

**Transitions to Adulthood in Urban South Africa:
Evidence from a Panel Survey**

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**Transitions to Adulthood in Urban South Africa:
Evidence from a Panel Survey**

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Abstract:

This paper uses the Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS), a new longitudinal survey of 4,800 young people in metropolitan Cape Town, South Africa, to analyze multiple dimensions of the transition to adulthood. CAPS provides data on reproductive health, sexual activity, schooling, work, and living arrangements for urban youth. Our results indicate that the teenage years in Cape Town are characterized by relatively high levels of school enrollment in all population groups, with females moving through school faster and completing more schooling than males. We find enormous differences in work activity, with whites demonstrating much higher involvement in the labor force from as young as age 15. In contrast with many countries, working while in school is a phenomenon of the most privileged group, with extremely low rates of employment among African youth. Rates of sexual activity also differ substantially across population groups, with African females and males demonstrating the highest rates of sexual activity in their teenage years. One of the most striking patterns in our data is a large disconnect between childbearing and marriage, especially among Africans, with relatively high rates of childbearing by age 20 combining with very low rates of marriage and cohabitation. These patterns are likely to be a further reflection of the very poor labor market outcomes among African males.

Introduction

The dramatic social and political changes in South Africa over the last decade have greatly changed the opportunities and incentives facing young people. The apartheid system that ended with the 1994 election imposed restrictions on non-white South Africans in many dimensions, including what schools they could attend, where they could live, whom they could marry, and what jobs they could hold. Although opportunities have expanded, young South Africans today face many challenges. Like their parents, they will enter a labor market with high unemployment and extreme earnings inequality. Unlike their parents, they have grown up during the age of HIV/AIDS, surrounded by one of the highest HIV prevalence rates in the world. This makes transitions in reproductive behavior especially complex, with the impact of new opportunities in school and work combining with the impact of HIV/AIDS. The purpose of this paper is to analyze transitions to adulthood for urban South African youth in a wide variety of dimensions, including sexual activity, childbearing, schooling, work, and living arrangements.

The Cape Area Panel Study

This paper takes advantage of a new household survey in metropolitan Cape Town. The Cape Area Panel Study (CAPS), a collaborative project of the University of Cape Town and the University of Michigan, is a longitudinal study of youth and their families. This paper uses the first wave of the survey, which was conducted in the second half of 2002.¹

Wave 1 of CAPS contains two major sources of data. First, the survey includes a household questionnaire, in which demographic data on the entire household is collected. Second, the survey includes a detailed young adult questionnaire, which collects data on schooling, employment, and fertility of household members between the ages of 14 and 22. The young adult questionnaire includes a life history calendar that provides retrospective information on schooling, living arrangements, employment, fertility, and sexual partnerships. A basic numeracy and literacy skills test was also administered to each youth respondent.

CAPS was designed using a two-stage probability sample of households. Cape Town has three predominant population groups – black/African, which are about 27% of the population,

coloured (about 50%), and white (about 22%). The CAPS sample we oversampled African and white households in order to get large enough samples to make meaningful comparisons across groups. All households in our screener sample of about 10,000 households that contained at least one resident between the ages of 14 and 22 were selected for inclusion in the sample. Additionally, a subset of households with no 14-22 year olds were also included. Upon recruitment into the survey, the household demographic questionnaire was administered to the person most knowledgeable about the household. Full-length young adult interviews were given separately to up to three young adults in the household. The baseline wave of CAPS provides data on roughly 5,000 households and 4,750 young adults.

Overview of the CAPS sample

Table 1 shows the distribution of our young adult sample by population group. The unweighted sample has 4,752 young adult respondents drawn from 3,304 households. There are roughly equal numbers of African and coloured respondents, the result of our intentional oversampling of African areas. The weighted sample is roughly 19% white, 28% African, and 53% coloured. These numbers are within one percentage point of the population group distribution of 14-22 year-olds in the 1996 South African census for metropolitan Cape Town.² The mean age of the sample for all three groups is around 18. Table 2 presents the age distribution of the CAPS young adult respondents. Sample sizes are around 200 for each single year of age for the African and coloured samples, with roughly equal numbers of males and females. This allows us to make fairly precise estimates of outcomes for single year males and females for African and coloured youth. Sample sizes are smaller for whites, falling to 50 at some ages. Single year estimates will therefore be less precise for whites, although the broad patterns across ages should be reliable. The sample sizes shown in Table 2 should be kept in mind in the tables and figures presented below.

Following the experience of most household surveys in South Africa, response rates in CAPS were relatively high in African and coloured areas and disappointingly low in white areas.

¹ One-third of the sample was interviewed for a second time in 2003, the remaining two-thirds were interviewed for a second time in 2004, and the entire sample is being interviewed again in 2005. Details about CAPS, including questionnaires, are available at <http://caps.psc.isr.umich.edu>.

² Additional details on the design of the CAPS sample, including analysis of response rates, are presented in the CAPS technical documentation (Lam and Seekings, 2005).

Household level response rates were about 89% in African areas, 83% in coloured areas, and 46% in white areas, for an overall household response rate of 74%. Young adult response rates, conditional on the participation of the household, were quite high, even in white areas. Given participation of the household, response rates for the selected young adults were 93% in African areas, 88% in coloured areas, and 86% in white areas. Combining the household and young adult response rates, the proportion of potential young adult respondents who actually completed questionnaires was 83% in African areas, 72% in coloured areas, and 42% in white areas. While we think it is important to include the white results in our analysis, it is important to keep in mind that the white sample may not be representative of the population of all white young adults in Cape Town.

An important focus of this paper will be comparisons of outcomes for African, coloured, and white youths. These three population groups were subject to very different treatment under apartheid, differences which may continue to affect young people in the post-apartheid period. Whites had advantages in a wide range of areas, including significantly higher expenditures on schooling, privileged access to the labor market, unrestricted residential mobility, and better access to most social services. Africans had the least access to services and the most restrictions on work and migration, with large gaps in expenditures on schooling between Africans and whites (Fiske and Ladd, 2004). The coloured population, which is heavily concentrated in Cape Town and the Western Cape province, occupied an intermediate status under apartheid, with more restrictions and fewer resources than whites, but without many of the most extreme restrictions imposed on Africans. Although the youngest of our CAPS respondents will have had little direct experience with the overt legal restrictions of apartheid, they will have been at least indirectly affected in a number of ways. First, the education, income, and occupational opportunities of their parents will have been affected by apartheid, creating large disparities in the resources available to these young people while growing up. Second, the residential and schooling patterns continue to reflect many of the same features as they did before 1994. White youths continue to live in neighborhoods with far greater access to jobs, good schools, and health care than do African youths. As we will see below, white youths begin to work at a much earlier age than African youth, a pattern that we believe may have a large impact on later disparities in labor market outcomes.

Transitions in Schooling

Given the importance of schooling in the lives of these young adults, we begin with an overview of schooling patterns. Table 3 presents school enrollment rates and mean years of schooling attainment for males and females at each year of age in each population group, using the cross-section sample of Wave 1 respondents age 14-22 (below we will look patterns using the retrospective life histories). School enrollment in Table 3 includes enrollment in any kind of educational institution, including universities, technikons, and certificate programs. A number of important features of South African schooling patterns can be seen in Table 3. The first is that enrollment rates are high at age 14, with at least 95% of 14 year-olds enrolled in all groups. Enrollment rates above age 14 drop fastest for coloured males, who have enrollment rates below 70% by age 17. Enrollment rates for Africans remain at over 75% for both males and females at age 18, while coloured enrollment rates at age 18 are only 60% for females and 51% for males. The possibility that coloured youth drop out of school at younger ages than African youth because they face better employment opportunities will be explored below.

Looking at grade attainment in Table 3, we see that African males are already about one full grade behind both coloured and white males at age 14. By age 22 the white schooling advantage over Africans is 3.1 years for males and 2.4 years for females. We also see that female schooling exceeds male schooling in all three population groups through age 19, although the female advantage narrows or disappears by age 22 in the white and coloured samples. As pointed out by Anderson, Case, and Lam (2001), girls move through school faster than boys in South Africa, with female schooling exceeding male schooling by about one full grade among recent cohorts of Africans who have finished schooling.

We can learn more about these transitions in schooling by looking at the experience of our oldest respondents as reported in the retrospective life history calendars. The retrospective calendar data allows us to follow a constant group of young people as they were growing up, and allows us to look at age groups younger than those covered in the CAPS sample. Figure 1 shows three important indicators of schooling at each age from 6 to 20 based on the retrospective reports of the CAPS respondents who were age 21-22 in 2002. The results are broken down by gender and population group. The top panel shows the proportion of respondents who were enrolled in school or post-school educational institution at each age. Enrollment rates are high at young ages, with enrollment rates for all groups that are close to or above 90% for all ages between 9 and 15.

The figure shows that Africans lag behind in starting school, with similar patterns for males and females. Only about 80% of African males and females were in school at age 8, compared to 99% for coloured and white males and females. Above age 9 Africans have enrollment rates of 95% to 99%, similar to those of coloured and white youth. Another important feature of the figure is the fact that Coloured enrollment rates begin to fall above age 15, with Africans having higher enrollment rates than Coloured youth at all ages above 15. African enrollment rates are about 85% at age 17 and 70% at age 18.

The second panel of Figure 1 shows the number of grades completed at each age for our 21-22 year-old respondents. The figure shows that white males and females advance almost one grade of school per year on average, reaching a mean of about 8 grades completed by age 14. Although coloured youth start school at a similar age as whites, and have almost identical enrollment rates, the figure shows that they lag behind white youth in grade advancement from an early age. By age 14 coloured females were about 0.5 grades behind white females, with a similar gap between white males and coloured males. Africans start school later and their age profile of grade advancement has a lower slope. By age 14 African females had completed 6.4 grades and African males had completed 5.8 grades. The gap between African males and white males was already two full grades by age 14. Because of the high enrollment rates for Africans in the late teens, African grade attainment almost catches up with coloured grade attainment by age 20.

The second panel of Figure 1 shows more detail about the female advantage in grade attainment seen in Table 3. Females move through school faster than boys from the outset, with African girls clearly ahead of African boys in school by age 10. The relatively small gender differences in school enrollment shown in the top panel suggest that this female advantage in grade attainment is not primarily driven by dropout rates or non-enrollment, but results from faster progress through school conditional on enrollment.

The top two panels suggest that grade repetition may be an important factor in determining grade attainment. One of the valuable features of the CAPS data is that it provides direct measures of grade repetition. For each grade of schooling respondents were asked whether they passed the grade, failed the grade, or dropped out before completing the grade. The bottom panel of Figure 1 shows the cumulative number of grades failed at each age, as reported by our respondents age 20-22. The figure shows that both African and coloured males have relatively high rates of failure

from the time they being school. The average number of grades failed by African males is 0.4 grades by age 10, rising to 0.6 grades by age 13. By age 17 both African and coloured males have failed an average of 1 full grade, implying an average failure rate of about 10% per year. Coloured males do not accumulate additional failed grades above age 17 due to very low enrollment rates in those years, but many African males continue in school, increasing the average number of failed grades to about 1.3 by age 20. Whites have much lower rates of failing grades, with white males accumulating an average of about 0.3 failed grades by age 20.

Transitions into Work

Table 4 presents estimates of work activity for the cross-section of 14-22 year-olds in CAPS Wave 1. Work is defined broadly in CAPS, including any activities done for pay or family gain, including payment in kind. Table 4 documents dramatic differences in work activity of young people across population groups. Looking at the percentage who did some kind of work in the twelve months before the survey, we see that fewer than 1% of Africans age 14 or 15 did any kind of work for pay. This compares to 7% for coloured females, 9% for white females, 20% for coloured males, and 30% for white males.

The last six columns of Table 4 show the percentage of CAPS respondents who had ever worked at the time of the Wave 1 interview. These numbers put the differences between population groups in even starker contrast. The percentage of white males who have worked at age 15 – 43% – is larger than the percentage of African males who have worked at age 22 – 42%. While 89% of coloured females and 93% of white females have worked for pay at some time by age 22, only 27% of African females have worked by age 22.

These large differences in work activity are an intriguing contrast to the usual concerns about work activity of young people in low-income and middle-income countries. While many analysts are concerned that young people are working too much, with poverty pushing young people out of school and into work, the situation in South Africa is that work during the teenage years is far more common among the richest part of the population, with the much poorer African youths rarely doing paid work of any kind during their teenage years. This lack of work experience, which we believe is largely the result of much more limited job opportunities, forms a backdrop for all of the transitions we observe.

Transitions from School to Work

The employment patterns discussed above can be better understood by looking at the joint distribution of work and school. Figure 2 analyzes the transition from school to work as reported retrospectively by the same respondents aged 21-22 who were used in Figure 1. The figures show the percentage in each of four school/work combinations at each age – in school and not working, in school and working, working and not in school, and neither working nor in school. As in Table 4, work is defined broadly here, and includes any work done during the year. This includes work during school vacations, so it is important to keep in mind that the work/school combination does not necessarily imply that work was being combined with school.

Looking at the results for females in Figure 2, we see large differences in the transitions from school to work across population groups. While being in school without working is by far the predominant activity for all three groups at age 14, by age 17 some sharp differences have emerged. Significant proportions of white females are working during years when they are still in school, with 45% of white girls in the work and school category at age 17. African females have extremely low rates of work. The percentage of African girls who work during years when they are still in school is negligible, never exceeding 3%. Less than 10% of the African females report that they were working at age 20, compared to 58% of white females. The transition from school to work for coloured females is characterized more by a sharp transition than it is for either white or African females. Relatively small proportions of coloured females work during the years they are in school, and the proportion of coloured females enrolled in school drops below that of both Africans and whites by age 16. White females have the highest proportions working at all ages, but almost always combine this work with school until age 18.

The patterns for males in Figure 2 are broadly similar to the results for females, with males having somewhat higher percentages working at most ages. One of the striking features of Figure 2 is that differences across population groups are much larger than differences between males and females within a given population group.

Transitions in Sexual Activity and Pregnancy

Wave 1 of CAPS collected extensive data on the sexual activity and childbearing experience of our young adult respondents, including retrospective histories as part of the life history calendar. Table 5 reports summary measures of sexual activity and pregnancy for the cross-

section of CAPS respondents. The table shows substantial differences in rates of sexual activity at young ages. Looking at age 16, almost one-third of African females and one-half of African males have had sex, compared to under 15% of coloured males and females and under 3% of white males and females. By age 19 over 80% of African males and females have had sex.

The last six columns of Table 5 show the percentage of females who have ever been pregnant and the percentage of males who say that they have ever made someone pregnant. While the male reports may be subject to large amounts of misreporting, we include them here for completeness. Table 5 shows the somewhat surprising result that the highest pregnancy rates are observed among coloured females at most ages, in spite of the fact that African females report considerably higher proportions who have had sex at those ages. For example, 37% of coloured females age 20 report having been pregnant, compared to 25% of African females, even though the percentages who report having had sex are 91% for African females and 57% for coloured females.

Figure 3 shows the joint transitions in sexual activity and pregnancy based on the retrospective reports of our respondents aged 21-22. Rates of sexual activity before age 16 are low in all three groups. About 12% of African females report that they had sex by age 15, compared to 5% for coloured females and 3% for white females. Rates of sexual activity increase rapidly with age for Africans, with 60% having had sex by age 18 and 80% by age 20. As suggested by the results in Table 4, coloured females are much more likely to combine sexual activity with pregnancy. The African panel shows the highest percentages of those who have had sex but have never been pregnant. Although Africans have much smaller percentages that have never had sex, pregnancy rates are fairly similar in the coloured and African samples. About 24% had a pregnancy by age 19 and about 31% had a pregnancy by age 20 in both the African and coloured sample of 21-22 year-old females. White females have very similar rates of sexual activity as Coloured females, with about 46% having had sex by age 20, but less than one percent of our white female sample had been pregnant by age 20.

Transitions into Marriage and Partnerships

The results in Table 5 show that well over half of young adults in Cape Town are sexually active by age 20 in all population groups. Table 6 explores two important aspects of the relationships of these young adults. The first six columns show the age of the sexual partner the first time the respondents had sex. The small percentages of respondents who had had sex by age

14 or 15 report ages for their sexual partners that are relatively close to their ages at the time, with females typically having older partners and males typically having younger partners. Looking at age 16, the mean age of the first sexual partner for African females was 17.5, while the mean age of the first sexual partner for African males was 13.5. While the table shows a tendency for females to have older first sex partners, we find little evidence of young girls being involved with first sexual partners who are significantly older than they are.

Looking at the reports of those who were age 20 and above at the time of the survey, a fairly stable pattern appears in the results for each group. The age of first sexual partners were around age 20 for African, coloured, and white females, were slightly below age 15 for African males, were around age 17 for coloured males, and were around age 19 for white males. One puzzle from these results is that while the average age of first sexual partners for African males is between 14 and 15, only 3% of our 14 year-old African females and 27% of our 15 year-old African females report having had sex. Assuming these reports are accurate, one of the few ways to reconcile these reports would be if a relatively small percentage of females were the first sexual partner for multiple males. Further analysis of the data will be required to explore the possible explanations for this puzzle.

The last six columns of Table 6 show the percentages of CAPS respondents who had ever been married or lived with a partner. There is a stark contrast between the percentages who have been pregnant in Table 5 (with most pregnancies having resulted in a birth) and the percentages who have ever been married or lived with a partner. Only 10% of our 21 year-old African female respondents have ever lived with a husband or partner, while 36% of them have been pregnant. Marriage rates are somewhat higher for coloured females, but the percentage of 21 year-olds who have lived with a husband or partner is still about half of the percentage who have been pregnant.

The combination of very low rates of marriage and cohabitation with relatively high rates of childbearing among African women is one of the striking features of our data. The low rates of marriage seem likely to be related to one of the other prominent patterns documented above, the very low rates of employment for African men. Our results suggest that there is a large disconnect between childbearing and entry into marital or cohabiting relationships. As we begin to analyze data from subsequent waves we will hopefully be better able to determine whether men's employment prospects play a causal role in explaining this pattern.

Conclusions

This paper has presented a descriptive overview of transitions in a number of key dimensions for young people in Cape Town, South Africa, drawing on data from the Cape Area Panel Study. A number of important patterns emerge from these transitions, some of which differ significantly from patterns seen in other low-income and middle-income countries. Two key features of the South African economy – the high level of unemployment and the extreme levels of inequality – are clearly apparent in our results, and are likely to have an impact on all of the patterns we observe.

While many countries worry that school-age young people work too much, with negative effects on their school performance and ultimate grade attainment, we see that working while at school in South Africa is a phenomenon primarily of the economically advantaged whites. Africans have extremely low rates of employment during their teenage years, with only about 20% of African females and 30% of African males having done any kind of work for pay by age 20. Coloured youth work at much higher rates than Africans, but coloured youth tend to start work after leaving school rather than working during years of school enrollment. Whites, by contrast, tend to combine work and school, combining the highest levels of schooling with the greatest amount of work experience by their early twenties. This combination undoubtedly gives white youth enormous advantages in the labor market, further reinforcing their much higher levels of employment as they begin full-time work.

While very poor job prospects might be expected to reduce incentives to stay in school, our data suggest that the impact of very low opportunity cost of school is a more important factor. Many African males and females tend to stay in school throughout their teenage years, with 68% of African males enrolled in school at age 19. The vast majority of these are still working to complete their secondary schooling. This is one source of optimism to offset the fairly discouraging picture seen in the poor labor market outcomes. Africans are getting high levels of schooling in comparison to other African countries and even other middle-income countries, with mean schooling among our African 21 and 22 year olds of just beyond the 10th grade. We find no evidence of a female disadvantage in schooling. Females move through school faster than males in all population groups through the first twelve grades of school, and end up roughly equal to or somewhat ahead of males by the early twenties.

Transitions in sexual activity, childbearing, and marriage also appear to show an impact of poor labor market outcomes for Africans. While African females and males move rapidly into sexual activity above age 15, levels of cohabitation and marriage are very low. While almost 50% of our 22 year-old African female respondents had been pregnant, with most of these pregnancies leading to births, only about 20% had ever been married or lived with a partner. The low rates of employment of African males presumably plays an important role in generating this large gap between childbearing and marriage.

Further analysis is required to untangle the complicated links in all of these transitions. Future work will focus on the impact of socioeconomic characteristics, including household income and the education and employment history of parents, as well as co-residence patterns. We will also analyze the impact of shocks such as the death, illness, or unemployment of household members. This future analysis will hopefully provide us with a clearer understanding of the dynamics that produce the intriguing transitions documented in this paper.

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Table 1. Composition of Cape Area Panel Study Wave 1 young adult sample

Population Group	Number of households	Number of young adults	Unweighted percent	Weighted percent	Percent female	Mean age
Black/African	1,442	2,151	45.3	28.2	55.8	18.1
Coloured	1,412	2,002	42.1	53.1	50.9	17.8
White	450	599	12.6	18.7	51.7	17.9
Total	3,304	4,752	100	100	52.4	17.9

Table 2. Age distribution of CAPS Wave 1 young adult respondents, 2002

Age	African		Coloured		White		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
14	207	9.6	215	10.7	69	11.5	491	10.3
15	218	10.1	246	12.3	80	13.4	544	11.4
16	241	11.2	256	12.8	62	10.4	559	11.8
17	236	11.0	282	14.1	81	13.5	599	12.6
18	261	12.1	248	12.4	73	12.2	582	12.2
19	290	13.5	211	10.5	69	11.5	570	12.0
20	249	11.6	202	10.1	50	8.3	501	10.5
21	222	10.3	191	9.5	62	10.4	475	10.0
22	227	10.6	151	7.5	53	8.8	431	9.1
Total	2,151	100	2,002	100	599	100	4,752	100

Table 3. School enrollment and grade attainment of CAPS respondents, 2002

Age	Percentage enrolled in school						Mean years of schooling completed					
	African		Coloured		White		African		Coloured		White	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
14	99.2	94.8	99.5	97.1	100.0	100.0	6.6	6.1	7.2	7.0	7.4	7.1
15	95.4	94.8	91.5	89.9	100.0	100.0	7.3	6.8	7.9	7.7	8.4	8.2
16	88.6	90.0	85.7	76.3	100.0	97.9	8.1	7.8	8.8	8.3	9.3	9.2
17	84.3	87.1	73.7	68.4	98.7	92.2	8.9	8.0	9.4	9.0	10.1	10.2
18	78.9	77.1	59.5	50.7	96.9	93.3	9.3	8.9	10.5	9.6	11.4	11.0
19	56.5	68.2	28.4	34.7	68.1	70.5	9.7	9.3	10.8	10.3	12.0	11.9
20	36.4	46.5	23.9	27.5	72.1	64.5	10.3	9.6	10.7	10.5	12.3	12.4
21	28.2	39.6	17.2	16.7	71.5	58.8	10.3	10.1	10.9	10.3	12.7	12.2
22	25.5	20.1	9.3	11.4	46.1	76.4	10.6	10.2	10.4	10.5	13.0	13.3
Total	65.2	68.1	56.7	54.5	83.8	85.2	9.1	8.6	9.6	9.2	10.7	10.4

Table 4. Work experience of CAPS respondents, 2002

Age	Percentage who worked in previous 12 months						Percentage who ever worked					
	African		Coloured		White		African		Coloured		White	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
14	0.0	0.7	7.4	19.9	9.0	30.3	0.0	0.7	12.8	22.3	9.0	34.0
15	0.0	0.8	12.8	10.4	27.1	33.3	0.0	0.8	15.4	19.5	28.9	43.5
16	1.6	5.4	16.2	27.2	43.0	32.0	1.6	9.5	20.6	34.1	51.8	43.8
17	1.3	6.7	25.7	26.5	53.9	47.2	1.3	6.7	36.6	41.0	55.2	53.1
18	1.9	9.5	32.0	47.1	53.3	75.3	2.5	11.2	42.1	61.5	57.6	80.8
19	7.1	10.0	52.4	63.1	70.2	72.6	10.0	10.4	59.7	77.4	85.0	72.6
20	17.0	26.0	63.9	82.8	82.9	79.6	20.0	30.7	73.9	88.5	85.9	90.2
21	18.9	26.0	64.1	81.3	80.0	89.6	24.5	31.9	79.9	91.7	94.7	95.6
22	24.1	36.1	77.6	79.4	75.7	87.9	27.3	41.9	89.4	90.9	93.0	93.5
Total	8.0	13.6	37.1	46.8	54.9	59.1	9.7	16.2	45.8	56.7	62.1	65.8

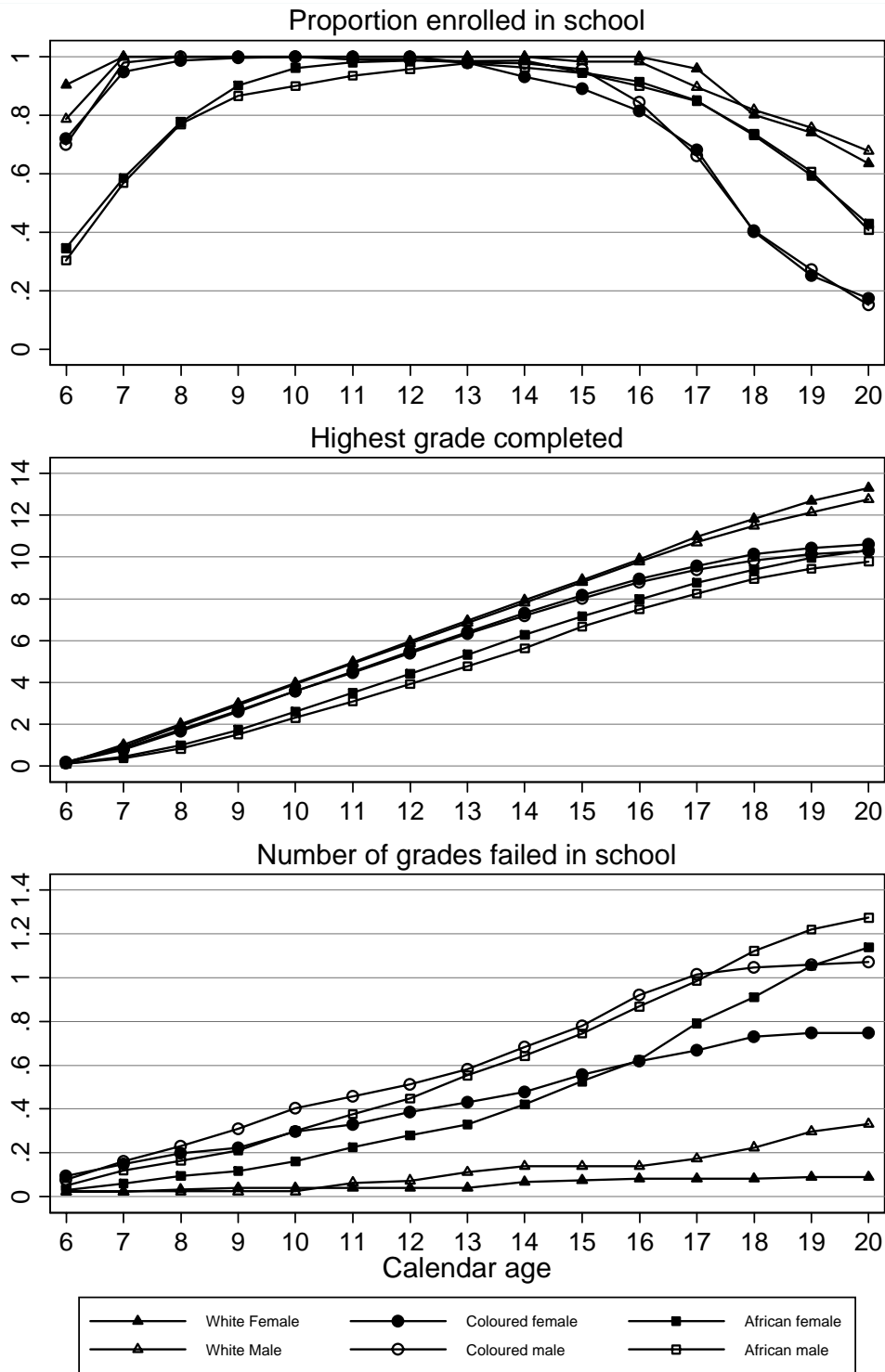
Table 5. Sexual activity and pregnancy experience of CAPS respondents, 2002

Age	Percentage who had sex						Percentage with pregnancy					
	African		Coloured		White		African		Coloured		White	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
14	3.0	13.3	1.1	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
15	27.4	20.4	2.8	7.6	0.0	6.7	0.9	0.0	0.6	0.7	0.0	0.0
16	32.3	48.8	13.4	14.9	2.4	2.2	4.6	1.3	5.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
17	52.5	50.2	16.4	31.5	25.1	5.3	10.1	2.7	9.2	3.4	4.5	0.0
18	68.4	66.2	28.2	49.0	15.2	27.9	15.5	1.1	16.1	8.1	0.0	0.0
19	81.9	80.1	46.5	54.4	51.2	35.0	24.9	5.4	27.0	7.3	4.1	0.0
20	91.4	81.1	57.4	59.5	57.1	68.1	25.3	10.2	37.0	9.7	16.9	0.0
21	85.7	89.2	66.4	62.4	73.4	64.9	35.6	13.1	44.6	25.4	3.3	0.0
22	93.3	87.7	74.9	73.6	56.1	74.6	46.2	20.6	53.3	23.2	0.0	3.4
Total	61.8	60.9	31.9	37.5	31.3	28.4	18.5	6.0	19.9	7.5	3.0	0.2

Table 6. Age of first sexual partner and partnership history, CAPS respondents, 2002

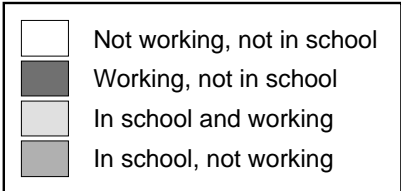
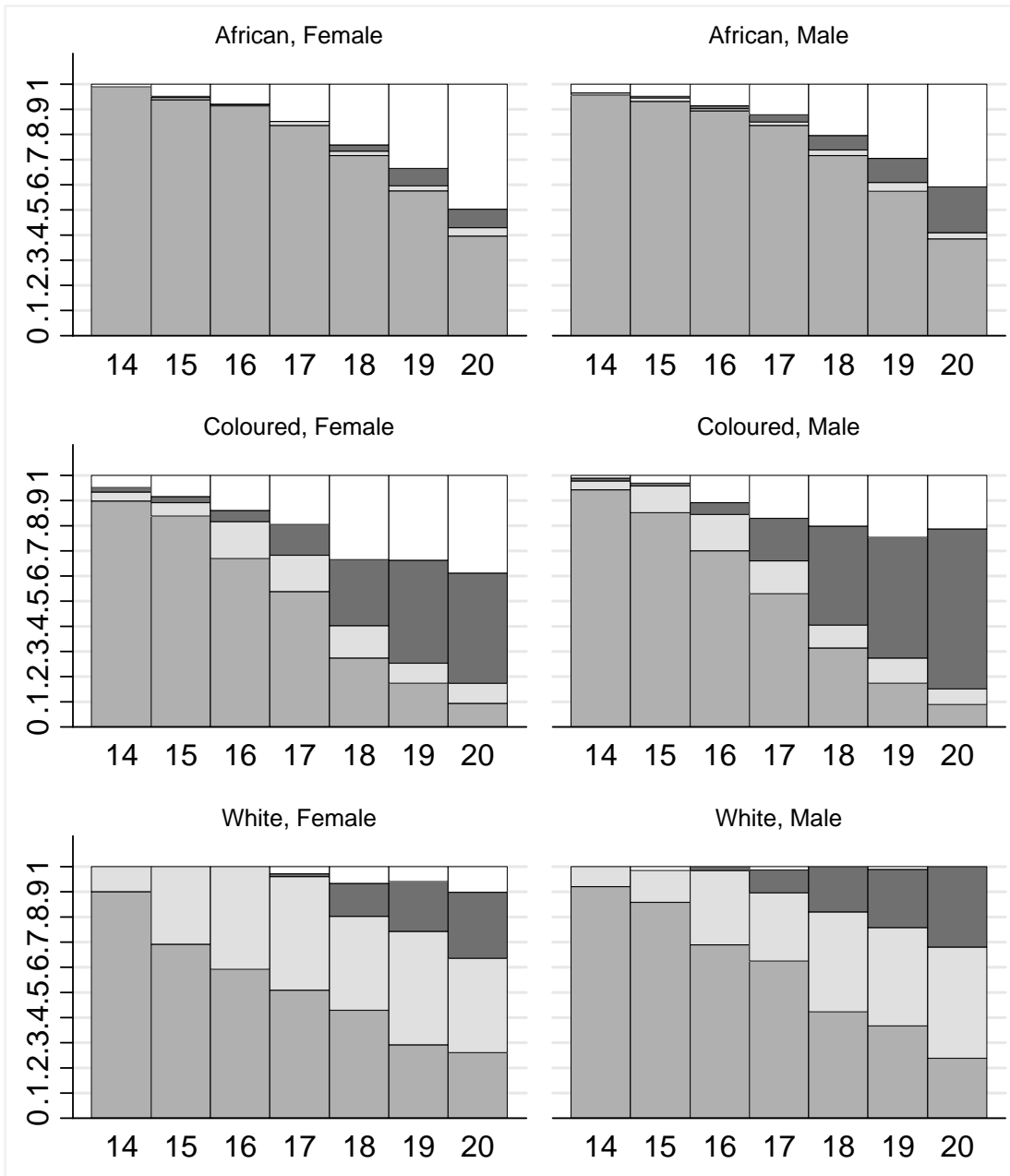
Age	Age of first sexual partner						Percentage ever married or lived with partner					
	African		Coloured		White		African		Coloured		White	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
14	14.5	12.9	17.5	14.9			0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
15	17.2	12.7	20.7	14.0		14.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
16	17.5	13.5	18.6	15.2	15.0	13.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
17	18.8	14.3	20.7	15.4	18.8	16.5	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0
18	18.6	14.1	21.2	16.3	18.1	16.8	3.8	0.0	2.5	0.8	0.0	1.5
19	19.2	14.5	20.9	16.5	19.8	16.6	8.6	0.7	7.1	1.7	8.1	0.0
20	20.0	14.3	19.3	17.1	20.2	19.0	10.0	0.0	9.4	2.2	25.2	8.2
21	19.8	14.8	21.2	17.3	21.0	17.2	10.4	0.0	21.2	6.9	10.3	11.9
22	20.1	14.9	20.9	16.7	20.5	19.1	19.6	3.0	23.3	8.2	19.4	0.0
Total	19.2	14.3	20.6	16.5	20.1	17.7	6.1	0.4	6.3	1.9	6.9	2.3

Figure 1. Schooling experience from retrospective histories
CAPS respondents age 21-22, 2002



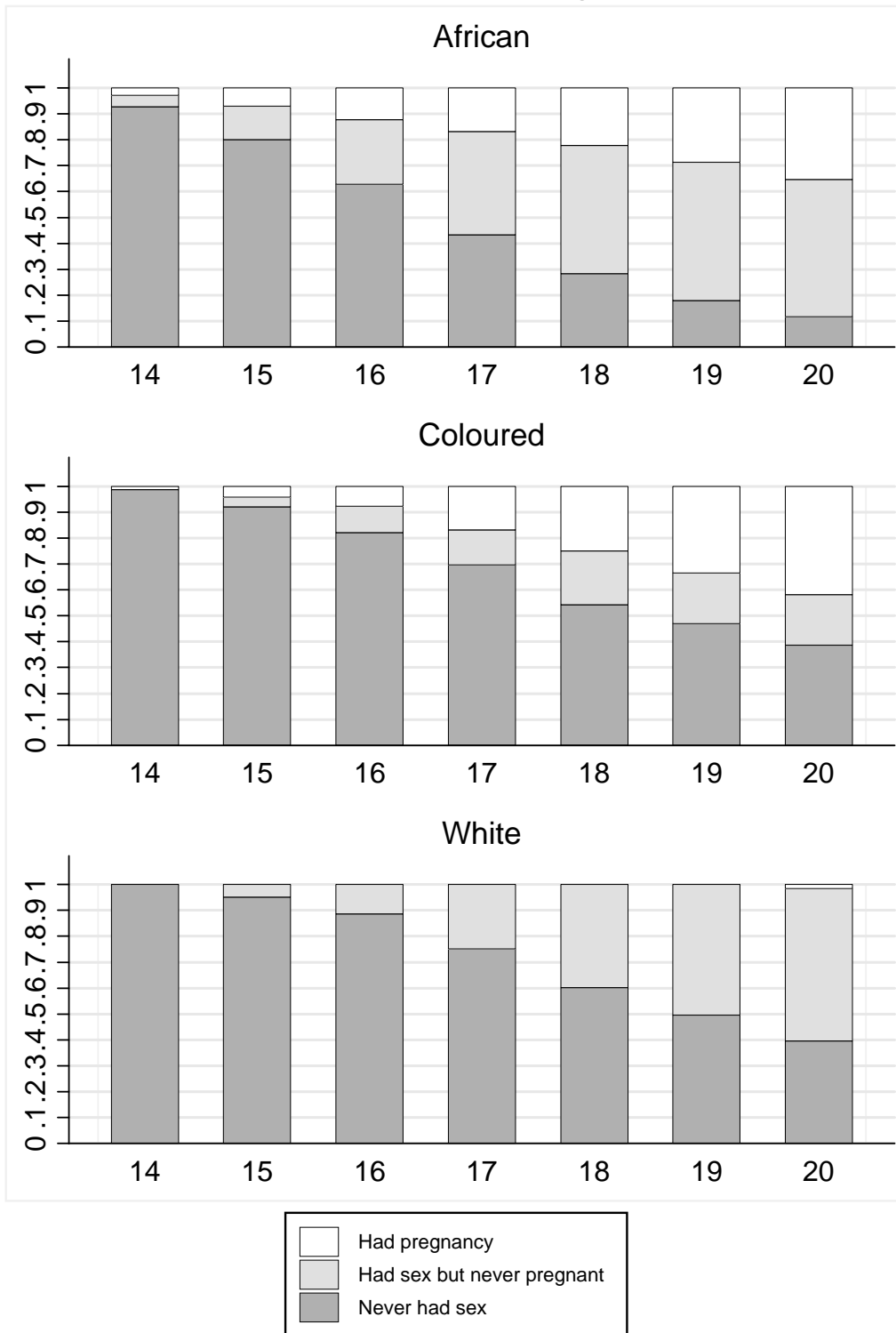
Cape Area Panel Study Wave 1, 2002

Figure 2. Categories of work and school at age 14-20
CAPS respondents age 21-22, 2002



Cape Area Panel Study Wave 1, 2002

Figure 3. Sexual activity between ages 14 and 20
Female CAPS respondents age 21-22, 2002



Cape Area Panel Study Wave 1, 2002