Education for all is central to Higher Education Reforms in Developing Countries

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Education for all is central to successful Higher Education Reforms in Developing Countries

(DAWOOD MAMOON)

Abstract:

A successful higher education reform in the South is not limited to improvement in quality and access to higher education but it should directly and indirectly cater to the millennium development goals by ensuring pro poor pro growth outcomes. Once we link higher education reforms with a development agenda or strictly speaking millennium development goals, the reform process in higher education becomes much more than a mere pro growth strategy. The purpose of this paper is to identify ways in which the reform process in higher education is aligned with the larger development agenda of the South. To this effect, we discuss the issue that lie in the peripheries of higher education reform debate- which is to directly link up higher education policy to overall education policy formulation in the South. In the paper, we highlight that generally governments in the South promote higher education at the cost of primary education, and thus indirectly undermine the effectiveness of their development strategies. We have empirically analyzed the effects of higher education focus on economic welfare. As per decomposition, poverty can be either affected by economic growth or unequal distribution of income. In order to investigate whether higher education, as it prevails in the South, is good for the poor, we see the relationship of average years of higher schooling at age of 25 with economic growth and inequality. The paper undertakes regression analysis by utilizing 5 different proxies of economic growth/ economic development and 4 proxies for income inequality as basis for 14 separate IV regression models. Average years of higher schooling have been used as the common regressor. Our results do suggest that higher education is a significant determinant of economic development. However, our inequality regression models suggest that education policies in general and higher education policies in specific do not cater for the lowest income groups in the South and if anything higher education favors the more affluent. The study recommends that higher education policies should not be implemented in isolation with over all education policy frameworks. As a first step to this effect the paper calls for more coordination between higher education commissions and education ministries in the South.

1. Introduction:

Generally in most developing countries human capital is unevenly distributed (Ravallion, 2003). Thomas, Wang and Fan (2000) and Domenech and Castello (2002) have found out that Gini coefficient of distribution of human capital in Sub Saharan Africa and South Asia respectively, is the highest in the world. Berthelemy (2004) came up with the same conclusion not only for Sub Saharan Africa and South Asia but also for Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Further more, according to him, the unequal distribution of income in these regions are due to inequitable education policies of their respective governments who, on average, focus more attention on secondary and tertiary education compared to primary education. Chowdhury (1994)

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also suggests that there is misallocation of resources by the governments of
developing countries that favor higher education to the neglect of primary education.

In many countries a considerable proportion of public expenditures for education goes
to middle- and upper-income families, because richer groups are over-represented at
all levels of education, and particularly at the university level. Public expenditure per
student increases by each level of education. In African countries, public expenditure
per student on higher education is 28 (Francophone Africa) and 50 (Anglophone
Africa) times that on primary education. Further, only a small number of people
benefits from high public expenditure per student in higher education. For the
developing countries as a whole, only 7 % of the school-age population enroll in
higher education (Mingat and Tan 1985).

One reason for the bias in education policies in these developing countries towards
higher education may lie in the belief that elementary education has a very limited
direct role in determining growth rates. According to Barro (1999) the rate of
economic growth responds more to secondary or higher education levels rather than
elementary schooling. For example, in developing countries international trade, which
is one of the key determinants of growth, favours either highly qualified university
graduates or those who have at least finished their high school. So it is no surprise that
in order to run the race to be competitive, many developing countries have a tendency
to invest in higher education at the cost of primary education to achieve greater
growth.

2. Unequal Education Policies lead to Unequal Outcomes:

Figure 1a and 1b (appendix 2) show that large inequalities in education attainment
exist in Latin America, and there is an increase over time in educational inequalities
as average years of educational attainment were more unequally distributed among
the poorest and the richest in 1990s when compared to 1980s. Coincidently, Latin
America has a Gini coefficient (about 0.50 for the region as a whole) which is
approximately 15 points above the average for the rest of the world. Londoño and
Székely (1997) estimate that the low level of education of Latin American workers
and the enormous inequality in educational assets account for the largest portion of
the region's excessive inequality, larger than other contributing factors -- lower
physical capital accumulation, the relative abundance of natural resources, and a high
concentration of land resources. In Latin America, only a relatively small proportion
of the total population has completed secondary or higher education. These relatively
few skilled workers earn a substantial wage premium due to their limited supply. Thus
a poor distribution of education contributes to differentials in the returns to different
levels of education, magnifying the effect of education gaps on income inequality.

During the 1990s, wage differentials between skilled and unskilled workers in Latin
America have increased substantially. Duryea and Székely(1998), show that wage
inequality increased or remained high in Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia and Venezuela,
slightly worsened in Brazil, and remained stable in Chile and Costa Rica (Figure 2).
They find that changes in schooling widened education inequalities and the returns to
different levels of education also become more unequal (returns to higher education
rose relative to basic education.). Both factors contributed to the increases in wage
inequality in the region. In short, though the supply of better-educated workers increased, it failed to keep pace with the increase in demand as technological change took place as the region opened up.

**Figure 2: Real Wage Growth for Skilled and Unskilled Labor in Latin America**

![Bar chart showing real wage growth for skilled and unskilled labor in Latin America.](image)


In order to show how income inequalities increase with education inequality Gregorio and Lee (1999) worked with a traditional model of human capital where the level of earnings (Y) is accrued by an individual with S years of schooling:

\[
\log Y_s = \log Y_o + \sum_{j=1}^{S} \log(1 + r_j) + u \tag{1}
\]

where \( r_j \) is the rate of return to the \( j \)th year of schooling. The function can be approximated by:

\[
\log Y_s = \log Y_o + rS + u \tag{2}
\]

Whereas the distribution of earnings can be written as:

\[
\text{Var}(\log Y_s) = \text{Var}(rS) = \bar{r}^2 \text{Var}(S) + \bar{S}^2 \text{Var}(r) + 2\bar{r}\bar{S}\text{Cov}(r,S). \tag{3}
\]

A sharp rise in educational inequalities, \( \text{Var}(S) \), would unambiguously lead to higher wage inequality in equation (3) if other variables are held constant. By the same token, a rise in wage inequality is a clear outcome if \( \text{Var}(r) \) is high. Here we know that returns to higher education are greater than returns to primary education in developing countries because there is excess demand of skilled labour as rapid technology diffusion amid trade liberalization takes place and skilled labour supply lags behind.
However, equation (3) also suggests that if the covariance between the return to education and the level of education is negative, an increase in schooling can reduce wage inequality. There is some empirical evidence that there is a negative relationship between the return to education and average years of schooling (Teulings and van Rens, 2001). The negative value of Cov (r, S) suggest that as the relative supply of highly skilled workers go up and that of unskilled workers go down, the relative wages of skilled labour decreases. Though Cov(r, S) gives some useful information regarding wage inequality, the information is far from perfect and can very well be misleading because movements in relative wages are as much a function of skilled labour demand as it is of skilled labour supply. For example, through trade liberalization, there is a transfer of technology in developing countries which increases the demand for skilled labour as learning by doing takes place. If this increased demand for skilled labour is more than its supply then the wages of skilled labour will rise. And if the wages of unskilled labour fail to rise because unskilled labour is in excess supply in developing countries, wage inequality is likely to increase, despite the negative relationship between the level of schooling and returns to education Cov (r, S). This fact is recognized by Dur and Tuelings (2002) when they admitted that in the Tinbergen’s (1975) famous race between technology (skilled labour demand) and education (skilled labour supply), technology has been a clear winner in recent times. So in developing countries the key to equality in relative wages may not lie so much in Cov (r, S), but in the value of Var(S).

3. Relationship between Higher Education, Economic Development and Poverty:

Apparently, the end objective of any economic policy devised to date is to generate welfare and wellbeing of the public and same is true for growth which must also fall in the category of welfare generating strategies since the idea has always been that at the end of the day growth should be good for poor. It makes sense because in economics poverty decomposition identifies two channels through which poverty is affected. One is the growth channel and the other is inequality (Kakwani et al, 2000). Growth is good for poor whereas inequality is not good. Since pro growth policies sometimes puts an upward pressure on inequality, as it is in case of higher education focus in developing countries, growth itself is not sufficient for pro poor outcomes. Now more relevant question is how to align growth with poverty alleviation? The simple answer is to sterilize any adverse distributional effects of pro growth policies to make growth a ‘chaste pro poor experience’.

Recently World Bank realizes this fact: “For a given rate of growth, the extent of poverty reduction depends on how the distribution of income changes with growth and on initial inequalities in income, assets and access to opportunities that allow poor people to share in growth ………how growth affects poverty depends on how the additional income generated by growth is distributed with in a country” (2001:52).

To understand whether higher education policies in the South are pro poor, we can decompose policy effects of higher education into two broader categories: 1. Growth effect 2. Income distribution effect. The discussion carried out in earlier section suggests that vigorous pursuit of higher education, by the governments in developing countries, is carried out under the assumption that the dividends of higher education
focus are positive and significant in terms of economic development. There is truth to the statement as we see in the case of China and India where high growth rates have been accrued partly because both countries, in 1970s and 1980s, have successfully transformed a portion of their population into skilled labor by generously allocating funds to higher education. Today the cheaper skilled labor force of India and China is the prime factor behind the flow of billion dollar worth of outsourcing and foreign investments into these economies. However, one may also note that such hot pursuit for higher education has resulted in an unequal education policy stance, whereby higher education has been promoted at the cost of primary education. As discussed before such unequal education policies have been one of the significant determinants of increasing inequalities in the South, especially China, South Asia and Latin America.

In this section we will empirically test growth effect and inequality effect of higher education policies for developing countries by carrying out IV linear regressions on a set of 14 separate regression models (see appendix 2 for details). Higher education (hyr) is represented by average years of higher schooling in the total population at 25 for 1999. We have taken 5 different proxies of economic development and 4 different proxies for income inequality.

Our first proxy of economic development $Y_g$ captures long run economic growth and calculated as the growth rate of per capita income covering the period of 40 years from 1960-2001. $\ln y$, which captures the short term economic growth, is the natural logarithm of Per Capita Income at purchasing Power Prices for the year 2000. Since institutions are considered to be the most important determinants of long run economic growth (see Rodrik et al, 2004), we have taken three different key institutional definitions namely rule of law ($R_l$), political stability ($P_s$) and control for corruption ($Ctc$), proposed by Kaufman et al (2002).

To capture inequality we not only take GINI income inequality index ($Gini$) from UNU/WIDER World Income Inequality Database (WIID) but also we employ UTIP-UNIDO Theil measure ($Theil$) calculated by University of Texas Inequality Project (UTIP) which captures wage inequality between skilled and unskilled labour. Further more we take income deciles and percentiles from UNU/WIDER World Income Inequality Database (WIID) as other proxies of inequality. Higher education will be guilty of inequality if it has the negative impact on the incomes of bottom 10 percent ($low10$) and positive impact on the income of the top 10 percent ($high 10$). We also take income groups divided into quintiles where the effect of higher education is anticipated to be negative for bottom 20 percent ($low20$) and positive for top 20 percent ($high20$), where as the middle income groups ($Sec20, Thrd20$ and $Forth20$) it might be either way depending on the severity of inequality existing in primary and higher education as well as outreach of higher education to the middle income groups. Each country observation for all inequality measures is taken for the latest year for which data is available and in most cases represent inequality in mid 1990s.

Please note that the economic development or inequality proxies will enter the each separate regression model as dependent variables, whereas for each model the common independent variables are higher education ($hyr$), basic level of education ($sch60$) which will be calculated as average schooling years in the total population at 25 for the year 1960, and openness variable ($Open$) calculated as overall trade share.
(the ratio of nominal imports plus exports to GDP) for the year 1985, which has been extensively used in the literature (see Frankel and Romer, 1999; Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson, 2001; Alcala and Ciccone, 2002; Dollar and Kraay, 2002; and Rodrik et al, 2004). Both \( \text{sch60} \) and \( \text{Open} \) are employed as independent variables for our economic development/economic growth equations and inequality equations because on the one hand economic literature suggests that countries which start out with better educational attainments grow faster as well as perform well against inequality (see Fisher, 2001; Tuelings and van Rens, 2002; Eiche, 2001; Bourguignon and Morrisson, 1990; Tilak, 1989) and on the other hand countries which are more open do grow faster (Dollar and Kraay, 2002) but they may witness inequalities as trade liberalisation favours affluent segments of the society over less affluent ones (see Chen and Ravallion, 2003; Cockburn, 2002; Friedman, 2000; Lofgren, 1999). In short \( \text{sch60} \) and \( \text{Open} \) are important determinants of economic development as well as inequality. Here we need to isolate the impact of openness by finding a right instrument as Open is not a pure exogenous variable, and itself depends on income levels or institutions. The literature establishes the predicted trade share following Frankel and Romer (FR) (1999) from a gravity equation as an appropriate instrument for openness/trade policy (see, Dollar and Kraay, 2002; Rodrik et al, 2004; Acemolgu, Johnson and Robinson, 2001; Hall and Jones, 1999).

### Table 1: Higher Education and Economic Growth/ Economic Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{Yg} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{Lny} )</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>( \text{Rl} )</td>
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<tr>
<td>( \text{Ps} )</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{Ctc} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{Hyr} )</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{sch60} )</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{Open} )</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{F} )</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>29.70*</td>
<td>15.07*</td>
<td>10.81*</td>
<td>22.29*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{N} )</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( R^2 )</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *, **, *** shows significance at 1%, 5% and 10% level respectively.

In column 1, for \( \text{Yg} \) regression equation, GDP level at 1960 has been used as a control variable depicting the income level at base year.

As far as the growth effect of higher education on the poor is concerned it is indeed positive. Investments in higher education put a positive effect on long term growth \( \text{Yg} \) as well as short term growth \( \text{Lny} \) of the economy. Rule of law and political stability are considered as one of the most important determinants of long term economic development and growth (see Rodrik et al, 2004). Higher education is positively related with both the variables and the relationship is significant. We can also see from the table (1) that the developing economies also perform better with overall increases in general level of education. Especially more educated economies are not only more stable politically but they are also less corrupt. Table (1) suggests that average years of schooling have a stronger impact on institution building than years of higher schooling. This implies that increasing overall levels of education is a superior policy choice than only concentrating on higher education.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyr</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sch60</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *, **, *** shows significance at 1%, 5% and 10% level respectively.

Our results in table (2) suggest that relationship between higher education and inequality is less robust and insignificant in all the cases. However the signs of the coefficients do indicate that unequal education attainments in developing countries are cause of increasing inequalities. It may be true that for many countries in the South, the effects are not significant, but our debate in earlier sections does show that for some countries (i.e., Latin America) unequal education policies lead to monetary segregation of different strata of the population. Positive signs for Gini and Theil show unequal effects of unequal school attainments in the South. Furthermore, Hyr as well as Sch60 are negatively related with the bottom 10 percent or bottom 20 percent of the population. This observation calls for an immediate attention to the stark reality that education policies in the South do not cater for the least affluent and marginalised groups. There is a real need to bring these socially excluded segments into mainstream by allocating resources to education sector as a whole and not concentrating only on higher education. If higher education is taking recourses away from primary education, such policy has to be re considered with immediate effect in order to make education policy/higher education policy pro poor and not mere pro growth. Interestingly the other four percentiles minus first one, has a positive relationship with years of higher schooling implying higher education is generally benefited by the rich or the middle class in developing countries. We know that in India and China, where higher education is more of an urban phenomenon and largely obtained by the middle or high income groups, the same groups are the immediate beneficiaries of economic growth, whereas for the poor and least affluent growth has yet to trickle down.
4. Outline of a Pro Poor Higher Education Reform Process:

Economic literature suggests that inequality is not expected to be good for growth either (Aghion et al 1999; Kakwani et al, 2000). World Bank supports the notion that lower inequality can increase efficiency and economic growth through a variety of channels. The report says: “…….policies to improve the distribution of income and assets can have a double benefit – by increasing growth and by increasing the share of growth that accrues to poor people” (2001:56).

Recently inequality has been on the rise in many countries of the South as seen in figure 3a, 3b and 3c. Amid increasing inequalities, it becomes vital for education reforms to strike a balance between secondary, higher and primary education. Higher education should not be seen in isolation from overall education policy frame work. Investments in higher education at the cost of primary education would not help the South to achieve its development goals. The higher education policy can be successful only after the allocation of sufficient funds to basic education as education for all will bring the socially excluded segments of the population into the mainstream and allow them to benefit from the processes of growth. Generally the governments in developing countries face budgetary constraints which force them to concentrate on higher education, whereas primary education is ignored because of its weaker relationship with economic growth. Enough budgetary allocation to development sector in general and education sector in particular is vital for the pursuit of balanced education policies in the South.

A higher education focus may bring fast dividends to the economy by boosting its growth in the short run, but if primary education is being ignored as an outcome of a country’s higher education focus, inequalities may rise in the society, whereas on the one hand these rising inequalities may hamper the long run growth potential of the country and on the other hand, they will be a direct obstacle to country’s development goals.

To sum it up, the issue of equality comes first in higher education reforms and only after ensuring equality in overall education policy, can the issues of quality and access in higher education be addressed in an effective manner as well as aligning the former with millennium development goals.
5. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations:

The paper attempts to outline a pro poor higher education reform process in the South. The theoretical discussion as well as the empirical exercise carried out in the paper strongly suggests that higher education, as it is in the developing countries, do contribute to growth and economic development. However the paper finds out that higher education has failed to cater the poor and if anything it is negatively related with the incomes of the lowest income groups and the poorest of the poor. The simple reason for unequal effects of higher education is the prevalence of unequal school attainments between the poor and the more affluent income groups. Unequal school attainments is a direct outcome of unequal education policies of the Southern governments who, in an effort to achieve higher growth rate, have been investing generously in higher education while at the same time have been ignoring primary education for being less growth retarding.

The paper proposes that higher education reforms should seek to neutralise the unequal effects of higher education because our empirical evidence suggests that a balanced education policy is a more effective policy choice than merely focusing at higher education. A balanced education policy, where primary education is promoted with the same vigour as higher education, is not only good for growth but the gains to welfare are greater with increasing possibilities of integration of socially excluded segments of the society into the mainstream.

In an effort to more equal education policy framework in developing countries, the paper proposes that governments in developing countries should not isolate higher education from over all education policy frameworks. This is an important step for higher education reforms, because many developing countries have separate institutional arrangements for higher education and primary education who work mutually exclusive to each other. More coordination between autonomous higher education commissions and ministry of education can be stepping stone for the formulation of balance education policies in the South.

A key prerequisite for a balanced education policy is the provision of sufficient funds to education sector by the governments of developing countries. Generally governments under-invest in education sector due to other budgetary obligations i.e., debt or defence. However one should note that there are no short cuts to achieve development goals. The development strategies or millennium development goals can be achieved only after the allocation of sufficient resources. The governments in developing countries need to revise their budgetary priorities. Heavy investment in higher education while ignoring basic education may carry short term growth dividends, but in the long run unequal education policies have serious ramifications for the success of poverty reduction strategies.
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WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2000/1, *Attacking Poverty*, 2001
APPENDIX 1

Figure 1a: Education Attainment of the Richest and Poorest 21 Year Olds in the 1990s (average years of education attained in some selected Latin American Countries)

Source: Birdsall (1999)

Figure 1b: Education Attainment of the Richest and Poorest 21 Year Olds in the 1980s and 1990s (average years of education attained in some selected Latin American Countries)

Source: Birdsall (1999)
APPENDIX 2

2nd Stage Regression Models:

Economic Growth / Economic Development

\[ L_{g_i} = \alpha_1 + \beta_1 Hyr_i + \chi_1 Sch60_i + \delta_i Open_i + \varepsilon_1 Gdp60_i + \varepsilon_{1i} \] Model 1

\[ L_{ny_i} = \alpha_2 + \beta_2 Hyr_i + \chi_2 Sch60_i + \delta_2 Open_i + \varepsilon_{2i} \] Model 2

\[ R_{i} = \alpha_3 + \beta_3 Hyr_i + \chi_3 Sch60_i + \delta_3 Open_i + \varepsilon_{3i} \] Model 3

\[ P_{s_i} = \alpha_4 + \beta_4 Hyr_i + \chi_4 Sch60_i + \delta_4 Open_i + \varepsilon_{4i} \] Model 4

\[ C_{tc_i} = \alpha_5 + \beta_5 Hyr_i + \chi_5 Sch60_i + \delta_5 Open_i + \varepsilon_{5i} \] Model 5

Income Inequality

\[ Gini_{i} = \gamma_1 + \lambda_1 Hyr_i + \sigma_1 Sch60_i + \zeta_1 Open_i + E_{1i} \] Model 6

\[ Theil_{i} = \gamma_2 + \lambda_2 Hyr_i + \sigma_2 Sch60_i + \zeta_2 Open_i + E_{2i} \] Model 7

\[ Low10_{i} = \gamma_3 + \lambda_3 Hyr_i + \sigma_3 Sch60_i + \zeta_3 Open_i + E_{3i} \] Model 8

\[ Low20_{i} = \gamma_4 + \lambda_4 Hyr_i + \sigma_4 Sch60_i + \zeta_4 Open_i + E_{4i} \] Model 9

\[ Sec20_{i} = \gamma_5 + \lambda_5 Hyr_i + \sigma_5 Sch60_i + \zeta_5 Open_i + E_{5i} \] Model 10

\[ Thrd20_{i} = \gamma_6 + \lambda_6 Hyr_i + \sigma_6 Sch60_i + \zeta_6 Open_i + E_{6i} \] Model 11

\[ Forth20_{i} = \gamma_7 + \lambda_7 Hyr_i + \sigma_7 Sch60_i + \zeta_7 Open_i + E_{7i} \] Model 12

\[ High20_{i} = \gamma_8 + \lambda_8 Hyr_i + \sigma_8 Sch60_i + \zeta_8 Open_i + E_{8i} \] Model 13

\[ High10_{i} = \gamma_9 + \lambda_9 Hyr_i + \sigma_9 Sch60_i + \zeta_9 Open_i + E_{9i} \] Model 14

First Stage Regression Equation for Open:

\[ OPEN_{i} = \omega + \psi Fr_{i} + \zeta Disteq_{i} + Error_{i} \]
APPENDIX 3

DATA AND SOURCES:


Gini: Coefficient in Percentage Points as calculated by WIDER. Year: 1995, Source: UNU/WIDER World Income Inequality Database (WIID) http://www.wider.unu.edu/wiid/wiid.htm


Open: Natural logarithm of openness. Openness is given by the ratio of (nominal) imports plus exports to GDP (in nominal US dollars), Year: 1985. Source: Penn World Tables, Mark 6.


