STATISTICS SOUTH AFRICA

SELECTED FINDINGS FROM CENSUS '96

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EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA SELECTED FINDINGS FROM CENSUS '96

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report examines the responses to the three education questions contained in South Africa's 1996 population census. It focuses, in particular, on what the census tells us about the links between education and the characteristics of households and individuals.

Children aged 5-15 years:

- In October 1996, there were 8,1 million children aged 7-15 years. Of these 11% were not attending school.
- The proportions of girls and boys aged 7-15 who were attending school were very similar.
- Indian children tended to start school at an earlier age than children of other population groups, while African children tended to start at an older age than others.
- For every year of age between six and 15 years, a higher proportion of urban than rural children were attending school.

Young people between the ages of 16 and 25 years:

- Of youth aged 16-25 years, 6% had no formal schooling and 13% had not completed primary schooling, while 3% had achieved a qualification higher than matric. The educational achievements of young women and men were very similar.
- More than half of all youth between the ages of 16 and 20 years were still studying at the time of the 1996 population census.

Learners and students who had given birth:

- In every age group, girls and women who had given birth were less likely to be studying than those who had not given birth. For example, among all girls aged 12-15, 2% had given birth. Of this group, 56% were still studying, and 44% were not studying in 1996. Among the group who had not given birth, as many as 95% were still studying.
- Close on half (46%) of women students aged 26 years or more who had given birth to at least one child were studying part-time.

Adults aged 26 years or more:

- Altogether, 23% of South Africans aged 26 years or more had not attended school.
- The percentage of women with no formal schooling (at 25%) was higher than that of men (at 20%).
- Close on a third (31%) of African women of this age and 26% of African men had no formal schooling.
- Approximately a third (33%) of women with post-matric qualifications were qualified in the education field, followed by 12% each in arts and in medical sciences. In contrast, 16% of men were qualified in technical fields, followed by 15% in education and 10% in economics and management.

Employment status and education:

- At the time of Census '96, 9,1 million people aged 15 to 65 years indicated that they were employed. Employment status differed by gender and urban–rural place of residence. This report focuses on employment among those aged 26 and above.
- In October 1996, 61% of men aged 26 years or more were employed, compared to 33% of women.
- In terms of location, 54% of urban people of this age and 32% of rural people were employed.
- Employed women tended to be slightly better educated than employed men.
- Close on a fifth of employed African people aged 26 years or more had no formal schooling, compared to 2% or less of the white and Indian groups.
- In urban areas, only 8% of employed people aged 26 years or more had no formal schooling, compared to over a quarter of employed rural people.

- Unemployed people tended to have lower qualifications than employed people. In each population group, the largest proportion of unemployed people aged 26 years and above consisted of those who had completed primary, but not secondary schooling. However, the remaining African and coloured employed people clustered at lower levels of education, while white and Indian employed people clustered at higher levels.
- Close on a third (31%) of rural unemployed people aged 26 years or more had no formal schooling, compared to 12% of unemployed people in urban areas.
- People who were not economically active tended to be less educated than both employed and unemployed people.
- In October 1996, close on half (47%) of African people aged 26 years or more who were not economically active, and more than half (53%) of rural people had no formal education in October 1996.

Earning and education:

- The 1996 population census confirmed that income tends to increase with education. However, at each level of education, a higher percentage of employed women than employed men had an income of R500 or less per month.
- Among employed people with no formal schooling, a higher proportion of coloured (60%) than African (53%) had a monthly income of R500 or less.
- The disparities in earnings between urban and rural people with similar educational levels are starker than the differences in respect of gender or population group.

Educational characteristics of non-South African citizens:

- About a quarter of non-South Africans recorded in the 1996 population census as having been born elsewhere in Africa had no formal education. A further 63% had less than a matric equivalent.
- Over a third (35%) of non-South Africans born in Europe and close on half (49%) of those born in the Americas had been educated beyond matric.
- Under a fifth of non-South Africans aged 26 years and above were studying at the time of the 1996 population census. Countries in Africa accounted for over half of the recorded students.

Education of household head and access to services:

- In October 1996, 29% of the population were living in households whose head had no formal schooling, compared to only 7% living in households with heads with more than a matric qualification.
- Close on two-thirds (64%) of people living in households headed by people with no schooling were in households containing six or more persons. In general, the lower the level of education of the household head, the larger the size of the household.
- In both urban and rural areas, the likelihood that a household had access to piped water and sanitation facilities, used electricity for cooking and lighting, and had refuse removed by the local authority, increased with increases in the level of education of the household head.
- In respect of every facility, households headed by women tended to have access to fewer facilities than those headed by men, irrespective of the level of education of the head.
- In respect of every facility, households situated in rural areas tended to have access to fewer facilities than those situated in urban areas, again irrespective of the level of education of the head. For every facility investigated, the urban-rural differences are more marked than those between male- and female-headed households.

SECTION 1 INTRODUCTION

Education is both a key indicator and important facilitator of development. It is accorded the single largest proportion of the national budget of all sectors. In addition, many poor households spend a significant proportion of their income on the education of their children in the hope and belief that this will ensure them a better life.

The government-commissioned 'Poverty and Inequality Report' notes that South Africa had one of the lowest scores, worldwide, regarding human resource development as measured by the size of the skilled workforce, and the financial resources spent on industry training (May, 1998:91). These findings have implications for personal well-being as well as for the country's ability to grow, compete economically and create jobs. The report attributes South Africa's low scores to poor basic education and the exclusion of the majority of the population from training institutions under apartheid. The new educational reforms are intended to address the former problem while the Skills Development Act of 1998 is intended to address the latter one.

In order to obtain baseline statistics against which to measure change, the Census '96 questionnaire included three questions relating to education. The first question enquired as to the highest school grade completed by the person. The second question asked whether the person had completed any technical or artisan certificate, diploma or degree. The third asked whether the person was attending school, college, technikon or university at the time of the census.

This report examines the patterns revealed by the responses to these census questions. It focuses, in particular, on what the census tells us about the links between education and various characteristics of individuals and households. It shows aspects of the education situation two years after the first democratic election. It pays special attention to gender issues both because of the government's stated commitment to gender equity, and because of the perception that education for women is key to attaining this goal. Focus is also given to rural–urban differences.

Section 2 of this report provides a background against which to contextualise the statistical picture revealed by the census. It provides a brief history of educational provision in South Africa prior to 1994 and since the democratic elections.

Section 3 focuses on people aged between five and 25 years of age. It distinguishes between those who were studying and those who had finished studying. Government policy promotes lifelong learning. In practice, however, educational attendance is concentrated in the younger age groups. This is particularly the case in respect of school education, which is the main aspect of education covered by the census questions. The 5-15 age group covers those who were most likely to be still at school and less likely to have completed their education. The analysis looks at school attendance of this younger age group. It then looks at the educational achievements of those aged between 16 and 25 years. These individuals were beyond the compulsory schooling age but might still have been attending educational institutions. It also looks at the number of women who were still studying despite having given birth to at least one child.

Section 4 looks at people aged 26 years or more, most of whom would have completed their formal education. It analyses achievement in terms of school grade passed and post-school qualifications. It also examines the links between educational achievement, employment and income.

A short Section 5 looks at what the census tells us about those people who were resident in South Africa on census night but were not born in the country. It looks at the educational achievement of people from different regions of the world. It also reports on what proportions of these non-native

residents were still studying at the time of the census. These people will generally not have benefited from South Africa's schooling system. As current residents, however, they constitute part of the human potential on which the country could possibly draw.

Section 6 looks at education from the perspective of living conditions and life circumstances. The census questionnaire provides us with a range of household-level indicators of these dimensions. This section examines the link between these indicators and educational levels, particularly of the person named as household head. The different links do not necessarily establish causality in a particular direction. They are nevertheless important in establishing where the educational gaps are.

DEFINING EDUCATION LEVELS

In 1996, South Africa's schooling system comprised primary schooling, from grade 1 through grade 7, and secondary schooling, from grade 8 through grade 12. Grade 0 constitutes an optional pre-school year before grade 1 but was not widespread at the time of the census. At the end of grade 12, scholars write the school-leaving or matriculation examination. Grade 12 is thus commonly referred to as 'matric'.

For the analysis in this report we generally use five categories in looking at highest education level achieved.

- No schooling includes those who have no formal schooling as well as those who have only completed grade 0.
- Incomplete primary includes all those whose highest grade completed is between grades 1 and 6 inclusive.
- Incomplete secondary includes those whose highest grade completed is between grades 7 and 11 inclusive. It also includes people who have a diploma but have not completed grade 12.
- Matric only is those who have completed grade 12 but have not studied further.
- Higher than matric comprises those who have completed grade 12 and then obtained further qualifications.

SECTION 2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Before 1994, government provision of education in South Africa fell under 19 different education authorities, differentiated in terms of both geography and population group. The resourcing of the different departments, and the quantity and quality of services delivered, differed substantially across the 19 authorities. Overall, under-investment in human resource development during this period resulted in low levels of skills that have persisted until today.

In the later years of the apartheid era there were significant increases in government spending on education. The increases were particularly marked for African people, thus somewhat narrowing the disparities in provision. Nevertheless, even by 1994, the differences in spending on education provision under the different authorities were still reflected in wide variations in conditions and quality in different parts of the country.

In education, as in other sectors, the post-1994 period has seen far-reaching policy changes. In particular, education is no longer racially segregated. Other aspects of the new education policy are reflected in documents and legislation such as the White Paper on Education and Training in a Democratic South Africa; the Hunter Review Committee Report of 1995; the South African Qualifications Authority Act of 1996; the National Education Policy Act of 1996; the South African Schools Act of 1996; the White Paper on Further Education and Training of 1998 and the Further Education and Training Act of 1998.

The White Paper on Education and Training of 1995 recognises the right of every person to 'basic education and to equal access to education institutions'. It acknowledges that the government has an obligation to promote this right, so that 'all citizens irrespective of race, class, gender, creed or age, have the opportunity to develop their capacities and potential, and make their full contribution to the society'. The Bill of Rights also states that everyone has the right to both basic and further education and that the government 'must take reasonable measures to make education progressively available and accessible'. One of the planks of the new education policy is at least ten years of free and compulsory education for all children in the country.

SECTION 3 SCHOLARS AND STUDENTS

This section focuses on those people who were most likely to have been studying at the time of the 1996 population census. It looks, firstly, at the age group 5-15 years, most of whom will fall in the age of compulsory schooling. (Children currently should start school in the year in which they turn seven, but at the time of Census '96 the starting age was lower, and moreover was less strictly applied in different circumstances.) Secondly, this section looks at those aged 16-25 years.

South African law states that all children should attend school, at least until they reach the age of 15 or complete the ninth grade. Schooling is thus not compulsory in the second age range which we analyse below. However, many young people will not have completed the ninth grade of schooling by the age of 15 by reason of late starting, repetition and other difficulties. Further, many will study beyond the ninth grade at higher school levels or beyond.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

According to Census '96, there were 10,1 million children aged 5 to 15 years in South Africa in October 1996, of whom fractionally more than half were girls. Altogether, 79% of all children in this age group were attending school (excluding unspecified). Among those aged 7 to 15 years, the new compulsory school-going age, 89% were attending school (excluding unspecified).

Figure 1 shows the percentage of boys and girls aged 5-15 years who were reported to be attending school in October 1996, in single year age categories. Only those children for whom school attendance information was available are included in the analysis.¹



FIGURE 1: PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN AGED 5-15 YEARS ATTENDING SCHOOL BY AGE AND SEX

¹In this and other tables and figures in this document, we omit data on persons for whom at least one of the variables being examined is unspecified. Further, in this and other tables percentages may sometimes not sum exactly to 100 because of both rounding and omission of unspecified categories.

The figure shows that, although some children started school as early as five years, attendance increased markedly by age seven. The figure also shows that, despite government's efforts to make education compulsory for those aged 7-15, attendance was still not universal in 1996. However, in the age group 10-15 years, attendance was 90% or higher for both girls and boys. The figure shows peak attendance at ages 12-14 for both girls and boys.

Figure 2 compares the proportions of children studying at different ages across the four population groups. The curve for African children is very similar to that for all children combined, reflecting the dominance of African children in the child population. The graph suggests that Indian children tended to start school at a younger age than those of other age groups. By the age of seven years, a smaller proportion of African children were attending school than for all other population groups. This pattern continued until age 14. At age 15, the coloured group had the lowest percentage of children attending school.



FIGURE 2: PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN AGED 5-15 YEARS ATTENDING SCHOOL BY AGE AND POPULATION GROUP

Figure 3 depicts the situation in respect of urban and rural areas. It shows that, for every year of age between six and 15 years, a higher proportion of urban than rural children were attending school in October 1996. The relative difference between urban and rural children was most marked among children aged seven and eight years. This suggests that rural children tend to start their schooling at a later age than children in urban areas.



FIGURE 3: PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN AGED 5-15 YEARS ATTENDING SCHOOL BY AGE AND LOCATION

HIGHEST CLASS COMPLETED BY YOUTH

Education is not compulsory for the population aged 16-25 years. Many in this age group pursue their studies at higher levels of education. Others drop out of school, and yet others have already completed their schooling.

The 1996 population census showed that there were 7 990 138 persons in the age band 16 to 25 years. The female proportion was just above half (51%), at 4 114 365. As in other age groups, African people dominated, at 80%. Forty-six per cent of this age group were living in rural areas in October 1996.

Figure 4 shows the proportions of people aged 16-25 years who had completed different educational levels by sex, population group and locality. Overall, 6% in this age group had no formal schooling, 13% had not completed primary schooling, and a further 58% had not completed secondary schooling. On the other hand, 3% had achieved a qualification higher than matric.



FIGURE 4: HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF POPULATION AGED 16-25 BY SEX, POPULATION GROUP AND LOCATION

Figure 4 shows very similar educational achievements for the young women and men in this age group. However, in grades 7 to 11 and matric categories, there were slightly higher proportions of women than men. Thus 60% of women as against 57% of men had completed grades 7-11, and 20% of women and 19% of men had completed matric as their highest educational qualification. Comparison by population group shows much bigger differences. Only 1% of white and Indian people in this age group had no formal schooling, compared to 7% of African people. Over six in ten white people (62%) had a matric or higher qualification, compared to 18% of African people and 24% of coloured. Similarly, rural people in this age group were clearly lagging behind their urban counterparts in terms of educational achievement. Athird (33%) of those in urban areas had a matric or higher qualification, as against 12% in rural areas.

Many people in the age group 16-25 were still studying at the time of the census. The proportion studying was 89% among 16 year olds, falling to 18% among 25 year olds. In particular, more than half of the people aged between 16 and 20 were studying at the time of the 1996 population census. The patterns reflected above do not, therefore, show what the final educational attainment of many of these individuals will be.

Table 1 shows, for each level of educational achievement, the percentage constituted by each one year age group. For example, among those with no schooling, 9% were 16 years of age, 8% 17 years of age, and so on. Among those with grade 12 as their highest educational qualification, 2% were aged 17 years, 6% aged 18 years, and so on. The table shows, on the one hand, that an increasing proportion of those aged between 22 and 25 years had obtained post-school qualifications. This is expected. On the other hand, the table also shows that a relatively larger proportion with no education were in these age categories (22-25 years). This pattern reflects the legacy of poorer access to education when these people were children.

	16yrs	17yrs	18yrs	19yrs	20yrs	21yrs	22yrs	23yrs	24yrs	25yrs	Total
No schooling %	9	8	8	9	10	10	11	11	12	12	100
Incomplete primary %	19	12	10	9	8	8	8	8	9	8	100
Incomplete secondary %	14	14	12	11	10	9	8	8	8	6	100
Matric only %	0	2	6	10	13	14	14	14	14	12	100
More than matric %	0	1	2	4	7	10	15	18	21	22	100
Total %	11	10	10	10	10	10	10	9	10	9	100

TABLE 1: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AGED 16-25 BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

STUDENTS WHO HAD GIVEN BIRTH

The census asked of all females aged 12 or more whether or not they had ever given birth and, if so, how many of these children were still alive.

The country's Bill of Rights states that no person may be discriminated against, either directly or indirectly, on the basis of pregnancy. Government policy states that pupils may not be excluded from schools on account of pregnancy or having given birth.

In the census, 18 255 girls between the ages of 12-15 (2% of all girls in this age group), 1 329 419 between the ages of 16-25 (43% of the age group) and 7 642 770 aged 26 years or more (82% of the age group) were reported to have given birth to at least one child.

Figure 5 compares the status, in terms of studying, of women with no children with that of women with at least one child. It distinguishes between girls aged 12-15 years, young women aged 16-25 years and women aged 26 years and above. The figure shows that the proportion of women who were studying decreases with increasing age. In addition, it confirms that in every age group women who have given birth are less likely to be studying than those who have not had children. For example, in the 12-15 year age group, only 5% of girls with no children were not studying, compared to 44% of those with at least one child. The differences are smallest in the oldest age group, where very few women – with or without children – were studying. In all age groups, only a very small proportion of women were studying part-time. However, of the 341 621 women aged 26 years or more who had given birth to at least one child and were studying, 46% (157 192) were studying part-time.



FIGURE 5: STUDYING STATUS OF WOMEN WITH NO CHILDREN AND WOMEN WITH AT LEAST ONE CHILD, BY AGE CATEGORY

SECTION 4 POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS AND ABOVE

The focus of this section is on people aged 26 years and above. This covers ages in which people are much less likely than at younger ages to be still engaged in formal education. The section looks at the highest grade completed, highest post-school qualification and employment status by education as well as at earnings by education within this age group. The total number of people in this age group at the time of Census '96 was 17 476 621, of whom 54% were women, 72% were African, and 39% lived in rural areas.

HIGHEST CLASS COMPLETED

South African law currently provides for nine years of compulsory schooling. This effectively means that all South Africans should complete at least grade 7. This provision was, however, not applicable for those aged 26 years and above at the time of Census '96. The analysis below, by sex, population group and locality, reveals that there were significant numbers who did not manage to go as far as grade 7 in their studies.

Figure 6 shows the highest grade completed by those aged 26 years and above at the time of the census. The percentage of women with no formal schooling (at 25%) was noticeably higher than that of men (at 20%). Conversely, the percentage of men who had completed matric or more was higher (at 23%) than the percentage of women who had completed this level (20%).



FIGURE 6: POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE BY HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL AND SEX

Apartheid policies have left their legacy in terms of the educational achievement of adult South Africans. Table 2 shows the number and percentage of women and men aged 26 years and above in each population group who had received no formal schooling. The table shows that African women fared worst, with close on a third having received no schooling. The percentage of African men in this age group with no schooling was slightly lower, at 26%, or 1,4 million people. White people fared best, with only 2% of those aged 26 years and above not having received any formal schooling. In addition, of the 3,8 million people with no schooling, 3,5 million (93%) were African. Further, within each population group, there were more women than men with no formal schooling. In the Indian population group, of the number of people with no formal schooling, 76% were women.

TABLE 2: POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE WITH NO FORMAL SCHOOLING BY POPULATION GROUP AND SEX

		;	F	le	Total					
	No schooling		Total	No schooling		Total	No schooling		Total	
Population group	Number	%*	Number	Number	%*	Number	Number	%*	Number	
African/Black	1 432 594	26	5 597 947	2 071 651	31	6 702 105	3 504 245	28	12 300 052	
Coloured	86 019	12	729 742	98 397	12	854 016	184 416	12	1 583 758	
Indian/Asian	9 130	4	248 952	29 671	11	274 147	38 800	7	523 100	
White	19 296	2	1 235 058	19 817	1	1 348 623	39 114	2	2 583 681	
Total	1 554 975	20	7 872 876	2 231 635	24	9 251 771	3 786 609	22	17 124 647	

* Each percentage stands on its own as a percentage of the total number in that category.

HIGHEST POST-SCHOOL QUALIFICATION

Overall, at the time of Census '96 1,5 million people had post-school qualifications. Table 3 records the field of study of those women and men aged 26 years and above who had obtained a post-matric qualification. It shows that approximately a third (33%) of higher educated women in the 26 plus age group were qualified in the education field, followed by 12% each in arts and in medical sciences. In contrast, 16% of men were qualified in technical fields, followed by 15% in education and 10% in economics and management.

TABLE 3: POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE WITH A POST-MATRIC QUALIFICATION BY FIELD OF STUDY AND SEX

Field of study	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Arts	72 901	9	86 199	12	159 100	10
Science	50 758	6	18 932	3	69 690	5
Law	17 655	2	6 312	1	23 967	2
Theology	7 869	1	2 396	0	10 265	1
Economics and management	80 781	10	36 624	5	117 405	8
Education	123 104	15	232 186	33	355 290	23
Medical sciences	23 243	3	86 832	12	110 075	7
Engineering	33 112	4	2 990	0	36 102	2
Administration and clerical	20 911	3	41 870	6	62 781	4
Protection	31 887	4	5 445	1	37 332	2
Building sciences	7 365	1	1 507	0	8 872	1
Technical	128 621	16	20 460	3	149 081	10
Computing	8 377	1	10 638	2	19 015	1
Veterinary science	1 233	0	2 860	0	4 093	0
Other	215 564	26	140 716	20	356 280	23
Total	823 380	100	695 967	100	1 519 347	100

EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

Census '96 revealed that 38% of people in the working age population of 15-65 years were employed in October 1996, a further 19% were unemployed² and 43% were classified as not economically active (NEA). The NEA population can be further subdivided into categories such as homemaker, full-time student, pensioner, disabled and others. The two figures which follow illustrate the differences in the labour market status of the population aged 26 years or more by sex, population group and location. This provides the background against which the analysis of educational achievement that follows can be understood.

Figure 7 illustrates the distribution of men and women aged 26 years or more across the different labour market categories. It shows very different patterns for women and men. While over six in ten (61%) men aged 26 or more were employed in October 1996, this was the case for 33% of women of this age. Women were much more likely than men to be in all the other labour market categories except those not working on account of disability. In particular, women predominated among those not economically active because they were homemakers. Close on one in five (18%) of women aged 26 or more were in this category in October 1996, compared to less than 1% of men.



FIGURE 7: LABOUR MARKET STATUS OF WOMEN AND MEN AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE

²According to expanded definition of unemployment – see subsection 'Unemployed people' p. 20.

Table 4 shows the percentage distribution of the population aged 26 years or more by labour market status and population group. It shows that, while 61% of white people of this age were employed, this was the case for only 41% of African people, while 54-55% of coloured and Indian people of this age group were employed. Conversely, only 2% of white people in the age group were unemployed, compared to 24% of African people, 10% of coloured and 5% of Indian people. Homemakers were most common among the Indian population group.

TABLE 4: LABOUR MARKET STATUS OF POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE BY POPULATION GROUP

Labour market status	African %	Coloured %	Indian %	White %	Total %
Employed	41	55	54	61	46
Unemployed	24	10	5	2	19
NEA - homemaker	8	13	22	14	10
NEA - pensioner	14	13	11	19	15
NEA - other	10	5	4	3	8
NEA - student	2	0	1	0	2
NEA - disabled person	1	3	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Figure 8 reveals that people in urban areas were much more likely than those in rural areas to be employed. On the other hand, rural people were somewhat more likely than urban to be unemployed. The starkest differences between urban and rural were in the not economically active labour market categories. Rural people were markedly more likely than urban to be found in every one of these categories.



FIGURE 8: LABOUR MARKET STATUS OF POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE BY LOCATION

EMPLOYED PEOPLE

Employed people are those who were working at the time of the census, whether for pay, profit or family gain. Of the 7,4 million employed people aged 26 years and above, 60% were men, 65% were African and 28% were living in rural areas.

Figure 9 shows that employed women tended to be slightly better educated than employed men. For example, 15% of employed women aged 26 plus had post-matric qualifications compared to 12% of employed men in this age category, and 19% of employed women and 17% of employed men had matric. Conversely, 12% of employed women in this age category had no formal education, compared to 14% of employed men.



Figure 10 displays the differences in educational qualifications of employed people aged 26 years or more across the four population groups. Close on a fifth of employed African people in this age group had no formal schooling, compared to 2% or less of the white and Indian groups. Conversely, only around one in twelve coloured and African employed people aged 26 years and above had more than a matric qualification, compared to 17% of employed Indian people and over a third (35%) of employed white people.



FIGURE 10: EMPLOYED POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE BY POPULATION GROUP AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Figure 11 compares the markedly different situations of employed people in urban and rural areas. In urban areas, only 8% of employed people aged 26 years and above had no formal schooling, compared to 28% of employed people in this age group in rural areas. Conversely, 16% of employed people aged 26 years and above in urban areas had a qualification higher than matric. This was the case for only 7% of employed people in rural areas.



FIGURE 11: EMPLOYED POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE BY LOCATION AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE

Unemployed people are defined as those who did not have work at the time of the census, but were looking for work.

According to the official or strict definition of unemployment, persons must have taken specific steps to seek work in the four weeks prior to the interview or the reference date in order to be regarded as unemployed. This is not a requirement for the expanded definition of unemployment. In the 1996 census, no questions were asked about job-seeking behaviour, so the unemployment figures obtained are according to the expanded definition.

Overall, unemployed people were less educated than employed people. While 13% of people aged 26 years and above who were employed at the time of Census '96 had no formal schooling, this was the case for 21% of unemployed people. Conversely, 13% of employed people in this age group had a qualification higher than matric, compared to only 1% of unemployed people.

More men than women were employed. However, of the 3,1 million people in this age group who were unemployed and looking for work at the time of the census, the majority (57%) were women. Figure 12 shows that there were very small differences in the educational qualifications of unemployed women and men.



FIGURE 12: UNEMPLOYED POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE BY SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

In Census '96, 91% of all people recorded as unemployed were African. Figure 13 illustrates the educational qualifications of unemployed people according to the four population groups in October 1996. In each group, the largest proportion of unemployed people aged 26 years and above consisted of those with incomplete secondary schooling. The similarities end there. In the African and coloured groups, the remaining unemployed people clustered in the categories representing those with incomplete primary or no formal schooling. In the white and Indian groups, on the other hand, the clustering was in the categories representing those with matric or higher qualifications.

FIGURE 13: UNEMPLOYED POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE BY POPULATION GROUP AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION



Figure 14 compares the educational status of unemployed people aged 26 years and above in urban and rural locations. Overall, 43% of people aged 26 or more who were unemployed at the time of the census were living in rural areas. Close on a third (31%) of unemployed people of this age in rural areas had no formal schooling, compared to 12% of unemployed people in urban areas. In both urban and rural areas, very few unemployed people had qualifications higher than matric. In rural areas, only 9% had matric or higher.



FIGURE 14: UNEMPLOYED POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE BY LOCATION AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION

The not economically active population consists of those who were neither employed nor unemployed and were not seeking work at the time of Census '96.

Women accounted for 72% of the 5,9 million people aged 26 years and above who were not economically active at the time of the census. Rural people accounted for 52% of the not economically active, and African people for 72%.

Figure 15 reveals almost identical educational profiles among women and men in the not economically active labour market category. As with the graph in respect of unemployed people, it shows only very minor differences between women and men in respect of educational status. However, when the picture for men and women combined is compared with that in Figures 9 (employed) and 12 (unemployed), the figure shows that people who were not economically active tended to have lower educational levels than either the employed or unemployed. Thus 36% of all economically inactive people aged 26 years and above had no formal education, compared to 21% of unemployed people in this age group and 13% of the employed. At the upper end of the scale, a slightly larger percentage (3%) of the economically inactive had post-matric qualifications than among the unemployed (1%). The percentage of employed people with post-matric qualifications (13%) was significantly higher than that of people in either of the other two labour market categories.



FIGURE 15: NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE BY SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Figure 16 compares the situation of not economically active people aged 26 years and above across population groups. It shows that close on half (47%) of African people in this labour market category and age group had no formal education, compared to 16-18% of coloured and Indian people and only 2% of white people. Conversely, close on half (48%) of white people who were not economically active had matric or a higher qualification, compared to 16% of Indian people, and 6% or less of African and coloured people in this labour market category and age group.

FIGURE 16: NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE BY POPULATION GROUP AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION



Figure 17 completes the picture with the rural–urban comparison. The figure reveals that over half (53%) of rural people aged 26 years and above who were not economically active at the time of Census '96 had no formal education, compared to under one in five (19%) in urban areas. Only one in twenty (5%) rural people in this age group who were not economically active had matric or a higher qualification, compared to over one in five (21%) urban people.



FIGURE 17: NOT ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION AGED 26 YEARS OR MORE BY LOCATION AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

EARNINGS BY EDUCATION

The Census '96 questionnaire included a question that asked about the personal income of each individual member of a household. Employment is not the only source of income. However, if we restrict the analysis to employed people, the reported amounts provide a good indication of the financial returns to employment for different individuals. As in previous sections, the analysis here looks at the different patterns among people with different levels of educational qualification by sex, population group and locality.

Figure 18 shows the percentage of employed people with monthly incomes of R500 or less at each of the educational levels. Overall, 53% of employed people with no education were earning R500 or less per month, compared with 3% with post-secondary qualifications. The differences in income between employed men and women with the same educational qualifications are marked. For both women and men, the percentage earning this low level decreased with increasing education. However, at each level of education, a higher percentage of women than men had an income of R500 or less per month.



FIGURE 18: PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED POPULATION EARNING R500 OR LESS BY SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Figure 19 shows the income situation in respect of population group and educational level. Here again, for each population group except the white one, the percentage of employed people aged 26 years and above with incomes of R500 or less drops as educational level increases. The anomaly within the white group occurs in respect of those with lower educational levels. Whereas 17% of the extremely small number of employed whites aged 26 years or more with no formal schooling had an income of R500 or less, this was the case in respect of 27% of those with incomplete primary. In both of the categories, there are relatively few employed white people.

Another interesting feature of Figure 19 is the fact that, among employed people with no schooling, a higher proportion of coloured (60%) than African (53%) people had a monthly income of R500 or less. Among those with incomplete primary, the percentages were similar (44%) for African and coloured. For higher levels of education there was the more usual pattern of African people faring worst.



FIGURE 19: PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED POPULATION EARNING R500 OR LESS BY POPULATION GROUP AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Figure 20 compares the situation in urban and rural areas. Again, within each of the two locations, the percentage of employed people aged 26 years and above with incomes of R500 or less decreases with increasing educational achievement. The differences in income between urban and rural areas are very stark. In October 1996, among those with incomplete secondary education and matric, more than twice as high a percentage of employed rural dwellers as urban dwellers had incomes of R500 or less.



FIGURE 20: PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED POPULATION EARNING R500 OR LESS BY LOCATION AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION

SECTION 5 EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NON-SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENS

In this short section we look at the educational characteristics of those people who were in South Africa on census night, but were not South African citizens. The total number of non-South African citizens recorded in Census '96 was 407 678, of whom close on seven in ten (69%) were male. Of the total, 303 314 (76%) were in the age group 26 years and above. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of these adult non-South Africans were born somewhere in Africa. Just over a quarter (27%) were born in Europe.

Figure 21 shows the highest level of education reported for non-South Africans born in different regions. Approximately 25% of the people recorded as having been born elsewhere in Africa had no formal education and a further 63% had less than a matric equivalent. This pattern is in direct contrast to those born in other regions such as America and Europe. Only around 5% of non-citizens born in these regions had no formal education, while over a third (35%) of those born in Europe and close on half (49%) of those born in the Americas had been educated beyond matric.



FIGURE 21: NON-SOUTH AFRICANS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND REGION OF BIRTH

More than nineteen in every twenty (96%) non-South African citizens who were in the age group 26 years and above were not studying at the time of the census. Of the close on 20 000 who were studying, nearly twice as many were studying part time as were studying full time. Table 5 shows some variation across regions of origin in the proportion of people in this age group who were studying. Asia recorded the highest proportion of students, at 8%, and Africa the lowest, at 3%. In absolute terms, there were more non-South African students of African origin in South Africa in October 1996 than students from any other region. Europe was the second most common region of origin of non-South African students.

	Full-time study	%	Part-time study	%	Not studying	%	Total	%
Africa	3 607	1	4 637	2	238 960	97	247 204	100
Americas	320	1	944	4	20 108	94	21 372	100
Asia	411	4	443	4	9 563	92	10 417	100
Europe	2 156	1	5 752	4	151 356	95	159 263	100
Oceania	68	2	142	4	3 332	94	3 542	100
Other	351	3	376	3	11 974	94	12 701	100
Total	6 914	2	12 295	3	435 292	96	454 501	100

TABLE 5: NON-SOUTH AFRICANS BY STUDYING STATUS AND REGION OF CITIZENSHIP

SECTION 6 EDUCATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD, HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND ACCESS TO SERVICES

The living conditions in a household and the environment in which people live contribute to or detract from their health status. Safe drinking water promotes good health by reducing water-borne diseases. This affects, in particular, the survival of infants and children. Access to water near the dwelling also tends to reduce the time and physical burden on the collectors of water. Regulated garbage disposal and healthy sanitation practices reduce the breeding of disease-carrying animals and insects such as rats and flies near the areas where people live. Candles for lighting and paraffin for cooking are known sources of danger in the lives of many shack dwellers. The analysis below examines the extent to which access to better living conditions correlates with higher education levels and, in particular, the education level of the person named as head of household. As noted at the outset, such correlations, if they exist, need not imply direct causality. The patterns can, nevertheless, point to potential gaps and inequalities.

Instead of devising a single index to measure the household's situation, we have selected a few variables that give some indication of the living conditions of the population of South Africa as derived from the results of the 1996 census. We have cross-tabulated the people living in households with male and female heads with different levels of education against household size and against access to different sources of water, fuel for cooking and lighting, sanitation facilities and refuse disposal. We have also done comparisons between the situation of those living in urban and rural households.

EDUCATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

The census revealed a total of 9 059 571 heads of household, of whom about three-fifths (62%) were men. The majority of the heads of households (86%) were in the age band 15-65 years of age, but the census also revealed a small number (0,4%) of heads in the age-group 10-14 years and 12% in the age category 65 years and above. In terms of educational qualifications, close on a quarter (24%) of heads had no formal education, 17% had not completed primary schooling, a further 38% had not completed secondary schooling, 12% had attained matric and the remaining 8% had a qualification higher than matric.

According to Census '96 documentation, the head of household is the person that the household regards as such, and is usually the person who assumes responsibility for decision-making in the household. In conducting the census, enumerators were instructed to leave the decision as to who was the household head to the informant.

Because the definition is left to informants, household head is an inexact concept. Often it will reflect cultural differences and perceptions rather than the more objective factors measured by most of the other variables collected in the census. In some households, age might be considered the determining factor. In others the household head will be the person who brings the highest income into the household. In the overwhelming majority of households, gender will be an important factor in determining who is considered the household head. Despite this weakness in the definition, the analysis below shows clear differences in the living conditions of households headed by men and those headed by women.

Above we noted the percentage of household heads with different levels of education. In the analysis that follows, we describe patterns in terms of the percentage of people living in households by educational level of household head. These percentages differ somewhat from the percentages for

household heads. One important reason, illustrated in Figure 22 below, is that the size of the household of less educated heads tends to be bigger than the size of the household of more educated heads.

Table 6 shows the overall breakdown of the population by both the sex and highest educational qualification of the household head. Overall, it shows that 29% of people were living in households whose head had no formal schooling, compared to only 7% in households with heads with more than a matric qualification. Amongst people living in female-headed households, 36% of the heads had no formal education, while 21% had not completed primary schooling. Amongst those living in maleheaded households, 25% of the heads had no schooling and 17% had not completed primary school. At the other end of the spectrum, 9% of those living in female-headed households were in households where the head had completed matric or had achieved a higher education, compared to 21% of those living in male-headed households.

Highest educational level	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
No schooling	5 612 691	25	5 447 093	36	11 059 784	29
Incomplete primary	3 968 437	17	3 137 937	21	7 106 374	19
Incomplete secondary	8 421 454	37	5 021 423	34	13 442 877	36
Matric only	2 755 686	12	850 477	6	3 606 163	10
Higher than matric	1 973 164	9	495 819	3	2 468 984	7
Total	22 731 432	100	14 952 749	100	37 684 181	100

TABLE 6: POPULATION BY SEX AND HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

EDUCATION AND HOUSEHOLD SIZE

In 1996, just under half (48%) of all people in South Africa were living in households with six or more members. This was true of 53% of those living in female-headed households and 45% of those living in male-headed households. Disaggregation by level of schooling of the household head, illustrated in Figure 22, shows that 64% of people in households where the head had no schooling were also in households of six or more persons. At the other end of the scale, only 21% of people living in households headed by a person with more than matric education were in households of this size. In general, then, the lower the level of education of the household head, the larger the size of the household.



FIGURE 22: PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLDS OF DIFFERENT SIZES BY EDUCATION LEVEL OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD AND SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

EDUCATION AND ACCESS TO SERVICES

WATER

Access to a clean and safe water supply is an important determinant of household well-being. In October 1996, 3 978 855 of the 9 059 571 households in the country had access to piped water in their dwelling. A further 1 491 228 had access to piped water on site. Overall, then, 60% of households had access to piped water either in the dwelling or on site. In the analysis below, piped water is taken as a proxy for a clean and safe water supply.

As with access to many other household services, geographical location affects the likelihood of a household having access to clean and safe water. Overall, in October 1996, 85% of people living in urban areas were in households with access to piped water, compared to only 22% in rural areas. Figure 23 reveals further differences in relation to the highest education level of the household head.

Figure 23 shows that in both urban and rural areas, the likelihood that a person is living in a household with access to piped water increased with an increase in the level of education of the household head. Thus, close on three-quarters of people living in urban households where the household head had either no schooling or had not completed primary schooling had access to piped water, compared to 99% of those in urban households where the head had more than a matric qualification. In rural areas, about a fifth of people living in households where the head had no schooling or had not completed primary schooling had access to piped water, compared to close on half (48%) in households where the head had a qualification higher than matric. For every level of education of the household head, people in urban households were more than twice as likely as those in rural households to have access to piped water.



FIGURE 23: PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH ACCESS TO CLEAN WATER BY LOCATION AND EDUCATION LEVEL OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Figure 24 illustrates the relationship between the households' access to water and the sex and educational level of the household head. The figure shows a clear pattern of increasing access to what is likely to be a safe and clean water supply with increasing levels of education of the household head. It also shows consistently lower proportions of households with female heads than male heads with piped water in the household or on site. For example, of people living in households headed by men with education beyond matric, 93% had piped water, compared to 83% of households headed by women with comparable education. At the other end of the scale, 37% of people living in households headed by men with no schooling, and only 30% of those in households headed by women with no schooling, had access to piped water on site or in the dwelling.

FIGURE 24: PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH ACCESS TO CLEAN WATER BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND SEX OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD



SANITATION

Access to safe, functioning sanitation facilities is also an important determinant of household wellbeing. Census '96 revealed that the most commonly used sanitation facility was a flush or chemical toilet. Overall, 44% of people living in South Africa in 1996 were living in households with the use of a flush or chemical toilet, 37% were in households with use of a pit latrine, and 5% in dwellings with a bucket latrine. This left 14% in households without any of these sanitation facilities.

There are again significant differences in access to sanitation facilities between urban and rural areas. Overall, 3% of people living in urban areas, compared to 26% living in rural areas, were in households without access to sanitation facilities. Figure 25 illustrates a further relationship, within both urban and rural areas, between the highest level of education of the household head and access to sanitation facilities. In both urban and rural areas, the likelihood that a person was living in a household without sanitation facilities decreased with an increase in the education level of the household head. However, in urban areas, only 6% of those living in households where the head had no formal education did not have access to sanitation, compared to a third (33%) of people living in comparable rural households. It was only in rural households where the head had a qualification higher than matric that access to sanitation was marginally better than in urban households where the head had no formal schooling.

FIGURE 25: PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLDS WITHOUT ACCESS TO SANITATION BY LOCATION AND EDUCATION LEVEL OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD



Figure 26 illustrates the differential access to sanitation facilities of people living in households headed by women and men with different levels of education. The differences between male- and female-headed households were much less stark than those between urban and rural. As before, those living in households headed by men were more likely than those living in households headed by women to have access to sanitation. Further, access to sanitation improved with the education of the household head, irrespective of the head's sex. However, there was never more than a six percentage point difference in the access to sanitation between those living in male-headed households and female-headed households at any level of education.

FIGURE 26: PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLDS WITHOUT ACCESS TO SANITATION BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND SEX OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD



ELECTRICITY

Census '96 investigated the usage of different fuels for three purposes, namely cooking, lighting and heating. This section focuses on the main fuel used for cooking and lighting. Analysis of heating is more complicated, as some parts of the country are warm enough throughout the year to obviate the need for heating. In respect of cooking and lighting, we look at the percentage of people living in households that do not use electricity as their main fuel. Electricity is chosen as it is generally the most convenient and safest fuel for household purposes.

Overall, in October 1996, 58% of the population were living in households that were not using electricity as their main fuel for cooking. Fuel use patterns differed significantly between rural and urban areas. Under a third (32%) of urban residents were in households which were not using electricity for cooking, compared to 87% of rural residents. Figure 27 illustrates further differences in both locations according to the highest educational level of the household head. In urban areas, for example, less than half of those in households where the head had no formal education were using electricity for cooking, compared to 96% in households where the head had a qualification higher than matric. In rural areas, use of fuels other than electricity stood at 93% in households where the head had no formal education, compared to under half (45%) where the head had a qualification higher than matric.

FIGURE 27: PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLDS USING COOKING FUEL OTHER THAN ELECTRICITY BY LOCATION AND EDUCATION LEVEL OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD



Figure 28 illustrates the use of a fuel other than electricity for cooking in relation to the sex and educational level of the household head. The figure shows familiar patterns. The use of electricity increased among both male- and female-headed households with increasing levels of education. Further, levels of access to this more convenient fuel were lower for female-headed than male-headed households at all levels of education. The differences between female- and male-headed households were small at lower levels of education. They became more marked for households where the head had incomplete secondary education or higher.

FIGURE 28: PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLDS USING COOKING FUEL OTHER THAN ELECTRICITY BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND SEX OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD



In October 1996, households were somewhat more likely to be using electricity for lighting than for cooking. Overall, less than half (45%) of the population were in households that did not use electricity for lighting. However, close on three-quarters (73%) of rural residents were in such households, compared to a much lower 21% of urban residents.

Figure 29 illustrates graphically these stark urban–rural differences in the use of electricity for lighting, as well as further differences related to the education level of the household head. Use of fuels other than electricity for lighting decreased with increasing levels of education of the head. However, even in rural households where the household head had a qualification higher than matric, the situation was only more or less comparable to that of urban households where the head had no formal education. For all levels of education, urban households were more than twice as likely as rural to use electricity for lighting.





Figure 30 illustrates the situation in respect of male- and female-headed households. Overall, 56% of people living in female-headed households, compared to 39% of those living in male-headed households, were in households that did not use electricity for lighting. As usual, use of other fuels decreased with increasing levels of education in both male- and female-headed households. The gender differences were less stark than those between urban and rural areas. They were, nevertheless, significant, especially for households where the head had matric or higher qualifications. Unless households use a generator or solar power, use of electricity is dependent on access to the electricity grid. If a household is located far from a grid, neither education nor income can assist in obtaining access.

FIGURE 30: PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLDS USING LIGHTING FUEL OTHER THAN ELECTRICITY BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND SEX OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD



REFUSE DISPOSAL

In enquiring about refuse removal, Census '96 distinguished between households whose refuse was removed by the local authority, those using a communal refuse dump, those with their own refuse dump, and those with no system of rubbish disposal. For those whose refuse was removed by the local authority, the census distinguished further between those for whom the service was performed at least once a week, and those for whom it was performed less frequently. In this section, we employ a simple distinction between those households whose refuse was removed by local authorities and those whose refuse was not disposed of in this way.

Overall, in October 1996, just over half (52%) of the population was living in households which did not have their refuse removed by the local authority. The situation was significantly worse for rural than urban areas. In the former, 97% of the population were in this position, while in the latter only 12% were in households where the local authority did not provide the service.

Figure 31 confirms that, while the education level of the household head correlates with the method of refuse removal, location is a far more significant determinant. Even among rural residents in households where the head had higher than matric, 87% were in households where the local authority did not remove the refuse. In urban areas, on the other hand, even among households where the household head had no formal education, only 21% did not benefit from refuse removal by the local authority.

FIGURE 31: PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLDS IN WHICH REFUSE WAS NOT REMOVED BY THE LOCAL AUTHORITY BY LOCATION AND EDUCATION LEVEL OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD



Figure 32 reflects the refuse removal situation in respect of people living in households headed by women and men with differing levels of education. As before, households where the head had a higher level of education were more likely to have access to local authority services. The differences were less marked between male- and female-headed households than between urban and rural. Nevertheless, in households where the head had matric or higher, female-headed households were nearly twice as likely as male-headed not to have local authority refuse removal services.

FIGURE 32: PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLDS IN WHICH REFUSE WAS NOT REMOVED BY THE LOCAL AUTHORITY BY EDUCATION LEVEL AND SEX OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD



SECTION 7 CONCLUSION

Census '96 has only three questions related to education and can thus not provide in-depth insights into the complexities of the way in which education and development in South Africa are linked. The census is, however, able to provide us with some indications as to the situation which government policy needed to address just over two years after the first democratic elections.

Analysis of education levels of household heads against access to a range of basic services that are important determinants of quality of life show that households headed by people with higher education generally enjoy greater access to services. Further, households headed by men are likely to have greater access to services than households headed by women with similar levels of education. The same holds, but more strongly, for households in urban areas as against those in rural areas. These tabulations do not imply causation. One important missing variable is income, in that households with heads with higher education are likely to have higher incomes, and those with higher incomes are likely to have greater access to services. Nevertheless, the tabulations provide an indication of where one might find those South Africans who are most in need of both householdlevel services and individually-targeted ones such as education.

The analysis of the situation of people aged under 26 years confirms that South Africa has relatively high levels of school enrolment, and that the gender differences in this respect are minimal. Nevertheless, population group and rural–urban differences remain to be addressed. Further, the statistics on the number of young women who bear children at an age when they should be attending school points to a potential problem area.

The analysis of the situation of those aged 26 years and older confirms the legacy of the apartheid years, with low levels of education and clear inequalities in terms of population group, location and gender. The analysis in respect of economic status and income confirms that people with higher education are more likely to be employed and, if employed, to have higher incomes. It shows, further, that men at any particular educational level are more likely to be employed than women and more likely to have higher incomes.

The analysis of the educational situation of people who were not born in South Africa shows that those born in Europe and America tend to have significantly higher educational levels than those born in Africa.

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