an advantaged group comprised of whites (European ancestry), a moderately disadvantaged group consisting of coloreds (mixed race) and Asians (mostly from India), and a severely disadvantaged group made up of blacks (Africans) (Mwabu and Schultz 1996; Thomas 1996; Klasen 1997). Apartheid encroached upon virtually every aspect of life including housing, marriage, and employment. The impact of apartheid on the educational attainment of nonwhites was tremendous. By the end of apartheid, the mean years of completed schooling among adult males were 3.9 for blacks and 5.5 for coloreds versus 9.5 for whites. Among adult females, mean years of completed schooling were 3.4 for blacks, 5.3 for coloreds, and 9.1 for whites (Thomas 1996).

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Although the dismantling of apartheid has had profound effects in South Africa, racial inequality continues (e.g., Lestrade-Jefferis 2002; Burger and Woolard 2005; Burgard and Treiman 2006; Charasse-Pou  l   and Fournier 2006). De facto segregation of the races still exists, with nonwhites tending to live in poorer areas with fewer resources than whites (Lestrade-Jefferis 2002; Burger and Woolard 2005). The high prevalence of HIV/AIDS among nonwhites, especially blacks, has led to higher mortality rates among them, increasing racial disparities with respect to health and life expectancy (Shisana et al. 2005; Burgard and Treiman 2006). Mandatory school fees, even for primary and secondary education, continue to limit the access of nonwhites to education, and unemployment rates are as high as 40 percent among nonwhite South Africans (Kingdon and Knight 2001; Burger and Woolard 2005). As a result of these past and present inequities, there may be important racial differences in the educational expectations of South Africans.

We present results from the first longitudinal study to investigate the educational expectations of children and of their parents (i.e., the educational expectations parents have for their children) in South Africa. We use a multiracial and representative sample of youth and their households from Cape Town, an urban area of approximately 2.5 million people located in the Western Cape province of South Africa. We use status attainment and family social capital perspectives to examine whether the predictors of parents' and children's educational expectations vary by race. In addition, we examine whether the relationship between parents' and children's expectations varies by race. This study contributes to our understanding of race, parents' expectations, and children's expectations by examining their interrelationships in a country that is highly stratified by race.

Because little is known about the relationship between race and educational expectations in South Africa, our study draws heavily upon the large body of theory and research about race/ethnicity and educational expectations in the United States. Although there may be differences in the relationship between race and educational expectations in South Africa and the United States, there may be similarities too. M  ller (1995) notes that blacks in both the United States and South Africa have lived under oppressive social systems and have had disadvantaged educational experiences. Such similarities justify applying models derived from a more developed country to South Africa, although we acknowledge that there are cultural and historical distinctions between the experiences of nonwhite groups in South Africa and the United States.

We begin by reviewing previous theory and research on the relationship between race/ethnicity and parents' and children's educational expectations, with a focus on status attainment and family social capital explanations for expectations. We then provide a brief overview of schooling in South Africa, which may have implications for the formation of expectations, and we make predictions about the educational expectations of parents and children in South Africa. After describing the data that were used for this study, we present our findings and discuss their implications for future research on educational expectations.

RACE/ETHNICITY AND THE EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Studies of children's educational expectations in the United States and other more developed countries have found that youth, regardless of race/ethnicity, have high educational expectations (e.g., Gupta 1977; Solorzano 1991; Qian and Blair 1999; Schneider and Stevenson 1999; Marjoribanks 2002). But youth from nonwhite groups tend to have the highest educational expectations even when their socioeconomic background and academic performance are poorer than those of whites (Solorzano 1991; Morgan 1996; Qian and Blair 1999; Cheng and Starks 2002). Paralleling these findings, U.S. studies of parents' expectations have found that most parents have high educational expectations for their children, but nonwhite parents tend to have higher educational expectations than white parents (Hossler and Stage 1992; Cheng and Starks 2002; Kao 2002).

Perspectives on Educational Expectations

In the United States, it has been difficult for researchers to explain the high educational expectations of nonwhites, especially blacks. Status attainment models, such as the well-known Wisconsin status attainment model, have often been used in studies of educational expectations. These models generally view socioeconomic status or SES (i.e., parents' education, occupation, and income) and early academic performance as key determinants of educational expectations (Sewell and Shah 1968; Sewell, Haller, and Portes 1969). These directly influence parents' educational expectations, which in turn influence children's expectations for themselves (Sewell and Shah 1968; Sewell et al. 1969). Socioeconomic background and early academic performance also have direct effects on children's expectations (Sewell, Haller, and Ohlendorf 1970; Wilson and Portes 1975). In short, higher SES families provide resources and expectations that promote high expectations among children. U.S. studies utilizing a status attainment perspective have found better model fits for whites than for others, with weaker or no effects of SES and academic performance on the educational expectations of nonwhite youth (e.g., Hout and Morgan 1975; Kerckhoff and Campbell 1977; Qian and Blair 1999; Cheng and Starks 2002). In addition, the educational expectations of nonwhite parents and children typically remain higher than those of whites even with status attainment factors controlled (Hossler and Stage 1992; Morgan 1996; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Kao and Tienda 1998; Qian and Blair 1999; Cheng and Starks 2002; Kao 2002).

An alternative to the status attainment perspective is the family social capital perspective. In recent years, U.S. researchers have attempted to explain the low status-high expectations paradox (i.e., high educational expectations in spite of poor academic performance and socioeconomic background) among nonwhites in terms of family social capital, or the relations between children and parents or other family members (Coleman 1988). Family social capital has been measured in a number of ways including frequency of parent-child discussions and other types of parent-child interactions (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Qian and Blair 1999). Parents and children who interact more frequently may influence each other's expectations more strongly. Qian and Blair

(1999) found that family social capital in terms of the frequency of parent–child discussions about schooling and other matters was more important than parental human and financial capital (SES) for the educational expectations of black and Hispanic youth relative to whites. They suggest that black and Hispanic parents may invest more in family social capital than parents with greater human and financial capital by interacting with their children more, which may foster higher educational expectations. However, nonwhite parents and children still have higher educational expectations than whites even when family social capital is controlled (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Qian and Blair 1999), indicating that family social capital fails to explain racial/ethnic differences in educational expectations.

Other explanations for the low status–high expectations paradox among blacks in the United States focus on what educational expectations represent to them and what factors they consider when forming educational expectations. Ogbu (1991:446) states that blacks' expectations are a form of "wishful thinking" and that their efforts in school are not commensurate with their expectations. Mickelson (1990) argues that educational expectations are abstract attitudes reflecting dominant beliefs about education as a means of socioeconomic success and mobility rather than concrete attitudes reflecting the actual life experiences of a particular group, such as inequitable returns to education in the labor market. Compared to whites in Mickelson's study, blacks had more optimistic abstract attitudes but more pessimistic concrete attitudes, which were more important for school performance than abstract attitudes. MacLeod's (1987) ethnographic research suggests that poor black youth may not be fully aware of how limited their job options are, which may sustain high educational expectations. The poor white youth in his study had more exposure to the labor market and therefore a greater sense of the limited job options available to them, which led to educational expectations that were lower than those of poor black youth. In contrast to these ideas, Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey's (1998) research suggests that blacks' educational expectations reflect positive attitudes about school, but that blacks lack the material conditions to develop the skills, habits, and styles that would allow their academic performance to match their educational goals (see also Kerckhoff 1976). Kao and Tienda (1998) suggest that social segregation of racial groups may allow disadvantaged groups to compare their performance in school to their same-race peers instead of to others, enabling them to hold high educational goals even if their school performance is poor. Finally, Kao (2002) suggests that socially disadvantaged parents may compensate by having more optimistic expectations for their children, which may increase children's expectations for themselves.

Parents' and Children's Educational Expectations

Both the status attainment and family social capital perspectives suggest that there will be high agreement between parents' and children's expectations. Agreement between a parent's and a child's expectations is important because it may make it easier for a child to reach his or her educational goal. Supporting this, U.S. studies have shown that children are more likely to maintain their educational expectations over time if parents' and children's expectations agree (Kao 2002) and that young people with high

educational expectations are more likely to earn a bachelor's degree if their parents also have high educational expectations for them (Trusty and Niles 2004).

High agreement between parents' and children's educational expectations might occur if their expectations are reciprocally related, that is, if parents and children draw on each other's educational expectations when forming their own expectations. Early research failed to find reciprocal relationships between parents' and children's educational expectations for either blacks or whites (Hout and Morgan 1975; Alexander and Pallas 1983). More recently, Hao and Bonstead-Bruns (1998) found that family social capital in terms of parent-child interactions in school-related and other learning activities increased both parents' and children's self-reported expectations and agreement between the two. They also found a reciprocal relationship between parents' and children's expectations; however, it disappeared once parent-child interactions were controlled. Hao and Bonstead-Bruns' study did not consider whether the relationships among family social capital and parents' and children's expectations varied by race/ethnicity but did find less agreement between the expectations of parents and children among blacks and Hispanics than whites (see also Kerckhoff and Huff 1974). Finally, Cheng and Starks (2002) found less influence of perceived parental expectations on children's expectations for some nonwhite groups compared to whites, which they attribute to racial/ethnic differences in family processes and family structures. (Their study only examined the predictors of children's educational expectations.) Taken together, these studies suggest that parents' and children's expectations might not be reciprocally related and that the level of agreement between their expectations may vary by race/ethnicity.

Expectations Research in South Africa and Other Less Developed Countries

Studies of the relationship between race/ethnicity and educational expectations in South Africa and other less developed countries have been limited. Møller (1995) found high educational expectations among urban black high school students in two South African provinces, and Cherian's (1992, 1994) descriptive analyses of blacks in the Transkei (Eastern Cape province) of South Africa found positive associations between parents' educational expectations and children's academic achievement. Because these studies only included blacks, we cannot compare the educational goals of blacks to those of coloreds and whites.

Compared to studies in more developed countries like the United States, expectations research in less developed countries has provided less support for the status attainment and family social capital perspectives (e.g., Adams, Wasikhongo, and Nahemow 1987; Tsui and Rich 2002; Forste, Heaton, and Haas 2004). However, virtually no attention has been paid to possible racial/ethnic differences in the importance of status attainment or family social capital factors for educational expectations in less developed countries, although there is some limited evidence that the importance of parental education for parents' educational expectations may vary by ethnicity (Waite, Rindfuss, and de Tray 1986). To the best of our knowledge, no study has examined the

relationships among race, parents' expectations, and children's expectations in South Africa from both the status attainment and family social capital perspectives.

THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Schooling

Features of the South African educational system may have implications for both parents' and children's educational expectations. Primary and secondary schooling in South Africa consist of 12 grades, culminating in a national matriculation examination ("matric"). Passing the matriculation exam, which is recognized as an important educational goal and achievement, determines eligibility for postsecondary schooling (which has included universities and trade- or technically oriented institutions known as technikons, although these two types of institutions were combined recently). Education is a constitutional right but generally has not been free, with universal school fees assessed even at the primary and secondary levels (although in 2006, school fees started to be phased out in the poorest schools). In spite of the direct costs of schooling, most South African youth are enrolled in school. In 1996, for example, over 95 percent of blacks and coloreds and over 98 percent of whites ages 11–15 were enrolled in school (Africa, Budlender, and Mpetsheni 2001). Under apartheid, schools were strictly segregated by race, and black and colored schools received far less money per pupil than white schools. There has been some integration of schools since the end of apartheid, but schools remain largely segregated by race, with blacks and coloreds less likely to attend higher-quality (more expensive) schools than whites and more likely to attend schools with fewer resources, higher student–teacher ratios, and lower student test scores (Case and Deaton 1999; Crouch and Mabogoane 2001).

There are other important racial differences in educational experiences. Blacks and coloreds may drop out of school for a year or more for various reasons including inability to pay school fees (Anderson, Case, and Lam 2001). Blacks and coloreds are also more likely than whites to fail and repeat grades, and may remain enrolled in secondary school through their mid-20s (Anderson et al. 2001). Finally, both blacks and coloreds are less likely to complete secondary and postsecondary schooling than whites. In 1996, 18 percent of blacks and 24 percent of coloreds had completed secondary schooling or more, while 62 percent of whites had, and only 2 percent of blacks and 3 percent of coloreds had more than matric (i.e., grade 12) compared to 15 percent of whites (Africa et al. 2001).

Predictions for South Africa

Research in other countries suggests that the educational expectations of South African children and parents will be high but may vary by race, with blacks and coloreds having higher educational expectations than whites even with socioeconomic and other factors controlled. In addition, blacks may have higher educational expectations than coloreds. Blacks experienced many more restrictions under apartheid than coloreds; with the end of apartheid and the promise of new opportunities for blacks, black parents and children may now hold very high educational expectations. Coloreds, whose ancestry is both

black and white, have been less segregated from whites than blacks have. As a result, colored parents and children may have a better sense of the obstacles that nonwhite youth are still likely to face in higher education and employment compared to whites, leading to less optimistic (i.e., lower) expectations among colored parents and children compared to their black counterparts.

Given the recent social changes in South Africa and the findings of past research, we expect to find less support for the status attainment perspective and more support for the family social capital perspective among nonwhites relative to whites. Blacks and coloreds, but especially blacks, may base their educational expectations more on actual or perceived growth in schooling opportunities than on socioeconomic background and children's academic performance. Other family resources, namely the nature of the parent-child relationship (i.e., family social capital), may be more important for the educational expectations of nonwhites. Because they have fewer economic resources relative to white parents, black and colored parents may invest more in family social capital by, for example, frequently interacting with their children. This may contribute to higher educational expectations among black and colored parents and children compared to their white counterparts.

Some U.S. research suggests that we will find more agreement between parents' and children's expectations among whites than nonwhites in South Africa and that parents' expectations will have a greater effect on children's expectations among whites than nonwhites. Because white parents have had more exposure to the educational system in South Africa than nonwhite parents, children who are white may place more faith in their parents' expectations for them than children who are black or colored. But a strong parent-child relationship could be an important mechanism for transmitting educational expectations between nonwhite parents and children, leading to high agreement between their expectations regardless of parents' (or children's) exposure to the educational system. Family social capital may also mediate the relationship between parents' and children's expectations, as one study has found (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998).

To summarize, we predict that nonwhites will have higher educational expectations than whites, even with status attainment and family social capital factors controlled, and blacks may have higher expectations than coloreds. We also hypothesize that status attainment variables will have stronger effects on the expectations of whites than nonwhites and family social capital variables will have stronger effects on the expectations of nonwhites than whites. As rationales exist to expect high parent-child agreement about expectations among both whites and nonwhites, we make no specific predictions about racial differences regarding agreement about expectations or about reciprocal relationships between parents' and children's expectations.

METHOD

Data

We used data from the first (2002) and third (2005) waves of the Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS), a longitudinal study of youth and their families that is representative of

metropolitan Cape Town (Lam, Seekings, and Sparks 2006).¹ Roughly 26 percent of the residents of Cape Town are black, 50 percent are colored, 22 percent are white, and 2 percent are Asian or other (Lam et al. 2006). CAPS is a joint project of researchers at the University of Cape Town and several universities in the United States; both authors of this article were involved in the design and implementation of the study. CAPS contains two major sources of data: a household questionnaire about the schooling, employment, and fertility of all household members and a youth questionnaire about the schooling, employment, sexual behavior, and fertility of household members who were between the ages of 14 and 22 in 2002.

CAPS used a stratified two-stage probability sample of households. The first stage drew a sample of Census Enumeration Areas (EAs). Because EAs in South Africa are racially homogeneous, black and white EAs were oversampled with the goal of obtaining roughly equal numbers of black, colored, and white youth. The second stage randomly sampled households within each selected EA. Upon recruitment into the survey, the household questionnaire was administered to an adult who was very knowledgeable about people living in the household, while full-length youth questionnaires were given separately to up to three young people in the household.

The first (2002) wave of CAPS includes data from 5,256 households (approximately 42 percent black, 44 percent colored, and 14 percent white) and 4,752 youth (approximately 45 percent black, 40 percent colored, and 16 percent white).² The response rates for households with youth were higher for blacks and coloreds (approximately 89 and 82 percent, respectively) than for whites (approximately 48 percent). But the response rates for the youth questionnaire, which were conditional on household participation, were high for all groups (ranging from 93 percent for blacks to 86 percent for whites). The third (2005) wave of CAPS contains data from 3,536 youth and 2,412 households. The overall retention rate for youth in the third wave, relative to the first wave, was 75 percent. Retention rates for youth varied by racial group, with higher rates among blacks and coloreds (approximately 70 and 85 percent, respectively) than among whites (almost 60 percent). In 2005, household questionnaires were administered only to households containing youth who had completed the youth questionnaire administered that year. Virtually all of these households (92 percent for blacks, 95 percent for coloreds, and 94 percent for whites) also completed the household questionnaire.

The lower response rates for white households and youth, although a limitation of the study, were not unexpected. 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).³ We cannot determine from our data why whites were less likely than blacks and coloreds to participate in the first wave of CAPS, but we suspect that whites perceived higher opportunity costs to participation. Because whites in South Africa are more likely to be employed or enrolled in school than blacks and coloreds, individuals in white households may have had more constraints on their time. In addition, whites may have perceived fewer benefits from participating in CAPS than blacks and coloreds. (Indeed, black and colored CAPS respondents sometimes spoke of their involvement as a way to make the country and their own lives better.) For all racial groups, moving away from

Cape Town was the primary reason for nonresponse in the 2005 wave of the study. The greater movement of white youth out of Cape Town compared to blacks and coloreds was the main reason for their lower retention rate (Lam et al. 2006). In sum, it appears that our sample of whites may be biased in favor of those households and youth who perceived fewer opportunity costs to participating in the study and those youth who did not move away from the study area.

Samples

We restricted the analyses to those young people who were enrolled in grades 8 through 11 at the time of the wave 1 survey in 2002. This grade range was chosen to avoid ceiling effects in educational expectations that might be encountered if we included respondents with more education who were closer to the end of their schooling. We also restricted the sample to youth who had a biological parent (mother or father) complete the household survey. (Because CAPS did not ask youth respondents to state their parents' expectations for them, we use self-reported parental expectations taken from the household survey.)

Parents' and children's educational expectations measured cross-sectionally may be endogenous to each other, that is, jointly determined. Thus, it is statistically inappropriate to simply use one as a predictor of the other because of their correlated error terms violating standard statistical assumptions. We take advantage of the longitudinal design of CAPS to avoid this problem by using children's expectations from wave 1 to predict parents' expectations in wave 3, and parents' expectations in wave 1 to predict children's expectations in wave 3 (cf. Goyette and Xie 1999). The measure of parental expectations (discussed below) was taken from the household questionnaire, and the measure of children's expectations came from the youth questionnaire. Parental expectations are available only for cases where the person who completed the household questionnaire was the biological parent of an individual who completed the youth questionnaire.

Our analyses required two different samples. The first sample is restricted to cases in which one of the focal youth's biological parents was the household respondent in 2005. In the analysis of this sample, the dependent variable is parents' educational expectations in 2005, predicted by children's expectations in 2002 (and other variables). The second sample is restricted to cases in which a biological parent of the focal youth was the household respondent in 2002. In the analysis of this sample, children's expectations in 2005 is the dependent variable, and parental expectations in 2002 is an independent variable.

The sizes of our two samples differ. This is largely because parents, especially black parents, were less likely to be the respondents to the household survey in wave 3 (2005) than in wave 1 (2002). (CAPS did not require the same person to be the household respondent for both waves.) By chance, children in large households whose parent was the household's respondent in 2002 may have had a nonparent as the 2005 household respondent; this happened more often among blacks. Blacks in South Africa are more likely to live in households with extended kin (e.g., grandparents, aunts, and uncles)

than coloreds and whites, and extended kin sometimes served as the household respondent. In addition, for all racial groups, some youth had moved away from the parental home after the 2002 survey and established themselves as heads of new households, resulting in fewer coresidential parents available to be household respondents in 2005. Our sample size for the models predicting parents' educational expectations in 2005 is 547 (89 blacks, 326 coloreds, and 132 whites), and the sample size for the models predicting children's educational expectations in 2005 is 874 (334 blacks, 393 coloreds, and 147 whites).

Measures

With the exception of the measures of educational expectations used as dependent variables and two independent variables (discussed below), all measures were taken from the household and youth surveys conducted in 2002.

Educational Expectations

Parental educational expectations were measured by a question in the household survey in 2002 and 2005 that asked, "As it stands now, how much education do you think (the target youth) will complete?" Children's expectations were measured using a question from the 2002 and 2005 youth surveys that asked, "As it stands now, how much education do you think you will complete?" Responses to the educational expectations questions were coded originally as 25 finely graded levels of schooling (e.g., no schooling and grades 1 through 12, plus various diplomas, certificates, and degrees). We collapsed these categories into a measure of grades coded in terms of years, ranging from 7 (i.e., grade 7) through 16 (for a postgraduate degree).⁴

Family- and School-Related Variables

To measure socioeconomic background, we used the educational attainment of the parent in the household with the most education (or the education of the only parent in the household in the case of single-parent families), which was measured as the highest grade the parent had completed as of 2002, coded in years. Because educational attainment has significant effects on many socioeconomic outcomes in South Africa, such as income and employment (e.g., Lam 1999; Africa et al. 2001), parental education is an appropriate proxy for SES. Academic performance was measured with scores from a literacy and numeracy evaluation that was administered as part of the wave 1 youth survey in 2002 to all youth respondents, who completed it without assistance in the presence of the interviewer. A literacy/numeracy z-score was calculated by summing the number of correct responses to each question, subtracting the mean, and dividing by the standard deviation; the literacy/numeracy z-score thus indicates a youth's deviation from the mean score. We also included a dummy variable measuring whether the youth was enrolled in school at the time of the 2005 survey.

Two measures of family social capital from the wave 1 survey were used. For each biological parent, youth were asked, "Over the past 12 months, how often has he/she spent time with you, just the two of you?" Response categories were 1 (never), 2 (once or

twice a year), 3 (every few months), 4 (once a month), 5 (several times a month), 6 (about once a week), and 7 (daily or almost daily). We used the youth respondent's measure for the biological parent who completed the appropriate (wave 1 or wave 3) household questionnaire. Another question asked youth, "Which of the following people helped you with your homework in the last 12 months (or in the last 12 months that you were in school if you are no longer enrolled)?" Respondents were read a list that included such people as a friend, mother, and father. Multiple responses were allowed. We used responses to this question to create a dummy variable coded 1 if the respondent indicated that the parent who completed the appropriate (wave 1 or wave 3) household questionnaire had helped with homework and 0 otherwise.

Demographic Controls

We included variables for gender of the child, age of the child in 2002 (wave 1), and race of the child. We also included a variable for gender of the parental respondent for wave 1 or wave 3, depending on the sample being analyzed. Gender was measured with a dummy variable coded 0 for females and 1 for males. Age was a continuous variable. Analyses using pooled samples of respondents included separate dummy variables for blacks and coloreds, with whites as the reference group. Other analyses were conducted separately by racial group.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Descriptive and multivariate analyses were performed using the "svy" commands in Stata/SE 9.2, which adjust standard errors to account for the multistage survey design of the data. Multivariate analyses of educational expectations were conducted using ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression. Weights, used to adjust for oversampling of blacks and whites and differential response rates of households and youth across both waves, make the results representative of metropolitan Cape Town.

Summary statistics for the independent variables are shown by racial group (black, colored, and white) in Table 1. The *F*-statistics (from adjusted Wald tests) indicate statistically significant differences across racial groups for nearly every variable. The gender of the child and of the wave 1 parental respondent do not vary by race, but the gender of the wave 3 parental respondent does, with blacks the least likely and whites the most likely to have their father as the wave 3 respondent. On average, black youth in the sample are roughly a year older than colored and white youth. Socioeconomic background, as measured by the educational attainment of the parent in the household with the most education, is lowest among blacks. On average, black parents have completed approximately five fewer grades of schooling than white parents while colored parents have completed about three-and-a-half fewer grades of schooling than white parents. Academic performance, as measured by the literacy/numeracy evaluation, is poorest among blacks. They have the lowest literacy/numeracy *z*-scores while whites have the highest. (Raw literacy/numeracy scores ranged from 0 to 45, with mean scores of 22.16 for blacks, 28.78 for coloreds, and 38.13 for whites; not shown in the table.) Most

TABLE 1. Summary Statistics

	Black		Colored		White		F	p
	Mean	Standard error	Mean	Standard error	Mean	Standard error		
Child is male	0.470	0.028	0.505	0.029	0.480	0.049	0.37	0.688
Child's age (wave 1)	16.746	0.112	15.705	0.066	15.379	0.094	46.20	0.000
Father was household respondent (wave 1)	0.190	0.025	0.199	0.024	0.194	0.039	0.03	0.971
Father was household respondent (wave 3)*	0.089	0.028	0.167	0.027	0.251	0.049	4.65	0.010
Highest parental education (years) (wave 1)	8.414	0.200	9.790	0.194	13.403	0.220	147.09	0.000
Literacy/numeracy z-score (wave 1)	-0.517	0.057	0.216	0.043	1.252	0.052	263.31	0.000
Enrolled in school (wave 3)	0.616	0.030	0.508	0.030	0.859	0.038	25.98	0.000
Frequency spent time with parent (wave 1)	5.875	0.119	5.619	0.110	5.840	0.184	42.18	0.000
Parent helped child with homework (wave 1)	0.179	0.025	0.269	0.023	0.528	0.047	21.97	0.000
Parent's expectations (wave 1)	13.729	0.163	13.105	0.095	14.274	0.153	21.72	0.000
Parent's expectations (wave 3)*	13.908	0.201	12.947	0.146	14.170	0.147	18.31	0.000
Child's expectations (wave 1)*	14.309	0.137	13.647	0.099	14.272	0.140	10.79	0.000
Child's expectations (wave 3)	13.569	0.097	13.060	0.132	14.351	0.136	23.51	0.000
N	334		393		147			
*N	89		326		132			

Note: Results are weighted and control for the multistage survey design.

youth in the sample were enrolled in school during the third wave of the survey, but whites were more likely to be enrolled than blacks and coloreds. For all racial groups, the mean for parents and children spending time together is almost weekly (i.e., response category = 6), but there are significant differences in parent–child time together by race. Black youth are the most likely to report spending time with their parents daily or almost daily (response category = 7) (65.5 percent), with whites the next most likely to report daily time together (54.3 percent) and coloreds the least likely (49.8 percent) (not shown in the table). Parental help with homework varies widely by race in the sample, with white parents much more likely than black and colored parents to have helped their children with homework during the past 12 months. This finding is not surprising, given the greater educational attainment of white parents relative to black and colored parents.

On average, parents and children in both waves expect at least some postsecondary schooling (i.e., more than grade 12). These expectations are high given actual attainment in recent years. As the *F*-statistics indicate, there is a variation in expectations by race. We further investigated racial differences with *t*-tests of mean expectations for pairs of racial groups (results not shown). In wave 1, white parents have higher expectations than black parents, who have the next highest expectations, and colored parents, who have the lowest expectations. The mean expectations of all these groups are significantly different from each other. The average expectations of black and white children in wave 1 are not significantly different from each other, and both are significantly higher than those of coloreds. In wave 3, the average expectations of white and black parents are not significantly different from each other, and both are significantly higher than those of colored parents. White children in wave 3 have the highest expectations and coloreds have the lowest with blacks in the middle; the mean expectations of the groups are significantly different from each other. We also conducted *t*-tests of parents' and children's mean expectations within each wave (results not shown). The results indicate that in wave 1, black and colored children have significantly higher expectations than their parents, while the mean expectations of white children and parents are not significantly different. In wave 3, the expectations of colored and white children and their parents are not significantly different, while black children have significantly lower expectations than their parents.

Table 2 presents Pearson correlations between parents' and children's expectations within each wave of data. Overall, parents' and children's expectations are fairly highly

TABLE 2. Within-Wave Correlations between Parents' and Children's Educational Expectations

	Wave 1			Wave 3		
	r	N	<i>p</i>	r	N	<i>p</i>
Pooled sample	0.485	855	0.000	0.659	507	0.000
Blacks	0.422	330	0.000	0.341	87	0.001
Coloreds	0.435	380	0.000	0.689	298	0.000
Whites	0.667	145	0.000	0.674	122	0.000

correlated, with $r = .49$ in wave 1 (2002) and $r = .66$ in wave 3 (2005). The correlations vary by race. In wave 1, whites have higher correlations than blacks and coloreds, whose correlations are similar. Compared to wave 1, the correlations in wave 3 are lower for blacks, higher for coloreds, and virtually unchanged for whites. By wave 3, whites and coloreds have correlations that are similar and much higher than the correlation for blacks.

Because our samples of parents in wave 1 and wave 3 are not the same (i.e., some parents who were the household respondents in 2002 were not the household respondents in 2005), we cannot tell whether the correlations reported in Table 2 reflect differences in the composition of the samples or actual change over time in parental expectations. We performed a sensitivity analysis, restricting the sample of parents to those instances where the same parent was interviewed in both waves (results not shown). The pattern depicted in Table 2 does not change for coloreds and whites. For blacks, the correlations in wave 1 and wave 3 are similar and lower than the correlations for coloreds and whites. Thus, the only real change over time seems to be an increase in the correlation between parents' and children's expectations for coloreds.

OLS regression models of educational expectations in wave 3 (2005) are presented in Tables 3 and 4. Table 3 presents models of parents' and children's educational expectations for the pooled sample of blacks, coloreds, and whites. The model of parents' educational expectations shows that all else being equal, blacks have significantly higher expectations for their children compared to whites, while the expectations of coloreds are not significantly different from those of whites. (Rotating the reference group to blacks indicates that coloreds and whites both have significantly lower educational expectations than blacks; results not shown.) Parental education, literacy/numeracy z-score, and enrollment in school in 2005 have significant and positive associations with parents' expectations. The frequency of time parents and children spend together has a marginally significant positive effect on parental expectations. Finally, children's educational expectations in 2002 have a significant positive effect on parents' expectations in 2005.

As in the model of parents' educational expectations, race, parental education, literacy/numeracy z-score, and school enrollment status are significantly related to children's expectations in 2005. (Also consistent with the model of parental expectations, rotating the reference group to blacks in the children's expectations model shows that coloreds and whites both have significantly lower educational expectations than blacks; results not shown.) In contrast to the parental model, how often parents and children spend time together has no effect on children's expectations. Finally, parents' expectations in 2002 have a highly significant positive effect on children's expectations in 2005.

We conducted additional analyses (results not shown) to further investigate racial differences in educational expectations. In reduced form models of parents' and children's expectations with dummies for race as the only independent variables, the dummy variable for coloreds is significant and negative for both outcomes, indicating

TABLE 3. OLS Regression Models of Educational Expectations, Pooled Race Sample

	Parents' expectations (wave 3)			Children's expectations (wave 3)		
	Coefficient	Standard error	<i>p</i>	Coefficient	Standard error	<i>p</i>
Intercept	7.644	1.082	0.000	10.160	0.893	0.000
Child is male	-0.193	0.147	0.189	0.065	0.117	0.582
Child's age (wave 1)	0.088	0.056	0.115	0.004	0.039	0.924
White (baseline)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Black	1.389	0.331	0.000	0.714	0.209	0.001
Colored	0.149	0.201	0.459	0.007	0.173	0.969
Father answered household questionnaire (wave 1)	—	—	—	-0.130	0.134	0.333
Father answered household questionnaire (wave 3)	0.185	0.206	0.371	—	—	—
Highest parental education (years) (wave 1)	0.121	0.033	0.000	0.094	0.021	0.000
Literacy/numeracy z-score (wave 1)	0.572	0.127	0.000	0.389	0.083	0.000
Enrolled in school (wave 3)	1.106	0.178	0.000	1.367	0.144	0.000
Frequency spent time with parent (wave 1)	0.072	0.038	0.056	-0.026	0.032	0.425
Parent helped child with homework (wave 1)	-0.198	0.144	0.171	-0.118	0.114	0.300
Child's expectations (wave 1)	0.116	0.047	0.015	—	—	—
Parent's expectations (wave 1)	—	—	—	0.100	0.032	0.002
N	547			874		
F	22.62			26.95		
<i>p</i>	0.000			0.000		
R-squared	0.337			0.329		

Note: Results are weighted and control for the multistage survey design. OLS, ordinary least squares.

TABLE 4. OLS Regression Models of Educational Expectations, by Race

	Black			Colored			White		
	Coefficient	Standard error	p	Coefficient	Standard error	p	Coefficient	Standard error	p
A. Parents' expectations (wave 3)									
Intercept	9.953	2.809	0.001	8.501	1.417	0.000	5.292	2.401	0.031
Child is male	-0.405	0.300	0.182	-0.233	0.207	0.264	-0.048	0.253	0.849
Child's age (wave 1)	0.003	0.112	0.981	0.109	0.075	0.149	0.099	0.117	0.398
Father answered household questionnaire (wave 3)	-0.562	0.437	0.204	0.532	0.285	0.064	-0.061	0.290	0.834
Highest parental education (years) (wave 1)	0.141	0.077	0.072	0.114	0.041	0.006	0.151	0.059	0.013
Literacy/numeracy z-score (wave 1)	-0.085	0.217	0.696	0.655	0.157	0.000	0.713	0.285	0.015
Enrolled in school (wave 3)	0.701	0.486	0.155	1.466	0.225	0.000	0.081	0.329	0.806
Frequency spent time with parent (wave 1)	0.240	0.099	0.019	0.044	0.046	0.344	0.077	0.079	0.336
Parent helped child with homework (wave 1)	-0.721	0.387	0.067	-0.393	0.209	0.063	0.071	0.183	0.700
Child's expectations (wave 1)	0.086	0.124	0.492	0.043	0.058	0.463	0.277	0.090	0.003
N	89			326			132		
F	3.24			15.75			10.83		
p	0.004			0.000			0.000		
R-squared	0.227			0.320			0.303		

TABLE 4. Continued

	Black			Colored			White		
	Coefficient	Standard error	<i>p</i>	Coefficient	Standard error	<i>p</i>	Coefficient	Standard error	<i>p</i>
B. Children's expectations (wave 3)									
Intercept	14.708	1.282	0.000	9.066	1.304	0.000	8.335	2.067	0.000
Child is male	-0.021	0.194	0.913	0.011	0.175	0.951	0.188	0.219	0.393
Child's age (wave 1)	-0.112	0.059	0.060	0.021	0.062	0.739	0.099	0.099	0.316
Father answered household questionnaire (wave 1)	-0.083	0.227	0.716	-0.247	0.196	0.210	-0.029	0.236	0.901
Highest parental education (years) (wave 1)	0.050	0.038	0.194	0.138	0.029	0.000	0.022	0.049	0.653
Literacy/numeracy z-score (wave 1)	0.142	0.120	0.238	0.333	0.120	0.006	0.890	0.201	0.000
Enrolled in school (wave 3)	1.022	0.247	0.000	1.551	0.201	0.000	0.963	0.401	0.018
Frequency spent time with parent (wave 1)	-0.058	0.049	0.241	-0.047	0.046	0.311	0.027	0.065	0.685
Parent helped child with homework (wave 1)	-0.440	0.213	0.042	-0.255	0.165	0.125	0.245	0.184	0.188
Parent's expectations (wave 1)	0.015	0.043	0.720	0.140	0.054	0.010	0.132	0.070	0.062
N	334			393			147		
F	7.55			17.59			9.27		
<i>p</i>	0.000			0.000			0.000		
<i>R</i> -squared	0.167			0.330			0.346		

Note: Results are weighted and control for the multistage survey design. OLS, ordinary least squares.

that colored parents and children have significantly lower expectations than their white counterparts. We added individual variables back into the models in a stepwise fashion to identify which predictors were responsible for the loss of significant difference between whites and coloreds in the full model. For parents' expectations, the variable for coloreds loses significance once literacy/numeracy z-score is added to the model. For children's expectations, the variable for coloreds loses significance when both parental education and literacy/numeracy z-score are controlled. Thus, it appears that differences between whites and coloreds in parental education and children's academic performance are responsible for their different levels of educational expectations. Once these factors are controlled, the differences in expectations between coloreds and whites disappear, but the significantly higher expectations of blacks remain.

Table 4 presents models of parents' and children's expectations separately by race. In the model of parents' expectations for blacks, parental education has a marginally significant positive effect. The family social capital variables are the only other significant variables in the model. Parents who spend more time with their children have higher educational expectations, and parents who have helped with children's homework have marginally lower educational expectations. Children's educational expectations are not significant. Among coloreds, gender of the parental respondent (male) has a marginally significant positive effect on parental expectations. Parental education, literacy/numeracy z-score, and school enrollment status in 2005 have significant and positive associations with parents' educational expectations. One of the family social capital variables, parents' help with homework, has a marginally significant negative effect on children's expectations. Children's expectations are not significant. Among whites, parental education, literacy/numeracy z-score, and children's educational expectations are significantly and positively related to parents' expectations. The family social capital variables are not significant.

In the model of children's educational expectations for blacks, age has a marginally significant negative effect on educational expectations, and whether a child was enrolled in school in 2005 has a significant and positive relationship with educational expectations. Parents' help with homework has a significant negative effect on children's expectations, while parents' expectations have no effect on children's expectations. Among coloreds, parental education, literacy/numeracy z-score, and wave 3 school enrollment status are significantly and positively associated with children's educational expectations. Parental expectations also have a significant positive effect, while the family social capital variables are not significant. In the model for white children, literacy/numeracy z-score, enrollment in school in 2005, and parental expectations are positively related to children's expectations, although parental expectations are only marginally significant. The family social capital variables are not significant.

To investigate whether family social capital mediates the relationship between parents' and children's expectations as Hao and Bonstead-Bruns (1998) found, we reestimated the models in Table 4 without the family social capital variables (results not shown). We found no evidence that family social capital mediates the relationship

between parents' and children's expectations for any racial group; the relationships between parents' and children's expectations are not changed by the removal of family social capital variables from the models.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study is the first to use a longitudinal data set to investigate the relationship between race and educational expectations in South Africa, a country with tremendous racial stratification. Consistent with research in other countries (e.g., Qian and Blair 1999; Cheng and Starks 2002), we found high educational expectations among parents and children, but with important variation by race. All else being equal, blacks had higher expectations than whites, as we expected. But contrary to our predictions, the expectations of coloreds and whites were similar when other factors were controlled.

We hypothesized that support for the status attainment perspective would vary between whites and nonwhites, as U.S. research has found (e.g., Kao and Tienda 1998; Qian and Blair 1999; Cheng and Starks 2002). While status attainment variables were generally insignificant in the models for blacks, they were often significant in the models for coloreds. In addition, differences in the expectations of coloreds and whites disappeared once socioeconomic background and children's academic performance were controlled, suggesting that the lower expectations of coloreds can be explained by their lower socioeconomic background and children's poorer academic performance. Thus, the status attainment perspective is more useful for explaining the educational expectations of coloreds than we expected it to be.

Consistent with our prediction, family social capital was significant for the expectations of blacks and coloreds, but not for whites, although family social capital seems to matter more for blacks than for coloreds. (The only significant finding for family social capital among coloreds was a marginally significant effect of parents' help with homework on parents' expectations.) As in the United States, a strong parent-child relationship (i.e., family social capital) may be a resource that poor nonwhite parents in South Africa can provide to their children. However, our findings also show that parent-child interactions do not always work to increase educational expectations; for black parents and children and colored parents, parental help with homework lowered educational expectations. Perhaps as a result of working together on homework, individuals from these groups may come to recognize the obstacles a nonwhite child may face in higher education. For example, they might realize a child does not have the skills and knowledge needed to pass the matric exam, a prerequisite for university admission that blacks and coloreds pass less often than whites. But even with family social capital variables controlled, the educational expectations of blacks remain higher than those of coloreds and whites.

Besides utilizing family social capital, there may be other similarities in the processes by which blacks in the United States and South Africa form their educational expectations. The expectations of South African blacks might represent positive attitudes toward school, dominant beliefs about the value of education, or wishful thinking, as

they might for African Americans (Mickelson 1990; Ogbu 1991; Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey 1998). De facto segregation may contribute to high educational expectations among blacks in South Africa, which may also be the case in the United States (Kao and Tienda 1998). Although apartheid has ended, blacks and whites in South Africa continue to be physically and socially segregated from each other (Lestrade-Jefferis 2002; Burger and Woolard 2005). This segregation may allow blacks to compare their academic performance (or their children's academic performance) to other blacks, which may facilitate high educational expectations. Finally, black South African parents may compensate for their poor economic circumstances by holding high educational expectations for their children, as black parents in the United States may also do (Kao 2002).

Factors unique to the South African experience may also contribute to the high educational expectations of blacks. During the twentieth century, racial segregation in South Africa was more dramatic than racial segregation in the United States, and apartheid restrictions ended more recently than certain race-segregated practices in the United States (e.g., segregated schooling and Jim Crow laws). Many of the youth in our study likely remember, as their parents certainly do, what life was like for blacks under apartheid. Since then, the government has made many promises to blacks (e.g., better housing, schooling, jobs, and wages) and some changes have taken place (e.g., blacks in political positions, affirmative action policies in workplaces, and some integration of schools). Given these changes in the social landscape, it might not be surprising that status attainment variables were usually insignificant in our models for blacks. Blacks may feel very optimistic about children's chances for schooling, and this could translate into high educational expectations.

Because they experienced fewer restrictions and less segregation under apartheid than blacks, coloreds might not view the end of apartheid as having as positive an effect on their lives as blacks might. Coloreds have had more contact with the labor market than blacks (Burger and Woolard 2005) and may be more aware that nonwhites typically receive lower returns to education than whites (which is consistent with MacLeod's [1987] findings that variation in exposure to the labor market may influence the educational expectations of disadvantaged youth in the United States). Coloreds may also feel that certain postapartheid policies, such as, recent affirmative action policies intended to assist blacks in the workplace, will limit the returns to education that coloreds will receive on the labor market. The significant effects of socioeconomic background and academic performance in the models for coloreds also suggest that their expectations may be based less on optimism and more on their lived experiences than those of blacks, although it should be noted that the expectations of colored parents and children are fairly high given the actual educational attainment of coloreds in recent years. Overall, our tests of the status attainment and family social capital perspectives suggest that expectations formation is more similar between coloreds and whites than between blacks and coloreds.

As a mixed race group, coloreds have similarities to both blacks and whites. Like blacks, they have been disadvantaged and discriminated against, although to a lesser extent. But there are ways in which coloreds are aligned more with whites than with

blacks. Language is one example: among youth in the wave 1 sample of CAPS, 99 percent of both whites and coloreds speak English or Afrikaans at home, while 96 percent of blacks speak Xhosa at home. While most blacks in Cape Town are conversant in English—they typically learn English as a second language—very few whites or coloreds can speak Xhosa. Thus, the particular social and cultural location of coloreds—in some ways closer to that of whites but in other ways closer to that of blacks—might help to explain why our findings for coloreds were not always consistent with the findings for nonwhites in U.S. research on race and educational expectations.

Our findings, like those of some U.S. studies (Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Cheng and Starks 2002), suggest racial variation in the relationship between parents' and children's expectations. Overall, parents' and children's expectations agreed more and were more closely correlated among coloreds and whites; this may help colored and white youth to work toward, and possibly realize, their educational expectations. There is some evidence of a possible reciprocal relationship between parents' and children's expectations among whites, which may contribute to the agreement between their expectations. Parents' and children's expectations do not appear to be reciprocally related among coloreds or blacks, and there was no evidence that family social capital mediated the relationship between parents' and children's expectations for any racial group. The greatest similarity in the predictors of parents' and children's expectations was found for coloreds, who shared three significant predictors (parental education, literacy/numeracy *z*-score, and school enrollment), followed by whites, who had two variables in common (literacy/numeracy *z*-score and each other's expectations). The least overlap in predictors was observed for blacks, for whom only parents' help with homework was significant for both parents and children (although the variable was only marginally significant for parents). In forming educational expectations, it appears that colored parents and children both draw on the family's socioeconomic background and the child's academic performance, and white parents and children both use the child's academic performance and each other's educational expectations. But there is only one resource, family social capital, that black parents and children both seem to use in forming educational expectations. Taken together, these findings suggest that the process by which parents and children form their expectations is more similar among coloreds and whites than blacks, which might explain why agreement between parents' and children's educational expectations was higher among coloreds and whites than blacks. However, there may be similarities in the ways in which black parents and children form their educational expectations that our study did not capture.

Our findings suggest several avenues for future research. More studies are needed to understand why the educational expectations of black parents and children are so high even when socioeconomic and other factors are controlled. Attention should be paid to the ways that material conditions, racial discrimination, and other structural constraints might contribute to the high expectations of blacks. Further investigation of similarities and differences in the process by which black parents and children form their expectations (e.g., the resources, perceptions, and information they use) is also warranted. In

addition, future research should investigate whether the ways in which colored parents and children form their educational expectations become more similar over time, which could explain why there was greater agreement between their expectations in wave 3 than in wave 1.

More research is needed on the relationship between family social capital and educational expectations in South Africa. Our study measured family social capital with only two variables, one general measure of parent–child interactions and one measure focused on parental involvement in schooling. Expectations research in other less developed countries has also used a limited number of family social capital variables (Tsui and Rich 2002; Forste et al. 2004), while expectations research in the United States has tended to use more extensive measures of family social capital, with multiple measures of parental involvement in schooling or learning (Wilson and Wilson 1992; Hao and Bonstead-Bruns 1998; Qian and Blair 1999; Trusty 2002). Studies of educational expectations in South Africa that use a variety of measures to capture the parent–child relationship, especially parent–child interactions related to schooling and other learning activities, might find greater effects of family social capital than our study did.

Future research in South Africa might conceptualize family social capital more broadly than we did here, moving beyond the parent–child relationship. Extended kin (e.g., grandparents, aunts, and uncles) who live with children may be an important part of family social capital, particularly for black children, who are often fostered out to (i.e., sent to live with) extended family members. This may happen for a number of reasons, including migration for wage labor by parents, orphanhood, or because extended family households live near better schools or have more resources to invest in children's schooling (Russell 2002; Zimmerman 2003; Anderson 2005). (Fostering is a common practice in other sub-Saharan African countries as well; see Lloyd and Blanc [1996].) These relationships with extended family members may be another type of family social capital for blacks, which may influence children's expectations. Along these lines, Cheng and Starks (2002) found that close relatives have a greater influence on educational expectations for Hispanics and African Americans than for whites, which they interpret as meaning that children from disadvantaged groups may depend more on extended family members than others. The importance of extended kin in the lives of children is expected to increase in many African countries as the HIV/AIDS epidemic leads to higher rates of single and double orphanhood (Nyambedha, Wandibba, and Aagaard-Hansen 2003; Nyamukapa and Gregson 2005). Thus, the possible influence of extended kin on educational expectations is a timely and important area for future research.

It has been argued that school-related variables may be more important than family-related variables for educational outcomes in less developed countries (Buchmann and Hannum 2001), and future research should consider the relative importance of family versus school factors for educational expectations in South Africa. U.S. studies have shown that school characteristics, ties to school personnel (e.g., teachers and guidance counselors), and the expectations of school personnel for children are ways that schools may influence expectations (e.g., Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch 1995; Qian and Blair 1999; Cheng and Starks 2002). Social capital in the form of ties to school personnel may

be important for the educational expectations of disadvantaged youth in the United States by helping them to engage and advance in the schooling system more than they would otherwise (Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch 1995). Such social capital may be important in South Africa as well.

School quality could become more important to the educational expectations of nonwhite South Africans. The end of apartheid opened up new schooling opportunities to blacks and coloreds, who were no longer legally restricted to the poorest-quality schools. While many nonwhite children still attend poor-quality township schools, some now attend “formerly white” schools containing a significant fraction of nonwhite students (e.g., Maile 2004). Given the increased variance in school quality for nonwhites, the possible effects of objective and perceived school quality on educational goals should be examined. (For studies finding effects of school quality on educational expectations in more developed countries, see, e.g., Wilson and Wilson [1992] and Marjoribanks [2002].)

In conclusion, our findings from South Africa provide further evidence of racial differences in educational expectations and racial variation in the relative importance of the status attainment and family social capital perspectives for explaining educational expectations. Our results suggest both similarities and differences between South Africa and the United States in the processes shaping the educational expectations of disadvantaged racial groups. Future research in South Africa will improve our understanding of the complex relationship between race and educational expectations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The CAPS waves 1-2-3 were collected between 2002 and 2005 by the University of Cape Town and the University of Michigan, with funding provided by the U.S. National Institute for Child Health and Human Development and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

NOTES

¹The second wave (2003–2004) of the study did not ask about educational expectations or other measures relevant to our study and reinterviewed only a subset of the original sample.

²Very few individuals from other racial backgrounds (e.g., Asians) were surveyed in CAPS. These individuals were excluded from the analysis for this article.

³In Pettifor et al.’s (2004) national survey of 15–24-year-old South Africans, the percentage of interviews completed with youth selected for the study was 82.7 percent for blacks and 71.2 percent for coloreds but only 37.7 percent for whites.

⁴Although the sample is restricted to children enrolled in grades 8 through 11 in 2002, it is possible for the expected level of completed schooling to be grade 7 if a child currently enrolled in grade 8 is not expected to pass. Only eight parents and no children expected the youth to complete no more than grade 7.

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