

RESOURCE DISTRIBUTION IN EDUCATION AND INCOME DISTRIBUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

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I. Introduction

Both income inequality and inequalities in education have been the source of much social and political discontent in South Africa. As the process of political change in the country continues inexorably, both these issues are likely to receive increasing attention. This paper gives attention to some dimensions of these problems and their interrelationship.

Until recently, there was almost complete racial segregation in both primary and secondary education in South Africa for the four racial groups (blacks, coloureds, Asians and whites) as defined in that country, and the separate facilities were highly unequal. I analyse below the extent of inequality in resource allocation in education in South Africa and how this has changed over time. In addition, I consider whether education and the distribution of earnings have been related in that country. The evidence suggests that there is a relationship between education and income distribution in south Africa. This implies that any reforms which create a more equal distribution of education might contribute towards a distribution of earnings that is less unequal in the longer term.

II. Measuring Equality of Resource Allocation in Education

Comparisons of average spending per pupil per annum do not give us the whole story on inequality in resource allocation, partly because such comparisons do not take into account the differences in number of years of education that different individuals and groups receive.

A tool used in economic analysis, the Lorenz curve framework, allows us much better to analyse the distribution of education and between various groups (see Mingat and Tan, 1985).

In essence, a cohort is selected and government subsidies for different sub-groups in the cohort are calculated over the formal education years of the cohort.

Comparisons can then

be made between the different sub-groups.

An example serves to outline the approach. Consider a cohort of 200 children of which 40 receive no schooling whatsoever, 80 receive primary schooling only, 60 receive primary and secondary schooling, and 20 receive primary, secondary and tertiary schooling. Provided that the expenditure per pupil/student and the number of years spent at each level are known, it is a relatively simple matter to determine the distribution of resources amongst the cohort over the formal education years of the cohort. If it took seven, five and four years to complete primary, secondary and tertiary education, and if the per annual pupil/student costs that were borne by the government were \$100, \$200 and \$400 respectively, then those who completed primary schooling only would receive \$56,000 ($80 \times 7 \times \100), those who completed primary and secondary schooling would receive \$102,000 ($60 \times 7 \times \100 plus $60 \times 5 \times \$200$), and those who completed primary, secondary and tertiary education would receive \$66,000. In this example, 20% the cohort clearly receive nothing from the government towards education; 40% of the cohort receive 25% of government resources spent on the education of the cohort; 30% receive 45.5% of the resources spent on the education of the cohort; and 10% receive 29.5% of government spending on the education of the cohort. I applied this approach to South African data, and further subdivided groups on a racial basis as well.

I obtained data for two cohorts - one aged 6 in 1970 and one aged 6 in 1985. Enrolment ratios were used to estimate the proportion of a cohort that received any level of education. These are shown for each of the racial groups in Table 1 for both 1970 and 1985. Despite very encouraging improvements in black enrolments, the differences between whites and blacks were still marked in 1985 and 20 per cent of the relevant black age group did not enter primary school at this time. Enrolment ratios for Asians and coloureds fall in between those of blacks and whites. It is assumed that the

enrolment ratios in 1970 pertained over the life of a cohort aged 6 in 1970 and those in 1985 remain so over the formal education years of a cohort aged 6 in 1985. Although this assumption can be questioned, it must be borne in mind that a comparison is being made between two time periods and the same assumption has been used in both cases.

TABLE 1
Enrolment Ratios in South Africa 1970 and 1985

	Blacks	Asians	Coloureds	Whites
	1970	1970	1970	1970
	1985	1985	1985	1985
Primary				
Secondary				
Tertiary	65			
	10			
	0.5	80		
	35			
	1	100		
	58			
	5	100		
	95			
	15	90		
	26			
	2	96		
	57			
	4	100		
	84			
	20	100		
	95			

Secondary

Tertiary 65

10

0.5 80

35

1 100

58

5 100

95

15 90

26

2 96

57

4 100

84

20 100

95

1,073

5,500 112

156

1,384 937

1,474

5,500 366

624

936 2,044

2,504

5,500

Source: Malherbe, 1977. Trotter, 1988.

Tables 3 and 4 give the results of the computations, and these are reflected also in Figure 1.

The distribution of resources to education was highly unequal for both cohorts. For example, although blacks constituted over 74.3 per cent of the relevant cohort in 1970, they would have received only 17.2 per cent of all resources devoted to the education of that cohort. Whites would have received 67.1 per cent of all resources spent on the education of the 1970 cohort, but represented only 12.2 per cent of the cohort. Overall, 27.1 per cent of the cohort did not receive any of state resources spent on the education of the cohort and 3.1 per cent of the cohort obtained over ten times its proportionate share of resources.

While the distribution of resources in education is much more equal for the 1985 cohort than the 1970 cohort, it is nevertheless very unequal. Just over one-sixth of the 1985 cohort will not receive any government resources for education; 40% will receive around 15% of the resources devoted to the education of the cohort; two-fifths of the cohort will receive three-fifths of the resources; and around 4% of the cohort will receive six times its proportionate

share (by the year 2,000).

A Gini coefficient² was also calculated for each of the cohorts. For the uninitiated, the higher the Gini coefficient, the greater the inequality in distribution of resources in education (the Gini coefficient can vary between 0 and 1). The Gini coefficient fell from 0.66 for the 1970 cohort by 20% to 0.53 for the 1985 cohort.

A similar exercise for developed and developing countries gives Gini coefficients of 0.27 and 0.63 (using data for 1980) (see Table 5). The distribution of resources in education in South Africa is thus not as unequal as that in developing countries, but is significantly more unequal than that in developed countries. The racial bias in the inequality, however, is very problematic.

The inequalities in South Africa could be addressed by redistributing resources in education or spending more on education. Government spending on education has been around 4.5 to 5% of GDP - this is above that for many countries with a similar per capita GDP. It is thus not clear that higher government spending can be relied upon to address inequalities. There are, of course, very many redistribution options, and I mention only one to give an idea of the size of the problem and the redistribution gains that might be achieved. If ability is not a limiting factor, there is no reason why all black and coloured children should not receive primary education. If government spending per white child were cut by around 20% at the primary level and if the government subsidy to all tertiary students was halved, and if all savings so generated were channelled into primary education for black and coloured children, a significantly more equal distribution of resources would be achieved (see Figure 1, the "adj prim/ter 1985" graph). That change would of course not bring about equality between the groups. It would, however, mean that whites would on average receive resources for education equal to only 2.7 times their proportionate representation in the population (compared with 5.6 on the 1985 data) while blacks would receive 0.56 of their proportionate share (compared to 0.45).

TABLE 3
Distribution of Resources in Education of
Cohort Aged 6 in 1970

No Education		
ci		ri
Primary Only		
ci		ri(Primary,
Secondary)		
ci		ri(Prime/Sec/
Tertiary)		
ci		ri
Total		
ci		riW

B

C

A

T 0

26.0

0

1.1

27.1 0

0

0

0

0 2.0

40.8

1.2

6.8

50.8 6.0

7.2

1.2

5.2

19.6 7.8

7.1

1.5

2.6

19.033.6

6.0

2.8

3.8

46.2 2.4

0.4

0.1

0.2

3.127.5

4.0

1.2

1.5
32.212.2
74.3
2.8
10.7
10067.1
17.2
5.2
10.5
100
W = Whites, B = Blacks, C = Coloureds, A = Asians, T = Total
Ci = Percent cohort
ri = Percent resources

TABLE 4
Distribution of Resources in Education of
Cohort of Age 6 in 1985

No Education
ci ri
Primary Only
ci ri(Primary,
Secondary)
ci ri(Prime/Sec/
Tertiary)
ci ri
Total
ci riW

B

C

A

T 0

16.0

0

0.3

16.7 0

0

0

0

0 0.4

37.0

2.9

0.1

40.4 1.0

11.1

2.4

0.1

14.6 5.6

28.0

3.9

1.7

39.225.9

21.7

6.9

4.0

58.3 2.3

0.8

0.3

0.3

3.719.7

3.8

1.6

1.8

26.9 8.3

82.2

7.1

2.4

~~100~~46.6

36.6

~~10~~.9

5.9

~~100~~

W = Whites, B = Blacks, C = Coloureds, A = Asians, T = Total

C_i = Percent cohort

r_i = Percent resources

TABLE 5
Distribution of Educational Resources
(1980) (enrolment ratios)

No

Education
ci ri

Primary Only
ci ri
Primary and
Secondary
ci riPrimary,
Secondary
and Tertiary
ci riGini
Co-
efficient
GDeveloped
Countries

Developing
Countries --

14.1 --

0 21.7

54.7 9.4

17.9 48.3

23.8 43.9

30.6 30

7.4 46.7

51.5 0.27

0.63

Source:Calculation original. Sources used for enrolment ratios and costs included UNESCO (1988), World Bank (1988), and Kurian (1988). It was assumed that number of years spent at primary, secondary and tertiary education were 6,6 and 4.

c_i = Percent cohort; r_i = Percent resources

III) Education and Income Inequality

Both labour market theorists and those who study the economics of education have been fascinated by the issue of whether inequalities in education are related to inequalities in earnings. I consider below whether there is some evidence for South Africa which supports the human capital view on education and earnings inequality, focussing on three main issues:

i) do those with similar levels of education earn similar incomes, irrespective of racial group and, if not, what economic explanations may be given to account for these disparities?

ii) are increases in the average level of education accompanied by a narrowing or widening of income dispersion within and across racial groups?

iii) is the distribution of education systematically related to the distribution of earnings?

There is no consensus on the theoretical link between education and the distribution of earnings in the literature. The human capital school contends they are closely related, while there are a number of opposing schools of thought that maintain that there is either no relationship or that it is very weak (see Sahota, 1978; Cain, 1976).

The human capital school argues that education makes individuals more productive and, provided productivity is closely related to earnings, a more equal distribution of education would be associated with a more equal distribution of earnings. Becker and Chiswick (1966), for example, found evidence for the USA, Canada, Mexico, Israel and Puerto Rico which supported the hypothesis that a more equal distribution of education is associated with a more equal distribution of earnings (see also Chiswick, 1974; Mincer, 1974).

The predominant view amongst the human capital school on the racial

distribution of earnings

is that market forces will in the longer term erode artificial wage differences that have arisen as a result of discrimination, and that improvements in information about certain groups would lead to greater equality in earnings between blacks and whites.

Differences in earnings

between blacks and whites with similar qualifications could, however, be explained in part

by differences in quality of education. Public policy that creates a more equal distribution

of opportunities for education would assist in improving an unequal distribution of income

(see Christian and Stroup, 1982).

The human capital school, however, is divided on whether income dispersion changes in a

systematic way as the average level of education rises. Here, Becker and Chiswick (1966)

and Mincer (1970) argue that earnings of those with fewer years of education are likely to

be more narrowly clustered around the mean than the earnings of those with more education.

They argue that since individual abilities are not monolithic and the cost of obtaining funds

for education generally varies between individuals, individual demand and supply curves for

education are likely to vary considerably, and there would be no systematic relationship

between level of education and the rate of return to that education. If that is the case, it can

be shown mathematically that the higher the level of education, the greater would be the

variance of earnings (assuming earnings and education are related). Marin and

Psacharopoulos (1976), on the other hand, argue that there is a plethora of international

evidence which shows that the private rate of return on education consistently decreases as

the level of education increases. If the rate of return falls significantly as the level of

education rises, increases in educational level could be accompanied by a narrower dispersion

of earnings.

There are of course many different schools of thought that deny that there is any relationship

between education and its distribution and the distribution of earnings.

Supporters of the

screening hypothesis or segmented labour market theory (see Thurow, 1975; Dore, 1976; Arrow, 1973), for example, argue that education is a selection device at the point of hiring, and that individual pre-employment skills are almost irrelevant in determining positions actually filled. The number and type of jobs available in an economy are technologically determined, with wages attached to jobs (not individuals). Wages are determined largely by institutional factors and custom. Workers join a queue to compete for jobs and are ranked by employers according to a number of background characteristics and the training costs employers expect to incur in teaching incumbents to perform their tasks. Those with the lowest prospective training costs rank highest in the queue. A more equal distribution of education could do little to alter incomes associated with those jobs. Thurow (1972), for example, showed that despite the fact that the share of years of educational attainment of the lowest fifth of adult white males in the United States increased significantly between 1950 and 1970, their share of total money income declined, and exactly the opposite occurred for those at the top of the education spectrum.

Bowles and Gintis (1976), adopting a different approach, have argued that the principal function of education is to perpetuate the status quo through a facade of meritocracy, and this is made palatable to the masses because education is, in principle at least, open to all. Education is hardly then a major vehicle for contributing towards social and economic equality.

Jencks (1972), Oulton (1974), Hoer(1973) and Taubman and Wales (1973) also concluded that the proportion of income inequality that could be explained by education is small, although their rationale is very different to that offered by Bowles and Gintis.

I do not attempt to resolve the debate between the various schools of thought here. Instead, I merely report findings for South Africa that lend some support to the Marin and Psacharopoulos version of the human capital school.

IV. Empirical Work for South Africa

(i) Racial Inequalities

The distribution of income across the racial groups in South Africa is unequal, although this has improved over the last two to three decades. In 1960, for example, whites constituted around 19 per cent of the population and earned around 70 per cent of the personal disposable income; blacks constituted nearly 70 per cent of the population but earned only 23 per cent of the personal disposable income. By 1985, however, whites' share of income had fallen to 55 per cent, while their share of the population had fallen to around 18 per cent. Blacks' share of disposable income had increased by about a third to around 32 per cent, and their share of the population remained around 70 per cent³ (see Bureau for Market Research, 1986; Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa, 1987-88).

It would of course be naive to assume that income differences in South Africa can be explained only by differences in education. As can be seen from Table 6, median incomes vary dramatically across racial groups even where there are similar levels of education. It would be difficult to deny that earnings have in part been a function of racial group. However, this observation need not necessarily invalidate the human capital hypothesis, because investment in education has been different for the racial groups (recall that government spending per black pupil at primary school is roughly one-tenth of that of whites).

If lower spending has meant lower quality education, it would be expected by the human capital school that earnings of blacks would be lower than those of whites with similar qualifications.

The human capital school would also expect relative earnings differentials to narrow as one moves up the education spectrum, because differences in spending per pupil are more marked at lower levels of education. An analysis of earnings differentials for

all racial groups for 1980 supports this conclusion. Table 7 shows that, with very few exceptions, the earnings of non-white racial groups as a percentage of earnings of whites with the same level of education increased with increasing levels of education. Postgraduate qualifications are omitted because of the small sample.

Further support for this view is obtained if relative earnings differences are compared over time. While reliable earnings data are not available for blacks for 1970, earnings as a percentage of white earnings by level of education can be examined for coloureds and Asians for 1970 and 1980. Since per pupil spending increased relatively for the non-white groups from the 1960s onwards, it would be expected that relative earnings of these groups would have increased once they entered the labour force. This is true at every level of education for males; note also that the relative earnings disparities between those with no education actually grew (the reader can calculate this from Table 6). While competing explanations may be offered for the evidence presented here, it is not inconsistent with human capital doctrine. It also offers support to the finding of Moll (1992) that improvements in the quality of education of blacks increased returns on education of blacks between 1975 and 1985.

TABLE 6

Median Annual Real Incomes of Economically
Active Males in 1960, 1970 and 1980 by Level of

Education

(all in 1980 Rand)

Level of Education 1960	White		Coloured		Indian		Black	
	1970	1980	1960	1970	1960	1970	1980	1980
1 - 7 years								
8 - 9 years								

1 - 7 years

8 - 9 years

10 years

11 - 12 years

B. Degree

M. Degree

Doctorate 2024

3947

5712

6348

7503

10943

11744

15389 2346

5324

6922

8109

9205

15331

17127

21016 6775

5798

7210

6332

9280

14922

17240

18965 523

802

1468

1777

2493

6035

n/a

n/a 672

1209

2146

2529

2977

4749

4682

4828 923

1475

2299

3237

4513

8270

11432

10560 788

1198

1490

1912

2567

5297

5663

5366 1176

1691

2104

2471

2928

4718

4793

5065 2064

2255

2953

2371

4562

9406

12955

14559 866

1272

1685

1873

2230

5445

5950

6000

Source: 1960 and 1970 data: Malherbe, 1977.

1980 data: Central Statistics, Unpublished Statistics.

n/a: Not available.

Comparative statistics for blacks only available for 1980.

TABLE 7

Median Annual Earnings of Coloured, Indian and Black Economically Active Males and Females as a Percentage of their White Counterparts by Level of Education (1980)

Level of Education	As Percentage of White Earnings					
	Coloureds		Asians	Blacks	Male	Female
Male	Female	Male	Female	0 years		
1 - 7 years						
8 - 9 years						
10 years						
11 - 12 years						
Bachelors Degree	13.6					
	25.6					
	31.9					
	51.1					
	48.6					
	55.4	10.6				
	39.8					
	41.0					
	49.8					
	62.8					
	78.8	30.5				
	38.9					
	41.0					
	37.4					
	49.2					
	63.0	35.6				
	89.8					
	47.1					
	47.4					
	55.9					
	89.0	12.8				
	21.9					
	23.4					
	29.6					
	24.0					
	36.5	8.0				
	27.4					

22.4
27.2
41.4
58.9

Source: Calculated from Central Statistical Services, Unpublished Statistics (1980).

ii) Educational Level and the Dispersion of Earnings

The relationship between education and the dispersion of earnings is considered within each

racial group. Thereafter, this relationship is examined for blacks and whites jointly for specific age groups.

The measures selected to show the distribution of income are a dispersion index (DN)⁴ and a Gini coefficient. The higher the value of either measure, the worse the degree of inequality.

Trotter's (1977) figures are used for 1960 and 1970 (Table 8), while our own were computed for 1980 (Table 9).

It can be observed that the dispersion of earnings generally narrowed as level of education increased. There are 26 possible comparisons between one educational level and the next.

In sixteen cases, both the Gini coefficient and the dispersion index fall as educational level rises. In six cases, the results are ambiguous with the indexes moving in opposite directions.

In two of these ambiguous cases, viz. that of Asians between 1 and 7 years and 8 and 12

years of education in 1970 and 1980, the dispersion index falls significantly whereas the Gini

coefficient increases only marginally. When skewness indexes were calculated as well, it was

found that in both these ambiguous cases the measure of skewness fell as educational level

rose. Perhaps there are then another two cases of declining income inequality with increased

education. In four cases only, the dispersion indexes and Gini coefficients both increase as

educational level rises.

1.36
1.04
1.03 0.66
0.46
0.40
0.38

0.63
0.44
0.37
0.49 147
224
427
1,740

244
439
861
d 1.41
1.93
1.74
c

1.41
1.45
1.35
d 0.45
0.51
0.46
c

0.46
0.47
0.52
d 220
335
447
1,594

427
614
868
d 2.08
1.86
1.70
c

1.53
1.32
1.26

d 0.61
0.63
0.55
c

0.57
0.49
0.50
d

Source: Trotter, 1977

b: Median Incomes in current values throughout

c: Measures cannot be calculated, as more than 20% are in last (open) class

d: Measures cannot be calculated, as more than 50% are in last (open) class

TABLE 9
Characteristics of Income Distributions for
Economically Active Males by Level of Education, 1980

Years of education	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks
DN G0		Median R DN		GMedian R
1-7				
8-12				
Degree	6775			
	5798			
	8877			
	15363	1.75		
	1.36			
	1.15			
	1.12	0.43		
	0.41			
	0.29			
	0.40	923		
	1475			
	2751			
	8454	1.44		
	1.18			
	1.46			
	1.26	0.47		
	0.46			
	0.46			
	0.36			

1-7
8-12
Degree 2064
2255
3416
9437 1.41
1.16
0.24
1.23 0.42
0.38
0.41
0.43 866
1272
1781
5282 1.72
1.27
1.04
1.28 0.44
0.40
0.34
0.36

Source: Calculated from Unpublished Statistics. Central Statistical Services, 1980.

Table 10 shows the distribution of incomes for females in each racial group by educational level for 1980 (females had not been included in Trotter's study). There are 12 comparisons that can be made between one educational level and the next. In seven cases, an increase in educational level is accompanied by a fall in the dispersion index and the Gini coefficient. In two cases the results are ambiguous

with the Gini coefficient moving in the opposite direction to the dispersion index. In three cases only was an increase in education accompanied by an unambiguous worsening in the distribution of income.

An improvement in the average level of education has thus generally been associated with an improvement in the dispersion of earnings for both males and females.

I obtained data also on education and income distribution for selected age groups. The 35 to 54 year-old groups were selected, since earnings are most stable over these

age-groups. I restricted the analysis here to the two polar extreme groups only (i.e. blacks and whites) and to two levels of education where the sample was large (completed primary education only vs completed secondary education).

Table 11 shows that the distribution of earnings for black and white males was more unequal for those with a standard 5 education than for those with a standard 10 education: whereas the lowest 20 percent of black and white males aged 35-44 with a Std 5 certificate earned only 0.1 percent of all black and white male earnings with a Std 5 certificate, the comparative figure for Std. 10 was 5.2 percent. For the top 20 percent in each educational group, the relevant percentages were 45.2 and 34.3. A similar trend is observed for those aged 45-54 - incomes were far more unequally distributed for black and white males with a standard 5 than those with a standard 10 qualification. The Gini coefficients for the two age groups fall from 0.41 and 0.45 for those with primary education completed to 0.28 and 0.28 for those with completed secondary education. Similar results were obtained for females (see Marais, 1991). The results are consistent with the Marin and Psacharopoulos version of the human capital doctrine because the distribution of earnings for both black and white males narrowed as educational level increased.

TABLE 10
The Distribution of Income by Level of Education for Females (1980)

Years of education	Whites	Coloureds	Median R	DN	G	Median R
DN						
GNone						
1-7						
8-12						
Degree						
2978						
1474						
4230						
5583	1.70					
	2.52					
	0.90					
	0.79	0.47				

0.48			
0.29			
0.39	317		
587			
1673			
4094	1.92		
2.36			
1.31			
0.74	0.48		
0.51			
0.39			
0.27		Asians	BlacksNone
1-7			
8-12			
Degree	1061		
1323			
1864			
4422	1.36		
1.04			
1.32			
0.74	0.42		
0.40			
0.41			
0.32	240		
404			
497			
2392	2.23		
2.25			
1.75			
0.97	0.66		
0.59			
0.45			
0.34			

Source: Calculated from Central Statistical Services, Unpublished Statistics, 1980.

TABLE 11
Income Distribution for Black and White Males,
Age 35-44 and 45-54 by Educational Level (1980)
Age: 35-44
Lowest2nd LowestMiddleSecond HighestHighest 20% 20% 20% 20%
20%Std. 5

Std. 10	0.1								
5.2	10.1								
15.0	22.3								
19.2	22.3								
26.3	45.2								
34.3									
Age: 45-54									
Lowest20%Std. 5	2nd 10	Lowest20%Std. 5	Middle20%Std. 5	Second 20%Std. 5	Highest20%Std. 5	Highest20%Std. 5	20%	20%	20%
Std. 10	0.6								
5.0	8.7								
14.9	19.3								
19.7	19.7								
25.5	57.1								
34.1									

Source: Calculated from Central Statistical Services, Unpublished Statistics.

iii) The Distribution of Education and the Distribution of Earnings

The evidence here is more limited and somewhat less persuasive. I considered how the

distribution of education changed between 1960 and 1980 for males for Asians, coloureds and whites. Table 12 shows that for coloured and Asian males, the median level of education improved consistently over the twenty-year period, the distribution of education improved and the distribution of incomes also improved. Although the distribution of education improved for white males, the distribution of income worsened. (Comparable data for blacks could not be obtained).

For females, I had data for 1980 only for 1980, thus an inter-temporal comparison was not possible. However, Table 13 shows that moving from whites to Asians to coloureds to blacks, the average level of education fell consistently, the distribution of education was consistently more uneven and so was the distribution of income.

TABLE 12
Education Distribution and Income Distribution in
South Africa - Males - 1960, 1970 and 1980

	Whites			Asians			Coloureds		
1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980	Education

Median No. of years
Dispersion Index

Income

Dispersion Index

Gini Coefficient

Skewness

8.99

0.41

0.85

0.38

-0.08

9.66

0.37

1.02

0.39

0.06

10.55

0.30

1.22

0.40

0.28

6.21

0.75

1.83

0.51

-0.03

7.26

0.55

1.44

0.46

0.33

8.43

0.52

1.23

0.43

0.29

4.08

1.75

2.33

0.52

0.23

5.39

1.42

1.78

0.50

0.30

6.49

1.00

0.95

0.44

-0.21

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